

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRIMARY POLICE TRAINING
AND POLICING IN PRACTICE

Final report

A study by the Ministries of Justice and Home
Affairs and the ITOBA Institute

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FOREWORD

The police are under discussion, to say the very least.

The discussion is taking place at various levels. Firstly, in the setting of the contemplated administrative redivision of the country, the question of police organisation and authority over the police service has also become topical again. The government's (tentative) point of view is that police organisation ought to link up with the redivision of the provinces, so that there will be provincial police forces for which the Queen's Commissioner will bear 'political' responsibility.

The second level of discussion relates to organisation within the forces, municipal, provincial or otherwise, rather than police organisation as a whole. The Project Group on Organisational Structures presented a report on this to the Minister for Home Affairs in 1977 entitled 'The Police in Change: a provisional theoretical model'. Among other things, it advocated geographical decentralisation of the force, a large measure of horizontalisation and team forming, and collaboration between police officers based on common responsibility.

The third theme of discussion, which constitutes the focal point of this report, is police training. The question is whether the police officer's training has been sufficiently adapted to the way the police are being confronted in their duties with the changes that have taken place in society, especially in the past fifteen years.

Industrialisation, urbanisation and greater prosperity have gone hand in hand with a substantial increase in

crimes against property, juvenile crime and traffic offences.¹⁾

Movements for emancipation and democratisation in the 60s have led to an increase in demonstrations and marches and, in general, to specific forms of protest, especially among students and young people in general.²⁾

Consequently, doubt has been cast on the authority of the police that had traditionally been taken for granted. The conduct of the policeman as the upholder of law and order is being looked at much more critically, and greater emphasis is being placed on protecting the rights of the citizen. This has made heavy demands on the police, and now and then it has been asked whether the police are really fitted for their task.

The increase in crime, the decline in the number of crimes solved, and the public's feelings of insecurity have given rise to similar questions about what is generally regarded as the second function of the police: that of crime investigation and prevention.

The third function - that of providing help and assistance - is also making exceptionally heavy demands on the police. Research in the Netherlands and other countries³⁾ shows how

1) R.W. Jongman and P.F. Cats, "De ontwikkeling van de jeugdcriminaliteit in Nederland van 1950-1970". In: Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Criminologie, Vol. 16, Sept. 1974.

2) Examples are the disturbances at the time of Princess Beatrix's wedding, the student unrest atteded by sit-ins, the increasing number of demonstrations by action groups, the Nieuwmarkt disturbances.

3) A.A. van der Zee-Nefkens, Onderzoek assistentie-verlening Gemeente-politie Den Haag, Research and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Justice, 1975.

great a claim the public make on the police in this respect. Despite the great increase in social services, large numbers of people are constantly asking the police for help and assistance.

To cope with these problems, the main response of the police has been to place ever greater emphasis on 'professionalisation', i.e. on greater specialisation in police work, motorised patrol duties, the creation of mobile squads and better technical equipment. But this quantitative approach has also left many problems unsolved, if it has not aggravated them. There is much less contact with the public, the number of crimes solved has not increased, and problems of maintaining law and order remain acute.

An increasing number of people are beginning to wonder whether this professionalisation was the right path to choose, whether too much attention had been given to specialisation and better technical facilities and too little to the human aspect, to relations between police and public.

The report 'The Police in Change' makes a large number of proposals of an organisational nature designed to improve these relations and to bring the police closer to the public. But besides this, it is necessary to have policemen who can manage this contact with the public and have the knowledge and skills to make it run smoothly. Does police training provide this knowledge and these skills or, in more general terms, is this training geared sufficiently to the requirements day-to-day police work imposes on the policeman? This is the focal question in the terms of reference given to the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) and the ITOBA Institute* by the Ministry of Justice in 1976. The Ministry of Home Affairs gave its backing to the research project,

* A non-governmental institution concerned with applied social research.

and hence national police as well as municipal police training was covered by the study.

Three training schools took part in the investigation: the municipal police training schools in Amsterdam and Lochem, and the National Police Training School in Apeldoorn.

In order to draw into the project all relevant groups, both those in the field and policy-making bodies, and to facilitate introduction to the schools and police forces, a steering committee was set up with the following members:

D.W. Steenhuis	Head of WODC, chairman
P.H. Valk	Training Division, Police Directorate, Ministry of Home Affairs.
H. van Doesburg	Training Division, Police Directorate, Ministry of Home Affairs.
G.J. Keijser	Training Division, Police Directorate, Ministry of Home Affairs.
W.F.K.J.F. Frackers	General Policy Department, Police Directorate, Ministry of Justice, now Deputy General Inspector of National Police.
M. van der Vaart	Training Subdivision, Police Directorate, Ministry of Justice.
M.P. Baars	National Police General Inspectorate.
B. van der Meer	Principal of National Police Training School, Apeldoorn.
K. Boerstra	Principal of Police Training School, North Holland.
D. van de Kraats	Principal of Police Training School, North East Netherlands.
A.W. Vermeul-Van Mulleman	Itoba Institute.

In the steering committee's discussions it soon became clear that the principal problems could be dealt with adequately only if the study was split up into a number of separate projects.

Hence, in order to obtain a basic idea of police work, which was necessary if the right questions were to be asked, an observation study was made of a police force in a big city, a medium-sized municipality and two national police rural districts.

To get a picture of training and all it involved, the Guideline was studied and an investigation conducted among instructors and supervisors.

As the steering committee was of the opinion that useful recommendations should be based not only on the actual relationship between training and policing in practice, but that views on the task and function of the police should also play a part, two further projects were carried out. One was amongst members of the public, in order to ascertain how they assessed their experience of the police and what views they had (partly based on this experience) of the task of the police in the community. In addition, the steering committee considered it useful to ask a number of officials (burgomasters, chief public prosecutors, and heads of police forces) for their views on this point.

Finally, as a central aspect of the study, questions were put to police officers prior to starting their training, upon completion of their training, and after they had been working on the force for about eight months. The latter category were asked to compare their experience in the force with their training, so as to obtain an idea of the extent to which the two interlock.

Reports on these projects have been published separately.

In the present report, the emphasis is on synthesising the research results and on the policy recommendations that can be coupled with them. Wherever appropriate, reference is made in the text to the various projects.

In reading the policy recommendations, it should be borne in mind that it is scarcely ever the case that such recommendations spring directly from the results of research. There is invariably an interpretation stage, a weighing of the results.

The steering committee believe that this interpretation has been made with great care. They are thus also of the opinion that this final report with its conclusions and recommendations does full justice to the research findings.

Lastly, they wish to observe that this series of studies, each of them comprehensive, could not have been carried out within such a comparatively short space of time without the willing aid and cooperation of the police training schools that took part in the investigation.

D.W. Steenhuis

This report is based on the following separate reports, which can be ordered from the institutions concerned.

- J. Junger-Tas and A.A. v.d. Zee-Nefkens: Een observatie-onderzoek naar het werk van de politiesurveillance, Research and Documentation Centre, January 1977.
- J.S.E. Holten-Vriesema and J. Baneke: Visies van docenten op beroep en opleiding, Research and Documentation Centre, December 1978.
- J.S.E. Holten-Vriesema: Visies van mentoren en ploegcommandanten op beroep en opleiding, Research and Documentation Centre, December 1978.
- J. Junger-Tas and A.A. v.d. Zee-Nefkens: Publiek en Politie: ervaringen, houdingen and wensen, Research and Documentation Centre, December 1978.
- J. Junger-Tas and A.A. v.d. Zee-Nefkens: Van opleiding naar praktijk: een evaluatie door aspiranten en jonge politieambtenaren, Research and Documentation Centre, December 1978.
- W. Broer: Politie en Beleid: Visies van beleidsfunctionarissen op politie-praktijk en -opleiding, Ministry of Home Affairs, Police Directorate, December 1978.
- A.W. Vermeulen-van Mullem: Een orientatie op profielkenmerken, ITOBA Institute, Amsterdam, October 1978.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Object

The object of the study was to ascertain whether police training meets the demands made upon the policeman on the force. Does the trainee learn the things he needs to know in practice or are there gaps in his tuition in this respect? Are time and energy perhaps wasted in learning all kinds of things he will rarely meet with later?

The essence of the investigation is therefore the relationship between practice and training.

Training is intended to be based explicitly on practice. The Guideline¹⁾ states: "The basis for training the police must be the task the police officer will have to perform. The training programme and training methods must therefore keep pace with developments in the duties of the police'.

Yet it cannot be the factual elements alone of policing that determine the structure of training. For example, two of the separate projects revealed that 50% of patrol activities were concerned with road traffic. But this does not imply that 50% of training time should also be devoted to traffic control. There is not only a quantitative aspect but also a qualitative aspect - some things are more difficult to learn than others; besides facts there are always norms and values as well.

For instance, what do the public expect of the police, what do the police themselves think of their duties, what are the authorities' views? The answers to such questions are of essential importance for a useful discussion on police

1) Guideline for basic police tuition and training for Police Certificate B, Ministry of Home Affairs.

training. For this reason the study was placed in a wider framework in which not only the facts of training and practice but also the experience and expectations of those having anything to do with the police were examined.

To recapitulate, the study is based on the following concept: our changing society largely determines the nature and scope of police duties and the way the police function. If the police are to fulfil their task and function in the community satisfactorily, their training will have to be constantly adapted to these changes.

1.2 Research design

In view of the wide terms of reference it proved necessary to split the study into a number of separate projects. An approach was chosen involving as many as possible of the groups and organisations that have an influence on police training and policing in practice. This approach led to a detailed formulation of the problems.

The following questions were asked in order to obtain an idea of the training situation:

- who are the trainees?
- who trains them?
- what are the objectives and substance of the course?
- how is it organised?
- how do those concerned evaluate it and what wishes have they?

In order to answer these questions, the Guideline was analysed and the curriculum and examination requirements studied. There were also discussions with instructors, who were asked to complete a fairly detailed questionnaire, and trainees at the three schools taking part were interviewed at the

beginning and end of the course, as were also a group of trainees who dropped out of the course. Others interviewed were supervisors and squad commanders: the former mainly in their capacity of post-training supervisors; the latter about their opinions of the course. Lastly, a similar evaluation was obtained from young police officers, who were interviewed at the end of their training and had then been on the force for six to eight months.

As regards practice, the principal questions were:

- what does the work of the patrolling police officer consist of?
- what is the general situation with regard to contact between police and public?
- what can be said about police efficiency and conduct?
- how do police officers on the force evaluate the link between training and police work?

A different research approach was required to answer these questions. First, an observation study of police patrol work was arranged. The object was to learn more about actual police duties. Moreover, the enquiries among young serving police officers and supervisors and squad commanders yielded valuable material on these points.

At the same time, we thought it very important to gauge the experience, opinions and expectations of those who constantly make use of police services and hence largely determine the nature of police duties, that is to say the Dutch public. A survey was carried out for this purpose in which a representative sample of the public were interviewed. Lastly, we also wanted to sound the views of those closely associated with the police by reason of their official position, i.e. heads of forces, burgomasters and chief public prosecutors. Not only do they determine the day-to-day duties of the police, but they also have a long-term influence on them by laying down guidelines and mapping out police policy.

The results of all these separate projects are given in the publications already mentioned, which will be referred to in the text by means of a key word.

1.3 Target groups and methods

Although research reports tend to deal in detail with the methods used, a brief account of the procedures followed in the various projects will suffice here.

The investigations as a whole took about two and a half years. Early in 1976 the researchers first familiarised themselves with training and practical police work. In order to learn something about the recruitment and selection process, visits were made to the Staff Recruitment Division of the National Police and the National Psychological Service. A number of discussions were held with training school staff and instructors and with supervisors in several municipal forces. A fact-finding visit was also made to one of the mobile squad training schools.

Two of the six schools for municipal police training and one of the three for national police took part in the study. It cannot be said with any certainty whether they are representative of all such schools because each one puts its own stamp on the training course. It should be emphasised, however, that the training provided at all these institutions is fundamentally the same and is based on the Guideline.

The investigation among trainees, young police officers, instructors, supervisors and squad commanders was based on structured questionnaires: the respondents met in small groups, and one of the research workers explained the importance of the study and answered questions. The questionnaires were then completed by the respondents themselves. If they met with any difficulties, the researcher helped out.

For the observation study of patrol work a large number of observers were enlisted. They went along in patrol cars on daytime, evening and night duties in one big and one medium-sized city and in six rural municipalities. Careful notes were taken, and a separate observation form was completed for more extensive incidents. The collection of objectively perceptible data was aimed at.

The survey covered a representative sample of the Dutch public from 16 to 70 years of age. These respondents were all interviewed by experienced interviewers specially briefed for this project, using a structured questionnaire. This method produced a high response (84%).

Lastly, a number of officials were interviewed with the aid of open and structured questions. These interviews were in the form of exploratory talks, and in this case a representative sample was not aimed at. The intention was, rather, to sound the views of those whose work has a considerable bearing on the actual task of the police.

The following categories of respondents were covered by the profile study: trainees, police officers, instructors, supervisors and squad commanders.

1.4 Scope and limitations

Before proceeding to discuss the findings, it may be useful to indicate clearly the scope of the study and also the areas that were not included.

It was limited to studying the link between primary police training and the task of general policing in the early years of actual service. It did not extend to the various supplementary training courses for patrol officers for other

branches, the patrol officer's career potential or the requirements for obtaining the B certificate. Nor did police organisation, more specifically that of the uniform branch, form any part of the study.

