Youth and police: partners or enemies?

**Evaluation of a project
aiming to improve the relationship
between local youth and police in Gouda, the Netherlands**

Final report

Commissioned by:

**OPEN SOCIETY
FOUNDATIONS**

NOORDAenCO ONDERZOEK EN AANPAK
VAN JEUGDZAKEN
EN MAATSCHAPPELIJKE
VRAGEN

Content

Foreword

Worldwide people are engaged in discussions concerning the development of adolescents. Issues regarding this subject emerge particularly when their socialisation is malfunctioning. Is this caused by too much affection or too little? Are the conditions and facilities sufficient? Are we being too strict or perhaps not strict enough? These questions and uncertainties rise regarding all distinctive elementary socialisation environments: the family (primary socialisation environment), education (secondary socialisation environment) and the outside world of public space, friends and acquaintances (the tertiary socialisation environment).
The central issue in this study is the third socialisation environment and finding the best police approach in decreasing crime and public disorder caused by Dutch-Moroccan youth at risk. Two approach types are being confronted: repressive efforts of police versus a preventive policing method.

This dilemma is discussed on the basis of facts and experiences in a project of the police in Gouda, aiming at initiating a dialogue between Dutch-Moroccan youth at risk and police officers in a specific neighbourhood during an entire year, guided by trainers and youth workers. This report, based on research on the context of the problematic situation Dutch-Moroccan youth at risk experience, describes the security policy in Gouda, the process of the training programme with youth and police and the results this produced for both parties.

Hopefully this evaluation contributes to a substantiated discussion, not only of an effective assignment of the police in tackling crime and public disorder of Dutch-Moroccan youth at risk, but also the debate regarding effective youth policy for youth at risk in general.
In advance, we now briefly represent our view on this topic. Social problems with Dutch-Moroccan youth in Gouda are, like problems with youth from minority groups in any place, rather complex and tough and therefore not resolved on short notice. Continued attention is needed, under strong control of the local government, connecting efforts of all actors in the field.
Prevention through a supportive family system, quality education and guided leisure is key to effective local youth policy aimed at Dutch-Moroccan youth at risk. Parents have an important role in this issue, but youth as well considering their own responsibility in the search for an accepted social existence.
Important as well is a consistent police and justice approach, responding early to signals, intervene quickly, guide and punish and adapting penalties to the degree of recidivism.

Various scientific disciplines like social pedagogies and criminology demonstrated that guiding youth closely, by a key figure or a professional who they perceive as a counsellor is an effective strategy. This is supported by experiences in practice from a wide range of professionals working with youth at risk. When guiding youth from

nearby their easier to approach in confronting them with their behaviour and impersonal situations and ad hoc coalitions of peers promoting delinquency and public disorder can be discharged.

Since most young people committing criminal offenses in Gouda live in the city as well, it should not cost that much effort to remove them from anonymity. An efficient registration keeping track of youth at risk is an effective and useful tool. However, the comprehensive strategy should consist of professionals in education, youth work, sports, youth care, employment support, justice, police and supervisory staff being closely acquainted with these young people and stimulate them from a clear, unambiguous and mutual vision to commit to making their lives positive using their own possibilities, talents and vitality.

The dialogue project is facilitated by the programme Critical Encounters of the Open Society Foundations in close cooperation with the police district Hollands-Midden (division Gouda) and youth work of welfare organisation Factor-G in Gouda.
We thank all involved youth, police officers, youth workers, trainers and our British guests for their input in the project and their candour and openness in the interviews about their experiences, thoughts and feelings. One thing is certain: it takes courage to search for new solutions. Duly noted.

Jaap Noorda
Annelieke van Dijk

Introduction

This report describes the results of the evaluation of a project aimed at realizing a better relationship between police and youth from ethnic minorities. This project, named 'Critical Encounters' took place in 2011-2012 in Gouda, a medium-sized town in the western parts of the Netherlands.
The research, commissioned by the Open Society Foundation, is executed by Noorda en Co.

Project backgrounds
The relationship between police and minority youth is often problematic because the police are more inclined to stop and question these young people. The project seeks to repair the damage this brings to the trust these young people have in the police and to improve their relationship by bringing them together in a workshop setting, creating opportunities to build mutual trust and respect, exchange experiences and conceptions and to get to know each other. The workshops aim at challenging the stereotypes and preconceptions of both parties and developing mutual understanding between young people and police.
Goal of the project is therefore to develop innovative mechanisms to improve sustainable dialogue between minority youth and the police.

To evaluate the outcomes of the project, a method is designed to explore the influence of taking part in the project on the participants and their attitudes and conceptions. Furthermore, the impact on behaviour of both young people and police officers is outlined, through analysis of (police) statistics.

Main and sub questions
The evaluation is guided by the following two main questions:
1. Have the workshops been successful?
2. Did the project reached its goals, i.e., did it change attitudes and behaviour of participants during or after their involvement?

Derived from these two main questions, the following sub questions can be formulated:
1.a) Did a strong and inclusive shared space develop during the course of the programme?
1.b) Was the commitment of all parties maintained? Excessive attrition would be a sign that the project was failing in some way.
1.c) Was there evidence of positive engagement between police and young people?
1.d) Did all the participants have an equal chance to engage, take part in, and learn from the workshops?
1.e) Was there evidence of two-way communication – were both sides listening and responding to the other?

1.f)   Were the workshops based on a feeling of mutual respect and honesty, or, at least, did this develop as the programme went on?

1.g)   Was mutual trust developed between the participants?

2.a)   Was a feeling of enhanced trust and understanding between the groups being developed? In particular: increased trust among young people; and decreased stereotyping/prejudice among the police officers.

2.b)   Did willingness improve among the young people to engage with the police?

2.c)   Does evidence exist of empowerment among young people, for example greater involvement in community activities, taking on 'leadership roles', and greater willingness to use their voice during encounters with the police?

2.d)   Does evidence exist of an intention among the police officers to change their practice?

2.e)   Are there signs of engagement of external groups, for example, other police officers, other young people and other local stakeholders?

2.g)   Does evidence exist of a change in behaviour by the police as demonstrated by changes to their stop and search practices?

Method

The data is collected through interviews with young people participating in the project at the beginning (N=13), halfway (N=14) and at the end of the project (N=11); participating police officers (respectively N=7, N=7, N=8); youth workers involved in the project (N=3) and the trainers of the workshops (N=2). Furthermore, data is based on participant observation of the workshops and extensive analysis of their reports. Additionally, police records in Gouda have been collected and analyzed.

Content of the report

This dissertation is the final report in a series of three in which the development and results of the project 'Critical Encounters' in Gouda is investigated. It starts with outlining the backgrounds of the relationship between police and youth in the Netherlands and a history of the police approach regarding youth and in particular young people from ethnic minorities in part one. In this part the context of Gouda and the course of incidents that took place, are described as well. Furthermore, part two of the report focuses on the methodology used in the project. The programme strategy is outlined in chapter 3 and descriptions of each workshops are presented in chapter 4. After describing the methodology, the results of the project are outlined in part three. The substance of this part is to represent the participants' conceptions and experiences in the project and the development of views and opinions during the course of the programme. First, the results of the interviews with police officers (chapter 6) and young people (chapter 7) are presented. These chapters are followed by a section of qualitative impressions, including observations during the workshop and reflections of trainers and the youth workers (chapter 8). Thereafter, an analysis of police records is outlined comparing data before and after the start of the project and between districts (chapter 9). Part three ends with the conclusions resulting from the analysis of data collected with regard to the results of the project (chapter 10).

Acknowledgements
We thank everyone who has contributed to the development of this report, by taking part in an interview, providing documentation, or any other kind of assistance. Our special acknowledgements go to the young people, police officers, youth workers and trainers willing to share their thoughts and experiences with us (see Appendix 4 for a list of these stakeholders).

Amsterdam/Gouda, August 2012

Jaap Noorda
Annelieke van Dijk

PART I

CONTEXT OF POLICE AND YOUTH AND GOUDA'S SITUATION

Chapter 1.　　　Police and youth in the Netherlands

Introduction
The police in the Netherlands use a specific approach in youth issues, in which criminal and pedagogical elements are combined. In a large part, this is linked to the particular position of minors as developing youth growing up. Another aspect is the relatively high rates of youth committing criminal offenses and being at social risks, which calls for a different method than usual when dealing with adults.
What does the police youth approach look like? And how can we characterize the relationship between police and youth? In this chapter we aim to answer these questions, consulting official documents as laws, statutory provisions and policy, but also using information gathered in research publications. Preliminary we present some statistical insights on juvenile delinquency, manifesting the need for police to consider youth.

§ 1.　　Youth crime statistics

Different types of statistics are available elucidating the specific position of youth in criminality. Despite the discussion concerning the reliability of these statistics because of the difference in officially registered juvenile delinquency (approx. 4%) and self reported juvenile delinquency (approx. 40%), alterations in definitions and intensification of action against juvenile delinquency, some general conclusions can be defined.
First of all, the past decades youth had a large share in the total delinquency in the Netherlands. More than one third of all individuals being suspected of a criminal offense are aged 12 to 25 years.[1] Secondary, youth in this age group has a much higher score on criminal offenses compared to other age groups (see Figure 1.)

Figure 1.　　Number of suspects per 10.000 habitants by age in 2011 based on HKS-data. Source: SCP, 2003

---
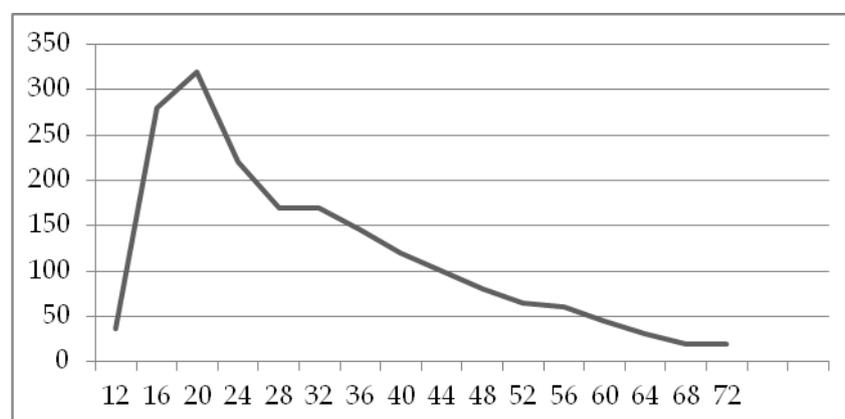
[1] In 2005 this equals 38 percent of all suspects, according to HKS-data of the police. Source: SCP, 2007.

In these statistics male youth and specifically male youth from ethnic minorities have a large share.[2] Especially young men of the second generation of non-western immigrants are overrepresented.

The relationship between age and delinquency is indicated in jargon by the 'age-crime curve'. This means that delinquency rates increase rapidly during puberty, reaching its peak in late adolescence and early adulthood. Upward of middle age the delinquency rates are relatively low.[3]

Third of all, it seems the amount of minors (12-18 years old) being suspected of criminal offenses has increased significantly the past few decennia. In 1960 the percentage was only 1.8 percent while in 2007 this rate expanded to 5.7 percent. In recent years this trend of increase is implied to stagnate, however this is not confirmed because of deficits in registration of delinquency.[4]

Young people are primarily registered for property crime, mostly connected to shoplifting and theft of bicycles or mopeds. In second place are destruction and disruption of public order. Third are violent offenses, however this amount is increasing significantly recently.

Around 75 percent of juvenile offenses are committed in groups. First offenders and moderate criminal youth (offenders of two or three offenses) are responsible for the majority of total offenses. Unrepentant young offenders, frequently criminal active, are responsible for 25 percent of total juvenile delinquency.

Besides, youth from 12 -25 years are more often victims of delinquency as well, when comparing them to other age groups. This applies in particular to violence, theft and destruction. Perpetration and victimization   partly overlap each other.

§ 2.   Legal and policy basis

Both the overrepresentation of youth in delinquency rates as their specific position as under-aged adolescents growing up, justify a particular approach by justice and police. This approach has been secured by law for a long time, but is still developing and this will continue for some time.

Since 1905 the Netherlands have a separated juvenile criminal law for young people of 12-17 years old. This age group has a specific position within criminal law because they are still developing and therefore deserve a pedagogical approach at first. Criminal law should be applied with caution and only as a last resort. This so-called principle of subsidiarity is also fundamental to the criminal provisions in the International Convention on Rights of the Child, ratified by the Netherlands in 1995. In practice this principle means that youth cases should be settled without interference of a judge as much as possible, for example trough a settlement culminating in community service (arranged by bureau HALT in the Netherlands). Young people should be offered a chance to learn from their mistakes through the

[2] Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 2003.
[3] Jennissen, 2009.
[4] Figures of WODC and CBS; van der Laan and Blom, 2011.

pedagogical element in the sanction. According to the previous mentioned Convention, adjoined states are obliged to provide separate laws, procedures, authorities and institutions for youth who are suspected, prosecuted or convicted of the commission of an offense (Article 40: Section 3, ICRC). This encompasses a specific juvenile court, a juvenile prosecutor but also juvenile police.[5]

The task of Dutch police is defined in Article 2 of the Police law 1993. This article states that the police, in subordination to the competent authority and in accordance with the rules in force, ought to provide the effective enforcement of the law and aid and assistance to those in need.

History of juvenile police
From the start of the 20th century there is a gradual emergence of special attention to the issues of children and youth. A modest department of children's police, later named juvenile police, is installed, focussing on both the social police task for children and youth as prevention and detection of criminal offenses committed by minors.
In 1980 the goal of the police youth task is reformulated in a broader sense, stating juvenile police ought to initiate and contribute to the optimal functioning of youth who, for any reason, are in contact with the police. However, the youth department is in general regarded as the 'soft' side of the police, mostly run by women.
In 1994, a time in which juvenile delinquency and other youth issues have strongly increased, the police is reorganised constructing a more areal bound operating institution. During this reorganization each officer's tasks become more general, implying the remove of the specialised juvenile police.[6] The existing knowledge within the police force to adequately handle youth issues impended to diminish vastly and in such manner that under social pressure the police youth task is once again quickly acknowledged in a new profile.[7] Part of this new police youth task are, apart from criminal aspects, also signalling, referral, school adoption, casuistry consultation with childcare and educational institutions and meetings with neighbours. Furthermore, the number of officers entrusted with youth tasks is multiplied.
The attention and expertise of the police for the approach of juvenile delinquency thus increases, however ongoing improvement of the police task and its embedding in the organisation is needed to ensure a comprehensive efficient, equal and a widely supported and executed procedure in handling the youth police task.[8] Despite the public's emphasis on repression in response to the increase and hardening of juvenile delinquency, the police are, up until the present, expanding their tasks and services in youth care. In this respect the police live by the motto: "better to prevent than to cure".

---

[5] Uit Beijerse, 2007, in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.
[6] This areal bound police work by generalists working in a specific neighbourhood or area is known as *community policing* in English. See also: van de Wal, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.
[7] Commission van Montfrans, 1994; Board of Chiefs, 1997.
[8] Diepenhorst and Sitalsing, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.

Police youth task
The police youth task consists of three elements, consciously sequenced at youth's best interest: 1) prevention, 2) early signalling and referral and 3) repression. Cooperation with partners is essential in effectuating these tasks.
Prevention is primary an issue of local youth policy in which the municipality, educational institutes and welfare have a core task. The police focus on contact with youth and provide the municipality and other local partners with information on risk behaviour of youth and advice on preventive measures.
Early signalling and referral is a core task of the police, which they are well equipped to carry out because of their frequent presence in public space and the round-the-clock character of their work. Other professions and institutes like schools, municipality and medics have a task in this field as well. The police focus on observing the location of youth in the streets, interpreting risks and referring to partners based on actual knowledge of the social map in an area.
Repression consists of detection of criminal offenses under the authority of the public prosecutor's office. A comprehensive set of procedures is actuated to reckon with the specific position of minors in the detection and dispatching of these circumstances. At present, every police district delivers a yearly review of unrepentant young offenders in the age of 12-17 years and designs a plan for signalling and referral of these young people. Through this procedure they report all minors having been in contact with the police to the institution of youth care, provided there are existing worries about their development or environment.[9]

Regarding the development of police youth care can be concluded that it fails a consistent structure. Reorganization of the police institution and fluctuation in policy, then emphasizing repression then prevention, expose a meandering image. This is understandable considering the fact the police is an institute at the heart of society, adapting to its dynamics.[10] The most important criterion to measure and evaluate the police however is their efficiency in dealing with crime and in particular regarding youth, in preventing crime. Therefore perhaps effective prevention should play a larger role in police approach than repression.

