

PROBLEMATIC DISTRICTS IN LEIDEN

“A study on how implemented crime prevention methods from one district can be useful in other districts in the same municipality.”

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1. Introduction

One of the most well-known problematic districts of Leiden is the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, where small crime, disturbance and loitering were important issues for years in the past. The Jacques Urlusplantsoen (JUP) has, together with two other districts in Leiden, the highest crime rate and is orange in the national liveability meter of the city of Leiden.¹ An orange score means that there is more crime and disturbance than average. The JUP exists of two large apartment complexes, with a playground and some small shops in the middle. In these two apartment complexes live more poorly educated people than the average of the city and more people on social support. Moreover, ten 'highly problematic' family's live there, which are under constant control of the local police.

In 2014, the situation in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen escalated to even larger scaled criminal events. In a bar called '*het Plantsoen*', as a result of a drug trade, a large scaled shooting took place followed by a car chase with the police. Fifteen men were arrested.² After this incident, the mayor of Leiden decided that it had been enough, and this district needed a holistic, comprehensive approach to reduce crime and make the district more safe and liveable. In 2016, Mayor Henri Lenferink started what was called the JUP-approach (Jacques Urlusplantsoen-approach): an approach with a wide spectrum of mixed crime prevention methods. Together with a large number of partners in the city, such as the police, judicial institutions, youth organisations and housing corporations, the municipality wanted to reduce crime and disturbance fast and structured.

The JUP-approach focusses on three main elements to make the Jacques Urlusplantsoen more liveable: tackling disturbance and crime, increasing the involvement of the inhabitants of this area and a well-working network of all kinds of involved professionals, such as local police officers, the housing corporation, a public prosecutor and youth help. To achieve these goals, a list of measures, which will be elaborated on in the next chapter, were implemented directly. These measures are structural, and not temporary measures according to the mayor: "If we give this district enough attention, things are getting better. Once we lose

¹ Leids Dagblad, <https://www.leidschdagblad.nl/leiden-en-regio/jup-aanpak-straks-ook-de-slaaghwijk> (revised on september 14th, 2017)

² Nationale Politie, <https://www.politie.nl/nieuws/2014/mei/27/06-leiden---vijftien-aanhoudingen-na-schoten-op-horecagelegenhei.html> (revised on september 14th, 2017)

attention, the old problems will come back: criminality and disturbance. By implementing this structural approach, we hope to prevent a relapse.”³

Now, more than a year later, the mayor speaks about positive changes in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Where crime rates have dropped, and there is less disturbance, the social cohesion in this district also has improved. The JUP-approach is therefore labelled as a successful method for this problematic district by the mayor. The mayor speaks about two other well-known problematic districts in Leiden, ‘de Kooi’ and ‘de Slaaghwijk’, and he wants to implement this JUP-approach in these areas as well. The mayors’ plan of implementing this approach in two other districts as well, is the main motive of conducting this research. While the JUP-approach showed to be quite an effective method to reduce crime and disturbance in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, the question remains if this approach will also be successful in other problematic districts. While every problematic district might have to deal with other local problems, involving other professionals and have a different inhabitants’ profile, it is not a guarantee that this approach will have the same effect in every area. Therefore, in this study, the researcher tries to analyse the two other problematic districts and compare them with the Jacques Urlusplantsoen on both the inhabitant’s profiles and the problems occurring in these districts, to make a prognosis if the JUP-approach can also be as successful in these other two districts. The research question, based on the assumption of the mayor that this approach will also be successful in other districts, will therefore be: *“To what extent can an implemented crime prevention approach used in one urban district also be successful in other urban districts in the same municipality?”*

This question will be answered by analysing the three earlier mentioned cases in Leiden. This research can be divided in three sub questions, and these three questions will all get another chapter in the analysis. The first sub question would be: *“What were the most important problems and forms of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the implementation of the JUP-approach?”* The second sub-question will be: *“What factors of the JUP-approach contributed to the drop in crime rates and disturbance and why?”* The third sub-question, which focusses on the second problematic district will be: *“What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Slaaghwijk?”* The fourth sub-question

³ Leids Dagblad, <https://www.leidschdagblad.nl/leiden-en-regio/jup-aanpak-straks-ook-de-slaaghwijk> (revised on september 14th, 2017)

will focus on the third and last problematic district of this study: *“What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Kooi?”* The last sub question will be: *“To what extent can the implemented measures of the JUP-approach be successful in reducing crime and disturbance in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi?”*

The researcher will make an effort to understand the inhabitant’s profiles in the ‘Kooi’ and the ‘Slaaghwijk’ by doing a document analysis, using numerical data about these districts. To trace down the most important problems in these districts, interviews with local police officers will be held and surveys will be taken off with inhabitants, to create an honest, two-sided view about the problems in this area.

This study is academically relevant due to the fact that while there is a lot of knowledge and literature on all kinds of crime prevention methods and their effectiveness in specific case studies, there is almost no literature on the use of mixed crime prevention methods and theories. For this specific situation, problematic areas with urban crime, a lot of case studies have been done where different methods were used, for example the Broken Windows theory, the use of CCTV and Crime prevention through environmental design. But there is almost no literature on a comprehensive approach combining different methods to reduce crime. Since the municipality suggested to implement the JUP-approach in other urban districts in the municipality as well, it is societally relevant to study whether this approach was a success, what measures caused this success, and if these methods can also contribute to reducing crime in other problematic urban districts.

This study is also relevant for the field of Crisis and Security management. Crisis and Security Management entails a large collection of disciplines, from which safety is one of. Finding ways to tackle problems of urban crime, to ensure people’s safety, is an important task of the government. This study is also relevant for the society. The results of this study can be very helpful for the public policing of municipalities to ensure the inhabitants’ safety in problematic areas. If the study’s results show eventual differences in approaches for other problematic areas, the municipality can use specific measures to tackle the problems in that area. This all to create a more safe and pleasant city. The objective of this study is *to create more scientific insights concerning crime prevention methods in problematic districts, to inform municipalities or other governmental institutions which measures contribute to more safety problematic districts.*

2. Theoretical Framework

Before starting with the theoretical content of this chapter, an important remark has to be made. The content of this chapter is based on the crime prevention strategies and methods in the JUP-approach, while these strategies are the only relevant ones for this research. This means that in this chapter, the implemented measures from the JUP-approach will be listed, before explaining on what criminological theory, crime prevention methods or other assumptions these measures are based and how they can contribute to reducing or preventing crime. This chapter will therefore start with a general overview on what measure were taken in the JUP-approach. The second part of this chapter will focus on existing literature about problematic districts and urban crime.

2.1. The JUP-approach

The JUP-approach focusses on three main elements to make the Jacques Urlusplantsoen more liveable: tackling disturbance and crime, increasing the involvement of the inhabitants of this area and a well-working network of all kinds of involved professionals. To achieve these goals, a list of measures were implemented directly. First, in the whole district, at every public or private entrance, cameras were put up to increase surveillance. The mayor explained why the use of cameras is not enough to tackle the problems: “surveillance on its own does not stop everyone, there still are a lot of incidents that occur and are clearly visible on camera.”⁴ Second, there are periodic consultation hours between all involve professionals and organisations. Furthermore, changes were made to the infrastructure of the public area. The playground in the middle of the district was refurbished and a small football field for the youth to gather and play was added. Also, the small buildings right-angled to the apartment complexes were better protected for loitering by improving access control. Also, rules were made up for all inhabitants of this district. They have to, for example, greet each other when walking by, throw away all their thrash and report any criminal activity or disturbance instead of complaining on each other. And finally, a weekly consultation hour was implemented for the inhabitants of the district where they can share ideas and influence decision making and policy concerning the district.

Summarizing, the most important concrete measures of the JUP-approach are:

⁴ Sleutelstad FM, <http://sleutelstad.nl/2017/01/14/lenferink-presenteert-breed-verbeterplan-jacques-urlusplantsoen/> (revised on september 14th, 2017)

- 1) More camera surveillance. At every entrance of the apartments, and almost every lamppost, cameras were placed.
- 2) More physically visible and present public wardens, such as police officers and city guards.
- 3) Refurbishing the playground in the middle of the neighbourhood.
- 4) A weekly consulting hour. In this hour, the police officers and experts will discuss the local problems with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. They have the opportunity to share their ideas with the police and/or policy makers.
- 5) The small buildings in between the apartments, such as the local bar, a day care for children, and some small shops, were redeveloped. The buildings were renewed and the municipality created more access control, by placing fences and barbed wire.
- 6) Living rules for all inhabitants. These rules contain for example greeting each other when walking by, not complaining directly to each other but reporting disturbance and throwing away garbage immediately.

A combination of all these new measures and rules should help to reduce all kinds of criminal activities and disturbance, and make this neighbourhood more pleasant and liveable.⁵⁶ In September this year, 2017, the mayor made clear in a statement that these measures seem to work and he want to implement this approach in two other problematic districts as well; the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk. Before operationalizing the JUP-approach using existing crime (prevention) theories, a comprehensive crime theory will be laid out to create more insights on how crime works in general. After that, two crime prevention methods will be explained that can be seen in the JUP-approach: the use of public wardens and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). The JUP-approach also shows some indicators of preventing crime based on the Broken Windows Theory. This theory on how crime occurs will also be elaborated on. This chapter ends with the police model that is used to execute this JUP-approach: community policing.

⁵ PVDA, <https://leiden.pvda.nl/2017/02/23/aanpak-jacques-urlusplantsoen-straks-ook-naar-andere-wijken/> (revised on september 14th 2017)

⁶ Sleutelstad, <http://sleutelstad.nl/2017/01/14/lenferink-presenteert-breed-verbeterplan-jacques-urlusplantsoen/> (revised on september 14th, 2017)

2.2. The Crime Triangle

The crime triangle is one of the most well-known general crime theories introduced in 2002 by Eck, based on earlier crime theories of Felson and Cohen (1979). The basis of this theory is that crime occurs when two elements are present: an offender and a target or victim. The third element: a capable guard, that can prevent crime, needs to be absent. When this capable guard, which can be in the form of a tool or a person, is present, the crime can be prevented. In the crime triangle, as seen as below, these capable guard are split up in three different forms of crime prevention; handlers, managers and guardians.



The handlers have the possibility of preventing crime by influencing the motivated offenders. These handlers can for example be teachers, parents, sports coaches and social workers. They can positively influence the potential offenders' life, causing the offender to abandon the idea of participating in crime. The guardians are on the other hand the actors that protect the suitable target. Later on, Eck et al. (2002) added the place manager to the theory. This manager does not influence the target or the offender, but the place where the crime occurs. This can, similar to the capable guards in the routine activity theory, both be a person or a tool. This comprehensive crime theory will be used to segregate the different crime prevention methods used in the JUP-approach to create a clear overview on what crime

⁷ Eck, J. E., Cullen, F. T., Schaefer, L. (2002) Environmental Corrections: A New Paradigm for Supervising Offenders in the Community

prevention methods were used.

2.3. Public Order Maintenance / The use of Public Wardens

The first crime prevention method that comes forward in this approach is one of the most classic strategies: the use of public wardens such as police officers and youth help. Out of the crime triangle from Felson and Eck we saw that in preventing crime there are three options in preventing crime; handlers, managers, and guardians. In this case, the police officers that operate in the public domain can be seen as both guardians and managers. They can both have the function to protect either people or places in the public domain. Youth care, in this case, can be seen as handlers, as they try to influence youngsters that are possible offenders.