The research team realise that the various aspects of police organisation - force strength, career prospects, norms and values within the force or squad - greatly influence the performance of duties and evaluation of the training course. But this area, too, would require a separate research project.¹⁾ The same applies to publicity and the recruitment and selection of police candidates. Since only one out of ten applicants is accepted, and even a number of these drop out of the course, it would obviously be of great interest to study the selection criteria to ascertain whether they ultimately prove to relate to the way police duties are taught and performed. But it is equally obvious that an extensive project of this kind could not be fitted into the present project.

There is another major question that is touched upon only incidentally in the study. This is the question whether the policeman, after selection and training, is really the right man for the job. To what extent do trainees - on the basis of specific personality characteristics - get the chance to become aware of their potentialities and limitations, and to develop attitudes they will shortly be needing in the force? Although this question has not been disregarded entirely, it cannot be claimed that it was dealt with exhaustively.

1) See the report of the Project Group on Organisational Structures, The Police in Change: a provisional theoretical model.

Finally, the study has a methodological limitation as well. It concerns the scope for generalised interpretation of the results. Early on, a small-scale preliminary study was made of the extent to which trainees at the National Police School taking part in the research were representative of all police trainees in certain respects. There were indications that this was the case. As, however, a similar study of the municipal training schools was not made - for practical reasons - it cannot be claimed that the sample was representative.

The value of the study is to be found more in its approach to a large number of target groups in an endeavour to trace specific patterns. Many highly consistent patterns emerged from the separate projects. This consistency in the findings made it possible to make more firmly based policy recommendations.

In conclusion, it should be noted that this project, though comprehensive, still leaves many questions unanswered. It is quite impossible to cover in a single project all the aspects and interfaces of such a complex problem as the relation between police training and police activities. We believe that this investigation may be described as an attempt to cast light on at least the most fundamental elements of the problems.

1.5 Structure of the report

Chapter 2 deals with the training course, the instructors, the content of the course and the training situation.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with policing in practice: the nature and extent of patrol work, police behaviour and its evaluation.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the problems in the interlocking of training and practice that emerged from various projects.

Lastly, Chapter 6 makes a number of policy recommendations with a view to improving the way police trainees are prepared for their forthcoming duties and are assimilated into the force.

2 PRIMARY POLICE TRAINING

Besides the higher, graduate police training, the Netherlands has nine primary police-training schools, six for the municipal police and three for the National Police Force. They prepare prospective police officers - mostly in residence - for their future duties. Under employment legislation, they are already deemed to be employed, as candidates, by a municipality or by the National Police General Inspectorate; that is to say, they are local government officers or civil servants.

To present the findings of the research conducted at the training schools in Amsterdam, Apeldoorn and Lochem, a variety of themes have been grouped around the following questions:

- who are the trainees?
- who trains them?
- what is included in the curriculum?
- what is the purpose of examinations and merit rating?
- how is the course structured?

2.1 Who are the trainees?

Instructors
Sec. II

At the time of the study, the three schools covered by the project each had 200 to 400 trainees, divided into two or four intakes during the year: one school starts a new course twice a year, the other two have quarterly intakes.

Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. II

For entry to primary training the candidate must be not younger than 17 and not older than 28.

As regards educational qualifications, some form of secondary education or vocational training is required. Candidates aged 21 to 28 lacking such education or training can be taken on but must then have other qualifications to compensate for this.

The selection procedure includes a psychological test, a medical examination, an interview with the selection committee, a sports and games test and a security screening. In the municipal police, the head of the force to which the candidate has applied can ultimately accept or reject the selection centre's recommendations.

The National Police alone receive about a thousand applications a month. During the selection procedure described above so many applicants are rejected that only 10% ultimately make the grade.

Research findings concerning age, sex and education suggest that the supply, and the recruitment and/or selection policy are changing. Comparison of beginners and final-year trainees shows that more women are admitted, that the beginners' average age is lower than the starting age of the final-year trainees and that more candidates with a general secondary (MAVO or HAVO) education are being selected.

In 1976 the trainees' average age at the commencement of the course was 19. Three-quarters of them were under 21. This also applies to the category who drop out. About half the final-year trainees are minors. There are more girls among the trainees than among those who drop out and the final-year trainees (16% and 6.5% respectively). Two-thirds of them were accepted by the National Police probably owing to the selection policy. On the whole, the girls are more highly educated, and are all under 21.

The proportion of married candidates among beginners is 15%, and among final-year trainees 30%. Rather less than a year after completing training 40% of the graduates are married.

Those under 21 have more often had a general secondary (MAVO or HAVO) education. Most of the others, however, proved to have pursued an occupation after junior or secondary vocational education prior to police training. The younger candidates have a rather 'higher' social background than the older ones (based on Van Tulder's occupational classification). Those who drop out of the course tend to have had a rather 'lower' education, to have a 'lower' social background and to have been manual workers before admission to the training school.

It should be noted, however, that the category who drop out cannot be regarded as properly representative in view of the large number in this category that could not be included in the investigation. Yet we would tentatively say that the combination of youth and a low educational level is one of the reasons why a number of candidates had to end their training prematurely.

In the beginners category, half went straight from secondary school to the police training school. In most cases they had attended general secondary schools (MAVO or HAVO). Most of the others had first had another occupation. A fifth of them had been in uniform (mainly as regular soldiers). On average, these candidates are older than the others.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. II*

The choice of police work does not seem to have been impulsive: two-thirds of the trainees said the idea of applying to the police had occurred to them at least a year earlier and this occupation was the first choice of most of them. Their choice does not appear to have been greatly influenced by extrinsic factors (such as unemployment).

A comparatively large number had been in some other uniformed occupation prior to primary training. Moreover, about a third of the beginners stated that their alternative choice had been another uniformed occupation, such as customs officer. This could indicate that a uniformed job is of special significance, partly motivating the choice of the police service. Although the uniform may be specially attractive at the beginning of training, it had been placed in a more functional setting by the end of the course: a uniform has to be worn because the public must be able to recognise a policeman in the street.

In applying, more candidates opt for the National Police than this force can accommodate. Among the respondents, a small proportion of those who had applied to the National Police consequently ended up in the municipal police. Those who applied to a municipal police force were attracted by the urban work environment and the fixed base. The National Police appeals to those keen to work in the country and those who consider that National Police work will be more varied and more all-round.

About a third of the candidates had relatives in the police. This may indicate the existence of 'police families', or else a spontaneous selection characteristic. In any event, most of the family (father, mother, fiancée, wife) approved the choice of occupation.

Nearly two-thirds of the beginner category said they had acquaintances in the police. This factor may be responsible for greater familiarity with the police environment, and may play a role in the choice of occupation.

Questions about motivation for the choice produced four main reasons: the varied work, working with people, the independent nature of the work, and security, while the adventurous aspect of the work - frequently suggested by recruitment advertisements - was accorded low priority. In view of these results, it seems justifiable to conclude that the candidates' image of the characteristics of the police service tallies with that of the other categories of respondents.

2.2 Who trains them?

Instructors The instructors included in the study of the three schools
Sec. III form an important category. They are the ones who have to provide the tuition. They convert formal and often abstract teaching targets into specific curricula. Their own practical experience, attitudes to the service and views about the place of the police in the community undoubtedly play a major role here.

This being the case, it was decided to examine a number of the instructors' background characteristics.

Of the 131 instructors cooperating in the project only four were women. The average age was 44. The great majority of the instructors had about twenty years' police service. About half were attached to the school in the rank of "adjutant" (inspector), the others as "brigadier/opperwachtmeester" (sergeant). Each school also has a number of non-police instructors, mostly part-timers, for Dutch usage, sports and games, First Aid and social and mental training. On average, they have had rather more general and vocational education than their police colleagues, many of whom have had no secondary education at all. The reason for this is that in the past it was possible to join

the police force with only primary education as a background. Although the minimum selection requirement for police instructors since 1962 has been general secondary school (MAVO), entry is still possible via the selection committee without this certificate.

There is little turnover among the teaching staff: once they are posted to the primary training school few of them transfer to practical police work.

Police instructors are recruited not only because of their practical knowledge. Their personality in terms of aptitude for teaching also plays an important role. In recent years there has been a growing appreciation of the need for teacher training. In addition to the setting up of a working party on 'instructor training', a number of courses have been organised with the object of training experienced police officers as instructors by developing their potential teaching qualities. For this purpose, the schools offer their instructors a course varying from two to three months. In addition, the instructors can keep abreast of developments in general police duties to which end one of the training schools arranges for instructors to do ten days' duty with one of the forces.

At the higher training school in Zutphen, the municipal police run special courses for instructors, covering such points as:

- process of change in the approach to man and society
(focused more specifically on power and authority and on instruments for regulating society)
- teaching aids and methods
- learning processes
- evaluation methods

- guidance required by students
- group processes and the role of the instructor.

These courses are given in one-week blocks, lasting eight weeks for new instructors and four weeks for experienced instructors. Some schools also provide specialist one-day courses for instructors on such subjects as the use of video equipment, assimilation of the young officer into the force and policing in practice.

2.3 What is included in the curriculum?

Instructors
Sec. II

Primary police training in the Netherlands follows general guidelines in defining teaching targets. Some years ago the Ministry of Home Affairs drew up a Guideline, which was amended fundamentally in 1973. The Ministry of Justice also makes use of this Guideline for national police training.

The starting point of training - states the Guideline - must be the duties the police officer will be required to perform. Programmes and methods must therefore keep in step with developments taking place in police work.

The Guideline indicates the aspects in which candidates should be instructed and trained:

A. mental training:

1. personality development
2. social education
3. psychological training
4. civil service training

B. technical training:

I. theoretical knowledge

1. civil law
2. civics
3. Police Act and service regulation
4. criminal law, criminal procedure and the judicial system

5. road traffic legislation
 6. special Acts
 7. crime investigation
- II. administrative skills:
1. Dutch usage
 2. official statements and reports
- III. practical preparation:
1. police procedure and practice
 2. methods of dealing with accidents and disasters
- IV. other skills:
1. drill and group action
 2. instruction in and use of firearms
 3. driving motor vehicles
 4. First Aid
 5. typing

C. physical training

At the end of the year's course candidates sit an examination. The standards they have to meet are elaborated in the Police Certificate Examinations Order 1970, in which the technical and physical requirements are set out in detail. This establishes the major part of the training programme in concrete terms.

But this does not apply to the mental training part of the course, for which no examinations are set. In practice, each school arranges this as it sees fit. There is no doubt that in this respect much is left to the expertise that may or may not be available. Collaboration between instructors in integrating these points into the curriculum 'to leaven the bread' will vary depending on goodwill and capacity. Briefly, the subject matter of this part of the course includes:

1. Social education:

- problem areas: minority groups, drugs, terrorism, juvenile crime
- social services

- power and authority
- news media

2. Psychological and social psychological training:

- observation, prejudice, ethics of the police officer
- backgrounds to human behaviour
- the different phases of life
- the police officer's conflicts of conscience, his private life
- discussion techniques, communication
- group dynamics
- interaction skills

3. Civil service training

It is now thought advisable for the general educational elements to be incorporated explicitly in all parts of the course.

Lack of attention to these elements in the programme led in 1978 to a new proposal by a committee of training school representatives which restricts the technical part of the Guideline - notably the special Acts. The former 6 to 8% of the time spent on general educational subjects can now be extended to 20% of the available time.

Instructors The primary training programme was divided by the researchers
Sec. VI into 27 components, which can be classified in six main categories as follows:

1. knowledge of the law
2. general knowledge
3. social and psychological knowledge
4. technical skills
5. contact between police and public
6. attitudes in the service.

With respect to all the concrete aspects, those participating in the project were asked the following questions:

- how important to police duties do you consider this component?
- how much attention does primary training give to it?
- where could it best be learned: at school, during the probationary period of supervision or in police work in practice?

From the answers to these questions, the researchers expected to trace any gaps in the curriculum experienced by instructors and trainees. Briefly, the principal findings were as follows.

There is practically a consensus of opinion that special Acts receive more attention than is required for general police duties.

Criminal law and criminal procedure seem to be adequately catered for. If more attention needs to be devoted to knowledge of the law, then road traffic legislation and traffic problems in general should qualify first. The lack of knowledge of foreign languages and sound Dutch usage is strongly felt, as is also the lack of knowledge of investigation methods.

Nearly all categories taking part in the project believe the course does not provide enough knowledge of social and psychological problems. In the respondents' view, actual service and the school are equally suitable as situations for acquiring this knowledge.

Both instructors and trainees think the amount of attention devoted to the following technical skills is sufficient: physical-fitness training, driving proficiency, typing, use of

firearms, self-defence and drawing up official statements and reports.

The practical aspects of policing, however, the ability to make good contact with the public, and the ability to handle conflicts and the use of force are social skills to which the respondents feel more attention could be given. They could equally well, if not better, be learned in the supervision period or in practice.

This is also the case with displaying initiative and the ability to act independently, neither of which is found in the curriculum. On the other hand, attitude aspects such as obedience to superiors, a smart personal appearance, proper behaviour and strict compliance with Acts, rules and regulations receive enough or even too much attention.

Instructors
Sec. IV Each class - averaging 19 to 26 students - has its own class instructor. He is always a police instructor. (Some schools appoint two instructors per class). He teaches the technical part of the course: knowledge of the law, crime investigation, official statements and reports, how to act in accidents and disasters, and police duties and procedure.

Other instructors (often non-police officers) are responsible for Dutch usage, social orientation and personal development, physical training, First Aid and driving lessons. In addition, there is often an instructor for firearms.

The following methods of instruction are possible:

- the instructor talks and explains
- he presents the subject by asking questions
- discussion between instructor and students

- self-help by students (learning by doing)

What actually happens?