§ 3. Riots and incidents

Incidents between police and (Dutch-)Moroccan youth or other youth at risk from ethnic minorities sometimes result in a massive confrontation involving many young people and characterized by (the threat of) violence. When media report about this incidents in an alarming manner, they soon are referred to as 'riots' whether or not of a racist nature. The United States of America, Great Britain, Belgium and France among other countries have experienced several examples of this phenomenon. Most of these confrontations have been studied extensively.
Analysis of this type of confrontations in the recent past in Great Britain (August 2011 in London and other cities) and in France (Paris, Lyon and Lille in autumn 2005

---

[9] De Jonge and van der Linden, 2007.
[10] Van de Wal, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.

and Amiens in August 2012) point out there is more to it than criminal youth from ethnic minorities evoking a confrontation with the police. The lack of social economic perspectives for these young people, constituting a basin of dissatisfaction create such a tense situation that a random inducement is sufficient to break the dam and cause a flood. Besides repression of juvenile delinquents and an improved relationship between police and residents an alert and preventive youth policy is needed, offering these young people social opportunities .[11]

Likewise, the circumstances of extensive incidents in the Netherlands between youth from ethnic minorities and the police have been analysed. Partly out of fear for racial riots as observed in foreign countries, a minority policy has developed, decreasing the sharpest contrasts and differences between ethnic minorities and the Dutch population. When reconstructing several incidents paid a lot of attention to in the media, like the turbulent disorder in Amsterdam New-West (at the August Allebéplein) in 1998 and around the nearby Mercatorplein in Amsterdam West one year later, some conclusions can be made. The discontentment of social disadvantage among part of the second generation youth from ethnic minorities explains their (criminal) behaviour focussed on money and street influence or status. In combination with the at times tactless approach of the police, already in a tensed relationship with these youth, this induces spontaneous confrontations and violent incidents of significant size. According to this line of thinking, juvenile delinquency and riots will continue to occur in the future.[12]

§ 4.   Relationship between police and youth

 The relationship between youth and the police is often complicated. In particular relations with youth from ethnic minorities are said to be characterized by tension.[13] This mainly applies to officers in regular surveillance and emergency service, responding to reports, and to a lesser extent to community officers and detectives. The prevailing view on the origin of this phenomenon is discrimination by the police on one side and a negative attitude and approach towards the police by youth from ethnic minorities on the other side. Misunderstanding of each others' behaviour plays a key role in this situation, which can be solved by communication training of police officers, improving their proficiency in skills as active listening, giving compliments and summarizing conversations.

Question is whether the phenomenon described above is reality, which factors are of influence and which possibilities do exist to improve the relationship. To answer these questions some examples of notable publications on this issue are discussed.

Interaction between youth and police
An observational study of interaction between police and both youth of Dutch origin and youth from ethnic minorities in Gouda and Leiden in 2003, concludes that the influence of improving communication skills of police officers is limited to a certain

---

[11] Scarman, 1981; Wacquant, 2007; Lapeyronnie, 2008; Riots Communities and Victims Panel, 2012.
[12] Bovenkerk, 1994.
[13] Stol en Vink, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.

level.[14] To create more successful interaction with youth, police officers need the ability to 'win' or 'coax' youth with a negative attitude towards the police. This is something not easily acquired through a single workshop. Furthermore this study shows that youth from ethnic minorities have a less positive attitude towards the police and has a lower level of content on the outcome of contact with the police, compared to youth of Dutch origin.

Support base among youth
A review article of several studies on the support of the police among Dutch young people from 1965-2003, shows an image of youth having a generally positive attitude towards the police.[15] Especially (young) children are utterly positive about the police. Adolescents make a distinction between community officers and detectives on one hand and surveillance officers on the other hand, when judging the police. The community officer has a specific task in keeping contact with youth and other habitants and organisations in a neighbourhood, which produces appreciation.[16] Furthermore detectives have the ability to interact individual with youth, which is appreciated by them as well. On the other hand, officers in surveillance service are much more criticized by youth. This is explained through their controlling task, responding to incoming reports, leading to feelings of provocation and arrogance among youth, in particular in case of young male police officers.[17]
Youth ask of the police to show understanding and interest in their backgrounds, take them seriously and show respect. They estimate behaviour or characteristics like a bad temper, being rude, pedantic or demeaning as negative qualities of police officers.

Because of the influence strong support among youth has on the effectiveness of the police, several authors argue for a coalition between police, local youth policy and the large group of young people with a positive attitude towards the police.[18]

Community officers
Community officers have a dual task assignment, concerning law enforcement on one hand and more preventive measures in a community-based approach on the other hand. In both task divisions community officers deal with youth, mainly in terms of public disorder and juvenile delinquency which serve as a motive for the first contact.[19] Their specific assignments related to youth are gathering information through maintaining contact with youth and neighbours, and in case of problems also the youth's parents and institutions for youth care. In respect to this last task, the community officer takes part in networks of the municipality and facilities for local youth policy.

---

[14] Barendrecht, Griffioen, Lotterman and Vink, 2003.
[15] Stol and Bervoets, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.
[16] Except for community officers, also officers of juvenile police (with a specific task concerning youth) maintain contact on a close and frequently basis with youth.
[17] Meloen, 1997; Bervoets, 2006.
[18] Stol and Bervoets, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.
[19] Bervoets and Visser, 2007 in: van Wijk and Bervoets, 2007.

Interaction with individual youth is in most cases not very challenging for community officers, however young people in groups are difficult to approach, often not willing to interact with the officer, or the interaction is characterized by negativity like insulting or provoking behaviour. The challenge is to keep searching for opportunities to connect with the group in a relaxed and unthreatening way. Being sincere and calm is essential in this respect because youth, in particular those immersed in street culture, seem to have a sixth sense for insincerity or fear. Another important aspect is to be clear from the first encounter about the dual assignment of both preventing problems and enforcing the law in case of offenses.

Internal cooperation between community officers and officers on surveillance and detectives is essential to the exchange of information on youth and to monitor young people who committed to certain agreements. However, this cooperation is often defective, surveillance officers lacking to inform on recent arrests or other incidents and community officers not exchanging information on agreements he or she made with a certain group.

Interaction with Dutch-Moroccan youth
Over the years a lot of information and insights are gathered by police districts on the communication and interaction with Dutch-Moroccan youth.[20] However, these insights are not widely embedded in the police system, mostly because of poor documentation and exchange of experiences, the focus on short term success, the low priority given to prevention and the characterization of these insights as soft and useless to a repressive approach. Furthermore, part of the employees in the police force has the opinion that social tasks and contact with (Moroccan) parents is not a police assignment.
Researchers argue the tension between police and Dutch-Moroccan youth is a spiralling problem, pressuring the situation. The police deploy a selective approach, focussing on Dutch-Moroccan youth because of their relatively high delinquency rate. Among these young people this induces frustration and a subversive attitude towards the police, leading to an irritated response in police officers, stimulating their focus on these young people even more. As a result of this tense relationship, relatively small and simple incidents can escalate completely.

Explanations from youth's perspective
From the perspective of Dutch-Moroccan youth an explanation to their troubled relations with the police can be found in their view on the police as the enemy who tries to make their life difficult as much as possible.[21] Furthermore, a significant part of their socialization takes place in the street, experimenting with 'macho' behaviour, spending much of their time hanging around with friends, often stimulated by the fact they live in cramped houses, or have trouble in their family situation. The behavioural codes within such groups are characterized by 'acting tough' and 'not giving a shit', leading to indifference and disrespect towards the police.

---

[20] Coppes, de Groot and Sheerazi, 1997.
[21] Coppes et al., 1997.

Another aspect is the fact that Dutch-Moroccan youth are often arrested for theft or burglary, committing these offenses in groups. Therefore, some individuals within a group are known to the police, causing the monitoring of the whole group by police officers. This distrust is often misunderstood by young people.

Explanations from police perspective
The most important element at stake here is the general negative imaging of Dutch-Moroccan youth among police officers. Considering the lack of knowledge of the living situation of this community, the image of their whole population is construed by the negative experiences officers have in encounters with Dutch-Moroccan youth. Combined by the denial behaviour many of them demonstrate even in the face of obvious proof they committed a certain offense, this negative image induces an authoritarian, indifferent attitude among police officers, in turn evoking adverse reaction among youth.
Furthermore, many police officers use a counterproductive approach towards Dutch-Moroccan youth, ordering them to leave or explicitly observing them, instead of confronting them with their behaviour in an unconstrained way.

Recommendations for improvement
To improve the relationship between the police and youth from ethnic minorities, some recommendations for the police have been formulated in the literature on this issue.[22] These suggestions can be categorized in three sections: stimulating expertise, improving relations and aid and assistance.

Stimulating expertise
Improve the expertise within the police system and the local district through:
- Knowledge of the statistics on (Dutch-)Moroccan demography and juvenile delinquency
- Knowledge of (Dutch-)Moroccan organisations, key figures, projects and meeting locations
- Differentiating in approaching men, women and youth
- Differentiating in different sections and groups within the Dutch-Moroccan community and no dependence on one individual
- Involve multiple employees within the police district in this expertise improvement
- Present and promote this knowledge orally among colleagues by an officer or police chief with prestige and influence and exchange the information through existing channels. Furthermore, provide the information to new officers.

Improving relations
Pay attention to the relations with the Dutch-Moroccan community through:
- Making contact with active neighbours or members of the community, parents and contacts of Moroccan organisations
- Construe a sustainable connection with several individuals and organisations and explain the police do not take sides

---

[22] Coppes et al., 1997.

- Try to contact ordinary (Dutch-)Moroccan neighbours through the previous mentioned connections
- Clarify the goal of contact, for example discussing an issue at hand in the neighbourhood or education about the police or crime prevention
- Always take complaints about discrimination seriously

Aid and assistance
Play a role in assisting members of the Dutch-Moroccan community through:
- Cooperation with facilities to signal problems of Dutch-Moroccan youth in an early stage
- Pay attention to Dutch-Moroccan parents
- Provide temporary mentorship for an individual Dutch-Moroccan youth, without taking over tasks of social care and welfare

The essence of an effective influence on misbehaviour of youth from ethnic minorities hanging around in the streets is interacting clear and unambiguous but in a friendly way, if possible. This consists of a clear, firm and consequent treatment without discussion in which officers show their authority and control of the situation. Professional action means keeping emotions under control and not taking offenses by youth personally.
In previous approach, attention can also be paid to building positive relations with youth.

Chapter 2.   Gouda's context

Gouda is a medium-sized town of over 70.000 residents in the west of the Netherlands. Originally a trade and production centre in the Middle Ages with a famous cattle and cheese market (Gouda cheese), during the second half of the 19th century Gouda expands to an industrial city with worker's quarters. After World War II many more housing estates are built. During the economic high conjuncture in the 1970's many migrant workers from Morocco settle in Gouda, not long after bringing their families as well to reunite.

Soon after emerge the first signals of problems with migrant youth, mostly from Morocco. These signals are responded by specific projects of local youth policy, focussing on aspects of employment support, safety and quality of life in the neighbourhood.

After an incident in 1999 in which a resident is heavily injured after a conflict with Dutch-Moroccan youth, attracting the attention of national media, this policy is intensified with integral initiatives by a cooperation of different kinds of facilities (safety, welfare, etc.) directed by the municipality. Examples of these projects are 'Justice in the neighbourhood', predecessor of the current 'Safety home' (partnership of facilities) and the Gouda City rules. The focus is on (Dutch-)Moroccan youth problems.

This policy is even further strengthened after a notorious incident in 2008. Bus drivers refuse to drive through the neighbourhood Oosterwei (Gouda East), because they are often molested by Dutch-Moroccan youth. When a colleague in an adjacent neighbourhood is abused by a foreign passenger, this was the straw that broke the camel's back. A national newspaper reports the incident on the front page mentioned in the same breath as the misbehaviour of mostly Dutch-Moroccan youth. This results in a media hype and a parliamentary debate. Cooperation between safety partners and information-exchange on youth at risk increases. Gouda becomes an example for national policy supporting municipalities dealing with problems concerning Dutch-Moroccan youth. Gouda's rate of (Dutch-)Moroccan residents is 9 percent, which is consisting with large cities in the Netherlands. High delinquency and public disorder rates cause negative publicity about Gouda, nevertheless most residents enjoy living in their town.

However the safety policy has made progress the past few years and registered juvenile delinquency and public disorder are decreasing, analysis shows several types of problems need the specific attention of the police:

- Crime and public disorder concentrates in several 'hotspots' of youth, overrepresented by Dutch-Moroccan youth
- Theft from cars and burglary have high rates of occurrence, in particular near the previous mentioned 'hotspots'
- Gouda deals with problems concerning violent incidents, partly related to problems with Dutch-Moroccan youth as well to nightlife violence in the city centre committed mostly by Dutch youth.

- Most residents of Gouda feel safe, however compared to municipalities in both the area and the Netherlands, feelings of insecurity among the population are relatively high.
- Compared to municipalities of the same size, Gouda has high rates of potential problem groups, feelings of insecurity, index of violent crimes and destruction and experienced public disorder by residents.

PART II

METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3.   Programme strategy

Introduction

In this chapter the programme strategy of the project's workshop sessions is being unfolded. In succession the following elements are being discussed: the used comprehensive approach and its goals (§ 1) and the methodological solutions for some key issues (§ 2).

§ 1.   Comprehensive approach

The project "Critical Encounters" is aimed at improving relationships between young people and the police through bringing these both parties together in a workshop setting.[23] The goal of this series of workshops is to build mutual trust and respect, share experiences and learn from one another. It aims to challenge the stereotypes and preconceptions of police officers as well as young people about what it means to be part of the other group. In order to achieve this, a strategy is developed and explicated in a sequence of exercises and activities.

Drama-based approach

The design of the sessions with youth and police officers is developed according to a drama-based approach. The methodology used is the so called *improvisation theatre*, a type of drama in which short scenes based on a game or pre-decided structure are depicted by the participants. This approach creates, through the use of games, the possibility to build a relationship between all members of the group, to break through barriers but also to communicate feelings and views in an airy but lively way. Criticism of each other can be clearly represented while the theatrical distance accomplishes to prevent feelings of being personally attacked: it is just a play, they are depicting a character. Through this, the scenarios can be inspired by real-life experience without participants bringing their individual resentment into the interaction.

Through the technique of *improvisation theatre*, people learn essential personal and social skills in a natural way. This includes cooperating, creating a safe environment for each other, stimulating others, taking initiative, presenting and self-confidence. The idea is to alleviate blockades in the lives of the participants and their way of interacting, making them manageable and creating a doorway to solve these issues. The approach establishes a connection between cooperating on the stage and cooperating in real life.

Goals and structure

The process of the workshops series provides a forum which enables individuals to become acquainted and through this process break down stereotypes. Both young

---

[23] Baugh, 2011.

people and police officers are being invited to empathize and learn about each other's positions and situations. The process attempts to improve the quality of encounters between police officers and young people and is directed at facilitating a relationship between both groups.

The trainers try to meet these goals through applying a certain structure in the programme. This starts with becoming acquainted, making agreements, discussing concepts and creating safety by having fun and teambuilding. Later on trainers and participants are working towards a confrontation, discussing in depth and difficult issues and aiming to reach agreement and understanding.

§ 2. Key issues

In this workshop series a number of specific themes regarding policing and the relationship with young people is focused on. In the design of the project some issues are being addressed specifically, using certain methods and strategies. These elements of the programme strategy are included to enable participants to overcome present obstacles possibly undermining the goals of the project.

Defensiveness and hostility

The history of a hostile relationship between the police force and the young people participating in the project can be pressing the possibilities to success. Therefore the workshops focus on establishing common ground and reducing tension through a gradual trust-building approach. The trainers and youth workers have an important role in mediating interactions. Although the meetings are designed with a focus on youth, trainers should make sure they do not appear to be one-sided or biased, favouring young people. Their mediating role is to ensure both parties are able to voice their views while ensuring comments are fair and respectful towards each other. Furthermore, to overcome hostility, the sessions include many exercises emphasizing themes of trust and focussing on creating unity through small similarities participants share.

Sustainability

Because of previous negative encounters both parties have experienced, progress must be attained through a gradual, steady process. Building trust takes time and cannot be rushed. Therefore ten workshops are scheduled on a consistent and long-term basis.

Power imbalance

Clearly the police's authority gives them more social power than young people. Therefore, various elements in the workshops are meant to create an atmosphere of equality. The young people's engagement in the process is supported by a number of elements in this methodology. Taking part in the workshops means they have to face difficult and challenging situations, both during the sessions as outside when being confronted with friends and family about their participation in the project. The methodology places the base of their willingness to nevertheless be involved first of all in their relationship with the youth worker and the youth centre where the

sessions take place. Because they have a sense of belonging in the centre and a relation of trust with the youth worker, they are prepared to participate. Furthermore, officers were asked to attend the sessions not in uniform but wearing casual clothes, so they could be pictured as individuals instead of solely members of a police force.

