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**basic police training
and police performance
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BASIC POLICE TRAINING AND POLICE PERFORMANCE
IN THE NETHERLANDS

Some Preliminary Findings of an Evaluation
Study on Police Training

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BASIC POLICE TRAINING AND POLICE PERFORMANCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

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I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1. Introduction

The role of the police in a democratic society is defined by many sources. Role definitions and the setting of priorities of tasks differ among such groups as police administrators, judicial authorities, police circles, and the general public.

The Dutch Police Act of 1957 (Article 28) states: "It is the duty of the police, in subordination to the competent authorities and in accordance with the prevailing rules of the law, to maintain law and order and to render assistance to those in need".

It appears then that the Dutch law recognizes essentially 3 functions:

1. to combat and prevent criminality
2. to maintain public order
3. to render assistance.

Judicial authorities tend to emphasize the first function, police administrators stress the second, and the population increasingly turns to the police for the third function.

Moreover social change in the last two decades has had a considerable impact on role definition and task fulfillment of the police.

Greater prosperity since the fifties has occurred simultaneously with rising property crime rates. Industrialization, greater geographical mobility, and rapid urbanization have led to the processes of social disintegration and to more youth crime.

Emancipation and democratization movements have stressed the rights of individuals as opposed to those of the authorities. Police discretion and police behavior with respect to suspects, juveniles, and even victims is increasingly scrutinized and criticized. Finally, it should be noted that even the Netherlands have their problem of ethnic minorities. Aside from some 200,000 foreigners, mostly migrant workers from the mediterranean countries, the country houses sizable groups of coloured people from its former colonies. All these changes have made police performance more difficult. Although the police respond to their problems with more professionalization and more technical perfection, there is obvious dissatisfaction both within police circles and among the general

population with respect to task fulfillment. Such dissatisfaction includes the fields of crime solving, public order maintenance and police community relations.

Some of the dissatisfaction has crystallized in criticism in the area of training. It is generally felt that, if the police do not perform according to expected standards it is due to inadequate training. As a result of such criticism, the Dutch Department of Justice has charged its Research Center to conduct an evaluation study focusing on the basic training of police officers.

The main objective of the study is to answer the question whether the basic police training program prepares the uniformed police officer adequately for his job.

In order to answer this question, one must of course address to other related questions, such as:

- what are the realities of actual police work?
 - what definition do we apply to the role of the police?
 - what constitutes the psychological make-up of a "good" police officer?
- Stated in other words, what is the police officer actually doing, what do we want him to do, and what do we want him to be?

The research is a large scale study comprising:

- an observation study in different police departments to determine the amount and nature of police activities by patrolmen;
- interviews with instructors of 3 police schools, and interviews with field supervisors, who give practical training to recruits having finished the basic training program;
- interviews with recruits at the start and the end of the training period;
- interviews with recruits who voluntarily drop out of school or are sent away;
- interviews with patrolmen 6 to 8 months after their leaving the police school.

This paper presents the results of the first stage of the research, the observation study. It was designed to get a better insight in actual police work, and thus to achieve preliminary evaluation of the training curriculum.

2. The training curriculum

Holland has two types of police. The municipal police work in the larger cities (of more than 25,000 inhabitants) and serve about 8 million people. The force contains about 16,000 men. The national police, comprising some 8,000 men, covers the rural areas, policing about 5 million people.

Although both types of police forces have their own police training schools the training curriculum is the same. It is based on very specific guidelines issued by the Ministry of the Interior. Contrary to the U.S., where much is left to local and county initiative, police training in Holland is centralized. Basic training is given in 7 municipal police schools and in 3 national police schools. Higher police officials receive a 4 year college education at the Dutch police academy. There are also smaller schools for specialization in traffic, water or detective branches.

The length of training is 1 year, or 1600 hours. This is rather long compared to the U.S. where the average number of hours recruit training ranges from + 240 hours in cities of 10,000 - 25,000 inhabitants to + 480 hours in cities of over 250,000 inhabitants (1).