The instructors follow various methods depending on the subject, and the schools are making increasing use of audio-visual teaching aids.

For policing in practice and sports and games the emphasis is on student self-help. Role-playing techniques are used to simulate actual situations in police stations, public houses, private homes, shops, post offices, and so on.

Social and general personal development lend themselves to group discussions, communication exercises (with or without video equipment) and lectures by guest speakers from various sectors of society. Excursions outside the school also widen the students' horizons.

Another means of assisting students with their personal development is the special training course arranged by some schools. It consists of withstanding a physical ordeal as part of a team, displaying ingenuity and staying power under rough conditions, on the basis of the outward-bound idea. Team spirit is one of the prerequisites for success.

Instructors
Sec. VII Provision for in-service training is limited. One school has a five-day practical period, another a two-day "onlooker" spell with police patrols, after the first six months' training. Efforts are made to secure a feedback of practical experience for the team of instructors via the supervisors of the practical period, who are invited to the school for follow-up discussions.

One of the schools has introduced block programmes: the syllabus is dealt with in its various components. This procedure makes heavy demands on the team of instructors - in this case consisting of volunteers.

What is regarded as desirable?

Instructors

Sec. IV The principle of 'learning by doing' appears to be gaining ground. Especially as regards knowledge of the law and personal development, the instructors feel that students should do more themselves. Greater use could also be made of the discussion method.

Amendments considered to be important if not essential by the instructors are thus smaller classes and a longer duration of the course. Other wishes are modern aids, suitable work rooms and a Guideline which, particularly as regards knowledge of the law, offers scope for teaching methods other than those employed to date.

2.4 The purpose of examinations and merit rating

Examinations and merit rating are important for three

Instructors

Sec. IV reasons. Ideally, they translate the principal teaching targets into the achievements required of the trainees. Next, the examination requirements largely determine the content of the technical part of the curriculum, as we have seen earlier in this section. Furthermore, the trainee becomes acquainted with merit rating as it regularly recurs in the service.

The schools in the project use various types of rating systems:

- monthly reports based on written work or tests;

- quarterly reports compiled by the class instructor.

If the results are unsatisfactory the consequence may be that the student has to leave, as is the case each year with some students in all primary police training courses;

- the final rating, the examination regulated by the Police Certificate Examinations Order, 1970.

As regards the technical and practical subjects, the Guideline specifies the achievements on which students are to be assessed. No differences were found in this respect between the schools investigated. For the technical subjects there are manuals and rating forms, which most of the instructors find satisfactory. Those who do have comments find the present rating system either too objective or too subjective, while some also consider it to be outdated and too closely geared to factual knowledge.

The rating system is therefore fairly uniform as regards technical subjects.

Social education and personal development are, however, different in that the schools each have their own systems. At one school students are rated in terms of behaviour characteristics such as self-reliance, tidiness, accuracy and fluency of speech, while at another personal evaluation is not based on fixed definitions of behaviour but on the instructor's views on the candidate's conduct in various situations inside and outside the classroom.

The instructors' opinion of the rating of personal qualities is less favourable than their opinion of the merit rating system used for technical subjects. Their criticism relates especially to defects in the criteria and to the obscurity of the standards. In addition, some instructors do not

consider themselves qualified to judge others in this way; the rating of personal qualities is accordingly often conducted with the aid of advisers. Another criticism voiced by instructors is that personal evaluation begins much too soon (three months after the start of the course).

The attention devoted to the subject of rating by the municipal police higher training school in its courses for instructors thus decidedly meets a real need.

Trainees--
+ Pract.
Sec. IV On the whole, final-year students consider the instructors' evaluation of their performance to be correct. They are less enthusiastic about the evaluation of their suitability for the police service, especially those who drop out: 'They don't know you well enough' or 'You are not your usual self at school'.

Profile An exploratory profile study shows that there is one general image of what constitutes a good police officer, indicating what characteristics are basically considered to be of greater or lesser importance. The most important characteristics include a sense of responsibility, a good manner with the public, trustworthiness, self-confidence, common sense, honesty, decisiveness and the team spirit. The least important include neatness and accuracy, energy, the ability to cope with disappointment, friendliness, courage, natural authority, equanimity, flexibility, respect for superiors and self-restraint. In using such profile characteristics it should be borne in mind that various meanings can be attributed to them.

Instructors
Sec. IV The final examination is divided into written, oral and practical sections covering the technical subjects and physical training. The candidates personal reports also count in the final assessment. Nearly all the instructors

think a grasp of social and interpersonal relations, as far as they are of importance for the police, should also be taken into account. Moreover, many of them feel that the results achieved during the year should count towards the examination results, for instance through the introduction of intermediate examinations granting exemption from the finals. And lastly, practical experience should be accorded greater weight in the final examinations.

In 1977 one of the schools held preliminary examinations granting exemption from the final examinations on the basis of the Experimentation Order, using the multiple choice system. Test items were improved with the help of specialists. Using the essential features of each subject to delineate it more clearly was considered by the school authorities to provide good results. The course was divided into five to six-week periods.

2.5 Structure of the course

Instructors
Sec. V Besides the substance of the primary police training course, the investigation dealt with what might be called the structure of the course because elements determining day-to-day life in the school have an important educative effect. These are, for example, internal rules, residence in a community of people, relations between students and instructors, discipline and compulsory study periods.

In the research team's view, the optimum training of candidates will be achieved - in terms of the objectives - if these behaviour-influencing elements are consistent with the curriculum. During the year's training candidates are in principle in residence at the school.

Trainees + In general, graduates of the course were only moderately
Pract. Sec. IV enthusiastic about living in residence. On the other hand,
Instruct. their instructors found it advantageous.
Sec. V

Arguments advanced in favour of residence were:

- it promotes a feeling of solidarity and develops the team spirit expected of police officers
- it enhances identification with the service
- study results are improved through the greater measure of supervision it allows
- the trainee learns to work in a hierarchical system
- he also learns to manage with limited authority
- and, lastly, a practical point: the lack of accommodation near some schools.

The drawbacks enumerated were:

- the trainee is separated from his family
- there is little privacy
- the strict rules and regulations impede the development of independence
- the trainee police officer starts his professional life segregated from the community
- living together in fact distracts trainees from their studies.

Though not in favour of living in residence, most of the trainees considered compulsory study essential. This correlates with their educational background: those with a general secondary education (HAVO) believe there was little point in compulsory study, and were probably less in need of it. The senior students proved to have much more time for themselves in the evenings than the beginners' expectations suggest. Evening studies were not such a burden. Nor are they compulsory at all schools: one has them only for the first half year of the course; another does not have them at all.

The students at the latter school found discipline less strict than those at the others who, however, did not seem to consider it irksome. Only the drop-outs held a different view, being of the opinion that discipline was indeed too strict.

The school authorities stated that discipline was used, among other things, as a means of ensuring that the internal regime ran smoothly. From a practical viewpoint, certain parts of the course required a solid structure, for example on safety grounds in the case of shooting practice.

Each class elects one of its members as its representative in discussions with the instructors and the school authorities and at student council meetings.

On the whole, the drop-outs got along less well with the instructors, stating that there were occasional difficulties and that the class supervisor was not always available for assistance. The other trainees said they were on good terms with the instructors. The average trainee also usually proved to get on well with his fellow students, though there too the drop-outs compared somewhat adversely.

Replying to a large number of questions about the training school's organisation and work climate, the trainees stated that they were very satisfied with their pay, with the personal assistance provided by the class instructor and with the general aspects of the school's organisation and management. They were less enthusiastic about the extent to which they could take the initiative or were allowed to act independently. Studying was also considered to be a heavy burden and they felt themselves to be under pressure.

The drop-outs were rather critical of the role of the class instructor. They felt that the school had not given them

the opportunity to display their best qualities, and that they had met with no understanding or support.

The instructors were most satisfied with the school leadership and the degree of independence allowed them in their work.

2.6 Summary

As regards the subjects covered, the instructors and final-year students considered the biggest gaps to be in road traffic legislation and traffic problems in general, Dutch usage and foreign languages, social and psychological background knowledge and social skills in their dealings with the public. Again according to the respondents, a number of these components ought to be taught or acquired during the period of supervision or in practice: social and psychological background knowledge, social skills and initiative and the ability to act independently. Nevertheless, they felt that there was also a need for these subjects to be dealt with in primary training.

As regards the teaching of the various parts of the curriculum, the instructors felt the trainees should be more active themselves, especially in acquiring a knowledge of the law, which is still largely the task of the instructor. But this would necessitate a number of structural changes: smaller classes, a longer course, more scope in the Guideline for other modes of tuition and more up-to-date teaching aids and work rooms. Steps were being taken to effect the latter improvement at the time of the investigation.

There is no unanimity about the characteristics to be evaluated in the personal performance of the students. This is hardly surprising in view of the minimal attention devoted

to general educational factors in the Guideline. On the technical side it gives better points of reference. On the whole, in fact, the rating of personal factors causes more problems than that of the student's practical and technical performance, and criticism of the criteria and standards used was especially heavy. Some were of the opinion that special expertise was needed for personal merit rating. Traces were found of one overall profile of the satisfactory police officer, indicating what characteristics are in principle deemed most/least important, though characteristics can be interpreted in different ways.

The instructors were practically unanimous in their opinion that the examination should be spread more over the course in the form of intermediate examinations, so that earlier results could be counted in at the end. A grasp of social and interpersonal relations should be catered for in the examination, which should also attach greater weight to practical aspects (instead of the present emphasis on theory). Final-year students, unlike the instructors, were not in favour of living in residence. Advantages mentioned include the team spirit, the possibilities for identification with the service and the 'foretaste' it gives of some aspects of policing. The major disadvantage mentioned was isolation from the family and community.

Most trainees considered compulsory study to be necessary. The schools do not all have the same system here. The need for discipline was accepted on the whole by the trainees, only the drop-outs expressing criticism on this score. The latter - unlike the trainees - had experienced a certain amount of difficulty in their relations with instructors and other students. The trainees expressed an unfavourable opinion of the extent to which they were permitted to act on their own initiative, and felt, in addition, that the workload was heavy.

3 POLICING IN PRACTICE

This section consists of a summary of what emerged from the study about police work, specifically the image of police duties, the reality revealed by the various separate projects and the discrepancies found to exist between the two.

3.1 The image of police work

*Public
Sec. III
Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V
Superv.
+ Force
Sec. IV*

For the sake of clarity, we shall discuss this point as it is profiled against the following aspects: detection of crime, maintenance of law and order, traffic control, and help and assistance. Respondents among the public as well as trainees, young police officers and supervisors were asked how much of the policeman's time is taken up by his various duties.

Detection of crime: some 60% of the trainees thought that this accounted for much to very much of the day-to-day work of the police; another third thought it occurred regularly. The public were of the same opinion, some two-thirds of the respondents believing that criminal detection was a major part of police duties. It should be added that the public probably think of policing as a whole and do not distinguish between patrolling and criminal investigation. In their eyes the uniform branch is 'the police'.

Maintenance of law and order: numerous separate aspects can be distinguished. Trainees expected to be called upon fairly often to deal with dangerous situations and to maintain law and order on certain occasions or in the event of disturbances. The public did not agree with this, believing that riots, in particular, were no more than a sporadic occurrence.

Supervisors and squad commanders placed heavy emphasis on preventive patrolling in this context: in their view other tasks were less frequent.

Traffic control was found to be a very important part of policing. Two-thirds of the new trainees stated they would spend a good deal of time detecting and dealing with traffic offences of various kinds, and the proportion increases to 91% among final-year students and police on the force. This view was shared by all working in the service and by the public, who believed that the detection of crime and road traffic control constituted the major part of police duties.

Lastly, help and assistance: over half the trainees believed that providing aid after accidents was a much more frequent occurrence than all other forms of service (information, simple physical assistance, psychological help in complicated cases). The same was true of the public. With the exception of giving information and helping in accidents, the majority of the respondents believed duties of this kind to be infrequent.

Briefly, the image of police work emerging here is one in which the principal emphasis is on the detection of crime, maintaining law and order and traffic control. Other forms of assistance were thought to be required only infrequently. It should be noted that the public expressed their opinion of policing as a whole, while the trainees referred more particularly to patrol work.

3.2 Nature and extent of patrol duties

Observ.
Sec. II.2 Patrol duties were considered in two ways. Firstly, an effort was made by means of systematic observation to obtain an idea of the nature and extent of the work of the patrol branch. This was done by cataloguing all the work that occurred during 91 complete periods of duty (day, evening and night patrols).

Public
Sec. II For research among the public a totally different approach was adopted; it was based on the contact respondents had had with the police during the three years prior to the project. There were thus two different entry points, which means that the quantitative data from the two investigations are not strictly comparable. They supplement each other, especially as regards the nature of police work. If we proceed from the observation study, it should first of all be pointed out that uniformed police spend only two-thirds of an eight-hour period on duty in the streets: one-third of their working time is spent on station work. Of the overall patrol time, about one-third is spent on incidents of various kinds on the streets, while two-thirds is spent on 'preventive' patrolling.

On average there were about 14 incidents per observed period of duty. The large majority of them took up only 3 to 5 minutes, with one or two exceptions such as a fire or a traffic accident.

The incidents may be tabulated by types as follows:

Table 1. Observed cases

	No.	Percentage
routine traffic checks, traffic offences	639	49.5
help and assistance/ information	264	20.5
'suspicious' situations	192	15
enforcement of special laws	78	6
crimes (Criminal Code)	74	5.5
traffic accidents	29	2.5
other	14	1
Total	1290	100

Over half, i.e. 52%, of the incidents relate to road traffic. These are followed by the various forms of aid and assistance. A fairly substantial number related to detaining suspected persons or vehicles (this category also included a number of dangerous situations, such as dead animals on the public highway, defective traffic signals, and so on).