Other elements the methodology includes to support young people to feel comfortable are giving them time to prepare every meeting and using a dramatic medium. Exercises in the workshops should be appealing to young people and they should be somewhat familiar with the type of interaction being used.

Social discomfort
The project arranges two disparate groups to meet in a setting they are not used to be confronted with each other. Particularly considering the potential animosity between young people and police officers originating from previous experiences, a certain degree of social discomfort at the start of the programme can be expected. Feelings of awkwardness are reduced by creating a relaxed environment and hospitality towards both young people and especially police officers, regarding they are entering an unknown place. Furthermore, using a substantial amount of games and exercises focussed on creating a positive atmosphere and enabling all participants to feel involved in the group.

Chapter 4.   Workshops

Introduction
In this chapter we will review the ten workshops executed in the years 2011-2012 in relation to the project 'Critical Encounters'. In chronological order all workshops will be outlined, describing the specific goal of each meeting, the programme and the activities and their implementation. Each meeting between youth and police officers was preceded by a session in which youth prepared the upcoming workshop. Each set of sessions, one just youth attending and one meeting between police and youth, is described in a paragraph. Preliminary to the programme of ten workshops, there has been a taster weekend (§ 1) and a meeting between trainers, young people and youth worker (§ 2). These sessions will be described preliminary to the ten workshops (§ 3-§ 12).

§ 1.   Taster weekend: Acquaintance

The taster weekend is the first occasion all participants meet each other. The weekend consists of one meeting of police officers, trainers and youth workers and one meeting between young people, youth workers, trainers and police officers. Both meetings are attended by representatives of Second Wave Youth Arts London and Open Society Foundations.

1. Police officers and youth workers
The first meeting is between youth workers, police officers, trainers and the representatives from the United Kingdom. Goals are: giving participants the opportunity to get to know each other and make a start in building a positive relationship. It is important that police officers and youth workers are on good terms in order to achieve success in the project. Furthermore this meeting offers an opportunity to discuss the rules of engagement, especially with regard to youth committing an offense or who have been criminally active during the project.

Activities
After a short general introduction and everyone has introduced themselves, different types of games are played to get to know each other. During these games the atmosphere is good; there is a lot of joking. The games are alternated with moments where the participants split up in smaller groups to discuss different topics concerning safety. Among these topics are:

- What is safety?
- How did you grow up? What kind of acquaintances did you have when you were young?
- How did you regard the police when you were young? And how are young people nowadays regarding the police?

In these discussions participants share a lot with each other. Part of the police officers and youth workers open up easily and share a lot of their thoughts with the group. Near the end of the workshop, the issue regarding youth committing offenses is considered. Emotions run high during this discussion. One police officer states that his limit will be reached when participating youth are verbally abusive towards him. He makes his statement accompanied by a lot of negative emotion. Eventually the rule is set that when a participant has committed such an offense or crime that he has to go to court, he will have to quit the project. The grey area, concerning youth brought to court for relatively small incidents, will be discussed individually when it occurs.

"Right now we are doing what we are used to doing all the time: setting clear boundaries. In this case can we try to let this go and just let things happen and see what it will bring?"
- Police officer

The workshop ends with a musical performance of youth workers, police officers and representatives from Second Wave Youth Arts London.

2. Young people, police officers and youth workers
The main meeting of the taster weekend is the session with young people, police officers and youth workers, managed by representatives from Second Wave Youth Arts London. Goals are introducing the project and its objectives, contents and course. Furthermore the meeting aims to arrange a first positive encounter between youth and police officers and give room to questions and concerns of the participants.

Introduction
After introducing all attendees, a description of the project is given. During this explanation, two young people indicate they previously took part in projects like these which did not have any positive results. They even argue that the situation has deteriorated since. This raises a lot of emotional movement amongst all young people, relating their (negative) encounters with the police. Emotion and frustration are running high. Also youth workers are giving examples of incidents between police and youth, they seem to share the young people's frustration towards the way young people are approached by the police. Many young people have almost no believe in the ability of the project to contribute to an improvement in the situation.

Games and debate
After this eruption of feelings follows a short break. Afterwards different types of competitive games are played, all in subgroups aiming at teambuilding and cooperation. The youth is very motivated to win and all seem to enjoy the games. The atmosphere appears to be totally cleared; there is a lot of laughter. Subsequently to the games, the conversation is continued. The police officers give a presentation of the conclusions of the previous day: their own views and perceptions of the police and their experiences in their younger days. A few young people mention that they are feeling the exact same things nowadays. This causes another round of reclamation about incidents and the level of anger and frustration present at

the start of the meeting is reached again. The people of Second Wave Youth Arts explain that these feelings of just another useless project were experienced by the youth in London at the beginning as well. Off course not all problems have been solved, but changes have occurred, especially among the participants. Young people gained more knowledge about their rights and police officers have become aware of how their approach can influence the type of response among youth.

Young people present at the meeting indicate that Gouda is a much smaller city and, opposite of the practice in London, individual police officers and young people meet each other regularly, if not daily.

Potential themes

Young people indicate they would like to discuss some specific themes with the police officers in the project. Amongst them are:

- Prohibition of gathering in public
- Possibilities to recreate are reduced in stead of increased
- Views and perceptions (stereotyping) of both groups
- Debate with politicians, since they give orders to the police and cause a lot of negative imaging of Dutch-Moroccan youth in Gouda

The workshop is concluded with a shared meal. Everyone spreads through the room in small groups to eat. The young people leave when they are finished, some without saying goodbye, others give a hand and thank the guests from the United Kingdom.

Conclusions of trainers and youth workers

After the meeting, trainers and youth workers come together to discuss some practical aspects and how to continue. They conclude the tension among young people is very high at this point and their motivation to participate is very low. Both trainers and youth workers think that part of the youth will agree to participate when approached individually. These young people who have been active during the meeting will need a second session to discuss the conditions, as they themselves indicate as well. This meeting will be arranged, without the presence of police. Youth workers will need some time to talk to the youth and involve them in the project, however they should participate because they want to, not because the youth workers ask them to.

The young people who decide to participate should be valued for their contribution and the project organisation should pay attention to this aspect during the project regularly.

§ 2.   Meeting June 9, 2011: Expectations of the project

As agreed during the Taster weekend, a meeting with young people, youth workers and trainers is arranged. The goal of this meeting is to discuss expectations about the project and everyone's role in it and to motivate young people to participate.

Division of tasks

Before the young people arrive, youth workers and trainers discuss their tasks and roles in the project and during the workshops. Agreed is that the youth workers' main focus are the young people. Their tasks are to motivate them, involve them in the workshops and help them prepare and evaluate the meetings. This means youth workers participate in the workshops and are physically present during the whole meeting. Trainers take care of the design and implementation of the sessions and are mediator between police and youth. They will produce a report after every meeting.

Youth's expectations
The young people arrive and the project is discussed. The taster weekend is recapitulated and they are asked to share their opinions and views on a participating in a project together with the police. Summarized, they expect a lot of miscommunication and do not have faith in the willingness of the police to be honest and open towards each other. They doubt if there is enough tolerance on both sides, to execute this project.
They raise the issue of being fined while they just stand in front of their own house. Feelings of injustice because they live there and are harming nobody predominate.

Issues to discuss
Young people indicate they would like to discuss a number of issues in the workshops. These are relevant and present topics they have questions about or have their specific attention and interest. These items are:

- Prohibition of gathering in public
- Being a role model: police as well as youth can be role models
- How safe is my neighbourhood?
- Fines: justified or unfair?
- Views and stereotyping
- Greeting in the street: young people experience being personally greeted in public by the police (using their name) as being known to the police and therefore being associated with criminality.

Rules of engagement
The rules of engagement during the workshops are discussed as well. These are established in consultation with youth, trainers and youth workers. It has been agreed that every participant switches his phone of during the meetings. Furthermore, police should attend not in uniform and without weapon, and during the meetings the language is Dutch, when young people forget about this, they can be requested to switch to Dutch.

Possibility of success
Concluded is the question if there is a possibility to success of this project. Young people respond reserved, they think perhaps in really small steps. First they do not think there will be any change concerning them, the police will improve maybe, but they will not change. Along the discussion this is nuanced a bit, they do not rule out change any more.

§ 3.   Workshop 1: September 4 and September 7, 2011: Renewed mutual acquaintance

1. Meeting young people (9/4)
The goals of this meeting are to prepare for the upcoming meeting with police officers and discuss the project and its objectives and themes.

The young people present are motivated to participate in the project and start a dialogue with the police. They realize and appreciate the importance of this dialogue and are willing to try to involve other youth to participate as well. It has been agreed that youth and youth workers together are responsible for the attendance of the young people.

The issue most at hand is young people's image among police officers, what is their opinion on Dutch-Moroccan youth and how is their view established? Would it be different if the young people were white?
Furthermore, the importance of the existence of a police force is discussed. Young people argue chaos will arise and safety will decrease while criminality intensifies if there is no police.

Another aspect of this meeting is to talk about the upcoming meeting with police officers and the goals and meaning of this specific meeting. Because this will be the first meeting of the project the focus will be on getting to know each other. They practice with some games and assignments which will be used in the next meeting. Youth workers also introduce some games which have been put in to practice directly and will be convenient for the meeting with police officers as well.

2. Meeting youth and police (9/7)
The goal of this first meeting together is to get to know each other and to create some team experiences through cooperation assignments.
Before the start of the workshop police officers and young people meet each other in the youth centre. They introduce themselves, giving each other a hand and make conversation or join in a ping-pong game. Young people are reasonably welcoming the police in their centre.

Part 1
The workshop starts and a physical introduction game is played in which everybody introduces themselves. In the next game it is obvious all participants have to get used to each other and the setting, however everybody is joining in the game.
Then a group of ten to twelve young men enter the room and the atmosphere changes. They are welcomed to join, some participate immediately, others just watch and some indicate that they feel the games are childish and stupid and it is not why they are attending the workshop. The goal of the evening is explained and a few decide to participate and some not.

Break
Afterwards there is a short break with coffee and biscuits. All young people leave to a different room of the youth centre. Both trainers decide to talk to some youth, especially to the ones who have not been to another meeting before. They explain what the project is about but negativity prevails and a large part of the group entering halfway the workshop decides not to join after the break. All participants already involved do return however, as well as one of the youth who joined halfway.

Part 2
The game 'Hints' is played. Everyone enjoys this, there is a lot of laughter and all participants are really involved in the game. During the game stereotypes and nicknames of one another were presented playfully.
After 'Hints' the participants split up in mixed subgroups to establish rules for the project and the meetings. Young people have a really good input and are sincerely committed. It has been agreed that the rules will be put up in the room next time. During the workshop young people ask many questions and soon it appears to be that on many subjects participants are of the same mind.
The workshop is finished with an exercise. Everyone gives their reaction to the meeting in one word. These words showed a lot of positivity: inspiring, instructive, excitement, content, but also tense.

Rules of engagement

- Listen to each other
- No mobile phones
- When frustration runs too high: step out of the room for a while to cool down
- Let each other finish talking
- Information shared during the workshops does not leave the room
- Anyone who is not able to participate in one of the workshops calls to cancel
- Treat each other respectfully

---

§ 4. Workshop 2: October 2 and October 3, 2011: Respect

1. Meeting young people (10/2)
The goal is to prepare and design the upcoming meeting with police officers in cooperation with youth. Furthermore it is an opportunity to motivate youth, offer them the possibility to give input and pre-discuss some themes, also to reduce some of the present frustration and tension.
The subject of this set of meetings is respect. Young people share their stories about encounters with the police regarding this issue. These are examples of incidents they felt disrespected or treated unfairly by police officers.
Afterwards the design of the next meeting with police officers is discussed. One of the young people indicates to have a problem with the games. The trainers explain

the purpose of the games, that it works very well in making a connection with each other, to break the ice. He appreciates the explanation but still does not want to participate in the games.

2. Meeting youth and police (10/3)
The subject of the workshop is respect. One of the goals is to establish a shared notion of respect and explore similarities amongst the two groups regarding this issue. Another goal is to gain more insight on how participants perceive each other and to become more familiar with each other.

Introduction
The workshop starts with some warming up-games, to recapitulate the participants' names. Afterwards the rules of engagement established in the former session are outlined.

Respect
The first assignment is to split up in groups, each group containing at least one police officer and share with each other an example of when you felt treated with respect. Some young people have difficulties naming an example. Thereafter each group has to write down what they mean by respect. Each paper circulates among the subgroups and each group indicates which items they mentioned themselves as well.

> **Respect is …**
>
> - Treating people like you want to be treated
> - Letting each other finish talking
> - Being polite
> - Treating people equally
> - Communicating well
> - No 'dissing'
> - Showing understanding

Scene
Young people play a scene, in which police and youth encounter each other on the street, impersonating both police officers and young people. Afterwards the police ask some questions about the context and explain the routine in which they work. Some ideas the youth has about the police are disproved, like the thought police officers gain personally of giving someone a fine. However, emotions run high during this part of the workshop. A few young people communicate disrespectful and are laughing at other people. Other young people agree their behaviour is disrespectful and in the end he makes excuses.

Young people and police officers seem to agree that fines do not bring a solution to the problem, but what does? The role of neighbours is discussed as well. They do not approach the young people when they feel harassed by noise or otherwise, but directly call the police. Both youth and police agree it would be better to

communicate with neighbours. Young people are asked to reflect on this issue, can they imagine people are afraid to confront them?

Roles and tasks
In this part the roles of police and young people are discussed. Which tasks, duties and rights are connected to this role? The discussion also contains the possibilities for recreation, which according to youth are very limited.

Completion
 Some police officers make final notes on the meeting. For example the fact that indeed there is a lot to improve in the possibilities for youth, but the contact between youth and police is still not what it should be, there is a lot to gain on this point as well. Furthermore the issue of what to do when participants meet each other in the street is brought up by one of the police officers. Young people agree to greet each other if nothing is going on.
Another police officer makes an appointment with one of the youth to look at his fines and see what he can do for him.

§ 5. Workshop 3: October 30 and October 31, 2011: Cat and mouse

1. Meeting young people (10/30)
The goal of this meeting is clarifying the objectives of the project and giving young people the opportunity to express their ideas on the design of the sessions with police officers and to prepare for these workshops.

Parents
Youth workers and trainers were wondering if parents of the young people were aware of the participation of their children. All youth except one indicate their parents know about the project. The one who has not told his parents about it yet, will do this near upon.
Another subject is an upcoming congress in Antwerp which three young people can attend. The youth indicate they would like to make a documentary about the project.

Evaluating the former workshop
One of the young people is disappointed in the police because he expected his fine to be remitted and this did not happen. Other young people understand his feelings. However, the trainers indicate the remittance of fines has never been promised, the police is bound to rules as well.
In general, the former workshop resulted in mixed feelings, young people felt both understood and not understood, depending on the discussed theme and the specific police officer.

Preparing upcoming workshop
The subject of the upcoming meeting is competition and teambuilding. What does this mean for both youth and police? The underlying theme is the cat and mouse game police and youth often are playing. Agreed is to start with competitive

assignments and exercises for cooperation. The young people will prepare board and round games for the second part of the session.

The meeting is concluded with naming each one positive aspect of the meeting and something you would like to do the next time.

2. Meeting youth and police (10/31)
The subject of this meeting is competition and teambuilding. Goals are to learn how to cooperate and through this cooperation establish a positive engagement between police officers and youth. The underlying idea is knowing the rules of engagement is necessary to play the game, to understand each other and come to solutions. This applies in games, as well as in everyday life and interaction between youth and police.

Competitive and cooperation games
The workshop is started with games for competition and cooperation. In the beginning young people and police officers were separated but when the game started this division diminished. Participants played very enthusiastically and were eager to win.
In the second part the group was split in four, each group starting with one of the four activities: ping pong, foosball, a card game and a board game. Every 10 minutes, participants had to switch games in a way everyone played all games with variable participants.

After a break all participants discussed the effect of these games in groups and in which way it is useful to the project. Each group made a drawing about this. In these smaller groups discussions about communication between police and youth emerged. These conversations were very functional and in the end all participants estimated the atmosphere as good. Some indicated that real communication had been achieved; the feeling of 'us against them' was overcome. One of the young people, who has a very troubling relationship with the police and did not want to shake hands with them earlier in the project, shook hands at the end of this meeting.