A requirement for admission is at least 3 or 4 years of high school education. A pilot study indicated that about 45% of the recruits had 3 to 4 years of high school, and another 23% had 5 years. Some 75% of the recruits are sons of skilled and specialized blue collar workers, and about one fifth come from the lower middle class. Somewhat less than two thirds are aged 17 to 20 years. One third are 21 to 25 years old, and only 6% are older than 25 years of age.

All professional training has at least three broad aims:

1. to transmit a certain amount of professional knowledge;
2. to learn a number of practical skills;
3. to develop certain values and attitudes with respect to the profession itself as well as to its relation to the larger society.

These aims have been outlined by one of the National Police schools, which states that the recruit should learn

- with respect to professional knowledge:

- to recognize the most frequently occurring infractions of the law as punishable offences;
- to attain legal competence and learn some elementary investigative procedures.

- with respect to practical skills:
 - to make grammatically and technically correct reports of detected accidents and offenses;
 - to attain some insight in the corrective contacts and interactions between police and citizens;
 - to achieve physical conditioning, necessary for self confidence and physical resilience.
- with respect to values and attitudes:
 - to know his place and function in society in general, and in the official police world in particular;
 - to understand important social processes and changes related to his profession;
 - to discern generally condemned infringements of norms, from those norms that range between good and wrong, between tolerable and intolerable to our present sense of justice;
 - to know himself and to be conscious of his position in specific professional situations.

Summarizing these statements the following points are stressed: knowledge of the penal law and of extent and limits of police power; speaking and writing abilities and a good physical condition; interaction skills in police citizen encounters; knowledge of society and its problems; recognition of different values and norm systems in our pluriform society. The last points implicitly refer to police discretionary power which should be governed by discernment and sensitivity to divergent social norms. One important question is of course whether the training curriculum corresponds to the stated objectives. If the objectives reflect a conscious effort to state the role of the police officer in present society, one would expect this to be expressed in the training program. Another question is whether the training program is sufficiently anchored in the realities of today's police work. The following table shows the present curriculum as it has been developed by the Ministry of the Interior. The guidelines are not compulsory, and the schools can introduce modifications to the program. Some schools do so, but the changes made are not extensive.

Table A. Present training curriculum of police recruits: Week timetable				
	Dutch Police (40 weeks)		New York City Police (2) (13 weeks)	
	hours	%	hours	%
Criminal law	3		2.8	
Criminal procedure	2			
Constitutional law + Civil law	2	33.5	0.6	20.0
Traffic Procedures	3		1	
Special laws (hunting, fishing, arms, shops act)				
Police Organization, rules + regulation	1		1.6	
Practical Police procedures (patrol, summon, arrests)	5		8.3	
Arms + firearms training	2		4	
Drill + parade practising	1	56.5		70.0
Emergency medical services	1		1	
Driver training	1		0.6	
Physical training	5		14	
Language	3		0.2	
Reports, records	5			
Social problems + personality development	4	10.0	4	10.0
	40	100.0%	40	100.0%

This table compares the Dutch training program to the program of the New York City Police (2), with respect to average number of hours per week devoted to different subjects. Although the comparison is very much an approximation, some striking differences do appear. The Dutch training program is much more theoretical than the New York curriculum. Theoretical knowledge covers one third of training time. Practical training constitutes more than half of the Dutch program but 70% of the New York program. Much more time is given in New York to firearms training and even more to physical training. Both curricula devote only 10% of their hours to the social problems with which the police officer will most certainly be confronted.

In the Netherlands practically all the courses are given by two teachers attached to a specific class. These teachers are ex policemen from the middle ranks, most of whom left the service after 10 to 15 years. Until recently they did not receive any specialized teaching education, but the Ministry of the Interior has initiated introductory courses on their behalf. Practical training consists mainly of role playing sessions. This does not seem to be sufficient, in as much as every recruit would only get a turn at role playing 4 to 5 times during the year. Recently some of the schools introduced a 5 day "street" practice in a police department, in the middle of the school period.