In this part of the theoretical framework the focus lays on the use of these public wardens to prevent crime. Because every country has other forms of public enforcement, Dutch literature will be studied about the forms of public wardens. Other forms of public enforcement from other countries might not be relevant for this particular Dutch case. Studies from experts like Bervoets (2013), Terpstra et al. (2013) and van Steden (2010) will be used to create this part of the theoretical framework.

In the last couple of years, beside the classical police officers, new forms of public wardens with police functions rose in the public domain. This made the field much more complex, while more and more groups had to work together in networks (Devroe, 2012). In this case, the JUP-approach shows a network between different actors such as the local police, the public prosecutor and youth workers. The positive change this brought the society was dropping crime numbers. Therefore we can state that using more public enforcement leads to higher objective safety and dropping crime numbers (Terpstra et al., 2013: 18).

2.4. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

The second crime prevention strategy that can be found in the JUP-approach is CPTED. Crime prevention through environmental design is a crime prevention method which assumes criminal activities can be prevented due to the infrastructure and tools in the public area. "The main goal of the environmental design is leading, manipulating, and encouraging people to behave in a wishful manner in a specific situation." (Environmental criminology, chapter 3: 99). There are many authors with a vision on what CPTED entails. Rosenbaum et al

(1998) divide CPTED in four different categories, called target hardening, access control, surveillance and societal cohesion. For target hardening we are looking at locks, doors and alarms. This category can be placed under the 'guardians' in the crime triangle, as this category focusses on protecting targets. For access control we are looking at the amount of entrances and exits, and the amount of control mechanisms. For the category of surveillance, we are looking at proper street lighting and the presence of cameras in the public domain. These two categories entail the 'place managers' in the crime triangle, as they prevent crimes through the use of the public domain. For the category societal cohesion, there are no specific indicators. Other authors, like Marzbali et al. (2013), also operationalized the concept of CPTED. He divides the concept in three categories, called surveillance (cameras and proper street lighting), access control (fences and other forms of reducing the chance to access places) and maintenance (clean floors and walls, the absence of graffiti, etc.). Combining these two authors, CPTED can be split up in five different parts: target hardening, access control, surveillance, societal cohesion and maintenance.

By putting up more cameras in the neighbourhood, the JUP-approach clearly shows the 'surveillance' part of CPTED. These cameras have the goal to prevent and repress criminal activities, by scaring off eventual perpetrators. Also the dimension of 'maintenance' can be found in the JUP-approach. By refurbishing the playground in the middle, the municipality tries to make the environment more liveable and cleaner, which according to the theory of CPTED can lead to a drop in criminal activities. A third dimension of CPTED can also be found in the JUP-approach, which is the dimension of 'access control.' One of the measures in this approach was redeveloping the small building between the apartments such as the day care and the local bar. These buildings got fences around it with barbed wire to make it harder for youngsters to hang around these places or access the buildings at night. The last dimension that can be seen in the JUP-approach is the dimension of 'societal cohesion.' By creating living rules for all inhabitants, they try to create more social cohesion in the neighbourhood. They have to greet each other and want to reduce the mutual complaining.

In earlier studies, CPTED showed at some times to be an effective strategy to reduce various forms of crime, while in other studies the effect of CPTED was questioned. For example, in a study by Casteel & Peek-Asa (2000), the effect of CPTED on robberies was analysed. In this

article, sixteen primary studies presented some evidence of CPTED effects. The percentage change in pre- and post-intervention events was the outcome examined. All primary multiple-component CPTED programs experienced a percentage change in robberies ranging from -84% to -30%. This shows that CPTED can be an effective strategy to tackle robberies. In another study in South-Korea, two different new towns were selected. Both towns had similar populations and characteristics, but one had adopted CPTED and the other had not. The crime rates for these two selected towns were collected and compared to find out whether there is any evidence that adopting CPTED has positive effects in reducing crime incidents (Ha, Oh & Park, 2015). The conclusion of the research was that there was no evidence found that specific forms of crime will occur less due to the use of CPTED. This means that different researches show different results. In some cases, CPTED seems to work while in other cases, no evidence can be found that CPTED is an effective strategy. The most mentioned problem of the use of CPTED is that it focusses too much on criminal hot-spots; they are situational crime prevention methods. This means that by placing surveillance and using access control, crimes in this hot-spots are reduced, but it tends lead to crime displacement, instead of actual crime solving. (Rosenbaum et al., 1998)

2.5. Broken Windows Theory

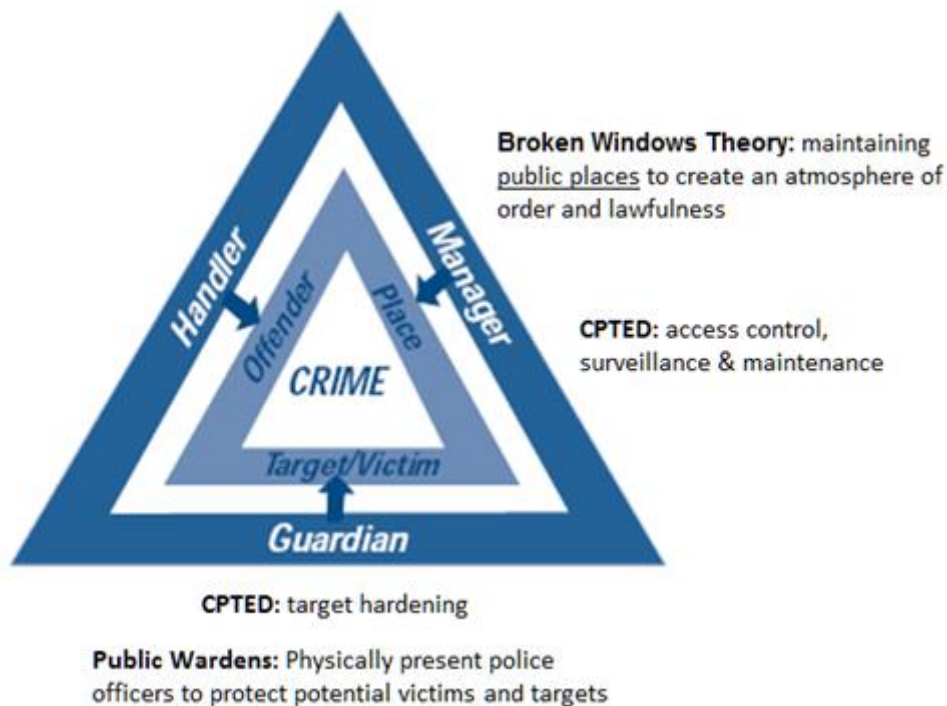
There are also some measures in the JUP-approach that show another well-known criminological theory; the broken windows theory. The broken windows theory knows its origin from 1982, in an article named 'Broken Windows: The police and neighbourhood safety' from George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson. This article was the first time this idea was actually presented as a theory, but in the years before, experiments were already done to test this idea. The main principle of this theory is the norm-setting effect of urban disorder and vandalism on new forms of crime. The broken windows theory states that there is an important role for maintaining and monitoring public environments to prevent small crimes such as vandalism, public drinking, and turnstile-jumping. A good maintained public area helps to create an atmosphere of order and lawfulness, thereby preventing more serious crimes from happening. The metaphor of the broken window can be very easily explained: when there is a broken window in a neighbourhood, and nothing is done about it, it invites others to commit a comparable criminal deed, because it seems like nobody cares and there is no punishment.

This theory is based on an experiment in 1969 of Philip Zimbardo, a Stanford psychologist, who tested this idea of the broken windows using two cars. One of the cars had no licence plate and other one was intact. The car without licence plate was vandalised within ten minutes after abandoning it while the other car lasted for weeks. (Kelling & Wilson, 1982: 3). This experiment shows the core of the theory: a car, or a house, with a broken window, is more likely to invite people to break another window, or commit another crime such as vandalism or theft. Therefore, maintaining and monitoring public environments can play an important role in reducing and preventing small crimes.

In the JUP-approach, we can find two measures that are based on this criminological theory. First of all, refurbishing the playground in the middle of the neighbourhood, can be seen as a measure based on this theory. A relatively old, with graffiti clad, broken down playground could be an invitation for local youngsters to loiter here or vandalize the playground or other near objects as well. By refurbishing this playground, the municipality tries to give the public environment an atmosphere of order and lawfulness. The same reason can be given for the rules of behaviour in the area. One of these rules is that the inhabitants have to throw away their thrash immediately away at one of the designated places, to prevent big piles of thrash outside on the streets. This might also lead to more people throwing away their thrash here or inviting people to commit small crimes; simply for the reason that they might think that nobody cares and there is no punishment.

Different studies and experiments show that taking measures based on the broken windows theory can be very effective to drop rates of theft and vandalism (Kelling & Wilson: 1982). The research of Sampson & Raudenbush (2004) also observed a reduction in vandalism in Chicago due to the more explicit use of the broken windows theory in these rusty neighbourhoods. Therefore we can conclude that the Broken Windows Theory might be an effective way to reduce some forms of small crimes, but clearly not all forms of crime. At this moment, the three most important crime (prevention) theories have been elaborated on, which can be seen in the measures of the JUP-approach. These measures are places in a visual of the crime triangle below, to create an overview of the measures that were taken by the municipality of Leiden.

2.6. Summarizing: The JUP-approach and the Crime Triangle



2.7. Executing the JUP-approach: Community Policing

The execution of the JUP-approach is done by the police model called community policing. Community policing is a form of policing that requires local (or non-local) policy makers and police officers to inherit a proactive approach to address the local safety concerns. This form of policing knows its origin from the United States, where this was an important cornerstone of the Clinton Administration. It gained eventually funding from the 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act. The overall goal of community policing is reducing crime and raising the sense of security in a community, by using a positive and proactive approach of both local police officers and community members. It should also create a relation between the police and citizens of mutual respect and trust (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1991: 14). Ponsaers (2001; 8) describes community policing as *“a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a pro-active reliance on community resources that seeks to change crime causing conditions. It assumes a need for*

⁸ Eck, J. E., Cullen, F. T., Schaefer, L. (2002) Environmental Corrections: A New Paradigm for Supervising Offenders in the Community (Edited by Jeroen Ooms with factors of the JUP-approach)

greater accountability of police, greater public share in decision-making and greater concerns for civil rights and liberties”

Community policing, as a postmodern model, takes a different approach to crime, drugs and disorder than traditional policing, such as rapid response and undercover operations. One of the most obvious difference is that community policing involves other organisations, actors and even average citizens directly in the process (Mastrofski, 2006; Sherman & Eck, 2006). It creates a security network (Ponsears, 2001: 8). Traditional policy patronizes the community purely as citizens, and believing that the police is the only actor who has the answers. In contrast, community policing empowers more involved actors and citizens by enlisting them as partners with the local police and policy makers to create a safer and more liveable neighbourhood (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1991: 14).

The municipality of Leiden uses the police form of community policing in addition to the JUP-approach. Besides the network they created with youth care and the public prosecutor, every week, there is an open consultation hour for the inhabitants of this neighbourhood. In this meeting they can share their ideas and experiences with the local police officers that are also present at this meeting. In this way, they can give their input, which should eventually lead to less criminality. This due to the fact that they should be more content with local policy, because it is partly based on their wishes and needs. Community policing seems to be especially effective when it focusses on a specific problem. Community policing without a clear focus on specific problems has not been found to be effective. On the other hand, community policing based on a specific problem, seemed to be more effective (Sozer, 2010: 35).