§ 6.   Workshop 4: November 27 and November 28, 2011: Cultural encounter

1. Meeting young people (11/27)
The goal of this meeting is to evaluate the former workshop and prepare for the next one, in order to achieve commitment among youth and stimulate their input in the project.

Evaluating former workshop
All young people indicate the atmosphere during the last workshop has been very good.

Preparing the upcoming workshop
The upcoming workshop will be about getting to know each other's culture. The young people discuss what they can show about Morocco, for example food but also music. They decided to sing a song and possibly also do a dance.
Thereafter they played the 'culture game' aimed at an exchange on (cultural defined) experiences principal to personal development by asking questions to stimulate a dialogue about cultural norms and values, for example: who is the boss, raising children, prejudice about your culture, and prejudice about other cultures. After this conversation, youth made a rap for each participating police officer to add to the present in the 'Sinterklaas' celebration.

2. Meeting youth and police officers (11/28)
The goal of this meeting is to learn about each other's cultures and to experience a positive happening together, stimulating the establishment of a relationship between young people and police officers.

Music
At the start of the meeting, participants make music together. The youth worker and a police officer play instruments and the youth worker and one of the young people sing a song. Afterwards music is played and everybody dances together; obviously some participants are shy to dance.

Culture game
The group is split up in three subgroups to play the "culture game". It works as follows: throw the dice and pick the card corresponding with the number the dice shows. Ask the question on the card and answer it. The other participants of the subgroup can respond and ask questions.
This game attempts to initiate conversation and dialogue about cultural norms and values of the participants. In most groups this method is successful: profound dialogue is achieved and the participants are communicating open, sharing their thoughts. After the game the subgroups discuss their findings with the entire group. It appears to have been informative for many participants. For example, the celebration of a birthday differs between and within cultures.

Culture game
The question cards in the culture game are classified in seven categories:
1. Food and drinks
   Example: What does a typical breakfast look like in your country?
2. Faith
   Example: What role does 'faith' play in your everyday life?
3. Stories
   Example: Which stories or fairytales played a part in your childhood?
4. Living environment
   Example: What was your favourite thing to do when you were about ten years old?
5. Parties
   Example: How do you celebrate a birthday?
6. Norms and rules
   Example: Which prejudices do you know about other cultures?
7. Family
   Example: Which family member are you proud of and why?

Sinterklaas

The celebration of 'Sinterklaas' starts, and as the tradition prescribes poems about the participants are being recited and everyone gets a present. The police officers wrote a poem for the young people and vice versa. When the police recited their poem about the young people, individually naming all of them, the youth was visibly radiating.

§ 7.   Workshop 5: January 15 and January 16, 2012: Police rules

1. Meeting young people (01/15)
The goal of this meeting is to prepare for the next workshop and determine what the youth would like to do and discuss. This preparing aims at achieving commitment among youth and stimulates their input in the project.

This meeting is decided to talk about rule in the upcoming workshop with the police. The youth would like an opportunity to ask questions about the rules police officers have to stick to and discuss different kinds of approaching people as an officer.

2. Meeting youth and police (01/16)
This meeting aims to clarify rights and duties of both police and youth and stimulate the discussion and communication about this topic. It also tries to stipulate the importance of clarity on this subject and the consequences of the absence of clarity.

The workshop starts with a few games as warming-up:
- 1, 2, 3 game: counting from one to three in couples. The first says one, the second says two, the first says three and the second says one, and so on. Step by step the numbers are exchanged for gestures. This game sounds simple but is actually quite difficult, therefore creating solidarity because everyone makes mistakes and you have to focus on yourself and the other to achieve success.
- A game in which someone had to walk through the room, stand still and close their eyes. Then a question is asked, for example "how many people are wearing glasses?"
- Key game: participants have to cooperate to retrieve the set of keys.

Excluding-game
This game is about rules made by a group and therefore relevant to the subject. However the game was mainly started because some participants were very noisy and disturbing the workshop. This had mostly to do with the fact some youth did not attend the preparing meeting on Sunday and therefore were troubling the process.

Card game
The group was distributed over a few tables, each table had a different type of card game. Winners and losers switched tables after a game was done. Rule was words

could not be used, they had to play in silence. Goal of this exercise was to experience the way it feels when rules are not clear, what does this do to you?

Rules, rights and duties
In consultation is decided to discuss this theme in smaller subgroups. The atmosphere was a bit uneasy and disquiet, so the young people and police officers were distributed over the tables. Youth could ask questions and police officers could answer them in tranquillity. This dialogue went well at all tables. Police talked about the rules and procedures they are bound to. Some main issues were:
- Why is there more police presence in the neighbourhood?
- Obligation to identify oneself
- How precise does a description of a perpetrator need to be?
- How can you file a report for discrimination?

The obligation to show identification was the most discussed subject. The police was struck by some examples the youth gave on this issue. Young people were very interested in their obligations. Their main concern was the way they are approached when they are asked for their ID.

Completion
To complete the workshop the police brought uniform jackets and hats. Young people could wear them and take pictures. They had a lot of fun in doing this. Afterwards, some issues for the next workshop were discussed. This concerned an activity to be organised for the neighbourhood. All participants were asked to think of a joint activity.

§ 8.   Workshop 6: February 12 and February 13, 2012: Project goals

1. Meeting young people (02/12)
The goal of this meeting is clarifying the objectives of the project and giving young people the opportunity to express their ideas on composing the workshops. A delegation from the United Kingdom attends this session as well.

Contact with police
The purpose of and motive for the project are discussed. The current troublesome relationship between youth and police in the streets asks for an intervention. Young people indicate that the police officers in the project do listen to them, however, they are only a few. It is important to change the image of Dutch-Moroccan youth among police officers.
The problem is that outside the workshops, everything stays the same. The youth still has to show ID without reason. The police as an institution is different from an individual police officer.

The project's role
The project's role in provoking change is discussed with young people. This leads to the following remarks:

- Role-play in the workshops stays role-play. Outside the interaction remains the same.
- The effects on a small number of officers in the project should spread out to other officers.
- Police participates voluntary in this project, they listen and respond to the young people. These are positive aspects.
- The police force can maybe change when more Dutch-Moroccans become police officers.

During this discussion advantages and results of taking part in the project are mentioned. One of the participants brings up an incident in which he was verbally abused by police officers. He filed a complaint. He indicates his awareness of this possibility had been stimulated by taking part in the project. Other advantages are the opportunity to go to Antwerp, the ability to communicate in an open way with the police, the increase in respect among participants and perhaps more possibilities for jobs and internships or a solution to the refusals for entering a club or disco.

2. Meeting youth and police (02/13)
During this meeting the delegation from the UK was present as well. The goal was to stimulate cooperation and work on teambuilding to improve the process of developing trust. Another objective of the workshop was to consider the project, its main aspects and memorable events.

The workshop was started with some warming-up games. Notable was the fact that police and youth remained in quite separate groups during these games. Afterwards a game like 'Hints' was played, in mixed teams. Some teams had a hard time cooperating.
After a break the participants got another assignment. Everyone got a canvas and was asked to paint the most memorable thing about the project, or its most important aspect. The young people were very excited and enthusiastic and everybody started painting, concentrated and in silence. However, after half an hour a few young people started disturbing others, painting on each other's canvas which destroyed the serious approach among many participants. When evaluating the paintings and explaining what one meant with its painting, there seemed to be no room for a serious discussion, this was overshadowed by a giggly mood.

§ 9.   Workshop 7: March 11 and March 26, 2012: Interim results

1. Meeting young people (03/11)
The goal of this meeting is to prepare for the next workshops and determine what the youth would like to do with regard to the completion of the project. This is in order to achieve commitment among youth and to stimulate their input in the project.

Upcoming workshops
First of all, some practical aspects regarding the upcoming workshops are passed on. The next meeting will be focussed on a debate, organised by one of the participants, as part of his education. The workshop thereafter will be an excursion to the police tracks where the group will do physical activities.

Completion of the project
The youth is asked to express their ideas for an activity to complete the project in a festive way and present to the neighbourhood and other people of Gouda what the project has been about. Among the youth's ideas are: a barbecue at the police station, a visit to the project in London, an article in the paper or a guided tour through the police station.

2. Meeting youth and police (03/26)
The goal is to exchange opinions and create an open dialogue between participants. Another objective is to look ahead and explore the opinions on the results of the project.

The workshop starts with a warming-up, this time the battery-bunny game, played in groups of three. Two of them play the role of the bunny, their task is to keep on walking in one direction, the other gives directions to the bunnies through tapping their shoulder. The goal is to get the bunnies in position with the backs against each other. The underlying thought is to show the difficulty of bringing different interests in line, but when this is achieved it produces great satisfaction and discharge.

Debate
After this game the debate organized by one of the young people kicks off. The subjects are linked to the theme raising children, for example: *Watching a lot of TV stimulates the development of children* or *Moroccan children are raised in a stricter way than Dutch children*.
All participants are involved in the debate, stating their opinion and contributing to the process. There appear to be many shared ideas on the subjects. Many participants share personal stories during the debate, apparently the created environment feels safe.
When the debate is finished all participants are thanked for their input, specifically the discussion leader who organized the debate is praised for his input and his development in the past few months during his participation in the project.

Promoting the project
After the debate another discussion is started, this time about the way the project can be promoted and what the results have been up until now. The participants express to have experienced the following results: increased understanding of each other, learning how to cooperate, a better insight in the other's culture and a more nuanced and less stereotyped view of the other.

§ 10.   Workshop 8: April 23, 2012: Storm track

The goal is to stimulate the positive relationships built between police and young people on a pure physical level and offer young people the possibility to an excursion to the police tracks. This is a trail with exercises like climbing, jumping, a balance beam etcetera. This is an opportunity to push boundaries and overcome fears and personal blockages.

The group gathers at the youth centre and together they leave for the tracks in a few vans, young people and police officers mixed. Strikingly, although youth normally does not want to be associated with the police, they are now trying to get in the vans as fast as possible, they show excitement. At the tracks the group is divided in three subgroups and each group gets an instructor with whom they will run the trail. It is a tough trail but everybody works hard and helps each other if necessary. There is a lot of laughter and fun.
After the groups finished the trail, they get another assignment: transport beams and tires, running the trail, without them touching the ground. This is a real challenge for the groups, they have to communicate and cooperate very well. In the end they succeed.

During the subsequent break the atmosphere is good, there is a lot of chatting and laughing and joking. Afterwards they have to fulfil one last assignment: six people have to run the trail, cooperating at times but without talking to each other. Only one participant is allowed to talk. If one of the others does talk, every one, also the people standing on the side, have to do five push ups. All six participants are doing very well, helping each other and really cooperating. Then, one of them has to climb over a beam, high in the sky. This particular participant is afraid of heights. All other participants encourage and cheer for him. When he needs to concentrate there is complete silence. He overcomes the obstacle and everybody cheers for him. All have great respect for what he did.

"Not only did he overcome his own fears, it was also about not letting your team down. The fact one of your team members is willing to push his boundaries in that kind of way to belong to your team, to not let your team down, is really moving. This does something to people."
- Trainer

§ 11.   Workshop 9: May 7, 2012: Mission possible

The goal of the meeting is to evaluate the visit to the police tracks and to reflect on the meetings and to discuss the experienced moments of learning in the project.

The meeting starts with considering the excursion and sharing everyone's experiences. All participants enjoyed the visit and are positive about the cooperation that had been established.

Mission Possible
The whole group gets the assignment to execute 10 exercises in 50 minutes:
1. Make one drawing containing as many characteristics of participants as possible.
2. Create a top 5 of most successful activities in the project
3. Create a top 5 of activities which are not to be repeated
4. Make a short rap about the project and record it
5. Make a commercial about the project saying why one should participate
6. Make a line of all participants in order of age
7. Each, write a wish to the youth worker who got ill
8. Connect all paintings with small hooks
9. Create five statements for a debate in Gouda Goverwelle about youth and society
10. Each, note one thing you have learned from participating in the project

Everyone was participating actively in fulfilling the assignment. Especially the making of a commercial was an exercise all participants enthusiastically executed. The assignment created an intensive cooperation between participants, everyone wanted to accomplish their task.

§ 12. Final meeting: June 24 and June 25, 2012: Evaluation

The goal of this meeting is to finalize the project in a positive way, summarize the process that took place and discuss its results. People from the initiative in the UK are present as well.

Debate
The first part of the session consisted of a debate, organized and led by one of the participating young people. The subjects concerned the results of the project, the statements they discussed were:

- *The project has produced positive changes*
- *Participating young people changed their image of the police*
- *The image of youth has changed because of the project*

The group was split up in proponents and opponents, but soon this distinction became vague, because all participants were eager to express their own, personal opinion instead of an imposed one.
The statements create some real debate, different opinions are expressed, some nuanced, some very outspoken. A few young people indicate that outside the workshop they still have to deal with the troubled relationship between themselves and the police and therefore they argue the project did not create changes. Others developed a more positive approach and are able to express this by stating that participating officers do now have a better understanding of youth and vice versa. Most police officers have the ability to contemplate on the project and its results in a more nuanced way. Most of them indicate that through this project, a start has been made in creating changes in the relationship between youth and police and the

resulting problematic situations. This project has been the beginning of a time-consuming process yet to fulfil.

Results
After the debate, structured by the mentioned statements, a discussion is started about the results of the project. Which outcomes do the participants perceive and do they think the project has been successful. Both young people and police officers indicate that among the participants an increased understanding of each other has developed and their communication is more respectful. Some police officers argue that because their interaction has improved, also concerning encounters in the street, this effect influences a broader group of people: colleagues of officers and friends of the young people see how the participants interact when meeting each other in the neighbourhood and are given an example of positive communication between them.

Certificates
Both young people and police officers receive a certificate of their participation in the project. They are thanked for their input, their open attitudes and their courage to withstand negative judgement by their peers. The young people also receive a Bobby helmet (London police) and the police officers gain a small teddy bear. The youth workers and the trainers are thanked for their work as well.

The ceremony is completed with a positive and inspirational word of the police chef. He speaks about the start of the project and the image Dutch-Moroccan youth used to have at the police station. Because of the problems most police officers thought these youth did not have any goals in life. Now the officers participating in the project learned that they do want things from life, but they have a hard time reaching their goals, sometimes giving in.
He indicates the police is very thankful to have received the opportunity to participate in this project, they greatly appreciate the effort young people have put in and applaud the accomplishments made by the youth workers.

PART III

RESULTS

Chapter 6.   Police Officers

Introduction

In this chapter we will review the interviews conducted at the end of the project with the participating police officers. First, we will describe some changes in the group of police officers (§ 1). Thereafter we will illustrate their views, opinions and perceptions on the meetings (§ 2) and on youth in general (§ 3). We will go in to the development of these opinions during the course of the project, by comparing the general opinions of police officers at the start of the project and now the project has been completed. In the last paragraph the experienced results will be discussed (§ 4).

§ 1.   Participating police officers

During the course of the project, some slight changes in the group of participating police officers occurred. One police officer stopped participating after one meeting and has been replaced halfway the project (in December). Because of the early leaving of this first officer, he has not been interviewed at the time of the baseline report. The officer replacing him has been interviewed in the second and third round of interviews.

Furthermore, one officer's maternity leave started midway the project. She has been interviewed for the baseline report and at the completion of the project, but not for the midpoint report. Overall, in the third round of interviews all eight police officers participating in the project at the time have been interviewed for the final evaluation report.

§ 2.   Opinions on workshops

To get an idea of the police officer's views on the meetings with young people, and how this view develops along the course of the project, they were confronted with some statements at two points in time: halfway and at the end of the project. The police officers had to give their opinion about these statements, using fixed answers. The response options are: strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree. Table 1 shows the responses the police officers gave to the different statements in the second phase and in the third phase.

Table 1. Statements and responses of police officers obtained during the second phase (N=7) and the third phase (N=8) [24]

Statement	Degree of agreement	Amount 2nd phase	Amount 3rd phase
Everyone in the workshops gets an equal chance to take part	Strongly agree	3	4
	Agree	4	3
	Neither		1
	Disagree		
	Strongly disagree		
I feel awkward working with the young people	Strongly agree		
	Agree		
	Neither	1	1
	Disagree	5	4
	Strongly disagree	1	3
Everyone in the group has been able to communicate effectively with each other	Strongly agree		
	Agree	6	6
	Neither	1	
	Disagree		2
	Strongly disagree		
Everyone here is working toward the same thing	Strongly agree		1
	Agree	2	1
	Neither	4	2
	Disagree	1	4
	Strongly disagree		
These workshops are giving me a better insight into the lives of young people in this city	Strongly agree	2	4
	Agree	5	3
	Neither		
	Disagree		
	Strongly disagree		1
Taking part in these workshops is giving me a better insight into how young people think about the police	Strongly agree	2	6
	Agree	3	1
	Neither	2	
	Disagree		
	Strongly disagree		1
How well do you think the youth workers have managed the workshops	Very well	3	7
	Fairly well	4	1
	Not very well		
	Not at all well		
What was the atmosphere like during the workshops	Tense		
	Dull		
	Friendly	7	8
	Intense		

---

[24] The statements in bold are core questions.