Most of the police schools are boarding schools. This means that recruits live at the school during the whole year, and only return home during the week ends. Moreover there is an obligatory study time of about 2 hours in the evening. Discipline is strict and contacts between staff and recruits are rather formal. Recruits wear police uniforms from the first day they enter the school. All these procedures serve obvious socialization aims. Much attention is given to group solidarity and group cohesion. Recruits learn to see themselves as belonging to a very special group, standing apart from the rest of society and, in difficult times, forced to rely completely on their colleagues. Conscious of the often negative image of the police among the general public, they learn to close ranks and never to let each other down.*)

Reviewing the stated objective; and content of the training program, one can formulate the following hypotheses with respect to the way the training prepares the recruit for his job as a police officer:

- the training appears to be very theoretical;
- there is not enough practical training; role playing is too limited;
- there seems to be a contradiction between the desirability of getting police officers who can operate in a responsible, autonomous and self initiative manner and the emphasis the training puts on discipline, obedience and respect for hierarchy;
- theoretical and concrete guidelines with respect tot the use of discretionary power are insufficient;
- although the necessity of introduction to social change and social problems is stressed, very little attention is given to these subjects;

*) The importance of socialization of "rookies" by their first few months of policing "on the street" should also be noted in this respect.

- police community relations and interaction skills are hardly touched. An initial testing of the accuracy of these hypotheses was undertaken in an on site observation study and through a number of open interviews with police officers.

3. The research-design

For two weeks, police performance was observed in one large city, one middle sized city and two rural sub districts. In the two cities, day and night shifts were observed, in the rural sub districts, night shifts were not included.

In this way 91 complete day and night shifts were covered by 24 observers: 63 shifts in the cities, 28 in the rural areas.

The observers used two different observation sheets. All activities of police officers, both on patrol and the station - and however trivial they seemed - were noted on a special diary sheet. But all incidents of some importance involving citizens, were noted on standardized observation forms. In this way we hoped to get a better understanding of the way the police spend their working hours.

The observation covered 42,700 minutes of 711½ hours, an average of 470 minutes per shift; 70 day shifts and 21 night shifts were observed. During observation, the accompanying police officers were extensively interviewed about their work satisfaction, work problems and former training.

II. RESULTS OF THE OBSERVATION STUDY

1. How is working time organized?

The observers were attached to 184 police officers who operated mostly in pairs. Among them were 14 women, all operating in the large city where they do exactly the same work as their male colleagues. Mean age of officers is lowest in the large city (21 years) and highest in the middle sized one (27 years), with the rural district in between ($24\frac{1}{2}$ years).

Most of them were just police officers. The 122 men serving in the cities include 8 (6.5%) officers 1st class (a grade that comes automatically after 5 years of service), and 2 sergeants. Of the 62 patrol men in the rural district, there were 15 (24%) officers 1st class, and 6 (9.5%) sergeants. Of course, these ranks are related to years of service: mean years of service in the cities is $2\frac{3}{4}$ years, in the rural district 5 years.

Police officers do not continuously find themselves on the streets (see annex table 1). On an 8 hour shift, officers stay on the average 3 hours at the station and thus spend about 61% of their time on patrol. But this varies by type of shift: at night the mean length of actual patrol time is 25 minutes longer than during the day time.

There is somewhat more patrolling in the rural sub districts. The reason for this is that sub district stations close down in the evening and the police are then directed by the main station of the district by radio. Most of the patrolling is done by police car, but there is also some patrolling by bike, on foot and even by boat. One would expect some differences between urban and rural areas (see table 2): there is much more bike and foot patrol in the city than in rural areas. Since the rural police covers a larger area, most of patrolling is done by car. More than a third of working time is spent at the station (see table 3). Half of it is devoted to diverse administrative work; filling out reports, answering the telephone, receiving citizens, dispatching messages. However 45 % of these working hours is spent at coffee drinking and talking with colleagues. Mean length of time spent on coffee drinking and talking is 83 minutes per shift. In this respect, there is no difference between city and rural area. Of course this "dead time" can

be functional in reducing stress, sharing technical information, etc. But there are some other differences concerning types of station house activity. In the city, administrative services are specialized: the officer gets special hours for porter duty or for report writing. In the country most of the time the officer on duty has to do everything at the same time: receive citizens, write his reports, answer the telephone, listen to the radio and dispatch messages (see table 4). This situation underlines a great difference in task fulfillment between city police and rural police; because of less specialization in the rural police, there is less dividing up of tasks, and more allround performance. This leads to more autonomy and independent task fulfillment for the rural police.