It is interesting to note that only 5.5% of all incidents related to more serious crimes. This is connected, inter alia, with the fact that many reports of crimes go direct to the criminal investigation branch and therefore fall outside the operations of the uniform branch. Another remarkable fact - contrary to the findings of much research in other countries - is that the patrolling police officer in the Netherlands often takes the initiative himself: instructions came from the operations room in only about one-quarter of the cases; in two thirds of the cases the initiative came from the officer himself, while the public initiated 6.5%.

*Public
Sec. 1.2*

If we compare these findings with those obtained from the public we see a different, supplementary pattern.

Table 2. Total number of contacts with the police in three years

	No.	Percentage
Requests for information and assistance	586	30
Traffic offences	576	29.5
Reports and complaints	313	16
Street checks	242	12.5
Traffic accidents	131	6.5
Dealing with crime	60	3
Other	49	2.5
Total	1957	100

This table shows that in 46% of the cases the respondents approached the police themselves for help and assistance or with a charge or complaint, while the police took the initiative in 54%. Here again, about half the number of contacts related to road traffic; these were followed in order of frequency by requests for help and assistance, requests for information and reports.

Both studies show that in the first place the patrol branch is responsible for the preservation of law and order, which includes the protection of life and property. This is reflected, among other things, in the important task of traffic control. Yet in the private sphere, too, the public evidently regard the police as the authorities responsible for maintaining order and enforcing the law, as is apparent from the frequent calls the public make upon the police for all kinds of intervention, information, help and assistance. Lastly, the figures show that the police officer on patrol is rarely confronted with serious crime. These points are clearly understood by young, serving police officers; only

a third of them replied that they were often concerned with fighting crime, and a quarter stated this rarely occurred. Action connected with disturbances is also less frequent than they had originally expected, while on the other hand they realise that much of their time is taken up with traffic duties. As regards help and assistance, the replies of young officers and others in the service were most surprising: they stated unanimously that this was a regular part of their work.

3.3 Some specific aspects of policing

Two specific aspects of police work are dealt with separately here because they are of special importance to the nature of the work. The first is the freedom of decision the uniformed officer has in his work; the second relates to the extent to which the policeman works within a network of all kinds of organisations which he can call upon or to which he can refer people. The latter is an especially important part of the social assistance he provides.

*Observ.
Sec. II*

One of the principal findings of the observation study was the fact that the patrolling officer has a great deal of freedom of decision. The various kinds of incidents can result in a fan-shaped range of handling methods. In their day-to-day work the police can make many immediate decisions which remain unsupervised. This element was also stressed by young police officers and supervisors who were asked to make a rating of the organisation and the work climate: in both categories autonomy scored very highly as an important aspect of the work.

*Trainees
+Pract.
Sec. V*

We approached this point again when about 15 aspects of policing were submitted for comment to young police officers on the force. They were asked to what extent their actions were determined by straightforward, general or merely vague

guidelines. There proved to be straightforward, clear guidelines in only six of the fifteen cases, viz. with respect to the use of weapons and in dealing with crime. But in their handling of young persons - even where crime was involved - there was scope for them to make their own decisions. The guidelines for dealing with minor offences, drug usage and drunkenness, accidents and dangerous situations were more general, allowing the patrolling officer greater freedom to make his own decisions. It is striking that there are hardly any guidelines at all in regard to the provision of social assistance: in these cases the officer has to act entirely by himself. In combination with the fact that officers on patrol are concerned mainly with traffic control, minor offences, the preservation of the peace, the provision of information and a wide range of assistance, these data again illustrate the large measure of autonomy in patrol work. It would certainly not be going too far to say that in areas where the officer is most active, i.e. preserving the peace, traffic control and social assistance, he has the fewest guidelines at his disposal and hence has the greatest freedom of decision.

Policy
Sec. VII

This same question was also put to public prosecutors, burgomasters and heads of forces. Their replies largely correspond to those of officers on the force.

A comparatively large number of directives were given for dealing with aggressive crimes and drugs offences, juvenile crime and disturbances. In all other cases the directives were of a general nature and left scope for independent decisions. As regards social assistance there are scarcely any directives at all and the police officer has to steer his own course.

Many respondents said that the disadvantages inherent in this situation, especially in the case of social assistance, could be offset by an adequate referral function. In order to ascertain to what extent this function is fulfilled, the young police officers already in the service were presented with a list of seventeen organisations with which they could work in cooperation and/or to which they could refer people.

The replies showed that there was regular contact with only three of the seventeen social welfare services, viz. the fire brigade, the municipal health services and hospitals. There was 'some' contact with the public prosecutor's offices, barristers, the municipal social services, neighbourhood associations and community centres. Lastly, there was practically no contact at all with the courts, prisons or institutions for young offenders, or with consultation centres for alcoholics, legal advice centres, youth information and advisory centres or bureaus for matrimonial and family problems.

It was found that many respondents had occasionally referred people to hospitals (85%), the municipal health services (77.5%), the fire brigade (63%), and the municipal social services (58.8%). Otherwise there was an occasional referral to a barrister, a bureau for matrimonial and family problems, a district association, consultation centres for alcohol and drugs, and youth advisory centres.

This indicates that as a whole there is little cooperation with, or referral to, other organisations.

3.4 Discrepancies between image and reality

As stated earlier, trainees at police schools acquire a specific image of the substance of police duties. The Dutch public also have their own impression of what the police do. Now that greater insight has been gained into the actual nature of the work, it seems useful to indicate in exactly what ways those images differ from reality.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V*

The first comment relates to crime detection. Many more serving policemen than trainees stated that crime detection and the tracing of wanted persons and goods are not a regular part of the job (25% against 9.5% and 42.5% against 26.5%). Work on the force in this case has greatly modified the image.

There is no discrepancy in the case of traffic control: this image is not changed by practical experience, all the respondents being unanimous in saying that this accounts for much of the police officer's time. The same applies to drawing up reports and official statements.

With regard to the maintenance of law and order, young officers were of the opinion considerably more often than trainees that the police are rarely confronted with disturbances or dangerous situations. The same applies to maintaining law and order at certain events. In reality, duties of this kind occur less frequently than had originally been expected.

Finally, there is a noticeable variation in the case of social assistance. Although those in service stated that such cases were generally more frequent than they had thought when they were in training, the difference as regards the psycho-social assistance is extremely great,

half of the police officers stating that they were often called upon in this way, as against one-fifth of the final-year students.

The respondents were also asked to what extent the image of the service is modified by training and experience. Some definite differences emerged.

Those approaching the end of their training thought the service would be more varied but at the same time more difficult than they had expected and that their authority would be more limited. As against this, serving policemen emphasised the greater self-reliance and responsibility, and the fact that they have more contact with the public than they had expected, while the comprehensive nature of police work was also mentioned.

As regards the discrepancy between image and reality among the public, some things stand out. The public apparently think the police deal predominantly with the detection of crime and traffic control. The preservation of the peace is thought to account for less of their time, and rendering social assistance for practically none at all. But the research findings show that the crime detection task of the officer on patrol is minimal compared with maintaining law and order, while the public themselves make incessant calls upon the police for social assistance. It may be concluded from this that the public have an image of police work that is inconsistent with the reality that emerges in practice.

There is a pronounced discrepancy between opinions of what the police in fact do and the frequency with which people go to the police for help. Personal requests for aid are apparently looked upon as something exceptional which do not affect the popular image of police duties.

4. ASSESSMENT AND OPINIONS OF HOW THE POLICE DO THEIR WORK

This section deals with the more qualitative aspects of police work. How effective are the police in the public's view, and what is remarked of their conduct?

In addition, it is important to obtain an idea of the opinions and expectations of police work held by the various categories of respondents.

4.1 Assessment of the police

*Public
Sec. IV*

The effectivness of the respondents' actual contact with the police was evaluated by them on the basis of three criteria:

- they had the matter properly under control
- they acted quickly
- they dealt with the matter satisfactorily.

Taking opinions about contact as a whole, most people considered that the police met all three criteria. Nevertheless, there were differences within the different forms of contact. For the sake of clarity, contact is divided into the now familiar categories of crime detection, maintaining law and order, traffic control and social assistance.

The large majority of people who had been stopped in the street in the context of the maintenance of law and order were of the opinion that the police acted effectively.

The same applies to contact arising from traffic situations, even in cases where people were fined or where further proceedings were taken, though the percentage of those who considered that the matter had been dealt with satisfactorily was lower than for other categories, viz. 68.5% and 74%.

With regard to crime detection, considerable dissatisfaction was found to exist among people who had been suspected of, and/or arrested for, an offence by the patrol branch. But even about a fifth of those who had been victims or witnesses of a crime accorded a low score to the police on the basis of the three criteria.

There were surprising findings regarding reports and complaints with which the public approached the police. As a whole, this category of respondents had a poor opinion of the effectiveness of the police: about one-third thought they were ineffective. As regards the way they had dealt with the matter, a comparable dissatisfaction is evident among those respondents who said the police had taken no action at all. This category (15% of respondents who had had contact with the police) were particularly critical of the effectiveness of the police: almost two-thirds of them thought they had not had the matter under control, had not acted quickly and had not dealt with it satisfactorily. 43% of those making a complaint, 21.5% of those reporting an offence and 16.5% of those asking for assistance stated that the police had done nothing.

Opinions about assistance (including collisions) were totally different. The public were fully satisfied: high ratings were given for all three criteria, the highest being accorded by respondents who thought the matter had been dealt with satisfactorily. It can even be stated that the respondents were highly satisfied, practically without exception, about the effectiveness of the personal service given by the police.

In brief, the public were satisfied with the effectiveness with which the police perform their traffic duties. They

were less satisfied as regards the maintenance of law and order and were very critical about crime detection. Opinions were unanimously favourable regarding the effectiveness of personal assistance.

4.2 The conduct of the police officer

In addition to the question of police effectiveness the way they act is obviously important too. This aspect largely determines the external image of the police and, to a great extent, the public's readiness to cooperate with the police.

Attention was devoted to this aspect in the various projects, and particularly in the observation study and the survey among the Dutch public.

*Observ.
Sec. II.3*

The observation study first of all showed that the police adopt a certain selective approach in the matter of stopping persons or vehicles. Although selection is based on the need to apply criteria as grounds for suspecting an offence, some of the selection criteria proved to be connected with physical appearance (slovenly or not) and with skin colour.¹⁾ Significantly more coloured and 'sloppily dressed' people than white and neatly dressed people were stopped for checks and then allowed to proceed on their way because no offence could be established.

The following was found concerning the patrolling officers' conduct. On the whole, they were very polite to women and foreign tourists. Towards young people - including many children - the tone was often more moralising and more authoritarian. Towards long-haired persons, coloured

1) Comparable results were obtained by F. Bovenkerk (Omdat zij anders zijn, Boom, Meppel, 1978).

people and 'slovenly' persons, more disparaging, high-handed, moralising and unfriendly conduct was noted. Of greater importance, however, is the finding that police conduct is closely related with the behaviour of the people concerned. Correlation calculations show that rude, hostile and aggressive behaviour by the public has a high correlation with disparaging, high-handed and aggressive police conduct.

*Public
Sec. IV*

We also asked the public to evaluate their contact with the police according to the way the police had acted. This was done by reference to the following items:

- correct
- authoritarian
- aggressive
- helpful
- justified.

On the whole, the ratings were favourable. Most of the respondents said the behaviour of the police officers concerned had been correct, not particularly authoritarian, helpful and non-aggressive.

They were also fairly satisfied about street checks and traffic offences, nor were there any pronounced ill feelings about such kinds of contact, even if they had received a fine.

Respondents who had received information or assistance were the most satisfied and rated police conduct favourable in all respects.

Contact relating to crime was another matter: both those who had been suspects and victims were critical of police conduct.

The same applies to cases (mostly reports of offences and complaints) where the police took no action. Judgments were then exceedingly critical: a substantial proportion of these respondents rated police conduct as unhelpful, rather high-handed, not correct, and aggressive. The failure to take action occasioned much more dissatisfaction and a more negative image of the police than corrective action.

It should be added that city dwellers are more dissatisfied than country dwellers; residents in working-class neighbourhoods also have a much more negative image of the police than people in well-to-do districts. This is particularly important because the former come into contact with crime more, and also report more offences and lodge more complaints.

Besides an assessment of people's personal experience of the police, attention was also given to a subject that draws quite a lot of attention, i.e. police violence and rudeness. Distinguishing between violence and rude or ill-mannered acts, 4.2% of the respondents said they had experienced violence, and 13% spoke of rude and ill-mannered behaviour. Most violence had been observed in demonstrations. Next came fights in bars, dance halls, at football matches and in the streets. Hitting drunks and young people was mentioned under the heading of personal violence; rudeness had consisted mainly of swearing, abuse and coarse language.

4.3 Opinions of performance of duties

The next point is what the police ought to do - at least in the respondent's eyes.

*Public
Sec. III
Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V
Superv.
+ Force
Sec. IV
Policy*

This question was first looked at against the background of the three major tasks of the police as defined in the Police Act. Detection of crime: practically all respondents among the public considered this to be typical police work, an opinion shared by the trainees, young policemen on the force, supervisors and squad commanders. There was thus considerable agreement about this.

Maintenance of law and order: the respondents were all equally in agreement that this was definitely part of police duties.

Traffic: the consensus was even greater here. The findings indicate that, together with crime detection, traffic control is regarded as the main task of the police.