The first statement: "*Everyone has an equal chance to take part in the workshop*" is confirmed by seven of the police officers, one officer is neutral explaining this by the fact that there are too many participants for everyone to have their say. Furthermore, some people are more eager to speak than others. Four out of seven police officers strongly agree with the statement and three agree. This distribution of opinion has not changed much since the second phase.

The second statement: "*I feel awkward working with the young people*" is disagreed with by almost all participating police officers. Some of them state that in the beginning there was some awkwardness, but this faded away after some time. Others mention it varies somewhat per participant, some youth are less pleasant to communicate with or even obnoxious at times. But in general the awkwardness has vanished almost completely according to the officers. Concerning this subject, few changes can be observed compared to the answers in the second phase.

When confronted with the statement: "*Everyone in the group has been able to communicate effectively with each other*" the majority agrees, but two officers do not. They feel it is hard to communicate effectively within a large group. In a one-to-one conversation it is easier to explain oneself. However, because of the setting of the workshops this is not possible very often. In the second phase, no officers disagreed with the statement that everyone had been able to communicate effectively with each other, so this is a slight adjustment in the overall opinion.

The answers to the statement "*Everyone here is working toward the same thing*" are pretty varied, even more than during the second phase. Some police officers argue that a few young people (one or two) seem to be participating in the project for their own interest, to gain privileges or arrange some things. This does not apply to the majority of the young people. However, also they may have somewhat different goals or expectations of the project in mind. One police officer states it as follows:

"*In the last session there proved to be some differences among the expectations about the results of the project. One of the young people was very disappointed because he was still asked to show his ID when hanging around in the streets. Apparently he expected, or aimed for to be left alone completely after having taking part in the project. This is not realistic, especially because only a small amount of police officers are participating in the project. Police officers seem to have less high expectations. I feel like, if only a few young people gain a greater understanding of the police, it's a success.*" Male police officer

Almost all officers express that the workshops give them a better insight into the lives of young people. Some state that they already had this insight but through the workshops they developed even more awareness of the difficulties Dutch-Moroccan youth experience, especially when living in Gouda. One officer strongly disagrees because he already was aware of this. On average the statement is a bit stronger agreed with than during the second phase. The same applies to the statement: "*Taking part in these workshops is giving me a better insight into how young people think about the police*". In particular one of the exercises is mentioned in which the youth had to perform a play in which they had to impersonate a police officer. It turned out they really thought the police could pilfer the money when they fine somebody, which startled the police officers and was quite shocking for them.

All eight police officers argue that both the facilitators and the youth worker have managed the workshops very or fairly well. Both their roles are even more appreciated than during the second phase. This applies especially for the effort the youth worker has put in to make the project a success. The atmosphere during the workshops is estimated as relaxed and friendly by all police officers. They express the development from a tense atmosphere, in which a lot of blaming, judging and arguments occurred, to a more friendly environment in which the participants could communicate in a reasonable way. Some officers also mention the concentrated attitude of all participants. Although the atmosphere is relaxed, almost all members of the group are very involved with the discussions. Some young people developed from a distracted, indifferent attitude, with ear phones in their ears, to a genuinely concern for the debate going on.

Goal
Most officers describe the goal of the project as building a respectful relationship between youth and police officers, to gain insights about each other and through this, improve communication and create understanding. All officers state that this goal is achieved, or at least partially. They argue the majority of the participants, as well at the police's as the young people's side, have reached a better understanding and improved contact. Many of the officers believe this effect can be forwarded within the police and among young people in Gouda. Some of them state that this is already happening: the improved communication between the specific youth and the specific officers is noticed by other police officers and other young people, who both may have a more ambivalent attitude towards the other party. They will be influenced, even if it is only just a slight influence, because they have experienced these positive interactions and have seen another way of communicating with each other.

§ 3.   Opinions on youth

To get an impression of the views, opinions and perceptions of the participating police officers regarding youth, they were confronted with a few statements during interviews at the beginning, halfway and at the end of the process. The officers had to give their opinion about these statements, using a scale from one to ten to express how much they agreed with the statement (1 strongly disagree – 10 strongly agree). Table 2 shows the average value the police officers ascribed to each statement in the first phase, second phase and third phase of the project and the difference between the start and the end.

Table 2. Statements and average ascribed values (range 1 – 10) by police officers obtained during the first phase (N=7) second phase (N=7) and the third phase (N=8) and the difference in values[25]

Statement	Value 1st phase	Value 2nd phase	Value 3rd phase	Difference
1. Young people are positive assets to my community	6.2	7	8.3	+2.1
2. It is important for police officers to build relationships with young people	5.7	7.1	8	+2.3
3. As a police officer, I can help combat unequal treatment of young people from minority ethnic groups	6.3	6.9	7.3	+1.0
4. Interactions between police officers and youth have little impact on the lives of young people	7	2.6	3	-4.0
5. I have the skills necessary for interacting effectively with young people	5.1	7.1	7.9	+2.8
6. I feel comfortable starting a conversation with young people that I don't know	5.4	6.6	7.8	+2.4
7. Police officers can have a positive effect on the lives of young people without this taking away from their enforcement and other duties	5.6	6.4	7.9	+2.3
8. It is easy to tell what people are like just by looking at them	6.6	4.6	5	-1.6

Table 2 shows a lot of fluctuations in the ascribed values at the start of the project and after the completion. A remarkable result is the increase in agreement with the statements that a positive relationship and corroborative interaction between young people and police officers is important. The participating police officers are now quite strong disagreeing with the statement that '*Interactions between police officers and youth have little impact on the lives of young people*', while at the start of the project their answers were pretty strong towards agreeing with the statement.
Striking is also the improved feeling of competence when dealing with young people in their work, which can be derived from the increase of the values ascribed to the statements '*I have the skills necessary for interacting effectively with young people*' and '*I feel comfortable starting a conversation with young people that I don't know*'. The idea of being able to influence young people's lives in a positive way, while still performing enforcement duties, has seemed to have grown stronger as well.

These developments surfaced halfway the project already and continued in a positive direction up until the end of the whole process. Overall, when comparing the responses to the statements, a development can be observed towards a more positive

---

[25] The statements in bold are core questions.

attitude to youth and adopting a stronger viewpoint that communication between police and youth is important and influential. Furthermore, the police officers gained more confidence in their ability to interact with youth. This transition in opinion is displayed in Figure 2.

Figure 2.   Development of opinions on core statements
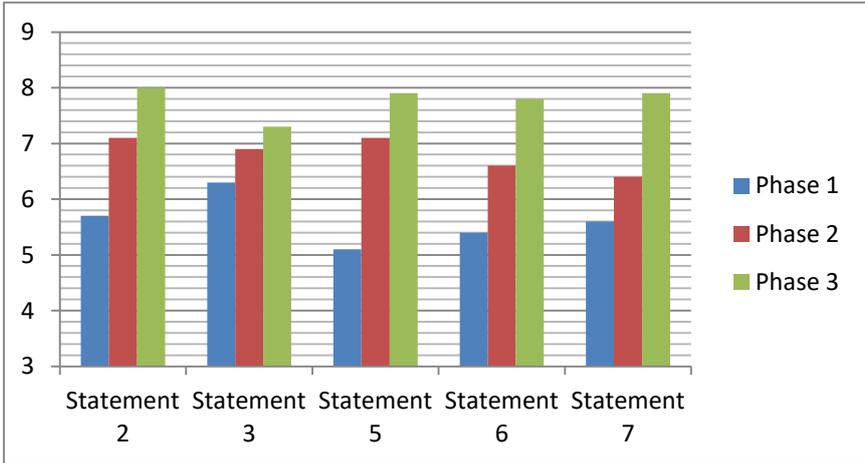
Attributed role of the project
All police officers argue they already had quite a positive, or at least nuanced view on Dutch-Moroccan youth at the start of the project. However, most of them also mention their perspective on underlying causes and backgrounds of these youth has expanded. Police officers gained more insight in their difficult position in society.

"Taking part in the project, I know now where they're coming from, what their backgrounds are, so I can understand their response in the streets. (…) I think it's tough for Dutch-Moroccan young people. You're born with two goals behind and it's hard to catch up and eventually be "in step" with the other youth. Sometimes their environment pushes them in the wrong direction, also because of their stigmatization in which the police also takes part."
Male police officer

Furthermore, one officer mentions an increase in awareness of the negative approach some colleagues have towards Dutch-Moroccan youth and the apparently major impact this has on them.
There exists some division in opinions on the way taking part in the project influences one's working method. Some officers indicate that their participation in the project has no impact on the way they do their work. Others argue it has a slight influence or even a considerable or extensive impact. The ones stating it will have no effect on their working method, indicate that they already had an open approach when communicating with youth and therefore this will remain unchanged. Others state the way of doing their work will alter because of the improved contact with young people and the gained insights of their backgrounds.

"It [the working method] *will change, yes, one hundred percent. The positive contact alters your daily job. Youth are easier to approach, also in addressing them with regard to the behaviour of their friends. They are more willing to tell you things, to give information. People in the neighbourhood notice this as well. The tension in approaching young people has diminished."* Female police officer

Experiences outside the workshops
The majority of the police officers had encounters with youth participating in the project in the street or at the police office. Almost all encounters were positive and affirming the development towards building an agreeable interconnection. The participants are able to talk to each other in a positive way, apparently also outside the workshops. One police officer mentions a hearing of a participant concerning an arrest, which could be handled very well, despite or perhaps due to their pervious communication in the project.
However, the attitude of some participating youth towards non-participating police officers is in some cases considered as hostile and incorrect. This causes mixed feelings among the police officers in the project.

§ 4. Experienced results

In the interviews conducted at the time of completion of the project, police officers also expressed their views on the results of the whole process, the effect they are experiencing and the extent to which the project has reached its goals.

Relationship youth work
The connection with youth work has improved extensively. This encompasses more possibilities for a nuanced approach in case of incidents and confrontations. For example public disorder outside a former youth centre has been solved through a joint action of police and youth work, in a communicative, peaceful way. Before, the police would have handled it in a repressive manner, also because alternative options were limited. In cooperation with youth work, the police has access to a larger variety of solutions, also for youth.

Creating understanding
Understanding of each other's viewpoint and backgrounds has improved. According to the police officers, their understanding of Dutch-Moroccan youth has improved and the other way around, the participating young people have gained a better understanding of police officers and how the police functions. Both parties have developed a more positive attitude towards each other. Also non-participating police officers have become less negative towards the project compared to before. However, it is essential to maintain contact between the participants, so the effects will not fade away. Furthermore, because the project had only a small amount of participants among both young people and police officers, it is important to continue the project and involve new participants. This way the effects can be spread, expanded and consolidated.

Situation in Goverwelle

All police officers have the experience that the situation in Goverwelle has improved a lot. Less incidents occur, especially in the past six months the public disorder was almost nonexistent. At the two 'hot spots' where youth caused public disorder, things are tranquil now. The neighbourhood seems to be at peace.

However, as the police officers mention as well, it must be awaited to which extent this still stands during the summer, when the weather is such that young people are more residing outdoors. Furthermore, the project is part of an intensive operation, which started December 2010 in Goverwelle. This operation encompasses a broad approach with use of different measures, one of them the project Critical Encounters. Other elements are CCTV, the method of 1,2,3 strikes out (visiting parents of youth when they are fined for the third time), extra deployment of youth work and some physical changes to public space.

Near upon, a briefing in which young people, parents, youth work, and the municipality will participate is planned to discuss public disorder.

Chapter 7. Young People

Introduction

In this chapter we will review the interviews conducted at the end of the project with the participating young people in the project. First, we will describe some changes in the group of young people (§ 1). Thereafter we will illustrate their views, opinions and perceptions on the meetings (§ 2) and on the police in general (§ 3). Furthermore we will go in to the development of these opinions during the course of the project, by comparing the general opinions of the young people at the start of the project and now the project has been completed.

§ 1.   Participating young people

The lives of young people are not yet well organized and even more because the participating youth does this voluntary in their free time, some attrition is expected. Considering this, it can be perceived as quite an accomplishment keeping over 10 young people involved in the project. At the end of the project 11 young people have been interviewed, 10 of them have also been interviewed in the first and/or second round of interviews as well. Not all young people are attending every meeting, but these eleven have been attending regularly.

The composition of the youth group therefore varies somewhat per workshop, but only three young people quitted the project. However, their places have been filled by four young people who started attending the workshops later on.

§ 2.   Opinions on workshops

To retrieve a representation of the young people's views on the meetings with police officers, they were confronted with some statements during the second interview, halfway the project and now the project has reached its end. The youth had to give their opinion about these statements, using fixed answers. The response options are: strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree. Table 3 shows the responses the young people gave in the second phase and the third phase of the project.

Table 3.   **Statements and responses of young people (N=11) obtained during the second phase[26]**

Statement	Degree of agreement	Amount 2nd phase	Amount 3rd phase
Everyone in the workshops gets an equal chance to take part	Strongly agree	3	2
	Agree	8	7
	Neither		2
	Disagree	2	
	Strongly disagree		
I feel awkward working with the police officers	Strongly agree	2	
	Agree		4
	Neither	3	2
	Disagree	7	5
	Strongly disagree	1	
Everyone in the group has been able to communicate effectively with each other	Strongly agree		1
	Agree	9	5
	Neither	2	3
	Disagree	1	2
	Strongly disagree		
	Missing	1	
Everyone here is working toward the same thing	Strongly agree		1
	Agree	10	7
	Neither	2	2
	Disagree	1	1
	Strongly disagree		
Having taken part in these workshops I now understand more about what it's like to be a police officer in this city	Strongly agree		
	Agree	3	1
	Neither	3	5
	Disagree	7	5
	Strongly disagree		
How well do you think the youth workers have managed the workshops	Very well	9	9
	Fairly well	3	2
	Not very well		
	Not at all well		
	No opinion	1	
What was the atmosphere been like during the workshops	Tense	1	2
	Dull		1
	Friendly/Sociable	9	6
	Intense		
	Varies	2	1
	Not sincere		1

---

[26] The statements in bold are core questions.

The first statement: "*Everyone has an equal chance to take part in the workshop*" is confirmed by the vast majority of young people participating. Two out of eleven are neutral, seven agree and two strongly agree. In contrast to the answers in the second round of interviews, no one disagrees.

The answers to the statement "*I feel awkward working with the police officers*" are varied. Five out of eleven young people disagree, four agree and two are neutral. Some youth mentions it feels a bit uncomfortable or that this differs per workshop and also during one workshop. This distribution of opinions is slightly different than the answers in the second phase. A relatively larger amount of young people indicate they feel awkward working with the police.

The responses to the statement "*Everyone in the group has been able to communicate effectively with each other*" show a varied pattern as well. Although a majority agrees or strongly agrees with the statement, two out of eleven disagree and three neither agree nor disagree. The answers in the third round of interviews a somewhat more varied compared to those of the second round.

The majority of the young people agree with the statement that "*Everyone here is working towards the same thing*". Eight out of eleven agree or strongly agree and only one of them disagrees. Two of the young people state they neither agree nor disagree. They mention some youth is attending because they are bored and not because they are concerned for the project. However, the majority feels all participants are working towards a mutual goal. This is no different from their opinion in the second round of interviews.

The statement "*Having taken part in these workshops I now understand more about what it's like to be a police officer in this city*" is answered more towards disagreeing than agreeing. Only one youth agrees on the statement and five are disagreeing. The other five young people are neutral. Some of them state they do not yet fully understand what it is like to be a police officer, but they gained a bit more insight because of the project. With regard to the distribution of answers, no significant changes have occurred since the second round.

Almost all participating young people think the youth worker managed the workshops very well, two think he did fairly well. Furthermore a small majority of the youth thinks the atmosphere during the workshops was friendly or companionable. Two estimated the atmosphere as tense and one indicated it varies: sometimes it is tense, sometimes friendly and sometimes boring. One of the young people argues he thinks it is a non-sincere atmosphere: during the workshops some police officers act like they are okay, while in the streets you get a fine anyway.

Goal

All young people indicate the goal of the project is to improve the contact between youth and police and create respect for each other. Many of them argue that although the communication between the participants was awkward and difficult in the beginning, during the process this ameliorated towards friendly interaction.