2. Incidents observed

During the observation time we observed a total of 1290 incidents, which took about 9,400 minutes. Time spent on incidents is thus 103 minutes per shift and the mean length of time per incident was 7 minutes. In fact, most incidents did not take more than 3 to 5 minutes; traffic accidents and cases of assistance took longer. If a total of 156,5 hours were spent on incidents, nearly twice as much - 278 hours - was spent on so called "preventive patrol". This means that on the average 185 minutes per shift, patrol men are driving around, taking no other action.

The following table shows the distribution of incidents over several categories.

Table B. Total of incidents observed during 711 hours.		
	Abs.	%
Traffic control + traffic infractions	649	50.0
Traffic offenses + accidents	45	3.5
Control of special laws	78	6.0
Offenses (penal code)	58	4.5
Activities ordered by station (information gathering; warrants delivered)	53	4.5
Responding to dangerous/suspect situation	192	15.0
Citizen asking for information	70	5.5
Citizen asking for assistance	141	11.0
	1276 ^{*)}	100.0

It appears that more than half of the observed incidents are related to traffic control. Special law control implies, among others, hunting, fishing, arms and shop closing regulations. A sizeable amount of activities concern the responding to dangerous and/or suspect situations: this includes inadequate traffic signals, dead animals on the road, and also stopping suspect cars or persons. The police were called for assistance and information in 16.5 % of cases. A striking fact is that only 4,5% of all incidents (5.75 % if one adds traffic offences) had anything to do with criminal behavior. While only 26.5 % of incidents were originated by radio dispatching, two third of incidents were initiated by the patrol officers themselves. Since most criminality is not displayed in public

*) 14 heterogeneous incidents could not be classified.

places, officers simply do not observe much crime. On the other hand many crimes reported by citizens are immediately handed over to the detective branch, and the uniformed branch does not deal further with them. An earlier analysis of calls for service in the larger city indicated that callers were referred to other police services in 8 % of calls related to aggressive acts, and in 43 % of calls about thefts (3). Again there are differing emphases in city and rural area (see table 5). The mean number of traffic control and infraction incidents is higher in the city than in the country, these officers also deal with twice as many suspect situations. It also seems that in the city more citizens ask for information or assistance. But the rural police initiate more special law controls (fishing, hunting, etc.) and enter in more contacts with the population by gathering information and delivering documents or warrants.

There are also some differences between shifts: traffic control problems decline at night, 70 % of known offenses are dealt with in the evening or night, and 48.5 % of "suspect situations" occur in the night shift. Of course while information is mostly sought in the day time, 42.3 % of calls for assistance occur at night.

Related to the type of incident is the way they are solved.

The following table gives some information in this area. Note that in 30 cases (2.5 %) the police officer was dispatched by radio, but when arriving on the scene did not find any trace of the event to which he was dispatched.

TABLE C. Number of ways incidents are solved		
	Abs.	%
Number of O.K.'s after control (nothing is found)	383	31.0
Warnings or orders	336	27.5
Written statements taken	108	9.0
Tickets	101	8.0
Arrests made	51	4.0
Information obtained	52	4.0
Other service units called (fire dept.; hospital, etc.)	32	2.5
Assistance given	111	9.0
Information given	60	5.0
	1234	100.0

Again it appears that nearly 60 % of all incident solving has to do with traffic control or minor infractions. In 9 % of the cases, a written statement is made but it is not known how many of these statements will be reported to the prosecutor for further action.

In accordance with the little amount of criminality of which patrol men are aware, few arrests are made. In 16.5 % of cases, the police give assistance or information.

Comparing the city and rural areas (see table 6), one sees that there is more controlling and warning in the city than in the rural sub districts; the city police make more arrests, whereas the rural police seem to spend more time at collecting information, delivering documents, and giving assistance to the population. With respect to type of shift, it appears that most warning, orders, tickets and information are issued in day time, whereas many controls (in response to "suspect" situations) as well as most arrests (51 %) are made at night.