Social assistance: here again there is close agreement between the various categories of respondents. On the whole it was felt that such duties could be described as 'typical' police work in some cases only.

The replies by officers who had had about eight months' experience and by others on the force were surprising in this respect: they stated unanimously that services of this kind were provided frequently, psycho-social help, in particular, being required more frequently than they had expected. What was striking here, however, was the fact that they had not changed their original opinion that this was not typical police work. They regard only first aid in accidents and fires as falling within the range of police duties; all other forms of assistance are not regarded as police work proper. Consequently, the somewhat paradoxical conclusion must be drawn that the public are satisfied most with the performance of duties they do not

regard as typical police work, while they express considerable dissatisfaction regarding duties which are regarded as police work proper.

The public clearly have a stereotyped and partly incorrect view of what the police do. Hence they also have incorrect and exaggerated expectations of what the police can do. This wrong pattern of expectations probably explains part of the dissatisfaction disclosed by the study regarding the police handling of reports and complaints. It might also explain the considerable satisfaction expressed concerning social assistance: people are surprised by elements in police work of which they are unaware.

Analogous conclusions can be drawn regarding police trainees and police officers on the force. Examination of the opinions of those with eight months' or so practical experience on what police work proper consists of shows no changes to have occurred: they continue to look upon crime detection and maintaining law and order as the principal police duties and have pronounced reservations about the provision of social assistance. Differences between trainees and police officers thus relate to the nature and frequency of police duties, but not to their views about what these ought to consist of.

In addition to questions about what the police ought in fact to deal with, everyone taking part in the project was asked what qualities a 'good' policeman ought to possess. After all, the quality of the work largely depends on the man who does it.

*Public
Sec. V*

The Dutch public considered the most important qualities to be a sense of responsibility, trustworthiness, efficiency and common sense.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V*

Policemen on the force largely agreed with this, though they accorded knowledge of the job higher priority. One striking difference is that in the rating by young police officers, dedication and an aura of authority vanished from the first ten most-mentioned qualities to make way for initiative and tolerance. The supervisors also rank initiative very high, again underlining the independence of the police officer.

*Profile
Sec. III*

Comparison of the rating by the various categories of respondents with the rather more extensive profile study reveals substantial agreement on the importance of the following characteristics: sense of responsibility, efficiency, team spirit, trustworthiness, common sense, self-confidence, quick reactions, and initiative.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V*

In order to look at the other side of the picture, however, we sounded out young police officers about attitudes towards the public. Asked for their views on human nature, 70% of them denied that working in certain districts leads to a low opinion of human nature. More than half the respondents believed that harsh and authoritarian action is sometimes necessary to compel respect. The officers on patrol acknowledged that driving round in cars is not conducive to contact with the public. They were also of the opinion that mixing with people is based on aptitude and cannot be acquired.

Summing this up, both policemen and the public were of the opinion that crime detection, maintenance of law and order and traffic duties are typical police work, while this is not so with social assistance. They thought the police were most effective in their traffic duties and in the provision of social assistance.

They were less satisfied with the way the police sometimes enforce order and had still less confidence in the effectiveness of crime detection. The greatest dissatisfaction was expressed by those who had approached the police with a complaint or to report an offence to which the police had not responded.

Generally speaking, people had a fairly favourable opinion of police conduct in most situations, including those with a corrective aspect. Irritation with their conduct largely related to specific instances where - the respondents said - the police had failed to act.

5. OBSTACLES IN THE LINK BETWEEN TRAINING AND PRACTICE

5.1 Relationship between training and practice

5.1.1 The image of the service

The image the trainee has of police work is not sufficiently refined by the training course; this was the opinion of about two-thirds of the police officers. Moreover, they found that the demands made by the school were different from the demands to be met on the force. This in fact means that their image of the service is influenced by the range of duties they are presented with.

Other findings confirm this view of patrol branch officers. We have seen, for instance, that their expectations of police work, i.e. that it would comprise mainly crime detection and traffic cases, does not square with reality. It is not realised that the patrolling officer's duties are first and foremost to maintain law and order, and peace-keeping in general. That his duties are nevertheless also seen as such in one way or other by the Dutch public is evident from the fact that - regardless of the opinions they express - they make frequent calls upon the police when they think their personal safety or their property are at risk.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V*

Another major area of incongruence emerged in the enquiry into changes in the image of the service brought about by training and practice. In the course of their training, trainees appeared to have come to the conclusion that the service was more comprehensive, but also harder and more difficult than they had anticipated; that they would have less authority and would have to do more

paperwork. Once they were on the force they almost entirely abandoned this opinion and proceeded to stress the greater freedom of action and the frequent contact with the public. We would again recall in this connection that everyone involved in policing (squad commanders, supervisors and trainees) were agreed that clear guidelines are lacking in regard to maintenance of law and order and social assistance, i.e. in those areas in which the patrol-branch officer is most effective.

To recapitulate, it may be stated that the young police officer embarking upon his career does not have a sufficiently accurate picture of the various aspects of police work and the way they are interrelated, or of the degree to which police duties are of a clearly defined and selective nature. Obviously, these two elements greatly influence the performance of those duties, a point which will be discussed in the following sections.

5.1.2 Detection of crime

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V*

The respondents were fairly satisfied about the preparation the school provided for criminal investigation, and tracing wanted persons and stolen property. The same applies to supervisors and squad commanders.

It was felt that adequate attention was given to criminal law and criminal procedure, but that too much time and attention were spent on special Acts, the machinery of government and civil law, and too little time on practical crime investigation.

How are we to account for the fact that patrol officers, their supervisors and squad commanders were all satisfied with the training given in crime detection, while the public expressed themselves so unfavourably about this

aspect of police work? Leaving aside the question of whether the police, seen objectively, are indeed ineffective in investigating and solving crimes, two causes can be indicated for this discrepancy.

The first is a pronounced increase in recent years in petty crime (such as pickpocketing and bicycle thefts), a type of crime whose perpetrator is exceptionally hard to trace. Faced with this difficult task, the police tend to set certain priorities in criminal investigation work, with the result that some cases receive more attention than others.

This leads - as the second cause - to a certain lack of attention to reports and complaints concerning crimes of this kind. The public, who are the victims of this category of crime, do however take them seriously and react very critically indeed to what is perceived as unwillingness and laxity on the part of the police. An adverse consequence of this state of affairs is that it greatly diminishes the public's willingness to cooperate with the police. If it is realised how greatly the police depend on public cooperation to solve crimes, it will be clear that the training course must also devote attention to relations between the police and the public.¹⁾

In addition, one wonders whether the training course should not underscore the fact that in the crime detection activities of the patrol branch greater emphasis should be placed on prevention than on investigation. Crime prevention is becoming more and more a joint task for police and public in which, as far as the officer on patrol is concerned, special attention should be devoted to

1) P.W.Greenwood and J. Petersitia, The Criminal Investigation Process, The Rand Cooperation, 1975.

adequate information about technological aids in crime prevention and a proper approach to the public at the station desk.

5.1.3 Maintenance of law and order

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV*

In the opinion of young police officers, the training course prepared them well for dealing with accidents and drawing up reports, official statements and so on. They were critical of the preparation for duties relating to the maintenance of law and order at public events, taking action in dangerous situations and during disturbances. About 40% considered the course mediocre in these respects; a third thought it downright poor.

We should also consider these findings in the light of the opinion that the course devotes insufficient attention to a number of technical skills, the most important of which are self-defence and the use of the truncheon and firearms. Over half the respondents also considered practical police instruction to be inadequate.

Two things stand out here. The first is that maintaining law and order has a number of aspects that make heavy demands on the policeman: for instance taking action in disturbances (fights in bars, demonstrations, football matches) and other conflict situations. Young police officers are confronted with the fact that such situations involve a number of problems for which they have not been sufficiently prepared. This uncertainty gives rise, among other things, to the opinion that they should be trained better in practical police action, in self-defence and in use of the truncheon and firearms. This is also the context for the opinion that 'the police should have more powers to enforce law and order and fight crime'.

The second point concerns training: it was generally stated that preparation for these duties should form part of primary training. It was expressed by many as: less attention to theoretical knowledge of the law, and much more attention to the practical aspects of police action. As it is precisely in the area of maintaining law and order that friction, conflict and escalation can easily develop between the police and the public, and in view of the uncertainties and deficiencies in training for these duties clearly felt by officers in the service, we would point out that this is another obstacle in the link between training and practice.

Lastly, all the respondents were of the opinion, as regards both maintenance of law and order and in the case of help and assistance, that most police officers are too young when they start their patrol duties. The forces find that these police officers need considerable guidance and require a lot of time and attention. The constables themselves believe they cannot yet cope with a number of duties, especially in regard to help and assistance and maintaining law and order. The public, too, look upon police officers as often too young for their jobs. These circumstances might also be connected with the rapid escalation of hostility between police and public.

5.1.4 Traffic

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. V*

As regards investigating and dealing with traffic offences and traffic crimes, three-quarters of the young police officers considered that they had been properly trained for their duties. Nevertheless, traffic law and traffic problems in general was the only theoretical subject to which they considered more attention could be given. Perhaps this reply should not be interpreted as a

perceived deficiency - after all they considered they had been properly trained - but should be viewed against the background of the particularly important place traffic control occupies in the range of duties as a whole. The only complaint expressed in this context concerned the amount of attention paid during training (under the Examinations Order) to drawing up reports, whereas in practice they were often barely capable of completing simple preprinted forms. All in all, however, the investigation revealed no specific problems regarding traffic control.

5.1.5 Help and assistance

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV*

The replies of serving officers show that they feel they are very poorly equipped to provide help and assistance. The proportion of police officers who stated they had been poorly prepared for these duties increased from about one-third in the case of simple technical assistance to nearly 60% in the case of intervention in conflicts. No wonder, then, that they attach greater importance to knowledge of social problems and of welfare organisations than the trainees.

They are of the opinion that the attention devoted at the school to all aspects of help and assistance is inadequate to most inadequate. This view is largely shared by instructors, supervisors and squad commanders. Although there is some lack of unanimity on the question of whether the school or the supervisor should be primarily responsible for this subject, the replies suggest that in fact neither of them devotes enough attention to it. An exception is technical assistance, to which the supervisor gives the necessary attention.

It will be remembered that the same young police officers stated that these duties occur much more often than they had anticipated, while on the other hand they proved to be rather unfamiliar with the overall assistance network within which they could function. In view of the small number of referrals they make and of the notes made and the interviews conducted in the observation study, it may be concluded that young police officers feel awkward and uncertain in this area. They attribute this on the one hand to their being too young, and on the other to a lack of training. As a consequence of this uncertainty they are unwilling to accept these duties, extensive though they are, as 'real' police work, and try wherever possible to unload this type of work on to 'specialists', the neighbourhood or district policemen. In other words, there are two closely interwoven problems here: the policemen discover in practice that there is a discrepancy between their expectations about the extent of these duties and the reality; they perceive a difference between their evaluation of this work and the calls that are made upon them in this respect. In addition to the reference to their training, some felt that the problem could be solved by means of greater specialisation. But this is also open to doubt because the officer on patrol is usually the first person on the spot and needs to have an instant solution ready to hand.

Another relevant point is the problems young police officers encounter in their contact with the public, but this is gone into in greater detail in Section 6.

5.1.6 Efficacy of police work

This of course is exceedingly difficult to measure. Much will depend on the views held by those who have to judge

it. Those, for example, with little enthusiasm for help and assistance as part of police duties will rate efficiency in this field lower than that, say, in maintaining law and order.

*Public
Sec. III*

As we have seen, the public have a favourable opinion of police efficiency in traffic control and help and assistance; their assessment of the maintenance of law and order is not as good, and worse still of crime detection. We have already gone into the causes of the

*Superv.
+ Force
Sec. V
Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV*

latter. But supervisors, squad commanders and young police officers, asked to judge how well they were trained for their duties, were all agreed that this was sound as regards crime and traffic control, but considerably less sound with respect to maintaining law and order and providing help and assistance. It does not seem to be a coincidence that problems are encountered in precisely these two areas.

Both areas have much more in common than is generally surmised: firstly, the provision of help and assistance is often connected with the maintenance of law and order (sometimes with crime prevention as well); secondly, both tasks imply some understanding of social and psychological problems and knowledge of organisations providing help, practical policing techniques, how to deal with conflicts, the use of force and the ability to establish personal contact.

The latter points, which relate more specifically to police conduct, are dealt with in the next section; it will suffice in the present context to touch briefly upon an obvious gap in the link between training and practice, viz. the lack of preparation for the practical sides of

police work involving contact with the public and the police officer's independence and freedom of decision, which are so great precisely in these areas.

Whatever one may think of the advantages of residential training, the more or less strict discipline and compulsory study periods, it must be admitted that they amount to poor preparation for the independent performance of police duties. Trainees and serving officers both indicated this by stating that the course stifles the development of initiative and personal independence.

The police service is one of the very few occupations allowing considerable freedom of action at the base. It may of course be claimed that these drawbacks can be eliminated with the aid of a more clearly defined police policy and stricter guidelines. But the fact remains that much of ordinary routine police work does not lend itself to supervision, while many incidents are largely determined by the situation and hence exhibit unanticipated aspects that cannot be covered by guidelines. The officer on patrol must therefore be expected to display initiative, to improvise, to act as he thinks best and to make responsible decisions. The training is not sufficiently geared to these important requirements.

5.1.7 The policeman's conduct

Here, too, there are a number of problems. In our opinion, the following points merit special attention.