"The goal is to create a positive relationship between youth and police, so that the police make a less threatening impression and interaction is less abnormal. Furthermore, the goal is also to improve youth's behaviour. This is going well, lately there are less incidents."

If the young people think this goal is reached is a bit diffuse. Seven out of eleven state the workshops and the project as a whole have been successful, however all have some footnotes on this statement. The others are less positive, some argue the project has been a failure and others think the results are somewhere between success and failure. One of them relates this to the small number of participants in the project, because they are just a slight amount of all youth and police officers in Gouda.

The major point stressing the feelings of positive results is the fact that outside in general few things have changed. They still are being approached in a negative way by most police officers. The young people make a clear distinction between police officers participating in the project and 'the others'.

§ 3.   Opinions on the police

To get an impression of the views, opinions and perceptions of the participating young people regarding the police, they were confronted with a few statements at the start, halfway and at the end of the project. The youth had to give their opinion about these statements, using fixed answers. The response options are: strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree. Table 4 shows the responses the young people gave to each statement in the first phase, second phase and third phase.

Table 4.   **Statements and responses of young people obtained during the first phase (N=13), the second phase (N=14) and the third phase (N=11)[27]**

Statement	Degree of agreement	Amount 1st phase	Amount 2nd phase	Amount 3rd phase
The police in this area treat people like me with respect	Strongly agree			
	Agree		4	
	Neither	3	2	7
	Disagree	2	5	3
	Strongly disagree	8	3	1
The police use rules and procedures that are fair to everyone	Strongly agree			
	Agree		4	1
	Neither	3	1	2
	Disagree	4	7	7
	Strongly disagree	6	2	1
The police try to explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with	Strongly agree	1		
	Agree		2	2
	Neither	3	5	2
	Disagree	4	5	5

---

[27] The statements in bold are core questions.

	Strongly disagree	5	2	2
The police make decisions based on facts, rather than on their own personal opinions	Strongly agree			
	Agree	1	5	2
	Neither	3	2	1
	Disagree	2	6	7
	Strongly disagree	6		1
	Missing		1	
The police in this area are effective in dealing with crime	Strongly agree	1		1
	Agree		1	2
	Neither	4	4	3
	Disagree	4	7	2
	Strongly disagree	3	2	3
	Missing	1		
Sometimes police officers have to stop people and ask what they are doing	Strongly agree	6		
	Agree	2	8	6
	Neither	4	1	4
	Disagree	1	4	1
	Strongly disagree			
	Missing		1	
Police and young people in this area can work together to deal with crime and other local issues	Strongly agree	4		
	Agree	3	8	4
	Neither	1	1	2
	Disagree	4	5	3
	Strongly disagree	1		2
If you witnessed someone breaking into a flat or apartment, how likely would you call the police to report it?	Strongly agree	4		
	Agree	1	6	2
	Neither	3	1	2
	Disagree	2	6	5
	Strongly disagree	3	1	2

The first statement: "*The police in this area treat people like me with respect*" is agreed on by none of the young people. The majority answers "neither", mainly because of the distinction between police officers participating in the project, who treat them with respect, and the officers they meet in the street, by whom they feel disrespected. But some youth just indicate it differs per officer in general, one time they are treated with respect, other times not. In the second phase more young people agreed on this statement compared to the third phase.

When responding to the statement "*The police use rules and procedures that are fair to everyone*" the larger part of participating youth disagrees. Some of them indicate that in principal rules are fair, but they are not always applied in a fair way by officers. On a footnote: this statement is less strongly disagreed with compared to the first phase, however in the second phase the answers were more inclined towards agreement.

Most young people disagree with the statement "*The police try to explain the reasons for their actions to people they deal with*". However, compared to the first phase, young people disagree less strongly. Two of them agree and another two are neutral. They explain their response mostly by stating that the police explain their actions arbitrarily. Sometimes police explain their reasons, sometimes they send young people away without comment or clarification.

The majority of the young people disagree with the statement "*The police make decisions based on facts, rather than on their own personal opinions*". This response is motivated by arguing that individual police officers handle situations differently and have a different approach or estimation of the same kind of behaviour. They state police officers are subjective too, although maybe not on purpose.

The response pattern of the statement "*The police in this area are effective in dealing with crime*" is quite varied. In the first two phases it leaned pretty strong towards disagreeing. In the third phase still more young people disagree, but a significant number of interviewed youth agrees or states "neither".

A small majority of the young people agree with the statement "*Sometimes police officers have to stop people and ask what they are doing*". One of them disagrees, the other four are neutral. In the second phase more of them disagreed, however this is not an extensive difference. Young people indicate that they think police need to stop people sometimes, but they do have a choice in the way they approach people. It is not necessary to approach people in a negative way when asking them what they are doing.

The statement "*Police and young people in this area can work together to deal with crime and other local issues*" is more disagreed with at the end point of the project than at the midpoint. The answers of youth are varied, some think it is possible, others state it is not. In the first phase answers were varied too, but still more young people seemed to agree than at the end. Perhaps, they feel that at this point such cooperation is a bridge too far.

Only two out of eleven young people agree with the statement "*If you witnessed someone breaking into a flat or apartment, how likely would you call the police to report it?*". The others think it would not be likely they would call the police or answer "neither". One of the young people explains he would probably not call the police but would go after the burglar himself.

Through presenting youth these statements, their opinion on the police was retrieved, indicating a quite critical attitude. Afterwards, they were asked if their opinion on the police had improved or not during the project. Table 5 shows the response of the interviewed youth. Despite the critical attitude emerging from the responses to the statements, at the end of the project almost half of the participating youth indicate their opinion has improved. Only one of them states his opinion has

deteriorated and five indicate it has not changed. Part of this former group points out that their opinion on the participating police officers is different from their opinion of the police in general, as an institute. They express their opinion of the participating police officers has changed in a positive way, but their opinion of the police as a whole has remained the same.

Table 5.   Development of young people's overall opinion on police in the second phase (N=14) and third phase (N=11)

Opinion on police	Amount 2nd phase	Amount 3rd phase
Improved	8	5
Stayed the same	4	5
Got worse	-	1
Varies per officer	1	-
Not applicable	1	-

Eight out of eleven young people argue they think it is very tough to be a police officer in Gouda. Some state they do not know what it is like because they are not in their position. But the majority indicates they think it is a tough and difficult job and they would not want to be in their shoes. The largest part of the youth does not think they have many things in common with the police. Similarities mentioned are 'being human' or 'being part of the same society'. Few of the youth state they have absolutely nothing in common with the police. This is an improvement compared to the answers in the second phase, when much more young people argued they resembled in no way. Now, at the end point of the project, the majority is more nuanced:

"We're both people. But we also both want to be put in our right or carry our point, this brings conflict at times."

Experiences outside the workshops
Except for one participant, all interviewed young people have had encounters with the police outside the workshops. Some of them had experiences with participating officers, almost all positive encounters. These encounters have positively influenced the youth's opinion on the police, giving them better insight in the way they work or confirming their improved relationship.
Encounters with other police officers and in one case with police officers participating in the project have been more negative. It concerns incidents in which they had to show ID, received a fine or were suspected of an offense. One of the young people tells about the following encounter:

"I was sitting on a bench in the park. Nearby, a small group of Dutch youth were sitting on another bench. A Dutch pair passed by and looked at me, quite searching and pervasive. Five minutes later I was approached by the police, asking what I was doing and ordering me to show identification. This is not right. Dutch-Moroccan youth is much more often approached

by the police than Dutch youth, although they are just sitting somewhere, doing nothing wrong. This is not right."

All of the young people participating in the project share these type of experiences. Part of them feels disappointed in the project because they hoped to change this reality and perceive that in many cases things have remained the same.
Six out of eleven young people have told family and sometimes friends about their participation in the project and its goals. Some of them have informed their school class. The other five indicate they do not talk about the project with other people.
Only four out of eleven people feel young people in Gouda are being listened to. The others state young people have no voice or are 'not really' listened to. Some of them make a distinction between inside and outside the workshops, they feel listened to in the project but not outside. Mentioned is the fact that politicians should have been included in the project as well, to accomplish a more extended and outreaching impact. Others also mention that young people have to commit to 'make' a voice, to speak up and express their opinion out loud. Otherwise, they cannot be heard.

§ 4. Experienced results

In the interviews conducted at the time of completion of the project, young people also expressed their views on the results of the whole process, the effect they are experiencing and the extent to which the project has reached its goals.

Positive interaction between youth and police
Young people indicate as one of the most important results of the project that the contact and communication between young people and police, participating in the project, has improved. Young people have become more willing to engage with the police, they are more open to communicate. And police officers treat young people more respectful. Because the meetings provide an opportunity to meet each other and enter into dialogue, the relationship between youth and police improves. Furthermore, the workshops have been fun and entertaining as well, participants had a good time.
According to youth, these positive results can be sent out and increased by promoting the project and its accomplishments through film and publications, but also through hearsay. If all participants share their positive experiences in their social network, the message spreads like wildfire.

Situation Goverwelle
In Goverwelle the interaction between youth and police has ameliorated. The communication has been very negative, and nowadays this is recovering. Things have calmed down among youth in the neighbourhood. During the project people in the neighbourhood have become more involved with each other, which means there is more support among residents and youth. All of these improvements are reflected in a diminution of incidents.

No success

Some of the young people argue the project has had no success. They mainly appoint this to the fact they are still being approached in a negative way by most police officers. It seems they have set their expectations of the project too high and are not able or willing to contemplate on results on a smaller scale.

Some young people do acknowledge the project contributed to an improved relationship between them and the participating officers, but they have no confidence the project will change the police force or the way they work. To achieve this, all officers have to change.

Another impeding factor young people describe, is the low coverage of youth in the project. Some young people argue the limited number of youth participants is due to the applied method. The youth wanted to debate and discuss the problems between the police and Dutch-Moroccan youth. The workshops were focussing too much on games, leaving too little room for serious debate and conversation. Therefore many young people dropped out.

Chapter 8.   Impressions of others

Introduction

In this chapter some qualitative impressions on the project and its course will be reviewed. These insights stem from the youth worker and the trainers involved and from observation during the workshops and conversation with neighbourhood residents. First, the perceived results and developments will be outlined (§ 1). Thereafter some notions on obstacles and bottlenecks will be discussed (§ 2).

§ 1.   Results and developments

Both trainers and youth worker indicate they think the project has been a success. They mention various results, manifesting on different levels, both among participants as in the neighbourhood.

Trust and respect

Contact between participating youth and police officers has improved. Before the project started, young people did not even want to speak to the police, except perhaps for verbal abuse. Nowadays participants greet each other when they meet in the streets and have a normal, pleasant conversation. Earlier, this type of interaction was not possible. After taking part in the project, young people and police officers got to know each other and developed trust towards each other. Youth has developed respect for the police officers and the other way around police officers now have more respect for the young people as well.

Break through stereotypes

Both young people and police officers have overcome their prejudices towards the other group because of the positive encounters and exchange between the participants. They exchanged experiences, feelings and opinions, which created understanding and a more complete and nuanced image of the other. During the meetings, participants gained a lot of knowledge about each other and the world they live in. Young people for example learned more about the function and practice of the police as an institute. Police officers gained more insight in young people's worlds and the obstacles they have to deal with.

Setting a good example

The effect of the development that took place in the project is not limited to the participants. First of all, participants talk about the project and their experiences with people in their social or professional networks. This boosts the discussion concerning the issue and provides positive input on the matter. For example, young people tell other youth: *"I know that officer, he is okay"*. This influences others, albeit on a small scale, it is a whole new message.

Furthermore, because their positive interaction in the streets is noticed by other youth and other police officers, they set an example of alternative ways to communicate and approach each other.

Providing new experiences
The project offered chances and experiences to the participating young people the otherwise would not have had. Some of the young people participated in congresses in Antwerp and in Amersfoort regarding the project. These type of gatherings are totally new to them and visiting another city is a good experience in itself. Also the opportunity to see the police tracks and take part in the exercises is special and contributes to one's development.

Personal development
Linked to the foregoing, personal development is perceived among both young people and police officers during the project. Participants have grown as to their attitude, their behaviour and their ability to be open-minded.

"Among one of the participants we perceived a remarkable development. When he started the meetings his attitude was negative and he behaved indifferent with respect to the project. During the process we saw him change: he took of his hat during the workshops, he sat up straight and was increasingly able to enter into dialogue. The last meeting he dared to tell his story to the group. This lad made huge steps forward. It's a real success story."

§ 2.   Barriers and bottlenecks

During the process some obstacles and barriers arose and had to be overcome. Being confronted with these bottlenecks raised various learning points and experiences, especially useful should the project be continued.

Youth worker's workload
Originally three youth workers would be involved in the project. In practice, the project was left in the responsibility of only one of them. The workload of the project was far too high to be executed by one single person. The youth worker is essential to the project, he is the link between participants. Without the youth worker, no young people would have participated and the project would not have functioned. Although the youth worker did an amazing job according to the participants, the workload proved to be too heavy. He became overwrought and was even hospitalized for a short while. Therefore, the project should be the responsibility of at least two youth workers, so they can share tasks and carry the project together.

Uncertain budget
The budget for activities was uncertain and therefore it was not clear which amount could be spent. This caused feelings of disappointment among youth because of promised dinners etc. that did not happen.

Efflux of youth

The efflux and the changes among participating youth were quite high. This was straining the process sometimes, because young people attending the workshop for the first time were not on the same level as the other participants. Some participants felt the group had to take a few steps back when a new member arrived, limiting the possibilities for growth. It takes time to create a notion of safety within a group, which can be disturbed by the entrance of a new member. However, the fact these new young people wanted to be involved in the project can be considered a very positive aspect.

Chapter 9.   Crime data

Introduction

In this chapter we will make a brief analysis of the statistical data available on crime and public disorder caused by youth. Focused is on the district Goverwelle and the comparable area Achterwillens. Both areas are compared on different type of incidents and their prevalence. First we will show a summary of the development of incidents throughout the years 2010-2012 (§ 1). Afterwards we will focus on the most recent period and the development of incidents in different categories of crime (§ 2). The chapter finishes with conclusions (§ 3).

§ 1.   Half-yearly figures of crime

The development of crime in district Goverwelle is reconstructed through a summary of different types of incidents in the time period 2010-2012. These incidents are grouped by specific topics, addressing the most common issues and issues specifically connected to youth (see Table 6). For each half-year period, from January to June and from July to December, the total amount of incidents is calculated, specified by type.

Table 6 shows the total amount of incidents in district Goverwelle has decreased with 28.4 percent in the period 2010-2012. Some half-yearly fluctuations can be observed, but in the last six months a strong decline can be noticed. When focussing on the youth related incidents, the same development becomes apparent. Especially reports of public disorder caused by youth have diminished: a decrease of 53.2 percent. There appears to be a stable decline, with a peak in the second half year of 2011. Furthermore, destruction of/on car and theft from car have explicitly decreased, with respectively 50 percent and 58.2 percent. The other incident types are also diminishing but in a less strong sense; these are simple assault (-35.3%) and destruction of other objects (-26.5%).

Table 6. **Incidents in district Goverwelle in 2010-2012. Source: Police Hollands-Midden**

	1st 2010	2nd 2010	1st 2011	2nd 2011	1st 2012	Overall development (%)
Total	1.628	1.394	1.521	1.616	1.166	-28.4%
Selection of youth-related incidents						
Simple assault	17	16	16	13	11	-35.3%
Theft (including fallow) from car	79	42	47	62	33	-58.2%
Destruction of/on car	28	20	16	21	14	-50.0%
Destruction other objects	49	41	54	48	36	-26.5%
Report of public disorder caused by youth	124	108	76	126	58	-53.2%

To put this development occurring in Goverwelle into perspective, a comparison is made with district Achterwillens, an area in Gouda similar to Goverwelle regarding issues of crime and public disorder. Table 7 shows the figures of district Achterwillens through the same time period, indicating a far less strong decrease in crime incidents of 7.5 percent (compared to 28.4% for Goverwelle). The reporting of public disorder caused by youth has declined much stronger (-28.3%), however in Goverwelle this diminution has been more forceful and quite sharper (-53.2%). The same applies to the incident types 'theft from car', 'simple assault' and 'destruction of other objects', both in Achterwillens and Goverwelle declines can be observed, however in Goverwelle these declines have been more evident. The incident type 'destruction of/on car' shows an increase in Achterwillens (17.6%), while in Goverwelle the amount of incidents of this type have clearly diminished (-50%). Regarding the absolute figures of Achterwillens and Goverwelle, it should be noted that Achterwillens has a considerably smaller number of residents (4.425 in 2011) compared to Goverwelle (11.980 in 2011).[28]

---

[28] CBS Statline, 2012.