2.8. Problematic districts and indicators for crime

Now that the most important crime prevention strategies used in the JUP-approach are presented, the most important indicators for criminal behaviour in urban districts will be elaborated on. This is important for the further development of this research. While this study attempts to analyse three problematic urban districts, it is essential to read in on previous research on urban crimes and indicators for criminal behaviour. The first indicator for criminal behaviour in urban districts is the age of the perpetrators. The indicator of age is drawn from the article of Hirschi & Gottfredson (1983) where various studies in different

countries showed that urban crime is mostly created by youngsters. From different age-crime curves of different cities can be drawn that from the age of fourteen, criminal behaviour starts to occur, in small numbers. The numbers of criminal activity rise in the following years, reaching its top around the age of 23. From this age criminal behaviour drops again linearly. The observation that participants in criminal behaviour are frequently from younger ages, is corroborated by more recent studies from Murray et al (2001) and Loeber and Farrington (2014), where in different age-crime curves the same observations can be made. The explanation for this observation lies in several factors. First of all, from the age of seventeen and eighteen, the needs of an individual change. Twelve or thirteen year olds don't need money for cigarettes, food and for example gasoline. Therefore, property-crime rates raise at this age, as their economic situation deteriorates. At the after school period, when these individuals get a job, their economic position improves, causing a decline in criminal behaviour (Hirschi & Gottfredson: 1983, 571). Second of all, at this age, peer pressure and group forming is an essential accessory factor in criminal behaviour. At this age, youngsters experience peer pressure and group forming both at school and in the public domain, causing strengthening in the feeling of being disadvantaged.

This research also showed that crime occurs on a larger scale in districts where the unemployment rates and poverty are relatively high. The indicator of income is strengthened by other studies in relatively poor neighbourhoods, where crimes seemed to occur significantly more than in wealthier neighbourhoods (Ludwig et al, 2001: 13). The given explanation for these observations in studies is based on social factors and equality. Due to the fact that these individuals feel disadvantaged compared to wealthier families, they tend to behave in a criminal way more. Especially property-related crimes occur more with individuals from poorer families (Krivo & Peterson: 1996, 628-629). This phenomena is described as the relative deprivation theory or the relative deprivation model. In this model, individuals compare themselves to others in their "reference group", in this case with other wealthier neighbourhoods, and respond with deviant behaviour if they feel they have an inequitable economic share. The criminal response by the ones that feel disadvantaged, might either be through property crimes aimed at "equalizing" the perceived injustice, or through violent crimes enacted through frustration (Hipp, 2007: 5).

The indicator of ethnicity is based on a book on age-crime curves for inhabitants of the Netherlands, where different ethnicities were analysed. Results from this study were that inhabitants from non-Western countries such as Moroccans, Antillians and Turkish had a higher age-crime curve in their puberty and young adult years, which indicates that youngsters from these ethnicities were the main perpetrators (Jennissen, 2009). This is explained by Jennissen due to the lack of cultural and economic integration. Furthermore, the adaptation of behaviour standards is often deficient. This can lead to a social gap between non-Western inhabitants and Dutch inhabitants. Moreover, the fact that they feel like a minority in this country often leads to rebellious behaviour. (Jennissen, 2009: 228). Another local study in the Netherlands about the effect of migration on criminal behaviour, partly strengthens these observations. In the study of Bovenkerk & Fokkema (2015) about the influence of origin on criminal behaviour, it becomes clear that the ethnicity of the perpetrator does not seem to be a direct indicator for criminal behaviour, but the social-economical position in the Netherlands is. This corresponds with the findings about the deprivation theory in the previous paragraph. It is not the non-Western origin that indicates crime, it is the disadvantaged social-economical position they obtained when migrating to the Netherlands. Therefore, in preventing criminal behaviour in these urban districts, the focus should lay on social-economic factors of the non-Western immigrants, and not necessarily on the non-western inhabitants themselves.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the literature on criminal behaviour in urban districts is that being from a young age, having a non-Western ethnicity and coming from a relatively poor family are indicators for criminal behaviour, as these factors can indicate a deprivation or inequality. Of course, not all perpetrators fit these characteristics, but they can form important indicators when comparing the three urban districts to each other. Furthermore, the explanations for these characteristics show that social factors are often the cause of criminal behaviour. Being poor or from a non-Western ethnicity can cause the individual to feel disadvantaged or left out, causing them to act in a criminal way. Moreover, in their younger age they tend to behave in a more rowdy way. Also, group forming between youngsters can lead to more criminal activity due to peer pressure. Thus, we can conclude that social factors seem to predominate the motives for criminal behaviour in urban districts.

In other cases in different countries, different crime prevention policies have been used to tackle urban crime (Witte, 1996: 740). In the 1980's, the trend of hot-spot policing rose in the United States. Based on computer analysis, crime hot-spots were identified and the police allocated more resources to these places. Complaints and reports seemed to decline quite rapid. However, later, crime appeared to have been displaced rather than suppressed. This phenomenon is called crime displacement in the field of criminology (Witte, 1996: 740). Later, policies considering urban crime shifted towards social factors and policies for at-risk youth. For example, structured, value-oriented education and education that seeks close ties with families can improve the lives of at-risk youth. Alternative education programs showed to be an effective way in reducing urban crime for at-risk youth (Harrell, 1995). Other policies were focussing on keeping the youngsters off the streets, by after school programs or giving them work. The main idea behind this is keeping the youth busy with something legal that engages him (Witte, 1996: 740). While these comprehensive social programs are quite expensive, they seem to be good strategy in reducing urban crime for at-risk youngsters.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research question

The research question this study attempts to answer is *“To what extent can an implemented crime prevention approach used in one urban district also be successful in other urban districts in the same municipality?”* This research question is an exploratory question, where exploratory studies features the characteristic of analysing data or cases to create new insights or aspects in a specific subject, in this case problematic districts in Leiden (Bryman, 2012: 131). The research question is divided in five sub-questions.

- 1) *“What were the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the implementation of the JUP-approach?”*
- 2) *“What factors of the JUP-approach contributed to the drop in crime rates and disturbance and why?”*
- 3) *“What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Slaaghwijk?”*
- 4) *“What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Kooi?”*
- 5) *“To what extent can the implemented measures of the JUP-approach be successful in reducing crime and disturbance in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi?”*

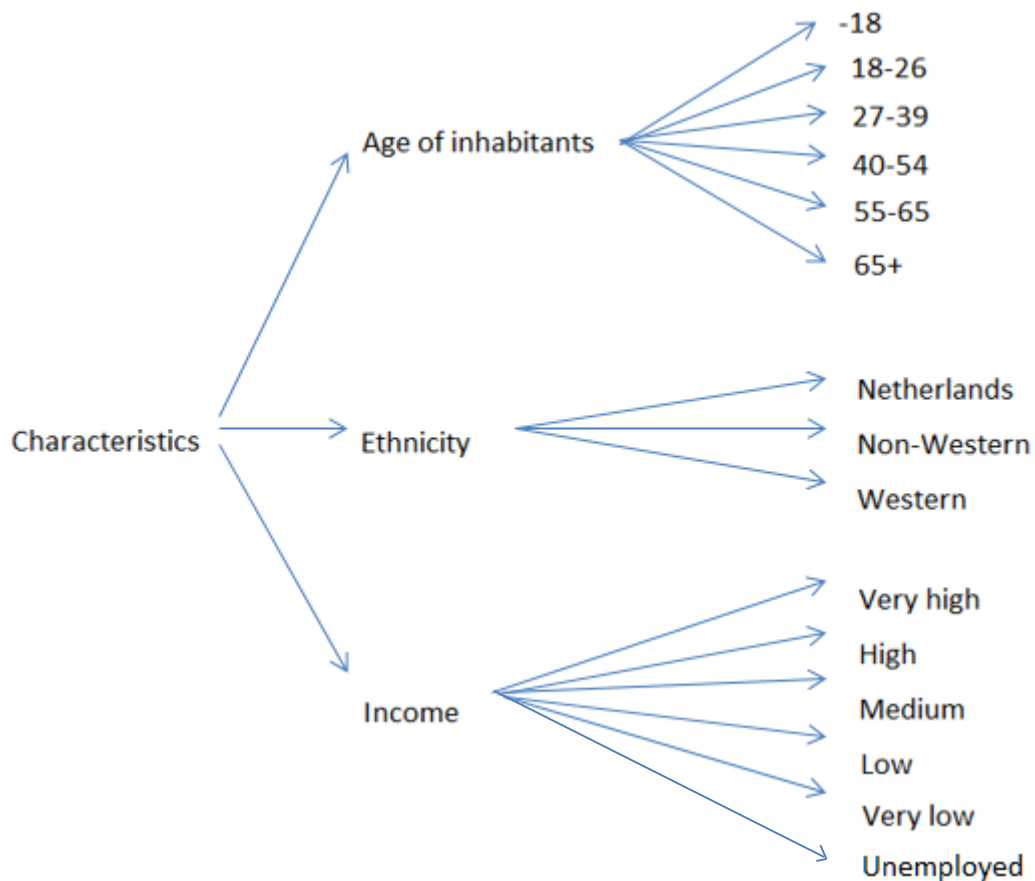
The first question is what the most important problems were in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the JUP-approach was implemented. The third and fourth sub-questions are about the problems in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi. These sub-questions are important due to the fact that in the last sub-question, the problems in all three problematic districts are compared. The second sub-question is what implemented measures contributed to the drop of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, so it becomes clear what measures were helpful for the forms of crime in the first sub-question.

3.2. Operationalization

The most important concepts that come forward in this study are the ones that are compared to each other in the last sub-question. The three problematic urban districts are compared to each other on characteristics, problems and forms of crime. To answer the research question properly, these three constructs need to be measured in empirical reality.

The schematic drawing of the first concept, characteristics of the problematic district, will be based on the age of inhabitants, their ethnicity and the income of the inhabitants. These indicators are based on previously written articles about urban crime used in the theoretical framework.

The operationalization of the characteristics, based on these articles, will look like this:

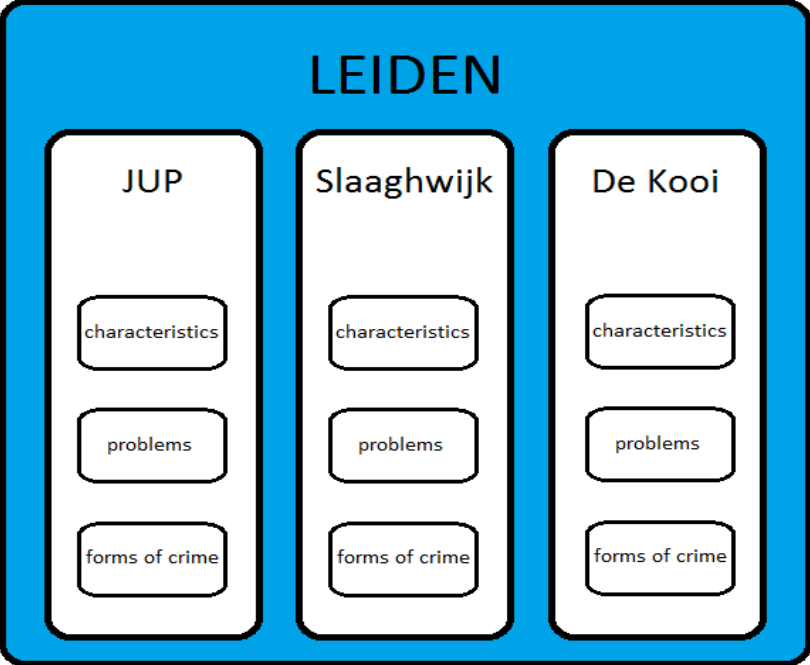


For the concepts of problems and forms of crime, no schematic drawing can be made. This can be explained due to the fact that it is not clear up front which problems and crimes might be important in the districts. Therefore, a questionnaire with open question will be used. In this way, the inhabitants themselves can bring forward the most important issues in

the district. This increases the internal validity of these concepts. For answering the research question of this study it is important to get a clear view on the most important problems and crimes in the neighbourhood. By not operationalizing the concepts of crimes and problems beforehand, no forms can be excluded and be left out of the research. Meanwhile, the most important issues in the districts will still come forward by questioning the inhabitants.