*Observ. .
Sec. II.3*

Firstly, there is the finding that disapproving, hostile and aggressive behaviour by the public is closely correlated with aggressive and high-handed police action. It is pointless in this context to try to determine who

takes the initial step in this process of escalation, or whether the police conduct is an - understandable - reaction to the attitude of the people involved in a given incident. The essential thing is to train the police in the maximum self-control.

*Public
Sec. II*

Though violence was reported by few people, rude and ill-mannered behaviour was mentioned by a considerable number of respondents.

In more general terms, the various investigations revealed that the constables were not sufficiently trained in ways of approaching and dealing with the public, in quick and effective assessment and settlement of potential interpersonal conflict situations. We have the impression that many problems in police/public interaction are attributable to their youth, lack of knowledge and understanding, lack of social skills and a fear of looking foolish. These factors might be related to the sensitivity characteristic of officers on patrol to the respect shown to them as persons with authority, and to their very marked response to disapproving behaviour.

The training course seems to devote too little attention to teaching social-interaction skills, cultivating self-confidence and self-control, and responding adequately to potentially difficult interpersonal relations.

*Observ.
Sec. II.3*

A second fact noted relates to the constable's conduct towards people regarded as 'different', that is to say coloured people, long-haired and 'sloppily' dressed persons. Going by our observations, it seems to be the case that in detaining coloured people the police tend to act more on certain value judgments than they do in similar situations with white people. This point

deserves special mention in view of the ever greater problems anticipated with regard to ethnic minorities.

Although there is no reason whatsoever to assume that police on patrol work are more prejudiced against ethnic minority groups than the average Dutchman, their job does, of course, put them in a special position of authority. Whatever prejudices the policeman may have are of minor importance. Of crucial importance to the Dutch public is the degree to which he can keep his attitudes separate from his duties. His training in this respect should be directed primarily to endowing him with the social and interaction skills needed for businesslike, neutral, correct and non-moralising behaviour. More attention will need to be devoted to this aspect of police work in the future.

*Public
Sec. IV*

Further analogous problems emerged with respect to dissatisfaction on the part of members of the public who had approached the police with a report or complaint. Both the effectiveness of the action taken and police conduct were rated extremely low.

The policeman is insufficiently aware of how much the police image is made by the man in uniform, and how much this image determines the public's readiness to cooperate to a certain extent with the police in the maintenance of law and order and crime prevention.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV*

All along the line a lack of understanding is revealed by the fact that the ability to communicate with others, to mix easily, and a self-assured, neutral yet human approach are not things 'you can do or can't do' (according to three-quarters of serving policemen) but, on the contrary, can be learnt.

The young police officers in our study had indeed become aware of this to a certain extent through their practical experience: they note certain lacu^{ae} in their training with respect to practical policing, handling conflicts, the use of force and ability to mix with the public.

We should like to add in this connection that - however useful the work of the neighbourhood/district policeman may be - the ordinary patrol officer will in most cases be the one who has to establish the first contact, cope with the immediate problems and produce the first - off-the-cuff - solutions. Therefore the importance of behavioural skills should not be underestimated, and they will need to be allotted more space in primary training.

5.2 Limitations in the training course and the link-up with practice

5.2.1 Obstacles

The study produced a number of findings relating to obstacles in primary training. These are important for the link-up with practice inasmuch as the optimum acquisition of knowledge can be impeded by them and the course may clash in some ways with practical requirements.

Instructors
Sec. IV, VIII A major drawback in the structure of the course is the extent to which it is focused on the examinations. As large numbers of candidates have about forty weeks in which to prepare for the final examination, the marks they receive acquire tremendous importance. Much theoretical knowledge has to be retained throughout the year. Tuition is thus often aimed at ascertaining what the trainee does not know so that any backlog can be made up in good time. Non-examination subjects in the

Trainees +
Pract. Sec. IV

curriculum are overshadowed by subjects for which marks can be obtained. The course is very much in the nature of a cramming course.

Instructors
Sec. IV Besides the pace, the size of the classes - averaging about twenty-five students - is a factor that goes to make the course rather heavy going, with the result that some trainees fail to make the grade when they might otherwise have done so in small classes giving more attention to each student.

This is a common educational problem. Smaller classes allow the instructor more scope to experiment with other teaching methods, and permit more individual tuition. Some schools have special small classes with a maximum of 15 students using 'block' systems. These are "repeat" classes for students who cannot keep pace with the rest. There is optimum guidance and a good atmosphere, partly because the competitive spirit is less fierce.

The students in these special classes feel they are supported and accepted; it is clear that personal attention is very important and highly motivating. Experiments with this class have greatly reduced the number of premature leavers. This is another reason for considering reducing classes to about twenty students.

Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV Another problem in primary training is the fact that students are satisfied on the whole about the rating of their performance, but not about the rating of their suitability for the police service.

Instructors
Sec. IV The instructors also find rating a rather difficult point, either because they consider the standards used to be

unsatisfactory or because there is too little scope for the instructor to make his own contribution. Doubts were also expressed about the way these standards link up with the practical requirements of police work.

Profile For instance, many instructors are uncertain about 'the profile' of the satisfactory police officer. In other words, what characteristics are of importance here and how can the training school work with characteristics such as 'tolerant', or 'decisive'?

Instructors
Sec. III It is not only in the matter of merit rating that instructors feel they are not fully equipped for their task. Teaching skills are not taught in the police service. A special course or preparation is thus needed when a police officer transfers from operational duties to teaching. Teacher training for instructors is now receiving an increasing amount of attention at the various schools.

Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV An important fact to emerge from the study is the discrepancy between the fairly large measure of independence required in the service and the structured training situation in which the student is prepared for the service. Living in residence must provide a certain amount of tranquillity if the trainee is to be able to concentrate on studying. A major disadvantage here, however, is that the same rules that encourage studying may retard the growth of self-reliance. The same applies to a measure like compulsory study. It encourages learning, but individual responsibility cannot develop properly. Most schools have therefore abandoned compulsory studying and allow students the opportunity to monitor their own progress by means of periodic tests.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. II*

Every year a small proportion of the students fail to make the grade. All kinds of factors may be responsible for such a poor showing that the student has to leave the course. Examples mentioned above were the emphasis placed on examinations, the fast pace and the big classes. The trainee age is another such factor. Youth combined with little schooling increases the risk of the student dropping behind.

This combination was met with repeatedly among respondents who had dropped out of the course. Older trainees apparently have a better chance: they can often compensate for a deficiency in schooling with experience and/or knowledge gained in a previous occupation.

5.2.2 The transition from training to service

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV*

In their comments on the link between primary schooling and service the groups participating in the investigation showed a remarkable consensus of opinion. Many of them stressed the fact that the course was too theoretical

*Superv.
+ Force
Sec. V*

and not sufficiently attuned to the actual work. Many officers on the force expressed the view that the schools were remote from developments influencing the work of the general uniform branch. In specific terms, the main

*Instructors
Sec. VIII*

problems were as follows:

- instructors have little or no contact with the service
- trainees have insufficient experience in the form of a practical-work period
- assimilation of the young constable into the force and primary training are not systematically attuned to each other.

In order to incorporate in the primary training curriculum the knowledge, skills and attitudes which are of importance in the force instructors ought to acquaint themselves regularly with developments in the service.

Instructors
Sec. VII Questions about the contact instructors maintain with the forces showed that fewer than half of them had any personal form of contact with the service. Still fewer of them proved to have had any recent contact.

Superv.
+ Force
Sec. V According to the instructors the initiative in establishing contact nearly always comes from the schools. Supervisors and squad commanders, on the other hand, stated that the initiative was in fact mostly taken by the forces. This is a reason for not being over-optimistic about existing contact between these two parties, though both instructors and serving officers emphatically underlined its importance.

Instructors
Sec. VII Both at the schools and in the forces, the respondents' opinion was that the opportunities for practical work during training are too limited. At the schools offering courses which included some practical experience, this amounts at most to five days' introduction to practical work. Other schools have no in-service training at all.

Experience with brief practical work periods is not uniformly favourable. Colleagues in the forces sometimes adopt an attitude towards trainees suggesting that they can best forget all about the training as things are quite different in the service. The trainee is then aware of a wide discrepancy between school and service, which may greatly impede the learning process. Insufficient liaison between training schools and forces may be the cause of these disappointing experiences.

The respondents were nevertheless almost unanimous in their opinion that practical work periods were very important, though serving officers advocated longer periods than instructors. The former category had in mind an average of seven days and the latter two days,

in both cases repeated several times. Trainees were in favour of an average of five to six days.

*Superv. + Force
Secs. I, II, III*

Upon joining the force nearly all young officers are placed in the care of a supervisor, either individually or as one of a group. Although a new system of group supervision was being phased in by the National Police at the time of the investigation, this was not fully reflected in the research findings.

*Trainees
+ Pract.
Sec. IV*

The reason for this was that the supervisors and squad commanders taking part in the investigation were not representative groups from the National Police. The situation could thus have been somewhat distorted.

The results of a recent enquiry into the young officer's assimilation and supervision will shortly be published in a report by a working party of the Central Police Patrol Committee. Owing to a lack of guidelines and special programmes for assimilating the young officer, supervision varies somewhat from force to force. In some forces it will have greater depth than in others, depending among other things on their strength and on the nature of operations in the municipality concerned. Large forces are undoubtedly in a better position in this respect than small ones, where adding one officer to the strength weighs heavier and where supervision means less manpower for actual operations. There will also be differences in the attention given to the various aspects of general uniform duties.

Virtually all serving officers cooperating in the study had been supervised in the initial stages of their careers. Two-thirds had one supervisor; one-third had group supervision, sometimes combining individual

supervision. In most cases supervision was provided during normal duties; one-third of the serving officers mentioned special programmes.

The duration of supervision was found to vary from an average of four months in municipal forces to an average of five months for young National Police officers. Most serving officers consider this too short; they give eight months as the ideal duration. Supervisors and squad commanders would even like seven to twelve months.

Questions about special wishes regarding supervision brought out two main points. Firstly, the supervisor's experience and skill, some persons pointing out the need for him to receive some kind of preparatory training. Secondly, the wish to gain varied experience during the period of supervision, preferably at different police stations.

The supervisors themselves - as their replies showed - also feel a need for a preparatory course of some kind.

*Superv.
+ Force
Sec. V*

The project involving serving officers, supervisors and squad commanders showed that the support given in the early stages largely concerns official points, knowledge of the law and of the police officer's powers. Supervision in practice deals no more adequately with the practical aspects of police work and social skills than does the primary training course.

These, however, are precisely the aspects of police duties that could be learnt and practised just as well, if not more effectively, in real conditions as in simulated conditions during primary training.

From the three points mentioned above - instructors' contact with the service, trainees' insufficient experience in practical work and diversity in assimilation and supervision - it may be concluded that training and practice are not properly attuned to each other. The researchers do not preclude the possibility that the instruction the schools provide and the initial stages on the force may contain conflicting elements that are an obstacle to the police officer's learning process.

Another possibility is that primary training and supervision in the force both neglect the same aspects of the general uniform branch. The study shows the latter to be the case with regard to social skills and practical police work.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGES IN PRIMARY POLICE TRAINING

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Principles underlying the recommendations

When research is planned with the express purpose of making policy recommendations, there is a choice between two approaches. One is to proceed from a specific policy viewpoint, in which case the recommendations will be largely determined by the developments envisaged. The other is to proceed from the existing situation, to examine it and ascertain how it can be improved. This was the way chosen for the present study. The distinction is somewhat artificial and by no means signifies that the investigation was not based on a viewpoint regarding the functioning of the police. This, however, is never more than implicit.

It seems apt in this final section to go briefly into a number of starting points for the study which have not yet been discussed. We believe this to be necessary because the policy recommendations that follow were ultimately based on these starting points; recommendations never follow direct from research. Indeed, dozens of recommendations could be made, depending on the ultimate objective. In this case ideas on how the police - and the patrol branch in particular - ought to function determined the questions that were to be asked and the solutions that are presented.

In a more general sense, it may be said of the recommendations that they are not a direct or obvious consequence of the concrete research data, but are based on an analysis of the results in which certain relationships were found. In addition, they also derive from the many interviews conducted

with people in the relevant fields. Lastly, the researchers' views concerning the duties and function of the police inevitably play a part.

Let us then first briefly describe our views on the task of the police. The principal duty of the police is to defend our democratic state based on the rule of law. But they cannot do this alone. Other institutions have to cooperate. After all, a democracy such as ours can function only if there is general consensus on the importance of preserving this form of government.

Secondly, the police must guarantee the preservation of law and order which, again, they cannot do without the assistance of other institutions. It is an absolute illusion to think that an organisation for purely formal social control could have power to supervise and regulate public life in all its forms. A very important point in this respect is the informal social control people exercise over one another and, related to this, their agreement on what constitutes desirable and undesirable behaviour.

Thirdly, the police have the task of protecting the lives and property of the public. And even this task cannot be carried out without the substantial cooperation of the public in both prevention and investigation.

Finally, besides the above tasks, there is police help and assistance. This differs from other forms of aid in three essential ways: it involves intervention that is required immediately; it is of a temporary nature; after intervention, referrals should be made to other organisations wherever possible. The guideline in these duties should be to protect the weaker members of the community and to help people in need.

To recapitulate, in this study the police are regarded as an integral part of Dutch society - not as a self-contained body - and as an organisation providing service and assistance to the community.

These points of departure had a number of implications for the way the project was structured. This explains, for instance, why we did not confine ourselves to interviewing authorities on training and the police service but took the opposite course of a multilateral approach to the problem entailing the participation of those closely involved.