Summarizing this section we can say the following:

- 39 % of working time is spent at the station
- the main station activities are administration, talking with colleagues and coffee drinking
- 61 % of working time is spent on patrol, of which about one third is on incidents, and two third is on preventive patrol
- most incidents have to do with traffic control
- in about one fifth of cases citizens want some form of assistance from the police
- only 5.5 % of all incidents are crime related
- although on the average more people ask for information or assistance in the city than in the country, rural police seem to devote more activity to rendering assistance than city police do.

3. Police and citizens

As stated before, all incidents of some length of time and/or involving citizens were recorded on special information forms. In this way 660 forms were completed. The overall distribution of type of incident and type of incident solving was about the same as in the case of the total number of incidents that occurred.

Mean length of time per incident has doubled: 14 minutes instead of 7 minutes. However, 80 % of all incidents took less than 14 minutes. A better measure in this case, the median, gives 5 minutes per incident, which is closer to reality.

Police activity is related to general activity in the community. Incidents show peaks at specific hours: 12.00 a.m. - 13.00 p.m., 14.00 h - 16.00 h., 17.00 h. - 18.00 h. and 23.00 h. - 24.00 h. The solving of incidents is of course related to the type of incidents. In half of the cases of traffic control and infractions the police only gave a warning, in 28.5% of cases a note or ticket was written; in two thirds of traffic accidents or traffic offences, a written report was made; only one third of offenses led to an arrest, in 24 % of cases a warning seemed enough; many "suspect situations" are not that suspect after investigation: in more than half of the cases nothing was found; when information was requested, the police responded in 90,5 % of cases, but when assistance was asked the police reacted by concrete help (45 % of cases), by a warning (14 %), an arrest (15 %) or by calling another service (11 %).

Selected incidents involved 1493 persons, an average of 2 per incident. This includes persons providing information or asking for help, witnesses, victims and by-standers. Out of this total we selected those persons (two at most) who were most closely involved in the incident (see table 7). Their personal characteristics as well as behavior were recorded in relation to behavior of police officers.*)

An analysis was made of the relationship between behavior of police officers and formal role of citizen (victim, witness, suspect, etc.) but the findings were not significant. However, the personal characteristics of involved citizens are related both to type and solving of incidents. Thus of the traffic infractions, more than half were committed by young people and minors; in only one third were adults involved. Request for information and assistance are most frequently made by adult women. Relatively more foreigners than Dutch people ask for information and are

*) behavior of citizens and police officers was recorded by semantic differentials: calm - excited, impersonal - moralizing, etc.

involved in traffic accidents. Coloured people, long haired persons and persons scored as "untidy" are significantly more often involved in "suspect situations". Though untidy persons seem to be more frequently detected for offenses, this is not the case for coloured people. A striking fact in this respect is that there are hardly more arrests made among coloured than among white persons, but they are more often stopped for control, and then nothing is found. This seems to indicate that the police pay selective attention to coloured people in general. This finding has special significance in view of the fact that more "untidy" and long haired persons are arrested than are short haired and tidy persons (annex, table 8 and 9).

Before looking at behavior of police officers let us look first at behavior of persons involved related to their personal characteristics (see table 10). In their interactions with the police, women tend to be more deferential and concerned than men, as do foreigners. But young people (less than age 21) are more excited and more insolent than adults. As table 10 shows long haired, coloured and "untidy" persons score higher on hostile and aggressive behavior. Long haired and "untidy" persons - who are often young people - also behave in a more insolent manner.

But what about the police? There are some interesting differences in behavior (see table 11). Note that the police behave very politely and non aggressively with women and foreigners. To young people - which includes a certain amount of children - they often behave in a more moralizing and authoritarian manner. With respect to long haired, coloured and untidy persons, more belittling and authoritarian behavior was recorded. Moreover, coloured people are treated in a more unkind and moralizing way. Our results suggest that racial prejudice shows in the behavior of police officers.

However, behavior of citizens and police behavior are not unrelated, as Reiss has also shown (4). Therefore we computed correlations between the respective behavior items and, as one might expect, correlations are high (see table 12). Impolite, hostile and aggressive behavior on the side of citizens correlates highly with belittling, authoritarian and aggressive behavior on the side of police officers. Of course, we cannot say who initiates the behavior. Most likely the process of action and reaction starts immediately after the first contacts are established. However, the question is not whether the police react in a negative way on negative behavior of citizens. The point is

that police should be trained for greater self control and restraint in the behavior. Seen in this light, correlations between aggressive police behavior and negative or provocative citizen behavior are rather revealing.