3.3. Research design

Due to the fact that in this exploratory study about problematic districts new insights are attempted to gather, this study will focus on a specific case; the city of Leiden. While the mayor of Leiden stated that he wants to implement the JUP-approach in two other districts as well, this study uses in fact three cases, and compares them to each other to see if this approach will also be successful in the other two districts. This makes this research an embedded, single case study, which means that one case, Leiden, is divided in three units of analysis (JUP, the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi) and these three units of analysis are compared to each other (Swanborn, 1996). Visually presented a comparative case study looks like this:



This study uses an embedded, single case study design as this research question is hard to answer when studying every city in the Netherlands, or even worldwide, where problematic districts are an issue, is not feasible. An embedded, single case study gives an in-depth look

at a specific case, and results can from this case be considered when looking at other cities that face the problem of problematic districts. Despite this, the external validity of this research can be considered as low. The answer of the research question will be for the city of Leiden, and might not be applicable in every city. Still, an embedded case study can create useful insights for similar cases and can form a base for further research on this topic.

Moreover, this study can be seen as a deductive study, as it builds further on existing crime (prevention) theories such as CPTED, the use of public wardens and the Broken Windows theory. The main objective and research question of this study is based on existing literature, and it does not attempt to create a new theory or concepts. This deductive study uses a mixed methods design, where interviews and open-questioned surveys are used for the gathering of data and information in a qualitative way. The information gathered from these two methods still need interpretation from the researcher. With the use of crime statistics from official documents such as the municipalities' social neighbourhood profiles and crime reports from the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, quantitative methods will be used. These methods of data collection will be further explained and justified at the end of this chapter.

3.4. Methods: triangulation of methods

For the execution of this research, triangulation of methods will be used to create a three-sided view on the case. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, to gather data and information, interviews, surveys and document analysis will be used.

Interviews

For every problematic district, the neighbourhood police officer will be interviewed to gather information about the most important problems and issues in this area. This information is essential in analysing the differences and similarities between the districts to answer the research question properly. In this interview, open questions will be used to obtain more insights in the most important problems and forms of crime in the neighbourhoods. The full list of questions can be found in appendix one and two. The choice was made for the neighbourhood's police officer for their local knowledge and expertise. These professionals have been working with the problems and people in these areas and can therefore be very helpful in gathering the right information. The pro of using an open interview is that it creates the possibility to gather in-depth information. Moreover, it gives the researcher the

opportunity to ask follow-up questions and pick up nonverbal cues. The biggest cons of doing an open interview is that the presence of the researcher may bias results. Also, an interview gives a subjective view on the case, from the eye of, in this case, a local police officer. To tackle the problem of this one-sided, subjective view, surveys and data analysis will be used. In this way, the case and its problems are analysed from different points of view.

The information gathered in the interviews will be exploited with the help of interpreting the seriousness of the problems and crimes. The problems and forms of crime mentioned by the police officer can be labelled as a minor problem, an average problem and a major problem. The magnitude of the problem will be judged by the researcher, based on verbal and non-verbal cues. For example, when verbal cues such as 'severe' 'important' 'serious' and 'great' are used by the police officer, the problem can be labelled as large. When verbal cues like 'minor' 'little' 'inconsiderable' 'petty' etc. are used, the magnitude of the problem can be seen as small. When the magnitude of the problem is not clear, the simple follow-up question 'Would you label this problem as a minor, average or major problem?' will be asked.

Survey

To create a two sided-view on the most important problems and forms of crime in these three neighbourhoods, surveys will be used to gather information from the inhabitants of these areas. Their perception on problems and crimes may differ from the view of the local police officer. The survey contains open questions so the inhabitants themselves can bring forward the most important issues in the district, and no other forms will be excluded due to prepossession of the researcher. This will increase the internal validity of the results. By asking the inhabitants themselves what the most important issues are, this method will measure what it attempts to measure; the problems in this neighbourhood. The full list of questions can be found in appendix three. The pro of using a survey is the scope. A short survey creates the possibility to reach a large amount of respondents. Moreover, the sample can provide much information about the population. One of the most common pitfalls of surveys is the sampling.

For the sampling of this survey, stratified sampling will be used in every districts. The population will be divided in groups of age. The division in groups is based on the operationalization in the previous chapter. For every age group, in both districts, the

researcher attempts to find four respondents. This means that in every district, a total of 24 respondents need to be found, bringing the total respondents to a number of 48 respondents. Stratified sampling will be used to create a generalizable view on the issues and crime in the district, to increase the external validity of the sample. Moreover, due to the fact that literature showed that most problems are caused by youngsters, it is important to involve both youngsters and older inhabitants to the survey. Otherwise, the results would be biased.

The data collected will be exploited using quantification of answers. From all the answers of the respondents, on what the problems are in their neighbourhood, the amount of times the problem or crime is mentioned will be quantified. For example, when theft is mentioned by nineteen respondents, and public violence is mentioned by four respondents, theft can be labelled as a major problem and public violence as a relatively minor problem.

Document analysis

Statistical analysis will be done for the purpose of comparing the districts in the research. Statistical data will be used for every district, to give more insights in the reported crime numbers. In this way, the statistical data from these neighbourhoods can be a complement to the information drawn from the survey and the interviews. Statistical data will be used a second time in the last sub-question, where the districts are compared to each other on characteristics. The municipality's social profile publication will be used to compare the districts with each other on the inhabitants' age, ethnicity and income.

Unit of analysis and unit of observation

This study attempts to pitch conclusions on the level of districts, in this case the 'Jacques Urlusplantsoen', the 'Slaaghwijk' and the 'Kooi'. These three cases can therefore be arranged as the units of analysis. The units of observation include the units, human and non-human, that are used to study to state these conclusions. For this research, the units of observation would be the three interviewed local police officers, and for the cases of the 'Slaaghwijk' and the 'Kooi', the inhabitants are also units of observation.

4. Analysis

In this chapter of the study, the results of the research will be presented and analysed. The information presented in the first two sub-questions, which are both concerning the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, is based on an interview with a local police officer, survey questions with inhabitants, and statistical data concerning crimes in this district from the CBS. The third and fourth sub-questions are about the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk. Similar to the first two sub-questions, data is gathered through interviews, statistical data and survey questions. The interviews are both, similar to the JUP, held with the neighbourhood police officers. All respondents and interviewed will remain anonymous in this research. In the last sub-question, whether the JUP-approach might also be successful in the other two problematic districts, the most important problems found in the first four sub-questions will be compared to each other. Moreover, statistical data will be used to compare the three districts to each other to suggest if the replication of the JUP-approach would be a success.

4.1. Characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen

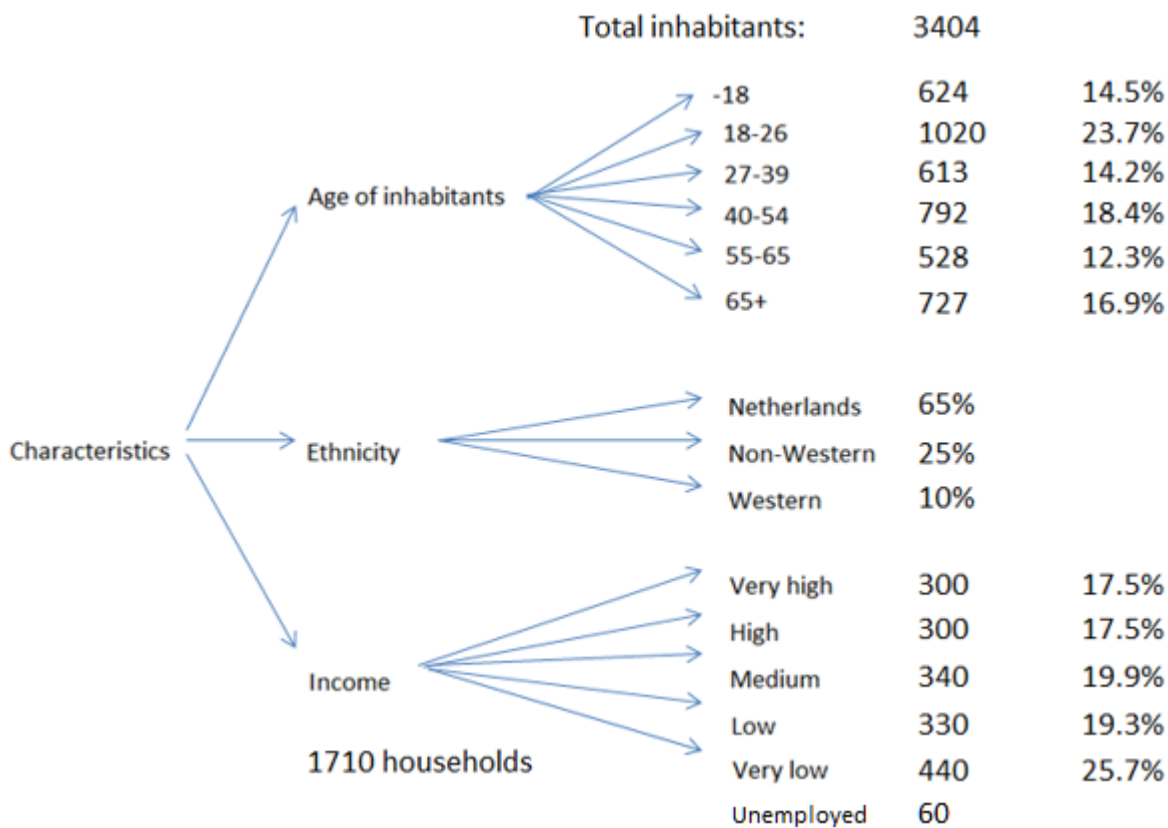
In 2016, the Mayor of Leiden Henri Lenferink started with the implementation of the JUP-approach, as the result of increasing crime numbers in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen and an escalated situation that ended with a shooting. This area was labelled as ‘highly problematic’ before, as there lived a large amount of people on social support, crime numbers were significantly higher than other districts and there was a lack of social cohesion. They even scored orange in the national liveability meter, which means that this district is not labelled as liveable, but as problematic.⁹

To answer the sub-question: *“What were the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the implementation of the JUP-approach?”* This paragraph is divided in two parts: the characteristics of the neighbourhood and the forms of crime and problems in this urban district. These are also the two components used to compare the three districts to each other. The next paragraph is about the characteristics of the Jacques Urlusplantsoen.

⁹ Sleutelstad, <http://sleutelstad.nl/2017/01/14/lenferink-presenteert-breed-verbeterplan-jacques-urlusplantsoen/> (revised on september 14th, 2017)

4.1.1. Characteristics of the Jacques Urlusplantsoen

As already mentioned in the methodology, with the operationalization of the ‘characteristics’ of the neighbourhood, the operationalization is based on the social neighbourhood profiles, published by the municipality of Leiden. In the scheme below, the operationalization is showed, appended with the relevant numbers gathered from this document.