This relates primarily to police officers in the patrol branch and to trainees at the primary training schools. But it also covers officials in the police field and the Dutch public. These various groups all play an important part in the way policing is carried out. If the provision of social assistance is also included, then the principal recipients of this assistance - i.e. the public - must also have their say.

These same points of departure have thus also determined the nature of the recommendations made in this section.

But - proceeding from the task of the police as described above - different views are obviously held concerning the way the police, with their present structure and organisation, should perform their duties.

As regards the structure, possible solutions to problems will differ greatly according to whether one opts for a limited number of large regional forces or for the present decentralised system, in which forces differ considerably in size, organisation and degree of specialisation. The

same applies to the organisation of the service: is the present tendency towards specialisation to be continued, and are largely separate branches (patrols, criminal investigation, neighbourhood/district constables) to be kept? Or is preference to be given to a system of all-round officers who can cope, for instance, with simple detective work and provide help and assistance as well?

Additionally, there is the choice of a strictly led, hierarchical force, or a more decentralised structure making use, for instance, of police teams.

Lastly, different weights can be attached to the various components of patrol work. It may be thought, for instance, that the officer on patrol should do more in the realm of crime detection. Or it may be considered that help and assistance should be siphoned over to other services.

All these aspects greatly influence the work of the patrol branch. These questions are very topical, as evidenced by the fact that the Ministers for Home Affairs and Justice will be presenting a bill during the present parliamentary year for reorganising the police in provincial forces.

It should be emphasised here that there is nothing to be gained by postponing changes in primary police training until police reorganisation has become a fact. For leaving aside the structural and organisational aspects, the reality of police work is still as compelling as it has ever been. Even if bigger regional forces are expected to be a tremendous improvement, it cannot yet be foreseen when the changeover will be effected. Although it may be thought that the police should divest themselves of their task of rendering assistance, it is nevertheless still a fact that

the police are the only public service that is easy to reach and can be quickly on the spot, especially at night and during the weekend. This is all the more cogent because the present state of the economy makes it unlikely that additional funds will be provided in the near future for other service and social assistance organisations.

To put it briefly, even if allowance is made for the different options regarding the function, structure and organisation of the police, there are still unavoidable realities in police practice - such as those at present facing young police officers - which training must take into account.

6.1.2 Presentation of the recommendations

The recommendations are arranged in the following categories. Firstly, recommendations for improvements in the essential elements of training, consisting of the image of the service, the theory and knowledge imparted, and practical skills. Next, organisational aspects of the training are dealt with, the recommendations here relating to instructors and the police schools' internal organisation. The third set of recommendations concerns the transition from training to the service and includes the introduction of in-service training, while a number of suggestions are made with respect to some of the external factors connected with admission to the police service. Lastly, a framework is presented for a revised training programme. The section ends with a brief summary of the recommendations.

6.1.3 Giving effect to the recommendations

Every effort has been made to find appropriate solutions to the problems discussed. We proceeded from existing realities,

not from the political or financial 'feasibility' of particular recommendations. Weighing up all possible implications and consequences of certain alternatives is after all the responsibility of policy-makers and not of research workers.

Another important point is the scope of the policy recommendations. It was not the intention - in fact it would be beyond the researchers' competence - to make highly detailed recommendations in this report for changes in the training programme. Instead, they are restricted to the indication of certain possibilities for change, and to a framework for a modified form of training.

It would seem appropriate to set up an interdepartmental police committee to work out the technical and practical aspects of the proposals within a stated time and to indicate the financial and manpower implications of the proposals and of any alternatives. To expedite the committee's work, a separate working party could be set up for each subject. Alternatively, some of the work could be carried out by the competent policy-making departments or by existing working parties (for example, changes in the Examinations Order).

For the introduction of change in the forces themselves the aid of the Heads of Forces National Consultative Committee and of the Central Police Patrol Committee could be enlisted. Another possibility is the formation of regional monitoring teams - on the lines of the existing regional sports and games instruction and weapons instruction teams - to promote the smooth introduction of the desired changes.

6.2 Recommendations concerning the training programme

6.2.1 Improving the image of the service

As stated above, the image trainees have formed of the police service by the end of their training is in many respects inconsistent with reality and needs to be brought into line with it.

One of the reasons is the defective contact instructors maintain with the service, a state of affairs about which they themselves expressed dissatisfaction. Steps are now being taken to remedy this situation. For instance, periods of practical work and refresher courses are being organised for instructors. It is to be recommended that this innovation be placed on a regular basis of annual or biennial two-week practical work periods with various forces. Moreover, instructors should attend refresher courses every few years to enable them to keep up to date on changes in the community and the police and to familiarise themselves with new teaching methods.

A second reason may be the view instructors have of the police service, in which the emphasis is on crime detection and the maintenance of law and order.

It seems important, more now than in the past, to give trainees realistic information on what awaits them after training. Though many of them will end up in branches of a more specialised nature (traffic control, criminal investigation, juvenile branch and so on) this does not alter the fact that in the present system they will all spend the first few years in the patrol branch. This means that they must be prepared first and foremost for general, non-specialised police duties.

The instructors could make this clear by stressing, among other things, the following points:

- that this is work of a specific kind which will probably be of a temporary nature for many of them.
- that more specialised training will have to be followed in due course for special aspects of police work.
- that the main emphasis in non-specialised duties is on maintaining law and order in general, peace-keeping and help and assistance.
- that in the matter of combating crime the police officer's most important duty is crime prevention, and that it is illusory to think the police can and must investigate everything.
- that the patrol officer is the principal and, often the only link between the police service and the public, and hence his actions largely govern relations between the police and the public.

6.2.2 Changes in the curriculum

Many of the statements concerning primary training revealed a certain dissatisfaction with the highly theoretical nature of this course, which is after all regarded first and foremost as occupational training.

This discrepancy between theory and practical training may thus be regarded as constituting the background to the research team's recommendations.

Theoretical tuition

As already stated, the theory components of the curriculum are felt to be the most difficult part of the course. Moreover, it is thought to contain too much unnecessary ballast in such subjects as civics, civil law and special

Acts. This means in fact that while the importance and usefulness of subjects such as criminal law, criminal procedure, traffic legislation and criminal investigation methods are clearly recognised, this is not the case with those other parts of the course.

In a service possessing such extensive powers to intervene in people's lives, if need be by force, it must be assumed that knowledge of the way the state functions, of constitutional rights and of elements of civil law is absolutely indispensable. Tuition in the origins and the vital importance of every citizen's constitutional rights is an indisputable training requirement. This being the case, various parts of the curriculum cannot be indiscriminately scrapped on the basis of the research findings; instead, a special point should be made of relating these subjects to the position of 'authority' occupied by the police. At the same time, however, the question of whether too much time and attention are devoted to some parts of the course could be examined with a view to cutting them back while leaving the more fundamental aspects intact.

Another problem is tuition in special Acts. It seems to us that the demands made on the trainee in this field are not always relevant to his future duties. It may be possible to design a small, handy reference manual for a number of these Acts - perhaps illustrated - which the police officer will always have available. After all, there is no need to memorize every detail of police work: the important thing is to have the necessary background information to hand.

This would seem to be an important task for a working party. Following the example of an existing committee consisting of training school instructors, such a working party would

scrutinise the training programme for elements that could be eliminated or taught in a different way. Furthermore, it could then be decided to what extent the curriculum for traffic law and road safety in general could be amplified, this being the one area in which young police officers in the service, their supervisors and squad commanders all reported deficiencies.

It should be stressed once again that the conclusions in this field must be related to the view of the function and task of the uniform branch which the policy-makers wish to present.

Social education

Notions of what the police do and what they ought to do are probably nowhere so much in evidence as when people talk about the police trainee's personal and social education. The controversy about the nature and extent of help and assistance plays a special part here.

Without expressing any opinion about this controversy, we would again stress the fact that the officer on patrol almost invariably forms the first link between a particular form of official intervention and the citizen. This applies both to maintenance of law and order and to help and assistance. We have already discussed the problems in this area in the previous section. We now propose to outline a few of the problem situations with which the police officer may have to cope, using them as a basis for one or two suggestions on how the educational part of the course might be planned.

One of these problems is controlling crowds of people, as in demonstrations or in the case of football vandalism. The

problem here is what action police officers should take with groups of people who are not always well disposed towards them. There is no need to dwell on this point because the Mobile Squad training was organised to prepare policemen to deal with precisely this type of situation.

In addition, the police officer is repeatedly confronted with members of specific, recognisable problem groups. They may be ethnic minority groups, or perhaps alcoholics or drug addicts.

In our opinion, this part of the course should be divided into two parts. Firstly, a certain amount of background knowledge should be presented - in the form of lectures by outsiders - on, for example, cultural differences, alcoholism or the nature of the drugs problem. Secondly, practical tuition is needed in how to approach certain groups or individuals: control of situations and conflicts, the use of force, crisis intervention and referral. This can best be done through role-playing techniques, perhaps with the aid of professional actors.

Lastly, the officer on patrol must be able to cope with individual crisis situations and conflicts where there may be a threat of violence, i.e. provide 'psychosocial assistance'. Here again the course should provide a knowledge of backgrounds to family conflicts, child battering, wife beating, suicide and so on. And, of course, police officers should be taught how to approach these situations, how to mediate, how violence might be prevented, to what organisations people should be referred. Background knowledge should be provided above all in a matter-of-fact, non-moralising fashion. The primary objective is not so much that the trainee policeman should 'understand' individuals, groups and situations, as that he should be able to influence the situation in the right way.

In other words, the limited amount of time available makes it rather pointless to concentrate primarily on changing the trainee's attitudes; the aim should be to mould his conduct as a representative of the police service by teaching him to recognise and handle his own prejudices. This is not meant cynically: studies - especially in the USA - have shown how difficult it is to change people's attitudes and stereotyped ideas, while it has been demonstrated that it is quite possible to influence police officer's professional conduct.¹⁾

The community is after all concerned primarily with the policeman's conduct and not with his personal opinions, which in turn implies a certain amount of control on the part of the police forces. Since behavioural training in the course is not enough in itself, consideration could be given to the idea of further training within the force. Incorporating a longer practical work period in the course might be conducive to closer cooperation between forces and training schools in this respect. Such in-service training could also play an important part in learning a proper approach to people and acquiring interaction skills. Prior to the work period, it would be enough to provide some basic practical knowledge, while the experience gained could be put to good use as post-work period teaching material. Problem situations could afterwards be acted by the trainees who had experienced them, and corrections and alternative approaches could be discussed. The use of video equipment is strongly recommended because it enables the trainee to observe and correct his own actions.

A training programme geared to a practical work period is

1) A.J. Reiss and D.J. Black. Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas. Vol. II. Presid. Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1965.

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much more likely to yield a better return than training people to swim on dry land.

The planning of effective training programmes will, in our view, require the help of behavioural scientists skilled in training methods and influencing behaviour.

Here, too, the aid of the working party on social education consisting of representatives of the training schools and the Department, could be enlisted. It is studying three aspects of the subject, viz. the process of the police officer's awareness of his potentialities and limitations, the young policeman in interaction with others, and the young policeman in the community.

6.2.3 Recommendations concerning the organisation of the training course

In addition to effecting changes in the syllabus, attention could also be given to adjusting the way it is presented. The discrepancy between the considerable measure of independence allowed the young policeman in the service on the one hand and the residential system and compulsory studying in vogue at most schools on the other, has already been pointed out.

There is no denying that residence has certain advantages, not the least of which is a substantial saving in costs. It moreover solves the accommodation problem that would undoubtedly arise for many trainees. The question is whether this system cannot be adapted to the requirements of greater self-reliance and responsibility on the part of the trainee policeman.

There are various possibilities: the residential system could be made compulsory for, say, no longer than six months. There are probably a number of practical drawbacks to this solution. It might be better to provide the residential facilities as a kind of students hostel (the campus idea), so that the trainee is at liberty to spend his leisure time as he thinks fit.

This brings us to the question of compulsory studying. Here again, perhaps it could be abolished altogether, or after some time. In order to give the student a constant feed-back regarding his progress, fairly frequent tests could be introduced instead. One of the schools taking part in the investigation has been experimenting for some time with a multiple-choice test conducted regularly (every six weeks). The great advantage of such a system is that students constantly receive an objective feed-back on the progress of their studies, which thus makes demands on their sense of responsibility. They can be expected to take the initiative themselves in improving their performance or in turning to the class instructor for help if needed. An incidental advantage of separate tests is that they can lighten the burden of study. Compulsory studying is justified on the grounds of the substantial amount of material to be worked through in preparation for the examinations. Many respondents therefore advocated the introduction of intermediate examinations in certain subjects which would then not be included in the final examinations.

This might be arranged by using 'block' programmes in which trainees deal with difficult parts of the subjects in succession, ending with an intermediate examination which exempts them from the finals in these subjects. This system could incorporate teaching methods promoting an independent approach on the part of the student.

A final problem is the system of merit rating. It is not so much the rating of the academic performance that is at issue; this problem could be solved to a certain extent by the introduction of objective tests. But many trainees doubt whether their instructors are really capable of evaluating their suitability for the service. A practical work period could provide the answer, for if it were of reasonable length the supervisors and instructors concerned could evaluate the trainees' performance in terms of effectiveness and conduct in the service. For evaluation of their personal characteristics, it is recommended that attention be given to the significance to be attached to specific characteristics and to the factors figuring in the selection of characteristics, as described elsewhere. The same applies to the use of profile characteristics. 'Dual' ratings - rating by the instructor and the student as well - can lead to clarification and/or improvement of the concepts employed, such as 'responsibility', the student's motivation, and the instructor/student relationship. The recommendations in this area may be summed up by the statement that although tests and merit rating are important, the student must continue to bear personal responsibility both for the results of his studies and for the way he conducts himself at the school and in his period of in-service training.