Table 7.   **Incidents in district Achterwillens in 2010-2012. Source: Police Hollands-Midden**

	1st 2010	2nd 2010	1st 2011	2nd 2011	1st 2012	Overall development (%)
Total	1.361	1.194	1.196	1.352	1.259	-7.5%
Selection of youth-related incidents						
Simple assault	20	10	16	18	19	-5.0%
Theft (including fallow) from car	63	36	31	54	45	-28.6%
Destruction of/on car	34	18	32	41	40	+17.6%
Destruction other objects	32	24	29	27	25	-21.9%
Report of public disorder caused by youth	46	58	46	52	33	-28.3%

In district Goverwelle the incidents seem to be concentrating in a specific neighbourhood. While the district is composed of five different neighbourhoods, 69.6 percent of the incidents in 2010 are located in neighbourhood Marathonlaan. This the specific neighbourhood where part of the young people participating in the project live. Therefore, the development of incidents of this area is outlined in Table 8. This shows a steep decline of incidents, with a total decrease of 34.4 percent in the period 2010-2012. The most remarkable result is the strong decrease in 'reports of public disorder caused by youth', with 63.7 percent.

Table 8.   **Incidents in neighbourhood Marathonlaan (Goverwelle) in 2010-2012. Source: Police Hollands-Midden**

	1st 2010	2nd 2010	1st 2011	2nd 2011	1st 2012	Overall development (%)
Total	1.135	1.109	1.079	1.082	744	-34.4%
Selection of youth-related incidents						
Simple assault	12	15	8	9	4	-66.7%
Theft (including fallow) from car	48	29	28	32	17	-64.6%
Destruction of/on car	17	16	11	13	8	-52.9%
Destruction other objects	39	31	38	31	23	-41.0%
Report of public disorder caused by youth	91	87	70	92	33	-63.7%

§ 2.   Recent developments

To retrieve a more specific and complete image of the crime developments in Goverwelle and to make sure we base conclusions on different types of figures and sources, we will now focus on the most recent developments in more detail. The incidents in Goverwelle, in Achterwillens and in the municipality of Gouda as a whole have been analysed per category for the year 2011 and the first months of 2012.
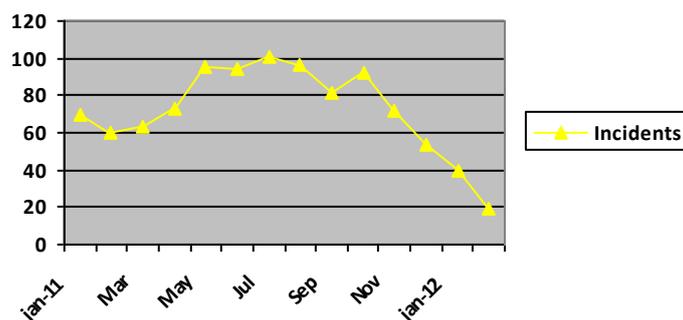
Goverwelle

Table 9 shows the fluctuations within the different categories for incidents in Goverwelle per month. It shows that for example incidents concerning violence have diminished from 17 incidents in January 2011 to six incidents in the same month in 2012. This is a decrease of 64.7 percent. When the total amount of registered incidents are analysed, it shows an increase of incidents during the summer and a quite steep drop since October. When February 2012 is compared to February 2011, a decrease of 68.3 percent in incidents can be observed. This development of accession during the summer months and a steep decline from October 2011 onwards, is displayed in Figure 3.

Table 9.   Number of incidents in Goverwelle per category and month in 2011 and 2012. Source: Veilig Gouda, 2011

	2011												2012	
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
Violence	17	10	15	4	14	15	12	12	12	7	12	6	6	2
Importunity	15	15	13	30	31	42	20	35	26	41	25	19	10	8
Breach of public order/space	15	15	14	19	14	15	24	24	11	16	14	9	12	3
Burglary dwelling	4	15	4	7	20	9	24	11	13	13	9	7	1	0
Theft of bicycle/moped	11	11	12	6	11	6	14	9	14	7	5	2	5	3
Burglary premises	2	1	0	0	1	4	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0
Shoplifting	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0
Traffic	6	5	4	5	4	3	6	3	4	8	3	7	6	3
Total	**70**	**60**	**63**	**73**	**95**	**94**	**101**	**96**	**81**	**92**	**72**	**54**	**40**	**19**

**Figure 3. Development of crime incidents in Goverwelle**

Achterwillens

To put the development of crime incidents in Goverwelle in perspective, also with these monthly figures, a comparison with the situation in district Achterwillens is made. The amount of incidents in this area show a different course, peaking at various points during the year, with a decline in January 2012 but again an increase a month later in February. This development is depicted in Figure 4. When comparing Figure 4 with Figure 3 from Goverwelle, they show a complete different course, most notable is the steep decline of Figure 3 (Goverwelle) absent in Figure 4 (Achterwillens).

Table 10.   Number of incidents in Achterwillens per category and month in 2011 and 2012. Source: Veilig Gouda, 2011

	2011												2012	
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
Violence	4	2	1	5	8	4	4	8	4	4	8	3	1	2
Importunity	0	9	4	15	6	10	2	9	12	8	5	5	1	3
Breach of public order/space	1	1	3	1	0	0	1	0	2	5	3	3	1	6
Burglary dwelling	3	4	2	0	1	0	3	3	7	0	0	2	2	2
Theft of bicycle/moped	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Burglary premises	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1
Shoplifting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Traffic	0	3	1	2	1	0	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	0
Total	**11**	**19**	**13**	**23**	**17**	**15**	**14**	**21**	**27**	**21**	**17**	**15**	**8**	**14**

**Figure 4. Development of crime incidents in Achterwillens**
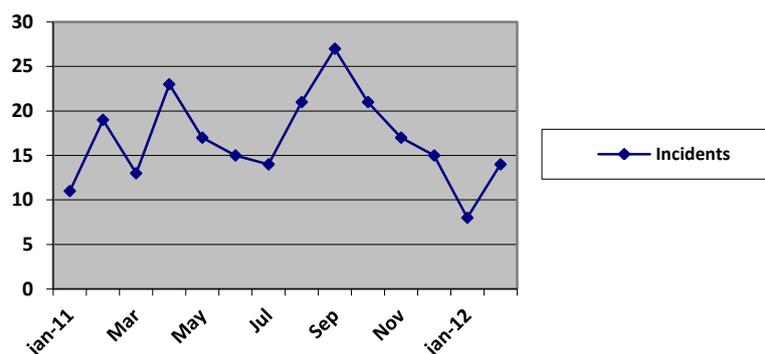
Gouda

The development in (crime) incidents in the municipality of Gouda during the period January 2011-February 2012 is displayed in Table 11. When the total amount of incidents is analyzed, there appears to be a rather stable situation, with a peak in September 2011 and a small drop in February 2012. This development is visualized in Figure 5 and shows a rather different character compared to Figure 3 depicting the development in Goverwelle.

Table 11.   Number of incidents in Gouda per category and month in 2011 and 2012. Source: Veilig Gouda, 2011

	2011												2012	
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
Violence	99	88	100	101	117	104	111	120	141	109	124	85	87	85
Importunity	186	177	187	265	170	304	145	223	291	243	231	210	194	147
Breach of public order/space	137	96	106	112	100	120	113	72	153	122	113	102	151	63
Burglary dwelling	46	51	31	33	42	36	61	40	89	80	57	71	56	42
Theft of bicycle/moped	56	44	65	55	64	53	70	57	139	97	95	57	45	38
Burglary premises	17	16	6	13	19	18	20	12	32	37	28	28	20	22
Shoplifting	21	30	45	40	22	18	23	13	19	15	24	24	19	17
Traffic	49	58	47	51	44	53	54	34	64	62	57	68	67	39
Total	**611**	**560**	**587**	**670**	**578**	**706**	**597**	**571**	**928**	**765**	**729**	**645**	**639**	**453**

Figure 5. Development of crime incidents in Gouda
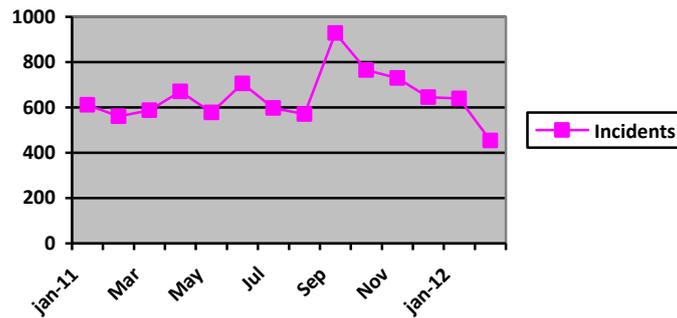
§ 3.   Conclusions

In this chapter different types of crime data have been analyzed to describe the situation on this matter in Goverwelle on a statistical basis. Data of these different types show a decrease of crime incidents in Goverwelle during the period 2010-2012 and 2011-2012, in which the project took place. This decline in incidents ranges from 28.4 percent to 64.7 percent, however, a significant drop in the amount of incidents can be confirmed as well as the fact that compared to similar areas and to the city of Gouda as a whole the decline in Goverwelle is fairly stronger.
These numbers of incidents and their mutation in the different timeslots give an indication of the crime situation in Goverwelle, specifically the neighbourhood Marathonlaan, and a comparison with the district Achterwillens, a considerably similar area. However, the observed differences as well in timeslots as between both districts cannot be causally linked to the project, in particular because the project is part of an intensive operation, which started in December 2010 in Goverwelle. This operation encompasses a broad approach with use of different measures, one of them the project Critical Encounters. Other elements are CCTV, the method of 1,2,3 strikes out (visiting parents of youth when they are fined for the second time), extra deployment of youth work and some physical changes to public space.

Chapter 10.   Conclusions

This part of the report gives a description of the attitudes, opinions and ideas of the participants in the project 'Critical Encounters' in Gouda, the Netherlands at the end of the programme and how this developed along the way. Regarding the goals of the project, its results can be summarized and concluded by discussing seven essential aspects: development of trust, willingness of young people to engage with the police, empowerment of young people, understanding and empathy among participants, attitude of the officers and successful workshops.

Developing trust
The baseline report indicated a lot of room for improvement in the development of trust in the police among participating young people. The results of the interviews with youth during the second and third phase of the project indicate a slight amelioration on this issue. At the start of the project none of the participant youth felt treated with respect by the police and none agreed with the statement the police use rules and procedures that are fair to everyone, indicating a low level of trust in the law enforcement. In the interviews conducted halfway the project, still a majority does not agree on these statements, but most of them neutralised their opinion in this matter. Furthermore, by their own saying, almost half of the participating young people think in a more positive way about the police compared to when they started the project.

An important footnote that should be mentioned here, is the fact that the majority of the participating youth indicates a sharp distinction between police officers in the project, sometimes referred to as 'our officers', and the non-participant officers. Most of them mention that they think high of the participating police officers, but the other officers they meet in the street are different.

Young people's willingness to engage with the police
A number of young people (four out of eleven) express they think youth and police can work together to deal with crime, however the majority of the participating youth does not agree. When asked how likely they would call the police when witnessing a burglary, answers of the young people are divided, but most of them indicate it would be unlikely they would call the police. Youth's opinion regarding both aspects overall did not change much compared to the start of the project. Another indication of young people's willingness to engage with the police is the fact that at the completion of the project still 11 young people were participating, 10 of them involved from the start.

Empowerment of the young people
Most of the youth still express that young people do not get their voice heard in Gouda. Four argue that lately they feel listened to and link this to the project and related meetings. They mention this is the first time their opinion is taken an interest

in. In general they feel they have no influence on policy and politics and the municipality is not interested in their wellbeing. Some of them articulate that taking part in this project is a way for them to tell their side of the story and voice their opinion and point of view. This is reflected in the workshops, they are given room to speak and two participants even organized debates. Furthermore some young people took part in conferences in Antwerp and Amersfoort alongside with some police officers.

Understanding and empathy
Both young people and police officers show their ability to sympathize and put oneself in the other's position by expressing they can imagine it must be hard for the other party. They displayed this ability at the start of the project and this remained unchanged at the time of completion of the project. Almost all police officers indicate that taking part in the workshops gave them a better insight in the lives of young people, although many of them mention they already had an idea of this before the project started. An outstanding example of empathy is the following occurrence at the police tracks, mentioned by many participants:

"One of the police officers afraid of heights was standing on a high part of the track, he had to climb over a beam. The young people standing below were cheering and encouraging him. When he was down on the ground he received an amazing applause. All young people were cheering and had respect he overcame his fear." - Female police officer

It is not clear if participants can really relate to and understand each other. For example, most young people express they do not think they have anything in common with police officers, except for being human. This could be connected to the earlier mentioned distinction young people perceive between participating officers and non-participant officers.

Attitude of the officers
The average opinion of police officers on youth and if they can be a positive asset of their community, has developed in a positive direction since the start of the project. Another remarkable development is the quite strong decrease in agreement on the statement that interaction with the police does not influence young people's lives. Most officers mention in fact this has great impact on their lives, while the average value ascribed during the first phase indicated a general opinion it has little impact. Furthermore, police officers ascribed a higher notion of importance to building a relationship with young people now the project has been completed.

In general, a development towards a more positive attitude to youth can be observed. Increase of the idea that communication between police and youth is important and influential and a growing confidence among the police officers in their ability to interact with youth is outlined in the analysis of the interviews.
In addition, it seems that in this last phase most police officers think in a more nuanced way about the value of first impressions. Through observing one's behaviour, one can learn a lot about a person, but without talking to someone, one cannot learn the motivation or origin of this behaviour.

Successful workshops

Since the workshops are the core element of 'Critical Encounters', the processes taking place during these meetings are essential to the success of the project. From data gathered during the project, some concluding notes can be made in this respect. Observations as well as interviews indicate the overall idea of an equal chance for all participants to take part in the workshops. The majority of police officers and young people argue everyone has an equal chance of bringing input. However, police officers mention not all participants use this opportunity; not everybody is equally eager to speak. The majority of as well police officers as young people, agree that everyone has been able to communicate effectively with each other.

Youth participants feel everyone is working toward the same goals, all of them unanimously argue that the goal of the project is to improve contact and communication between police and youth. Some of them add that another goal is to erase stereotypes and increase understanding for each other.

Police officers think different in this respect, the majority indicates that young people and police officers have different interests in the project; they feel young people are mostly present to retrieve answers to their questions and to advocate their interests, while police officers try to improve their work and job satisfaction and simultaneously reduce public disorder caused by the youth, through managing this different approach. However, they too describe a common project goal of improving the communication between police and youth.

The two facilitators and the youth workers are appreciated and praised for the way they implemented the workshops, as well by youth as by police officers.

The atmosphere during the workshops is estimated as friendly by most participants. They express the development from a tense atmosphere, in which a lot of blaming, judging and arguments occurred, to a friendly environment with respect for one another and open, reasonable communication.

Overall, participants are relatively content about the workshops. Some of the officers but also young people indicate they would have preferred a larger amount of serious debate in the workshops. They feel the proportion of games was too high while there were a lot of issues to discuss.

PART IV

DISCUSSION

Discussion

Introduction

In this discussion the two main questions guiding the evaluation will be answered:

1. Have the workshops been successful?
   This is indicated by the following elements: development of a shared space, maintained commitment of all parties, positive and equal engagement, two-way communication, and the development of mutual respect, honesty and mutual trust.
2. Did the project reach its goals, i.e., did it change attitudes and behaviour of participants during or after their involvement?
   This is indicated by: enhanced trust and understanding, improved willingness to engage, empowerment of young people, willingness to change police practice, engagement of external groups, and change in police behaviour.

Through answering these questions a brief overview of the established results will be provided. Furthermore we will consider the possibilities for continuation of the project and make a few suggestions in this respect.

Successful workshops

The majority of both police officers and young people value the atmosphere during the workshops as friendly or relaxed. Observations as well as interviews indicate the overall idea of an equal chance for all participants to take part in the workshops and interaction taking place on an equal basis.

Notable is the fact that only one police officer and two young people quitted the project before its completion. Most of them did so in the beginning of the project. Eight police officers and thirteen young people attended the workshops throughout a whole year, indicating the commitment of both parties has been maintained during the course of the project.

The majority of as well police officers as young people, agree that everyone has been able to communicate effectively with each other. Although many participants argue that the communication between the parties was awkward and difficult in the beginning, almost all of them also state during the process this ameliorated towards friendly interaction. This is supported by observations of the workshops, describing a companionable atmosphere with a lot of laughter and joking during the games and assignments. Especially the visit to the police tracks shows evidence of positive engagement between police and young people. Moreover, also during other workshops positive interaction has been established.