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It becomes clear that in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, the largest group of the inhabitants are young adults, with an age between eighteen and twenty-seven. The other age groups seem to be quite similar to each other considering their size, excluding elderly with the age between 55 and 56. The largest group of inhabitants has a Dutch ethnicity (65%), while other inhabitants with another Western origin form the smallest group (10%). The other 25 percent of inhabitants have a non-Western origin. The income groups also seem to be divided equally, except for the lowest income group. With 25.7%, this group is the largest in

¹⁰ Leiden in cijfers, <http://www.leidenincijfers.nl/onderzoeksbank/7981-2017-11f%20-%20w5%20Bos-%20en%20Gasthuis.pdf> (november 21th 2017)

¹¹ The 1710 households are households that are employed. In total, there are 1770 households in this urban district. The percentages are based on the amount of households in this category from the amount of total households with income. This also applies to the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk later in the analysis.

this district. In sixty households in this neighbourhood, both parents are unemployed. The characteristics will be further analysed at the end of this chapter, where the results are compared to the characteristics of the other two problematic districts.

4.1.2. Forms of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the JUP-approach

4.1.2.1 Statistical data

To find the most relevant forms of crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the JUP-approach was implemented, information about the most important forms of crime in the years 2012-2015 need to be gathered, as the implementation of the JUP-approach was started in 2016.

<u>Crime / Year</u>	2012	2013	2014	2015
<i>Property- related crimes, destruction and violence (total)</i>	209	172	181	209
<i>Property-related (total)</i>	153	118	117	113
<i>Theft (total)</i>	140	110	105	100
<i>Bike theft</i>	28	22	25	11
<i>Other vehicle theft</i>	10	11	7	7
<i>Theft from vehycles</i>	24	22	24	27
<i>Pickpocketing/robberies</i>	3	7	1	1
<i>Burglary from houses</i>	30	26	13	32
<i>Burglary from other buildings</i>	8	7	5	5
<i>Other theft</i>	37	15	30	17
<i>Other property-related crimes</i>	13	8	12	13
<i>Destruction and other crimes against the public order (total)</i>	35	30	40	77
<i>Destruction</i>	31	28	31	71
<i>Crimes against the public order</i>	4	2	9	6
<i>Violent and sexual crimes (total)</i>	21	24	24	19
<i>Physical abuse</i>	9	7	12	14
<i>Threatening</i>	8	11	6	3
<i>Other violent/sexual crimes</i>	4	6	6	2

The first thing that stands out in this table, is that despite the fact that criminal activities have been largely present in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen for the entire four years, there are some fluctuations in numbers and forms of crime. For example, 2013 and 2014 seem to be the more serene years in this district, while in 2015 crime rates rose again to the level of crimes in 2012 (a total of 209 registered crimes). We can therefore conclude that there is no evidence for a drop or raise in criminal activities in the years 2012-2015, but some fluctuations can be observed.

Another important observation is that while between 2012 and 2015 crime rates did not drop or rose, there is in fact a change in the nature of crimes. While property-related crimes such as theft, burglary and robbery, dropped in numbers every year from 153 to 113, destruction and other crimes against the public order rose from 35 to 77. Therefore we can conclude that while a large amount of criminal activities has been an important problem in this district, the nature of the crimes differs from year to year.

Due to the fact that in the statistical data of the CBS about this neighbourhood only reported crimes are processed, survey questions will be used to create more insights in the crimes and problems in this neighbourhood. Moreover, CBS statistics show no information about other problems that are not considered as a crime. Therefore, survey questions might be a useful addition to this information.

¹² CBS, <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/maatwerk/2016/45/geregistreeerde-criminaliteit-per-gemeente-wijk-en-buurt-2010-2015> (revised on November 20th 2017)

4.1.2.2 Problems and forms of crime according to the inhabitants

For the 38 respondents in this district, the question was asked which problems and crimes occur in this area. The amount of times these issue were mentioned, are presented in the table below. Due to the fact that in this research more insights in the major and minor problems in these urban districts are required, a division is made based on the results of the survey. Issues mentioned by more than 50% of the respondents are labelled as major problems, while problems between the 25% and 50% are labelled as minor problems.

<u>Crime:</u>	<u>Age group:</u> <u>(# of respondents)</u>	<u>-18</u> <u>(6)</u>	<u>19-26</u> <u>(7)</u>	<u>27-39</u> <u>(7)</u>	<u>40-54</u> <u>(7)</u>	<u>55-64</u> <u>(6)</u>	<u>65+</u> <u>(5)</u>	<u>Total:</u> <u>(38)</u>
<u>Theft from vehicles</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	5
<u>Bike theft</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	14
<u>Pickpocketing</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	3
<u>Burglary</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	4
<u>Skimming (credit cards)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0
<u>Violence</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	13
<u>Littering</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	12
<u>Destruction</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	19
<u>Threatening</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	13
<u>Sexual Abuse</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	2
<u>Murder</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0
<u>Disturbance (by neighbours)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	6
<u>Disturbance (by youngsters)</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	21

Based on the results from the survey, it becomes clear that two issues are predominant in this district. Disturbance by youngsters and destruction are evidently mentioned more often than other crimes and problems in this district (respectively 21 and 19 times). They are mentioned respectively by 55% and 50% by the respondents, and can therefore be seen as major problems. Four other problems, bike theft (14), violence (13), littering (12) and threatening (13), are also mentioned to a larger extent than the other issues. These issues are mentioned by approximately 1/3 of the respondents, and can therefore be labelled as minor problems. Concluding from the survey, the major problems in this districts are

disturbance by youngsters and destruction, while bike theft, violence, littering and threatening can be seen as minor problems.

4.1.2.3 Problems and forms of crime according to the police officer

The first part of the interview with the local police officer, about the forms of crime in the JUP, provided more in-depth information about the forms of crime and their magnitude. It became clear that there are forms of crime that have a significant larger magnitude and a longer duration than other forms of crime. Therefore, the issues drawn from the interview are similar to the survey split up in major, average and minor issues. The neighbourhood police officer made clear that it is the collection of various major and minor forms of crimes (and problems) that makes this district problematic and hard to deal with.

“There are various forms in the JUP, and it is definitely not that the one is more important than the other. Of course, there are problems and forms of crime that were bigger, more problematic, or had larger consequences in a period of time than other crimes, but it is the collection of all different crimes and problems that makes a district like this so problematic.”
(Appendix one, question five)

Despite this quote, where the respondent makes clear that it is the combination of crimes that makes this district problematic, the respondent points out some different forms of crime and problems that have been important before the implementation of the JUP-approach in 2014. According to the neighbourhood police officer, the issues in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen can mostly be divided in short-termed issued and long-termed issues, automatically labelling these issues as a minor problem or a major problem. These short-termed issues are crimes or problems that can be dealt with and repaired relatively fast and easy, which makes them minor issues. The major issues are problems that cannot be repaired in a short period of time and have often bigger consequences.

Minor crimes and problems in the JUP

According to the police officer, there have been periods of times where some specific issues predominated the criminal circuit, while other issues were ongoing in the background. These specific, short-termed issues were for example theft from cars and littering in public property. There has for example been a period of time where there were fifteen notifications of theft from cars in three of four months, where there were only four notifications in the six

months before. This problem was also repaired in a short time, which makes this problem a minor, short-termed problem. Furthermore, there has been a period where loitering youngsters were littering public places such as the playground. This was, according to the respondent, also a temporary and relatively small problem. The last minor problem, which was important for a short period of time, was group fights between youngsters, where violence and threatening were important issues.

Major crimes and problems in the JUP

Structural and large-scaled problems in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen were, according to the neighbourhood police officer, theft, violence, disturbance and destruction. These problems have been an issue over the last few years, and showed less fluctuations than the temporary, small-scaled problems. Moreover, resolving these problems took a more intensive approach.

According to the local police officer, theft, whether it is bike theft or theft from houses, is a very important problem in this district. Every year, theft numbers are way higher than in other districts in the city of Leiden. This corresponds with the CBS statistics, which show that theft overall is reported more than 110 times a year, for a period of four years. Furthermore, violence is also occurring every year and can be labelled as a structural form of crime. Mostly groups of youngsters make themselves guilty of using violence and threatening other groups or individuals. Due to the fact that this has been an issue for years now, the local police officer labelled this problem as major.

From the interview with the local police officer another severe problem in the JUP came forward. Most of the issues in this district are, according to the police officer, caused by youngsters. Most notifications in this district every year are about disturbance created by youngsters, especially in the night. Also, they tend to pollute the neighbourhood when hanging at places like the playground and the square of the local kindergarten. Finally, the problem of destruction of public property is also caused by these loitering youngsters. Vandalizing garbage cans, bus stops and other public property is seen as a structural, long-term problem in this neighbourhood.

Who causes these problems?

The most considerable finding from the interview with the local police officer concerns the perpetrators of these crimes and the cause of the problems. While it became in an early stage clear that mostly youngsters and young adults are the main perpetrators, the ethnicity of the perpetrators varies and shows no clear indication. According to the police officer:

“The groups of youngsters and young adults, or the individual perpetrators, are from all ethnicities. Sometimes, it is a group of only Turkish and Moroccan, or Antilleans, but as well Dutch youngsters. Moreover, often, the groups that I speak with in the neighbourhood or come into contact with the police, are a combination of different ethnicities. I really think forming groups is a bigger drive to commit crimes than ethnicity.” (Appendix one, question six)

In contrast to the earlier literature about urban crimes and ethnicity, the local police officer states that the characteristics of the perpetrators show that youngsters from all ethnicities are involved in crime in this urban district. This could be explained by the fact that individuals from other ethnicities feel just as deprived and disadvantaged as the non-Western inhabitants. Therefore, ethnicity is not the indicator, but the social and economic deprivation.

The interim conclusion that can be drawn from the findings of this part of the interview is that the most important, major problems are violence, overall theft, disturbance and destruction while other forms of crime such as littering and theft from cars can be a temporary, minor problem. Considering the characteristics of the perpetrators, they are almost exclusively youngsters and young adults. They are often from relatively poor families, which are in the lowest income class or are even on social support. While these two indicators seem to correspond with the literature, the police officer states that the perpetrators are from all ethnicities. Therefore, the last indicator, ethnicity, does not correspond with the literature.

This shows that in this problematic urban districts, the forms of crime are not structural and therefore easy to tackle. There can be periods where various forms of crime can be the main issue, where a few month later other problems are of great importance. That is why,

according to the local police officer, a comprehensive approach focussing on all forms of crime is the only effective method in these districts.

4.1.4. Comparing the survey to the interview

Similar to the results from the survey, the interview showed that disturbance and destruction are major problems in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Furthermore, the results from both the interview and the survey showed that littering is a minor problem in this district. Besides the similarities in results, some differences can be found. While violence and threatening seemed to be a minor problem in the survey, the local police officer labelled this as a major problem. This difference can be explained by the fact that in the survey, only the amount the problem was mentioned was counted. This can mean that while only a small amount of inhabitants consider this as an important problem, the severity and consequences of this problem can still be large. Therefore, the local police officer labelled these two issues as a major problem. Finally, drawn from the interview, theft overall seems to be a major problem in the JUP. The survey and the answers in the interview later on showed that theft from cars and bike theft were both minor problems. Therefore, this division in bike theft and theft from cars will be maintained.