But behavior of officers also varies with type of incident and settling of incidents. When the police have to handle traffic infractions, offences, "suspect" situations, or calls for assistance, they tend to be more moralizing and authoritarian. In the case of offenses and "suspect" situations, their behavior is more belittling and aggressive as well. Moralizing, authoritarian and aggressive behavior likewise are seen in cases where warnings or orders are given, and especially when arrests are made.

Finally we tried to determine if police officers interpreted their legal competencies too widely by searching persons and cars without asking for permission, pressing people with suggestive questions, or using unwarranted violence. This appeared to happen in 6.5 % of all incidents. More specifically we observed such behavior in 8 % of special law-control (arms) and in 20 % of "suspect" situations. Behavior observed consisted mainly of searching persons for arms, and searching cars for arms or drugs. Note that "suspect" situations occurred mostly at night. During certain hours of the night the police tend to consider every moving person or car as "suspect". But we must conclude that we did not observe any serious abuse of power, nor any excessive use of force.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Before discussing the results let us summarize the principal findings of this research.

- The uniformed police spend about two thirds of their working time on patrol and one third at the station.
- About one third of total patrol time is devoted to incidents, and two thirds to "preventive" patrol;
- More than half of all incidents have to do with traffic control, infractions, and accidents;
- Ranking second in frequency, about one fifth on the incidents involve requests for assistance and information;
- In rural areas, the police have more contacts with the general population and render more assistance to citizens in contrast to the city;
- Only 5 % of all incidents were crime related;
- Long haired, coloured and "untidy" persons tend to behave towards the police in a more impolite, indifferent, hostile and aggressive manner than short haired, white and tidy persons;
The police show more belittling and authoritarian behavior towards long haired, coloured and "untidy" persons;
- However, it must be stressed that behavior of citizens and police officers is highly correlated;
- Evidence of undue abuses of power were rarely found.

The first conclusion one can make is that the overall task of the uniformed police is one of order maintenance in its broadest sense, rather than crime fighting. This conclusion was stressed by other researchers in the field (5). Indeed as one author put it: "..... order maintenance becomes the *raison d'être* of the police, while law enforcement and social work are the means to effect this purpose" (6). It is the responsibility of the police to see that life in the streets, in public places and even in private goes on smoothly. The patrol man himself can only react to what he sees in the streets and in public places. As far as private places are concerned he responds to calls from the public. And it is a striking fact that calls for assistance in all sorts of conflict situations form an important aspect of police work. The crime fighting image of patrol police work is a myth, but it attaches status to crime related activities. The assistance function is not socially rewarded and thus mostly not acknowledged nor appreciated.

Two elements reinforce this lack of appreciation for rendering assistance. First, in most of the cities and in many rural sub districts, special police officers are assigned and set apart for this kind of job. As a result the other police officers tend to steer clear from this type of work, and relegate it quickly to the specialized officer. The second element is lack of training. There is an unmistakable resistance and shrinking from interference in people's intimacy and problems.

The research results, organizational aspects as well as interviews with police officers, indicate that rural police, due to better integration in the community they serve and to less task specialization, differ in essential aspects from the city police. They have much more contacts with the population, know them better, and are thus in a better position to solve local conflicts. But this also leads to a better informal social control and more crime prevention.

Finally rural police have more autonomy, they organize their work as they see fit. This obviously leads to more sense of personal responsibility, involvement in police work, and more job satisfaction. Concerning police behavior, it appears that prejudice with respect to specific groups of citizens clearly shows in the way these groups are approached. Quite probably, police officers are not more prejudiced than the general Dutch population. But although it is difficult to change people's prejudices, police training should at least insist that behavior be as neutral as possible. Results indicate that basic training is inadequate with respect to this aspect.

More generally, current training in the way police should approach and treat people and solve conflict situations, seems insufficient. It is our position that many problems in police/citizen interactions stem from lack of knowledge and insight, and fear or being ridiculed. This might very well be the reason for the police being so over-sensitive to the respect people pay them, and their over-reacting to negative behavior.