6.3 Recommendations concerning the transition from training to service

Generally speaking, the respondents were not very satisfied about the attention the schools devote to the command of practical and social skills. This applies mainly to practical police work, the use of the truncheon and firearms, qualifying for a driving licence, typing and drawing up reports on incidents during patrol duties. Their comparative dissatisfaction should be viewed in the light of the lacunae

which become evident when the trainee is introduced to police duties. This is particularly obvious as regards the driving licence, typing and the use of preprinted forms; but less obvious as regards the use of force and practical police work.

For the control of situations and the use of force there is the mobile squad training course, while the schools have spared no effort to make instruction in practical policing as graphic as possible. Although the actual reality of the service is exceedingly difficult to convey in teaching situations, they try to do this with the aid of role-playing techniques. A major object here is to make clear the exact extent of the police officer's powers and to teach the trainees to take action 'according to the rules'.

Role-playing is one of the best methods of imparting certain basic skills to the student, as an introduction to what he will subsequently learn in the service. Once he is on the force, the young police officer will forget some things and learn others. From the educational point of view, however, it is a very great pity that he cannot transmit his initial experience in practice to the school, and hence cannot benefit from a useful feed-back and corrections.

In order to eliminate the principal drawbacks, the only partial simulation of practical conditions and the lack of a corrective feed-back, it is recommended that a practical work period be incorporated in the training course. An initial training period focused mainly on theoretical knowledge and the acquisition of some basic skills could be followed by a practical period lasting from three to six months. During this latter period the student - as

is the case with students at the Netherlands Police Academy - should be given (possibly limited) criminal investigation authority so that he can really take part in the work and not be a mere bystander. He would then return to the training school for a time, thus allowing the school to gear tuition to the student's experience, to deal with any problems that may have arisen and to make any adjustments required in specific group-dynamic processes. As their practical experience will have made trainees more aware of the specific problems of the police service, this second training period is likely to be more effective than the subject of police procedure and practice as it is taught at present.

This recommendation is of course easier to make than to implement. The forces in particular might have quite a few objections to such a scheme on the grounds of the organisation and manpower it would require. We would therefore make a further suggestion. Most forces and also the National Police have some form of supervision. This varies both in duration and extent but the larger forces in particular have built up a system of both individual and group supervision. Some forces even act as regional centres for the smaller forces in the surrounding areas. The suggestion is to integrate this supervision system - which functions as a more or less continued form of training - more directly into the course as monitoring of the practical work period. This brings out more clearly that training and supervision together form a single overall process.

Ideally, this work period monitoring should be organised regionally, putting less pressure on the forces and facilitating better supervision from the training schools. As this solution is based on an existing system it would

probably cost less and manpower would not have to be withdrawn from the forces that are already so short of it. This would dispose of a number of possible objections, especially those likely to be voiced by the smaller forces.

In this context, attention is again drawn to the idea of setting up training and education sections in the prospective provincial forces to assume responsibility for practical work monitoring and the subsequent supervision. It would have the major advantage of incorporating an important part of police training which at present is cut off almost completely from the course into the overall framework, thus bringing training and practice into closer mutual harmony.

A few remarks on mobile squad training may be apposite here. It cannot be regarded purely and simply as training for subsequent action in a larger group as considerable emphasis is placed on working together in small teams. The latter component in fact constitutes an important part of practical training and ought not to function as a kind of appendage to the training course. If this part of mobile squad training were to be integrated with basic training as a whole, this aspect, too, would be regarded as a functional part of police duties and be embodied in the framework of requisite practical skills.

Consideration could be given to the idea of converting the aspects of mobile squad training relating specifically to extended team operations into a form of specialisation for those transferred to this branch after a few years' general experience.

6.4 Recommendations concerning entry to the police service

Problems are not confined to young police officers alone; those who fail to complete the course also have a number of difficulties to cope with. We shall therefore look at a few points connected with the recruitment and selection process. They are age, the required educational standard, sex and ethnic origin. Firstly, inadequate schooling proved to pose great problems, especially for young trainees. Older people apparently find it easier to compensate for certain deficiencies in their education by means of a sounder working method, and thus to follow the course successfully. One way of improving the situation would be to raise the required educational standard. But this solution has several drawbacks. A discrepancy could arise between the educational background and the demands made by the police duties. A consequent lack of job satisfaction could affect the performance of those duties. Moreover, the present police organisation does not make it particularly easy to move up to senior ranks, and problems might also arise in this respect. Added to this, higher educational standards would also have to be set for instructors to obviate the risk of a wide educational gap between them and their students.

Consideration might be given to setting fairly high educational requirements for younger trainees (under 21), while adopting a more flexible approach in the case of older candidates.

Another possible course would be to raise the age requirement. At present, training can start at 17, and employment in the police service at 18. The large measure of independence attaching to the duties of the patrol officer and the

problems he encounters in his contact with the public argue in favour of raising the age limit for entry to the service by one or two years. Candidates could also be required to have a certain amount of work experience or to have completed their military service. The main advantage of such a policy would be more mature and more adult policemen on patrol duties. But a disadvantage is that problems would be likely to occur in recruitment: if young people are required to have worked for some time before being eligible to join the police it could be more difficult to recruit enough candidates for the forces. The initial choice of job would already have been made and there is no guarantee that this choice would be reversed.

The advantages and disadvantages of this recommendation will need to be studied by a special working party.

Another recommendation relates to the recruitment of women for the patrol branch. Although many forces are already doing this on a small scale, the proportion of women in the uniform branch is still small. An exception is The Hague, where 15% of the operational branch are women. Little research has yet been done in the Netherlands on the position of women in the uniform branch.

A study conducted in Rotterdam in 1969 led to favourable conclusions.¹⁾ Provisional impressions from The Hague police force substantiate these conclusions,²⁾ while a study of municipal police forces showed that they were satisfied with the work of policewomen.³⁾ An American study compared the work

1) A. Goedendorp, "De integratie van de vrouw in the geunifomeerde politie", Het Tijdschrift van de Politie, No. 6, 1971.

2) P. Slikker, Een localisatie van stress-bronnen bij de geunifomeerde surveillance van de politie in de grote steden, Netherlands Institute for Preventive Medicine, Leiden, 1978.

3) P. Kruizinga, "De vrouwelijke ambtenaar sinds 1968" in Contact, 1978.

of 86 policewomen on patrol with that of 86 patrolmen.¹⁾

One of the most important findings in this study is that policewomen act less aggressively than their male colleagues and also provoke less aggression from the public. On average, their intervention was found to give greater satisfaction. The American research workers posit that a larger proportion of policewomen will result in more attention being given to prevention of violence and means of controlling violent situations without resorting to force.

It would thus seem that policewomen can help to improve relations between the police and the public. In view of the limited nature of Dutch experience in this field, more evaluative research is indicated.

The final recommendation relates to police recruitment amongst ethnic minority groups. In the years ahead the community will have to contend with growing problems from the children of migrant workers ('second generation problems') and with other minority groups who - as things look at the moment - will settle permanently in the Netherlands. Though this is first and foremost a social and economic problem, the police will frequently be confronted with it as the most readily recognisable representatives of authority. Serious thought must be given to this problem, especially in the big cities.

Owing to the comparatively recent nature of this problem and the very small number of non-white police officers in the Dutch forces, no research has yet been conducted into their effectiveness with minority groups. There has, however, been extensive research on this subject in the USA. For instance, a study conducted by a national research

¹⁾ P.H. Bloch and D. Anderson, Policewomen on Patrol, Police Foundation, 1974.

committee revealed that black patrolmen did not approach people of their own culture in the same stereotyped way as their white colleagues. Moreover, they generated less hostility, and also met with less hostility from the public. They had more appreciation of community activities, more contact with members of the local community and greater understanding of neighbourhood problems.¹⁾

We would add to this that with a better knowledge of the community culture, behaviour readily regarded by outsiders as abnormal can be put in a truer setting and will thus lead to fewer extreme reactions. Our conclusion is, therefore, that the recruitment of members of minority groups into the police would seem to be of obvious importance. Perhaps some experiments could be made in this area before long.

6.5 Framework for a modified training course

What might a 'new style' training course look like? The first important element is the duration of the course. It has been urged in the past that it be made considerably longer. There are a number of objections to this however. One is that primary training in the Netherlands is already longer than in most other countries. Furthermore, lengthening it would probably cost a lot of money. The next objection is that this is essentially training for a job, and extending just the training, more or less theoretical as it is, cannot be recommended.

In very general terms, in fact, we should abandon the idea of a single all-round, completed training course at the beginning of the policeman's career, deemed to equip him to fend for himself for the rest of his working life.

1) A. Campbell and H. Schuman, Police in the Ghetto, The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, U.S. Govern. Printing Office, 1968.

The idea is gaining ground in many sectors of society that our post-industrial and rapidly changing world must move towards constant supplementary and refresher training, in other words towards 'éducation permanente'. This boils down to a continuous process with a constant interchange between supplementary training aspects and work on the job. And this is precisely the formula we are in favour of in primary police training. We are in no way claiming that this is an entirely new approach. There is already a pronounced tendency in this direction in police circles, as evidenced by the activities at the higher training schools and the study centre for senior police officers. There are courses and conferences on special aspects of police work and as preparation for a number of work levels which can mostly be followed on a voluntary basis.

Primary training could be organised as follows:

1. Mainly theoretical basic training culminating in intermediate examinations giving exemption from further examinations in the relevant subjects. In addition, some basic skills would have to be learnt to enable trainees to look forward to actual service with a measure of confidence. This first phase could take, say, nine months. This is a tentative proposal, however, that would have to be elaborated by a working party.
2. A practical work period in which the trainee is endowed with limited authority and works under the supervision of a regional monitoring team. The training school would continue to be responsible for trainees during the practical work period, which procedure would intensify contact between the instructors and the service. The fact that he has - limited - duties to perform will ensure that his presence is not regarded solely as a burden. This phase could take three to six months.

3. A feed-back and finalisation phase focused on practical skills only.

Part of the mobile squad training could take place in this phase, together with training geared strictly to practical problems. This phase would include role-playing sessions and the use of video equipment within the framework of courses planned with the help of social scientists. This would also be an ideal opportunity for reflection on the role and task of police officers in our society, during which a variety of viewpoints could be discussed.

In our view this stage should not last too long; otherwise there could be some risk of boredom through being back at the school again. Three to six months should be sufficient, ending with some form of test. The latter seems to be an essential condition if instructors as well as trainees are to treat this phase seriously.

4. The last stage could be a simplified type of supervision, with the emphasis no longer on group supervision at a centralised location in the region, but on individual supervision for the young police officer at the local level. This would also smooth the introduction to specific local circumstances.

All in all, these changes would add approximately six months to the duration of the course.

In conclusion, there may be some difference of opinion about the task of the police which requires comment. The course outlined above is a general training course, concentrating in the first instance on the practical aspects of work in the uniform branch. If, however, it should be thought desirable to move on to special aspects sooner than is at

present the case, compulsory service in the uniform branch could be shortened and a new stage added to the end of this period, as suggested, to allow for specialisation.

Different degrees of importance can be attached to the three main police tasks. The above scheme allows more scope for training in approaching the public, handling conflicts and acquiring interaction skills than exists at present. A point which should be noted, however, is that these skills are invaluable not only in situations where help and assistance are given, but are equally indispensable in maintaining law and order and in crime investigation. If the police are to carry out these last two tasks properly they will have to achieve a reasonable level of cooperation with the Dutch public, which would seem to necessitate a course of training taking this fully into account.

Lastly, we may be reproached for basing our recommendations so heavily on practical requirements. The main reason for this, however, is that irrespective of the structure, organisational form or emphasis placed on various duties, there has been comparatively little variation in the course of the years in what a community expects of its police¹⁾, viz. public order and security and the protection of persons and property when these are threatened. The primary training is intended first and foremost to create the fundamental conditions for the accomplishment of this comprehensive task.

1) Jack E. Whitehouse, "Historical Perspectives on the Police Community Service Function" in Journal of Police Science and Administration, 10/7, No. 1 1973.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The curriculum

- Improvement of the image of the service by:
 - (a) the instructors placing greater emphasis on the work of the general or patrol branch (aimed primarily at maintenance of law and order, crime prevention and police aid and assistance);
 - (b) a longer practical work period.
- Improvement of the syllabus by:
 - (a) reducing the theoretical subjects; summarising part of this (for instance special Acts) in a small, practical reference manual;
 - (b) providing background knowledge of social problems and specific problem groups;
 - (c) teaching police practice and influencing police conduct with the aid of role-playing techniques.

Organisation of the training course

- (a) modification of the residential system and the system of compulsory study by apportioning greater responsibility to the trainees;
- (b) introduction of a system of frequent tests on particular subjects;
- (c) introduction of a system of intermediate examinations giving exemption from further examinations in the relevant subjects;
- (d) introduction of some form of test for general educational aspects and conduct as a police officer.

Transition from training to service

- (a) introduction to police practice through frequent use of role-playing techniques;
- (b) introduction of a practical work period lasting three to six months, with law enforcement powers for the trainees;
- (c) introduction of a final stage of three to six months at the schools during which experience gained in the practical work period can be integrated more closely with theoretical knowledge;
- (d) supervision of the young police officer in the initial stages of his work on the force.

Entry to the police service

- (a) stricter educational requirements for candidates under the age of 21;
- (b) a possible raising of the minimum age for entry to 18, and of the maximum age;
- (c) recruitment of more women for the uniform branch.

END