4.2. The success of the JUP-approach

In this part of the analysis, the second sub-question will be answered, by using the second part of the interview with the local police officer concerning the JUP-approach. The relevant question in this section is: *“What factors of the JUP-approach contributed to the drop in crime rates and disturbance and why?”* First, a reiteration of the implemented measures will be presented, based on the found implemented measures in the news articles supplemented with the information shared in the interview. After this, the sub-question will be answered by information from the interview on what measures helped reducing the various forms of crime and problems, along with the relevant literature that this measure was based on. At last, this paragraph will provide a critical view on the implemented measures in the JUP-approach and their success.

4.2.1 The implemented measures

While in the introduction, the implemented measures were summarized based on the news articles around this topic, the information gathered from the interview about these measures will be added to this. The personal view of the neighbourhood police officer on the implemented measures in the JUP and their success is presented below.

According to the local police officer, there has been a broad diversity of measures to tackle the problems in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. The first measure that was implemented, before any other measures were chosen by the municipality, was the use of CCTV. While this measure was implemented at first, the municipality gathered with local organisations and the police officer in a series of meetings to create a concrete plan to tackle the problems in the JUP. In these meetings, organised after the escalated drug trade in 2014, the JUP-approach was eventually created and later on implemented. The other measures in this comprehensive approach reach from access control to refurbishing the neighbourhood and creating living rules for all inhabitants. The most used hangouts for youngsters, which caused a lot of disturbance, were improved in terms of security. Placing fences with barbed wires caused these places to be better controlled concerning access. Also, by placing better and more street lightning here, youngsters were also forced to hang somewhere else, or not hang around at all. Furthermore, the municipality decided to refurbish the neighbourhood. The idea behind this is giving the neighbourhood a more positive, home-like appearance. This

may eventually cause a drop in crime rates, as the inhabitants, or in this case the youngsters, tend to be more careful and cautious with their own neighbourhood. Moreover, they start to care more about their neighbourhood. Another set of measures, to create more social cohesion in the neighbourhood, were living rules for all inhabitants. These rules were placed on signs at every entrance of the buildings. Some of these rules were for example: greeting other inhabitants, placing your bike in the shed, keeping the noise down and throwing your garbage away immediately in the garbage cans. The last measure was a weekly consulting hour, which was later on changed to a half-year meeting, due to the lack of interest.

4.2.2 The success of these measures according to the police officer

Drawn from the interview, the reasons for the success or failure of each measure becomes clear. For each of the above measures, the view of the police officer on its success will be discussed together with the reasons behind it.

- CCTV

The first measure taken to reduce crime in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen was placing cameras on every street corner and every entrance of the apartment complexes. The success of this measure can be seen as medium, as it reduced theft-related crimes, such as bike theft, theft from cars and burglary from houses, but it did not reduce other forms of crime (or problems) such as loitering, disturbance, and violence. This can, according to the neighbourhood police officer, be drawn from the fact that CCTV was used before implementing other measures. CCTV was put up directly, while the municipality and the police were still debating about what other measures to take. In this period, theft-related crimes seemed to reduce already before implementing other measures. Other problems, such as violence, loitering and disturbance, showed no drop in crime rates in this period.

The success of the CCTV as stated by the police officer, can be explained by the place of the cameras and the nature of the crimes. CCTV seems to be a better crime prevention strategy for property crimes than personal crimes (Brown: 1995, Tilley: 1993, Squires: 1998). On the one hand, due to the fact that these cameras were placed at the entrance of the buildings, burglary from houses dropped significantly. Due to the fact that the potential perpetrators simply have the feeling that they are being watched, they decide not to commit the crime. Furthermore, bike theft and theft from vehicles dropped due to the cameras placed at the

street corners. By placing cameras at these points in the neighbourhood, the potential perpetrators feel watched, causing them to abandon their plans of stealing (Tilley: 1993). On the other hand, according to the local police officer, this measure had no success in reducing or preventing crimes and problems such as violence, loitering and disturbance. Based on literature about the effectiveness of CCTV, this can be explained by the fact that these personal crimes and problems are less premeditated (Skinns: 1998). While burglary and other forms of theft are mostly premeditated, loitering, disturbance and violence often occur more suddenly. For example, violence occurs often when two groups of youngsters suddenly meet in the public domain. Furthermore, disturbance is also mostly not intended. Youngsters who meet in the public domain do not beforehand do this to bother or annoy other inhabitants, it just happens. Therefore, the perpetrators of these forms of crimes and problems tend to care less about the CCTV around them. Preventing or reducing these crimes and problems, therefore need other measures (Armitage et al.: 1999). Nevertheless, while the above studies on the effectiveness of CCTV show that CCTV can also reduce personal crimes, the effect of CCTV on property crimes is significantly higher, supporting the police officer's statements.

- Refurbishing the neighbourhood.

The second measure taken by the municipality was refurbishing the neighbourhood. The main goal of this policy was reducing destruction and littering, based on the broken window theory. First of all, the playground in the middle of this area was refurbished and the buildings were repainted. Moreover, the apartment complexes are painted and cleaned more often. This aim of these measures was to get the inhabitants of the district to treat the neighbourhood with more care, because they feel more at home. Eventually, complaints and reported crime on destruction reduced significantly. While in 2015 there were 71 reports on destruction in this district, the police officer says that a year later, this was halved. Therefore the police officer labels this measure as successful. The fact that complaints and reported numbers on destruction and littering dropped since the implementation of the JUP-approach, show that the measures taken were a success. The question whether this drop in destruction rates was caused by this measure or other measures as well remains unanswered. While refurbishing the neighbourhood can have positive effects on reducing destruction in this district, other taken measures as access control and living rules can also

have contributed to this drop in crime numbers. First of all, one of the living rules was throwing away trash immediately and not leaving it outside. This can, similar to refurbishing the neighbourhood, lead to a more home-like, caring appearance of the neighbourhood. Based on the broken windows theory, this can lead to a better treatment of the neighbourhood and dropping crime numbers. Second of all, improved access control of the playground in the neighbourhood and the square of the kindergarten, may have led to this drop in destruction numbers. Due to the fact that these public places were harder to access, destruction in these places would reduce.

- A weekly consulting hour

Another measure taken by the municipality, with the aim of improving the social cohesion in this district, was a weekly consulting hour where all inhabitants could share their ideas or problems in this neighbourhood. In this way, local organisations, the municipality and the police would get to know more about the problems in this neighbourhood and how to solve it. According to the police officer, it became clear very soon that the interest for these meetings was remote. Therefore, instead of a weekly consulting hour, it was changed to a half-yearly consulting hour. Only if there are major problems and complaints, more meetings are scheduled in. This measure can be, according to the local police officer, labelled as a failure.

- Access control

The next measure, with the goal of reducing loitering and disturbance caused by youngsters, is access control. The youngsters in this district caused a large amount of complaints by hanging around at the playground and the square of the kindergarten, playing loud music and littering the public area. By placing fences, and closing off the access to these places, they reduced the disturbance in the neighbourhood caused by youngsters significantly. According to the police officer, the official reported complaints about disturbance dropped by almost half since these places were more secured. Therefore, access control can be seen as an effective strategy to reduce disturbance in problematic districts.

- Living rules for all inhabitants

The living rules is, according to the local police officer, one of the most important measures in reducing crime and other problems in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Except for the fact that

these rules create more social cohesion in the neighbourhood, these rules also reduce crimes by steering the inhabitants to act in rightful behaviour. By placing their bikes in the shed, which is one of the rules, bike theft is reduced significantly. By throwing away garbage immediately, the neighbourhood stays clean, which guides people to keep it clean. This is based on the broken windows theory. This theory states that when things are broken, or littered, it invites people to show the same behaviour, because it looks like nobody cares and there are no consequences for this behaviour. These living rules not only created more social cohesion, it also reduced other problems such as littering and polluting the neighbourhood. Moreover, these living rules may also played a role in reducing disturbance in this neighbourhood. One of the living rules was also to keep noise down. This may have helped in reducing disturbance by youngsters and neighbours.

- More police officers in the neighbourhood

One of the measures that was mentioned in the news articles, but was not mentioned at first by the police officer of the JUP, was the reinforcement of police officers in the neighbourhood. The police officer said that there has been no reinforcement with the implementation of the JUP-approach, only that he, as the neighbourhood officer, got instructions to be even more involved in the neighbourhood. This is in line with the execution of the JUP-approach, which was by community policing. The implementation of the crime prevention methods in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen was accompanied with a switch to community policing. The measure of reinforcing the police in this neighbourhood can therefore be labelled as a mistake, where the neighbourhood police officer got instruction to be more involved in the neighbourhood, by having intensive contact with the inhabitants. Referring to the used literature on this police model, this may have led to a total drop in crime rates of all forms, as community policing attempts to *“reduce crime and raise the sense of security in a community, by using a positive and proactive approach of both local police officers and community members... It should also create a relation between the police and citizens of mutual respect and trust”* (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1991: 14). The more intensive and personal contact between the police officer and the inhabitants can cause a drop in crime rates as they feel more heard and important, and of course more secure.

4.2.3. A critical analysis of the JUP-approach

While according to the local police officer the JUP-approach seemed to be a fruitful project to reduce crimes and disturbance in the JUP, and crime numbers since the implementation of the crime prevention measures showed a drop, the JUP-approach can still be criticised on two points.

First of all, the JUP-approach shows almost exclusively situational crime prevention methods. Situational crime prevention entails the reduction in opportunities for criminals to commit crimes. This makes it more difficult and therefore riskier to commit a crime, causing the potential perpetrator to doubt the crime due to the bigger chance of getting caught. Situational crime prevention focusses on crime hotspots, which are area's on a map that have high crime intensity. This crime prevention method uses the environment to create barriers to crime, and may be done by homeowners, architects and local officials (Bowers et al, 2003). In this case, the crime prevention methods are executed by policy makers from the municipality. Placing CCTV at the entrances of buildings and street corners, refurbishing polluted parts of the neighbourhood and strengthening access control to the places where the youngsters hang at night, are all examples of situational crime prevention methods. Situational crime prevention can be a good method to tackle crime in a short-period of time, but criticism on this crime prevention method is that on the long term, crime displacement can occur.

Crime displacement is the phenomena where crimes are simply reallocated to another place or another time. Six types of crime displacement have been identified and defines in the field of criminology. The first form of crime displacement is temporal displacement, which indicated that criminal activity will moved to other times of the day. This is not the case in the JUP-approach as CCTV, access control and refurbishing these crime hotspots in the neighbourhood is not influenced by time. The second form is tactical displacement, which is "where offenders adopt a different modus operandi" (Bowers et al, 2003, 276.). This means that the perpetrator chooses another method or technique to commit crime. While crime numbers seemed to drop according to the police officer, this was also not the case in the JUP. The third type is criminal displacement. This form of crime displacement entails the fact that offender choose a different form of crime to commit. This could be the case in the JUP, as the local police officer spoke positively about the important forms of crime that were tackled

in this district, but did not speak about other (new) forms of crime in the district. Moreover, since the JUP-approach was only implemented a year ago, this shift to other forms of crime can also still occur in the future. The last form of crime displacement is spatial displacement. Spatial displacement is when offenders commit their crimes in new locations. This is the most common form of crime displacement and the question remains unanswered if this is the case or will be the case in the JUP. While the local police officer spoke about dropping crime numbers in the JUP, due to situational crime prevention these crimes may be displaced to other close neighbourhoods, where the interviewed police officer has no view on. Moreover, similar to criminal displacement, this may still occur in the close future. Therefore the conclusion can be drawn that while the situational crime prevention measures in the JUP-approach caused crime numbers to drop, this may be a short-termed solution for the problems in this neighbourhood. Criminal activities may change to other forms of crime or other places in the neighbourhood where these measures are not implemented.