With respect to the finding that specific types of incidents are dealt with in a great variety of ways one can only repeat that the discretionary power of the police is considerable. Another research project of our center indicated that seriousness of offense plays an important role in the policeman's decision of what action to take (7). Even so, and related to what we found with respect to police behavior, results show that in their everyday work the police have in fact much liberty and autonomy and can make a number of immediate

decisions that are not later reviewed.

What implications do these preliminary results have for the basic training program?

Referring to our results, it can safely be said that there is indeed not enough practical training. The training should devote more attention to interaction skills and to improve police/citizen relations. Moreover training should give more background information and more insight in processes of social change and ethnic minority problems. Linked to this, the young recruit should learn to be conscious of why and how he behaves as he does. This consciousness, together with training in interaction skills, should reduce tensions between the police and minority groups.

With respect to police discretionary power, it seems unwise to put too much emphasis on discipline, obedience and respect for hierarchy in the training situation, because in most practical conflict or problem situations these are not the qualities most needed. Instead recruits should get a realistic insight into their considerable liberty in making decisions and thus into their responsibility. The training program should stress this responsibility as well as teach recruits to choose among alternatives. Guidelines for decision making should be developed and issued. Finally, it seems to us that recruits should get a more realistic view of what constitutes the essential task of the police, namely keeping order and peace. A clear appreciation of what is expected from them by the community will have two important consequences: first, it will give a better understanding of their social control function, and more specifically of informal social control, and second, it will reduce irritation caused by citizens calling for the police in conflict and crisis situations.

TABLE 1. Total time on service (in minutes).

	Abs.	%
At the station	16.546	39.0
On patrol	26.153	61.0
711 h. =	42.699	100.0

TABLE 2. Mean length of time per shift by type of patrol (in minutes).

	Car	Bike	Foot
In city	231	46	36,5
In rural area	265	7	6,5

TABLE 3. Activities at the station (in minutes).

	Abs.	%
Writing out reports/telephone/receiving people/ dispatching	8.734	53.0
Coffee drinking and talking with colleagues	7.405	45.0
Other (cleaning pistol/different meetings/control of arrested persons).	407	2.0
	16.546	100.0

TABLE 4. Mean length of time per shift devoted to station activities
(in minutes.)

	report writing	porter duty	reports/tel./porter/radio	total
City	64	28	8	105
Rural sub districts	44	4	38.5	90

TABLE 5. Mean number of incidents per shift in cities and rural sub districts

	cities	rural sub districts
Traffic control + traffic infraction	7.7	5.5
Traffic offences + accidents	0.6	0.3
Control of special laws	0.7	1.2
Offences (Penal Code)	0.8	0.4
Delivering warrants or getting information	0.2	1.5
Signalizing dangerous/suspect situation	3	1.6
Citizens asking for information	1	0.5
Citizens asking for assistance	1.6	1.3

TABLE 6. Mean number of ways incidents are solved per shift in city and rural sub districts

	cities	rural sub districts
Number of O.K.'s after control	5	2.7
Warnings or orders to citizens	4	3.3
Written statements	1.3	0.9
Tickets	1.2	0.9
Arrests made	0.7	0.2
Information obtained by police	0.2	0.2
Other service (fire dept., hospital, etc.)	0.4	0.4
Assistance given	1.1	1.4
Information given	0.7	0.6

TABLE 7. People most closely involved in selected incidents.

	Abs.	%
People giving information	66	8.7
Complainants	11	1.4
People asking for information/assistance	40	5.3
Victims	72	9.5
Suspects	530	69.6
Witnesses	42	5.5

Table 8. Type of incident by some personal characteristics of persons involved (in percentages)

	young (≤ 21 y)	adults	p-values	white	coloured	p-values	tidy	untidy	p-values	short hair	long hair	p-values
	N=209	N=525		N=687	N= 71		N=561	N=193		N=469	N=149	
Traffic control + infraction	59.5	34	p<0.001	40.5	36.5	non sign.	42.5	33	p<0.05	38	45	non sign.
Traffic offences accidents + special laws	10	17	p<0.05	16.5	8	non sign.	16.5	13.5	non sign.	19	11.5	0.10<p <0.05
Offenses (Penal law)	8	5	non sign.	5.5	7	non sign.	4.5	10	p<0.01	5.5	6	non sign.
Suspect situation	11	18.5	p<0.05	14.5	32	p<0.001	14	22	p<0.05	17	17.5	non sign.
Information + assistance	11.5	25.5	p<0.001	23	16.5	non sign.	22.5	21.5	non sign.	20.5	20	non sign.