Aside from the games and cooperative assignments, a lot of serious debate has emerged during the meetings. These discussions included moments of intense disagreement and quarrelling, but there has been space for both parties to voice their opinion and thoughts and this proved to create an environment in which participants could respond to each other honest and concerned. Furthermore, the interaction between the participants created more understanding of each other. Almost all

officers express that the workshops give them a better insight into the lives of young people. The youth is more reserved in this respect, the majority indicates they still do not really understand what it is like to be a police officer. However, some of them indicate they gained a bit more insight because of the project.

Another aspect, indicating the workshops have been successful, is the fact that all young people and police officers describe the goal of the project as improving contact between both parties or a variant of this characterization. This signifies they have been working towards a shared goal.

Concerning the development of mutual trust and respect, the word 'trust' seems to be a bridge too far. However, participants in the project demonstrate respectful behaviour towards each other on almost all occasions and show their acquaintance also outside the workshops by greeting each other in the streets and making conversation.

Changing attitudes and behaviour

In addition to the aspects described in the former section on the workshops, the evaluation of the project establishes indications and evidence for changing attitudes and behaviour among participants.

First of all, a feeling of enhanced understanding between the groups has been developed. Almost all officers express that through the workshops they developed (more) awareness of the difficulties Dutch-Moroccan youth experience, especially when living in Gouda. The participating young people are more restrained in their responses to questions about a better understanding of the police, however almost half of them indicate their opinion on the police has improved. Others point out their opinion of the participating police officers has changed in a positive way, but their opinion of the police as a whole has remained the same. Their reservation towards expressing a better understanding or increased trust in the police seems to be linked not to the participating officers in the project but their experiences with police outside the project. Young people have demonstrated their willingness to engage with the police, not only through keeping committed to the project, but also in responding positively when encountering officers from the project in the streets. Some police officers however express expectations of a stronger involvement of youth, also taking part in a mutual activity for the community, manifesting the achievements made in the workshop. When this initiative was put forward during the meetings most young people were reticent or even arguing they were not willing to participate. Nevertheless, albeit mostly outside their own community, several young people have been engaged in congresses and debates outside the workshop, promoting the project and the issue it addresses. This indicates increased empowerment among youth.

Furthermore, part of the officers argues their participation in the project has a slight influence or even a considerable or extensive impact on the way they do their work. They state that because of the improved contact with young people and the gained insights of their backgrounds their approach towards them will alter. This change in behaviour cannot be supported with statistical data on stopping practices. However, a decrease of reported incidents in the district Goverwelle indicates a change in behaviour possibly both on the side of the police as of the young people.

Continuing the project?

Both young people and police officers think the project should be continued. They argue to cause changes at a higher level the project should get a sequel so more people can get involved. They state the project has been positive, but only a small part of both sides is participating. Therefore the results on a larger scale are limited. To achieve a transition in a wider range, more police officers and young people should be reached and should participate in the project.

The main reason keeping some young people from regarding the project as a success story, is the fact that outside the workshops, their situation has predominantly remained the same. Enabling the project with a larger scope therefore could probably improve the results both quantitatively as qualitatively.

Appendix 1.   Literature

Adang, O., *Hooligans, autonomen en agenten. Geweld en politie-optreden in relsituaties,* Samson, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1998.

Adang, O., H. Quint en R. van der Wal, *Zijn wij anders? Waarom Nederland geen grootschalige etnische rellen heeft,* Stapel & de Koning, Apeldoorn, 2010.

Amersfoort, P. van en Y. van Heerwaarden, *Overlastgevende jeugd en de politie. Een handreiking voor de aanpak van jeugdoverlast door de politie.* DSP-groep, Amsterdam, 2005.

Atlas voor gemeenten 2008, *Thema leefbaarheid,* Utrecht, 2008.

Barendrecht, M., M. Griffioen, A. Lotterman en N. Vink, *Interactie politie en jongeren: een observatieonderzoek naar de interactie tussen politie en (autochtone en allochtone) jongeren*, Universiteit Utrecht, Utrecht, 2003.

Baugh, C., *Working across boundaries with young people and the police. An evaluation of "Critical encounters", a project developed by Second Wave Youth Arts London*, Open Society Foundation, London, 2011.

Beijerse, J., Politie en jeugdstrafrecht, in: Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Beke, B., E. Klein Hofmeijer en P. Versteegh, *Gebiedsscan Criminaliteit & Overlast. Een methodiekbeschrijving,* Politie en Wetenschap/Bureau Beke, Apeldoorn/Arnhem, 2009.

Bervoets, E., *Tussen respect en doorpakken. Een onderzoek naar de politiële aanpak van Marokkaanse jongeren in Gouda, Utrecht en Amsterdam*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2006.

Bervoets, E. en E.J. van der Torre, *Welbeschouwd. Het Goudse veiligheidsbeleid geëvalueerd*, COT Instituut voor Veiligheids- en Crisismanagement, Den Haag, 2009.

Bervoets, E. en D. Visser, Wijkagenten en jeugdproblematiek. Sociale makelaardij, doorpakken en straatexperimenten, in: Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Bolt, A. en I. van der Wekke, *Dit is mijn leven, vriend. Begeleiden van jongeren in de straatcultuur. Handboek voor professionals,* Uitgeverij SWP, Amsterdam, 2012.

Boom, J. de, A. Weltevrede, P. van Wensveen, M. van San and P. Hermus, *Marokkaanse Nederlanders in Gouda 2010. Een nulmeting van hun positie op de terreinen van onderwijs, arbeid en uitkering, en criminaliteit*, Risbo, Rotterdam, 2010.

Boutellier, J.C.J., R.D. Scholte and M. Heijnen, *Criminogeniteitsbeeld Amsterdam*, VU: Veiligheid en Burgerschap, Amsterdam, 2008.

Bovenkerk, F., Rassenrellen of criminaliteit?, *Migrantenstudies*, Bohn Stafleu Van Loghum, Houten, 1999/4, pp. 255-270.

Ceulebroeck, N. van et al., *De hangman. Over jongeren in het straatbeeld*, Politeia, Brussel, 2011.

Commissie Van Montfrans, *Met de neus op de feiten: advies aanpak jeugdcriminaliteit*, Ministerie van Justitie, Den Haag, 1994.

Coppes, R, F. de Groot, A. Sheerazi, *Politie en criminaliteit van Marokkaanse jongens*, Gouda Quint, Deventer, 1997.

Delsol, R., en M. Shiner, Regulating stop and search: a challenge for police and community relations in England and Wales, in: *Critical* Criminology, Springer, Heidelberg, 2006/3.

Diepenhorst, L. en M. Sitalsing, De politiële jeugdtaak, in: Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Duchateau, I. en H. Ferwerda, *Jeugdcriminaliteit onder allochtonen in Gouda*, Bureau Beke, Arnhem, 2002.

Easton, M., P. Ponsaers, C. Demarée, N. Vandevoorde, E. Enhus, H. Elffers, F. Hutsebaut en L.G. Moor, *Multiple Community Policing: hoezo?*, Academia Press, Gent, 2009.

Elffers, H. en W. de Jong , *'Nee, ik voel me nooit onveilig'. Determinanten van Veiligheidsgevoelens*, Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling/ Nederlands Centrum Criminaliteit en Rechtshandhaving, Den Haag/Leiden, 2004.

Geenen, M-J., *Een kwestie van aanpakken. Werkwijze van de jeugdagent*, Politie Brabant Noord / Brabants Steunpunt Jeugdwelzijn, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2000.

Gemeente Gouda, *Goudse Jeugdagenda 2011*-2014, Gouda, 2011.

Harland, P., Van overlastmelding naar een globale typering van problematische jeugdgroepen: de shortlist als quickscan, *Tijdschrift voor Veiligheid, 10, 2, 37-50,* 2011.

Hoesel, J. van, *Twee jaar aanpakken. De jeugdagent onder de loep*, Politie Brabant Noord/Brabants Steunpunt Jeugdwelzijn, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2001.

Intraval, *Evaluatie Cameratoezicht Gouda. Eindrapport*, Groningen, 2005.

Jakobs, J., H. Ferwerda and B. Beke, *Focus op jeugdcriminaliteit,* SWP, Amsterdam, 2006.

Jennissen, R.P.W., *Criminaliteit, leeftijd en etniciteit.* Over de afwijkende leeftijdsspecifieke criminaliteitscijfers van in Nederland verblijvende Antillianen en Marokkanen, WODC, Den Haag, 2009.

Jong, J.D. de, *Kapot moeilijk. Een etnografisch onderzoek naar opvallend delinquent groepsgedrag van 'Marokkaanse' jongens*, Aksant, Amsterdam, 2007.

Jonge, G. de en A.P. van der Linden, *Jeugd en strafrecht. Een leer- en praktijkboek over het (internationale) jeugdstrafrecht en jeugdstrafprocesrecht*, Wolter Kluwer Business, Deventer, 2007.

Kaldenbach, H., *Hangjongeren, 99 tips voor buurtbewoners en voorbijgangers,* Prometheus, Amsterdam, 2008.

Kaldenbach, H., *Respect! 99 tips voor het omgaan met jongeren in de straatcultuur,* Prometheus, Amsterdam, 2008.

Kaldenbach, H., *Machomannetjes. 99 tips om de straatcultuur terug te dringen uit uw school,* Prometheus, Amsterdam, 2011.

Kop, N. en M. Euwema, *Conflict op straat: strijden of mijden? Marokkaanse en Antilliaanse jongeren interactie met de politie*, Politie en Wetenschap, Apeldoorn, 2007.

Korf, D.J., A. Benschop, T. Blom en M. Steen, *Minder ernstig, vaker gestraft. Een onderzoek naar de aard en kwalificatie van jeugdcriminaliteit,* Roozenberg Publishers, Amsterdam, 2012.

Laan, A. van der en M. Blom, *Jeugdcriminaliteit in de periode 1996-2010. Ontwikkelingen in zelfgerapporteerde daders, door de politie aangehouden verdachten en strafrechtelijke daders op basis van de Monitor Jeugdcriminaliteit 2010'*, WODC/CBS, Den Haag, 2011.

Lapeyronnie, D., *Ghetto Urbain. Segregation, violence, pauvreté en France aujourd'hui*, Robert Laffont, Parijs, 2008.

Leiden, I. van, G. Verhagen en H.B. Ferwerda, *Over de grens. Een verkenning van projecten voor probleemjeugd in Duitsland, Engeland en Zweden,* Politie en Wetenschap/Bureau Beke, Apeldoorn/Arnhem, 2003.

Leveling, D. en F. Kriek, *Quickscan IVB Gouda: Eindrapport*, Regioplan, Amsterdam, 2003.

Meloen, J.D., *Omdat we Marokkanen zijn zeker? Een onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen de Marokkaanse jongeren en de politie in Leiden*, LISWO, Leiden, 1997.

Ministerie van VROM/Wonen, Wijken en Integratie, *Aanpak risicojongeren van Antilliaanse en Marokkaanse Afkomst. Beleidsbrieven 2009*, Den Haag, 2010.

Nieborg, S. en S. Woerds, *De Gouden Stadsregels: op weg naar Moreel Burgerschap*, Verweij Jonker Instituut, Utrecht, 2005.

Noorda, J.J en A.L. van Dijk, *Critical encounters in Gouda, the Netherlands. Evaluation of a project aiming to improve the relationship between local youth and police. Baseline report.* Amsterdam, 2011.

Noorda, J.J. en A.L. van Dijk, *Critical encounters in Gouda, the Netherlands. Evaluation of a project aiming to improve the relationship between local youth and police. Mid-point report.* Amsterdam, 2012.

Noorda, J.J. en R.H. Veenbaas, *Hangplekken, een nieuwe rage? Handleiding voor jongerenontmoetingsplaatsen en jeugdbeleid*, VU Uitgeverij, Amsterdam, 2000.

Noorda, J.J. en R.H. Veenbaas, *Rondhangende jongeren en overlast*, WODC, Den Haag, 2006. Online: wodc.nl/images/hangjongeren en overlast_tcm44-84961.pdf

Noorda, J., I. Dobbe, L. Hartman and M. van Bommel, *De staat van professioneel jeugd- en jongerenwerk in Nederland anno 2009*, MOgroep, Utrecht, 2009.

Pels, T., *Respect van twee kanten. Een studie over last van Marokkaanse jongeren*, Koninklijke Van Gorcum bv, Assen, 2003.

Pol, M. van de and J. Noorda, *Buurtsport voor jeugd. Goed voor sociale cohesie, school en werk*, Uitgeverij Jeugdzaken, Amsterdam, 2011.

Raad van Hoofdcommissarissen, *Visie op politiële jeugdzorg*, Den Haag, 1997.

Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling, *Tussen flaneren en schofferen. Een constructie aanpak van het fenomeen hangjongeren,* Uitgeverij SWP, Amsterdam, 2008.

Raad voor Strafrechttoepassing en Jeugdbescherming, *Jeugdstrafproces toekomstbestendig*, Den Haag, 2011.

Riots Communities and Victims Panel, *After the riots. The final report of the Riots Communities and Victims Panel*, London, 2011.

Roorda, W. en M. van Aalst, *Jongerenrapportage Communities that Care – Gemeente Gouda*, DSP-Groep, Amsterdam, 2008.

Scarman, L.G., *The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981*, Het Majesty's Stationary Office, Londen, 1981.

Smelt, P., *Straatcultuur. Een effectieve aanpak van jeugdgroepen,* Uitgeverij SWP, Amsterdam, 2010.

Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, *De sociale staat van Nederland in 2003*, Den Haag, 2003.

Steketee, M.J., D.J. Mak, B. Tierolf and W.S. Roeleveld, *Kinderen in Tel Databoek 2010,* Verwey Jonker Instituut, Utrecht, 2010.
Stol, W. en E. Bervoets, Jeugd over politie in Nederland, in: Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Stol, W. en N. Vink, Interacties op straat tussen politie en jeugd, in: Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Strijen, F. van, *Van de straat. De straatcultuur van jongeren ontrafeld.* Uitgeverij SWP, Amsterdam, 2009.

Svensson, J., H. Sollie en S. Saharso, *Proactief handhaven en gelijk behandelen,* Reed Business, Amsterdam, 2012.

Terlouw, G-J. en G. Susanne, *Een preventieproject in Gouda: eerste resultaten van een project voor Marokkaanse jongeren,* WODC, Den Haag, 1990.

Terpstra, J. en R. Kouwenhoven, *Samenwerking en netwerken in de lokale veiligheidszorg,* Uitgeverij Kerckebosch bv, Zeist, 2004.

Torre, E.J. van der, W.Ph. Stol, *Waardevolle politieverhalen: politie en Marokkaanse jongens,* Elsevier bedrijfsinformatie bv, 2000.

Veenbaas, R., J. Noorda en H. Ambaum, *Handboek modern jongerenwerk. Visie, methodiek en voorwaarden,* VU Uitgeverij, Amsterdam, 2011.

Wacquant**, L.,** *Parias urbains. Ghetto, banlieues, Etat. Une sociologie comparée de la marginalité sociale*, La Découverte, Parijs, 2007.

Wal, R. van de, Politie en jeugd: een historisch overzicht, in: Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk*, Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Wijk, A.Ph. van en E.J.A. Bervoets, *Politie en jeugd. Inleiding voor de praktijk,* Elsevier Overheid, Den Haag, 2007.

Youth Justice Board, *Risk and protective factors,* 2005.

Zurk, N. van, *Werelden van verschil. Over de problemen met betrekking tot Marokkaanse jongeren in het vmbo-onderwijs in Gouda gezien door de ogen van het schoolpersoneel, de Marokkaanse ouders en de jongeren zelf*, Stichting Alouan/Wetenschapswinkel VU, Gouda/Amsterdam, 2003.

Online
AD Misdaadmeter:
http://www.ad.nl/ad/nl/1401/home/integration/nmc/frameset/nieuws/misdaadmeter.dhtml

Appendix 2.   List of stakeholders

Police officers
Arjan Kasius
Lily Habra
Marieke Borg
Hassan Nagih
Lucky Tomasouw
Caroline van der Reijden
Francisca Schols
Dennis Kuster

Young people
Said, Anass, Zakaria, Faisal, Imad,
Ilias, Bilal, Ilias, Moussa, Calvin,
Bilal, Mohamed and others.

Youth work Factor-G
Mohamed Attayyibi
Youssef Aberkane
Youssef Kharkhach

Trainers
Maartje van Amersfoort
Marijn Vissers

Municipality
Nicole Niewold

Open Society Foundations
Chris Baugh
Rebekah Delsol
Talmud Bah (Second Wave Youth Arts)
Aaron McKinson (Second Wave Youth Arts)

Colofon