Second of all, literature on crime in urban districts showed that the problem has various forms of social roots. Social lock-out, feeling like a minority, peer-pressure and feeling economically disadvantaged are important motives for perpetrators in problematic districts. In the interview with the local police officer, it came forward that about half of the perpetrators in this district are from a non-Western origin, and are almost exclusively youngster from relatively poor families. While this neighbourhood seems to be a good fit in the profile of urban districts drawn from the literature, the measures taken in the JUP-approach were to less extent based on the social problems. Only the living rules, which had the goal of achieving more social cohesion in the district, was a measure based on social issues in the JUP. It can eventually reduce the feeling of being socially locked-out and it can lead to a better cultural integration. Therefore this measure can be seen as the only measure in the JUP-approach that focusses on the root of the problems.

Furthermore, while the local police officer seems to be only positive about the successes of the implemented measure, and shows examples of how various forms of crimes are reduced, there are no solutions mentioned for two of the major issues in the JUP; violence and threatening. While violence and threatening were labelled as minor problems in the survey and as major problems by the police officer, none of the implemented measures focusses on resolving these two problems. This supports the statement that the JUP-approach focusses

on crime hotspots, due to situational crime prevention. From the most important issues in the JUP, violence and threatening are two problems that do not occur at a specific place, at a specific time. It can occur in all places in the district, where for example groups of youngsters meet. Therefore, the JUP-approach is not efficacious for resolving violence and threatening; explaining the absence of mentioning this problem by the local police officer.

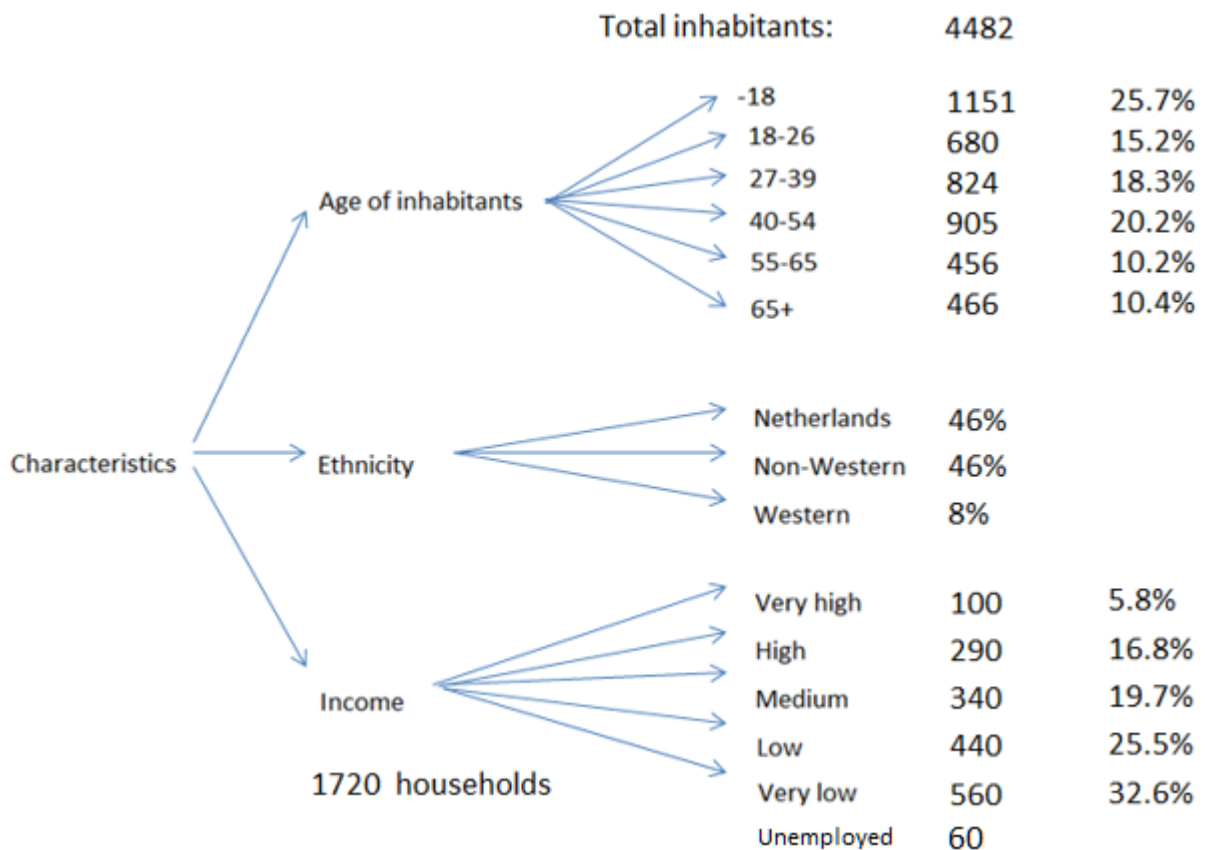
In conclusion, the situational approach made by the municipality and the local police might not tackle the problems in this neighbourhood by the roots, it only focusses on the output of these problems; the crime hotspots. While the JUP-approach seemed to be successful on the short term, as crime numbers dropped, the question remains if this measure will be successful on the long term as various forms of crime displacement may take place and the problems are not solved at the root; the social and cultural motives.

4.3. Characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Slaaghwijk

To answer the third sub-question: “What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Slaaghwijk?” this paragraph is divided in three parts: the characteristics, forms of crime, and problems considering this district. Similar to the analysis of the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, this paragraph will start with the characteristics of the Slaaghwijk, based on the social neighbourhood profile as published by the municipality of Leiden.

4.3.1. Characteristics of the Slaaghwijk

In the following visual, the exact numbers and percentages of the inhabitants of the Slaaghwijk are presented.



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¹³ Leiden in cijfers, <http://www.leidenincijfers.nl/onderzoeksbank/4296-2017-11i%20-%20w8%20Merenwijk.pdf>

What is quite striking when looking at these statistics, is the huge amount of non-adults in this district. The amount of people in this category is significantly higher than in other categories. Furthermore, the amount of non-Dutch inhabitants is more than half (54%). The amount of non-Western ethnicities in the Slaaghwijk is even from the same size as the amount of Dutch inhabitants. Considering income, the largest amount of families in this district is in the lowest income group. Moreover, the amount of families in the highest income group is only 6%. From these statistics we can conclude that the division in income is quite crooked.

4.3.2. Statistical data

<u>Crime / Year</u>	2012	2013	2014	2015
<i>Property- related crimes, destruction and violence (total)</i>	209	201	217	209
<i>Property-related (total)</i>	117	112	125	119
<i>Theft (total)</i>	104	106	105	103
<i>Bike theft</i>	15	18	19	16
<i>Other vehicle theft</i>	7	6	9	11
<i>Theft from vehicles</i>	23	23	18	21
<i>Pickpocketing/robberies</i>	11	9	12	11
<i>Burglary from houses</i>	20	19	17	16
<i>Burglary from other buildings</i>	14	14	9	12
<i>Other theft</i>	14	17	21	16
<i>Other property-related crimes</i>	13	6	20	16
<i>Destruction and other crimes against the public order (total)</i>	62	69	71	69
<i>Destruction</i>	51	56	56	57
<i>Crimes against the public order</i>	11	13	15	12
<i>Violent and sexual crimes (total)</i>	33	20	21	21
<i>Physical abuse</i>	18	10	12	13
<i>Threatening</i>	10	9	6	6
<i>Other violent/sexual crimes</i>	5	1	3	2

From the CBS statistics, we can conclude that in contrast to the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, the reported crime data from year to years seems to be less fluctuating. Where in the JUP, some crime statistics seemed to double or halved from one year to another, in the Slaaghwijk, forms of crime do not seem to change that often. Similar to the JUP, the survey results will be added to the information from the CBS, to get more insights on what problems are important to the inhabitants. Furthermore, while not all crimes and problems may be reported, the survey results can be a good addition to the CBS statistics.

4.3.3. Problems and forms of crime according to the inhabitants

In the following table, the results from the survey in the Slaaghwijk are presented. For every age group, a minimum of six respondents were found and their input is processed in the table below. For every time a crime or problem was mentioned by a respondent, this crime gained one point. The more a crime or problem was mentioned, the higher the score is, and the bigger the problem is in this district.

<i>Crime:</i>	<i>Age group: (# of respondents)</i>	-18 (6)	19-26 (7)	27-39 (7)	40-54 (7)	55-64 (6)	65+ (6)	Total: (39)
<u>Theft from vehycles</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	7
<u>Bike theft</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	14
<u>Pickpocketing</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	2
<u>Burqraly</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	3
<u>Skimming (credit cards)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	1
<u>Violence</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	18
<u>Littering</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	7
<u>Destruction</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	22
<u>Threatening</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	18
<u>Sexual Abuse</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	1
<u>Murder</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	1
<u>Disturbance (by neighbours)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	9
<u>Disturbance (by youngsters)</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	24

In the table above, it becomes clear that this district has problems from significantly higher magnitude than other problems. While there are problems and crimes that are mentioned to a large extent, such as destruction, disturbance and violence, other crimes and problems score quite low. For example skimming, sexual abuse and pickpocketing are all mentioned just one or two times by all respondents. We can conclude from this that this neighbourhood knows some severe problems, while other problems or crimes occur scarcely. For example, from the 39 respondents, 24 stated that disturbance by youngsters is an important problem in this district. This is over 64% of the respondents. Furthermore, problems and crimes like destruction (22), violence (18) and threatening (18) are mentioned by approximately half of the respondents. Another quite severe problem in this district is bike theft, which was mentioned by fourteen respondents. Other forms of crime and problems that were mentioned were evidently less important, due to the fact that they were mentioned to a lesser extent.

4.3.4. Problems and forms of crime according to the local police officer

For the collection of information about the problems in the Slaaghwijk, besides the survey questions, an interview was held with the neighbourhood police officer. Similar to the interview with the police officer from the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, questions were asked about the most important forms of crime and problems in this district. The information drawn from this interview will be compared to the results from the survey questions, to create a two-sided view on the local issues.

According to the local police officer, this neighbourhood has definitely a clear spectrum of problems that need specific attention more than other problems. This comes forward in an important quote in the beginning of the interview.

“This neighbourhood is quite different than other neighbourhoods where I worked in the past. Where a lot of (problematic) neighbourhoods seem to deal with a wide spectrum of problems, with a lot of different groups and individuals involved, this neighbourhood has a few serious problems, caused by a small amount of people...”

Further on in the interview, when asking about the most serious problems and crimes in this district, the content of these problems became clearer. First of all, the small amount of people the police officer talked about, are small groups of youngsters that have been causing

trouble for a long time, together or separate. This corresponds with the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, where youngsters also were the main perpetrators and the cause of trouble. When asking about the ethnicity of the young perpetrators in this district, the answer appears to be straightforward.

“Most of the youngsters that came in contact with the police, or were warned, had a non-Western origin. Most of them were North-African, but they are also often Antillian... But, considering the fact that about 70% of the youngsters in this neighbourhood is non-Western, the ratio of perpetrators corresponds with the ratio of ethnicity.”