Table 9. Type of incident solving by some personal characteristics of persons involved (in percentages)

	young <21 y.	adult	p-values	white	coloured	p-values	tidy	untidy	p-values	short hair	long hair	p-values
	N=200	N=522		N=680	N= 64		N=553	N=187		N=466	N=144	
Number O.K.'s after control	13.5	25	p<0.001	20	39	p<0.001	19	28.5	p<0.01	23.5	23	
Warning or order	46	23	p<0.001	29	30		31.5	21.5	p<0.01	27	30.5	
Report/ticket	21.5	18.5		18.5	11	non sign.	20.5	16.5		18.5	21	
Arrests made	8.5	11		9.5	15.5	non sign.	7	19	p<0.001	9	14.5	p<0.05
Assistance + information	10.5	22.5	p<0.001	23	4.5	p<0.001	22	14.5	p<0.005	22	11	p<0.01

Table 10. Behavior of involved citizens by certain personal characteristics of persons involved (in percentages)

	young <21 y.	adult	p-value	short hair	long hair	p-value	white	coloured	p-value	tidy	untidy	p-value
	N=209	N=531		N=416	N=150		N=694	N= 71		N=560	N=195	
Excited	no difference			no difference			no difference			no difference		
Insolent	21.5	13.8	p<0.05	3.6	26.7	p<0.001	no difference			10.8	32.3	
Impolite	no difference			10	23.3	p<0.01	no difference			6	25.6	p<0.001
Indifferent	no difference			no difference			17.6	22.5	p<0.01	12.7	33.3	p<0.001
Hostile	no difference			12.3	24	p<0.01	12.7	15.5	p<0.05	8.7	26.2	p<0.001
Aggressive	no difference			10.2	37.5	p<0.001	9.7	15.5	p<0.01	7.1	19.5	p<0.001

Table 11. Behavior police officers by personal characteristics of involved citizens (in percentages)

	young <21 y.	adult	p-value	short hair	long hair	p-value	white	coloured	p-value	tidy	untidy	p-value
	N=208	N=530		N=472	N=149		N=692	N= 71		N=565	N=194	
Unkind	no difference			no difference			5.9	14.1	p<0.05	no difference		
Moralizing	21.2	13.6	(p<0.10)	no difference			15.8	25.4	p<0.01	no difference		
Betittling	no difference			5.9	10.7	p<0.01	5.7	12.7	p<0.01	4.6	11.9	p<0.01
Authoritarian	28.9	11.3	p<0.01	14.6	24.8	p<0.01	15.3	23.9	(p<0.10)	14	22.2	p<0.01
Aggressive	no difference			no difference			no difference			no difference		

Table 12. Pearson correlation coefficients of behavior police officers and behavior citizens

behavior of police officer of citizens	kind - unkind	impersonal - moralizing	respectful - belittling	non authoritarian - authoritarian	non aggressive - aggressive	immediate action - hesitating
calm - excited	0.23	0.18	0.15	0.21	0.28	0.09
interested - in- different	0.44	0.31	<u>0.57</u>	<u>0.50</u>	0.46	0.34
submissive - in- solent	0.24	0.24	0.23	0.18	0.19	0.15
polite - impolite	<u>0.65</u>	0.43	<u>0.61</u>	<u>0.62</u>	<u>0.62</u>	0.32
friendly - hos- tile	<u>0.61</u>	0.31	<u>0.53</u>	<u>0.55</u>	<u>0.57</u>	0.26
non aggressive - aggressive	<u>0.55</u>	0.40	<u>0.55</u>	<u>0.57</u>	<u>0.64</u>	0.34

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