Therefore we can conclude that while the amount of non-Western perpetrators differs from the amount in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, the two districts are still comparable to each other, due to the fact that the ratio of non-Western and Dutch inhabitants also differs from the JUP. The note made by the neighbourhood police officer from the JUP, that youngsters from all ethnicities participate in criminal activity, seems to be applicable to the Slaaghwijk as well. The higher amount of in non-Western perpetrators in the Slaaghwijk can simply be assigned to the fact that the amount of non-Western youngsters is also higher.

The two clearest violations created by these youngsters are disturbing the public tranquillity and destroying public and private property. According to the police officer, most of the complaints, notifications and arrests are about these two issues. While these two issues seem to predominate the criminal circuit in this neighbourhood, other problems such as littering, various forms of theft and violent crimes are also mentioned by the police officer.

4.3.5. Comparing the interview to the survey

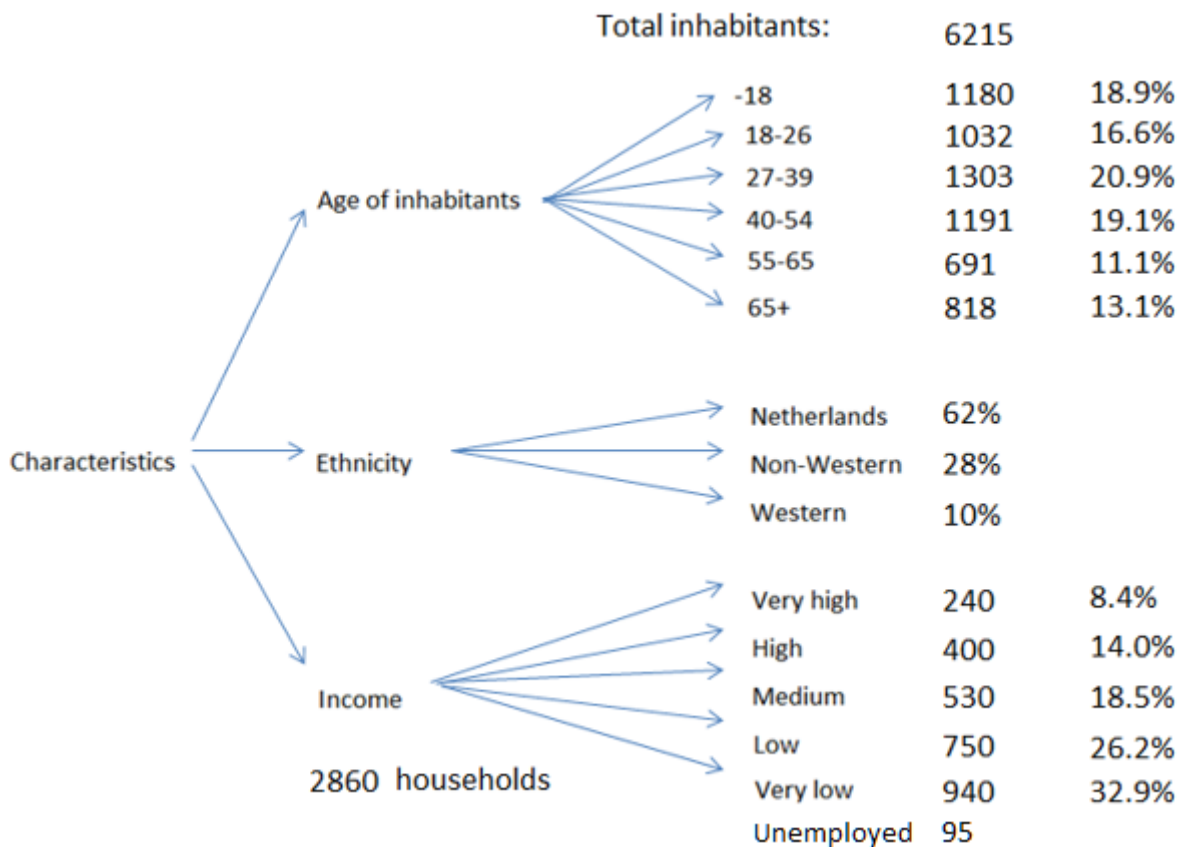
The crimes and problems as mentioned by the inhabitants and the local police officer seem to correspond with each other to a large extent. While five large issues were drawn from the survey (bike theft, destruction, violence, disturbance and violence), two of these issues are also labelled by the police officer as severe. These two (destruction and disturbance) were also the most mentioned problems in the survey. The other three important issues from the survey are also mentioned by the police officer, only at a lower importance. This actually also corresponds with the survey, as these problems were mentioned to a smaller extent by the inhabitants. Therefore we can label disturbance and destruction as major issues in this neighbourhood, while bike theft, violence and threatening can be seen as minor issues.

4.4. Characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Kooi

Similar to the previous paragraphs of this chapter, the characteristics of the Kooi is the first part. After the characteristics have been presented, the most important forms of crime and problems occurring in this district will be analysed with the help of the information gathered in the surveys and the interview.

4.4.1. Characteristics of the Kooi

The most important findings about the characteristics of the Kooi, drawn from the social neighbourhood profile, are presented in the scheme below.



¹⁴ Leiden in cijfers <http://www.leidenincijfers.nl/onderzoeksbank/4372-2017-11d%20-%20w3%20Leiden-Noord.pdf>

In contrast to the other two districts, this district shows in terms of age groups an important difference. While in the other two districts the largest groups were youngsters or young adults, in the Kooi it seems to be the case that the inhabitants are more equally divided in the groups. Moreover, most of the inhabitants seem to have a Dutch nationality (62%), similar to the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Considering the income groups, the Kooi shows more similarities with the Slaaghwijk than the JUP, as the largest group in this district is the lowest income group (32.9%). Furthermore, the crooked division can also be observed in the size of the highest income group, which is only 8.4%. In the JUP, these numbers are respectively 25.7% and 17.5%. The division in income groups can therefore be seen as more equal than in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi.

4.4.2. Statistical data

Crime / Year	2012	2013	2014	2015
<i>Property- related crimes, destruction and violence (total)</i>	353	360	417	320
<i>Property-related (total)</i>	245	221	301	220
<i>Theft (total)</i>	216	190	277	183
<i>Bike theft</i>	71	60	95	87
<i>Other vehicle theft</i>	40	23	33	22
<i>Theft from vehicles</i>	24	17	27	21
<i>Pickpocketing/robberies</i>	18	23	35	17
<i>Burglary from houses</i>	20	16	24	12
<i>Burglary from other buildings</i>	23	17	18	8
<i>Other theft</i>	20	24	45	16
<i>Other property-related crimes</i>	29	31	24	37
<i>Destruction and other crimes against the public order (total)</i>	62	64	84	53
<i>Destruction</i>	55	60	71	49
<i>Crimes against the public order</i>	7	4	13	4
<i>Violent and sexual crimes (total)</i>	46	75	32	47
<i>Physical abuse</i>	23	38	20	23
<i>Threatening</i>	18	30	9	19
<i>Other violent/sexual crimes</i>	5	7	3	5

In contrast to the Jacques Urlusplantsoen and the Slaaghwijk, crime numbers seem to be significantly higher in this neighbourhood. This can simply be explained by the size of the district, as the Kooi is approximately one and a half times the size of the other two districts. What is striking when looking at these statistics, is that similar to the JUP, fluctuations between years and crimes are quite high. Where for example in 2014 overall crime rates were higher than ever, violent and sexual crimes were on their lowest. Moreover, property-related crimes rose with 80 reported crimes from 2013 to 2014, to drop again with 80 reported crimes one year later in 2015. In the Slaaghwijk, these differences and fluctuations were less startling.

4.4.3. Problems and forms of crime according to the inhabitants

In the next table, the results from the survey in the Kooi are presented. For every age group, similar to the table in the previous paragraph, a minimum of six respondents were found and their input is processed in the table below. For every time a crime or problem was mentioned by a respondent, this crime gained one point. The more a crime or problem was mentioned, the higher the score is, and the bigger the problem is in this district.

<u>Crime:</u>	<u>Age group:</u> <u>(# of respondents)</u>	<u>-18</u> <u>(6)</u>	<u>19-26</u> <u>(7)</u>	<u>27-39</u> <u>(8)</u>	<u>40-54</u> <u>(6)</u>	<u>55-64</u> <u>(7)</u>	<u>65+</u> <u>(7)</u>	<u>Total:</u> <u>(41)</u>
<u>Theft from vehicles</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	13
<u>Bike theft</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	14
<u>Pickpocketing</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	5
<u>Burglary</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	8
<u>Skimming (credit cards)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0
<u>Violence</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	14
<u>Littering</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	12
<u>Destruction</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	17
<u>Threatening</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	14
<u>Sexual Abuse</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	3
<u>Murder</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0
<u>Disturbance (by neighbours)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	15
<u>Disturbance (by youngsters)</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	18

The first thing that strikes when observing the outcomes in the table above, are the differences from the results with the Slaaghwijk. Where the Slaaghwijk had a clear distinction between major and minor problems, this district appears to have more problems and forms of crimes from the same magnitude. In contrast to the Slaaghwijk, this district shows no problem or crime that is mentioned by more than 50% of the respondents. The highest two numbers are drawn from disturbance by youngsters (18) and destruction (17), while there are six problems (theft from vehicles, bike theft, violence, littering, threatening and disturbance by neighbours) that are mentioned just a little less frequent. We can conclude from this that in contrast to the Slaaghwijk and the JUP, which appear to have some severe problems and some small-scaled problems, the Kooi has more extended prism of problems and crimes from the same magnitude.

4.4.4. Problems and forms of crime according to the local police officer

For the gathering of information about the problems in the Kooi, similar to the JUP and the Slaaghwijk, an interview is held with the neighbourhood police officer. The findings of this interview will be compared to the information gathered in the survey with the local inhabitants.

The first thing that came forward in the interview was the fact that in contrast to the other two districts, the Kooi has two neighbourhood police officers instead of one. According to the interviewed police officer, this was implemented a couple of years ago when the situation in this district escalated. The tasks of the police in this neighbourhood was divided in two parts; the other police officer focusses on the youth in this district and the interviewed police officer focusses on crime in general. To elaborate on the tasks of the other police officer, while he focusses mainly on the youth and preventing them from getting involved in criminal activities, he also deals with the crimes they commit. The interviewed police officer focusses primarily on preventing and resolving crimes in general.

The addition of a second neighbourhood police officer a couple of years ago was based on increasing problems and criminal activities in this district. Moreover, this district is significantly larger than the JUP and the Slaaghwijk, which makes this decision also understandable. When asked about the tasks of the second police officer concerning the youth, it became clear that similar to the other two districts, the youth seems to be the

biggest problem in this neighbourhood. Most of the offenders are younger than 25 years, as paraphrased by the police officer. Furthermore, when asked about the ethnicity of the main offenders, the answer corresponds with the answers from the other two police officers. In these groups of young offenders, mixed ethnicities are found.

“These offenders, who are almost exclusively youngsters, are from a wide variety of ethnicities. First of all, it is important to know that these offenders operate mostly in groups. It occurs hardly that individual youngsters get in touch with the police. Second of all, in these groups, the youngsters are mostly from the same ethnicity, but the ethnicity is not always the same... There are as well groups with only Dutch people, as groups with only Turkish people, as groups with for example Surinam people. There are also some groups with mixed ethnicities... Summarizing you could say that the ethnicity is not one of the main indicators for criminal behaviour.”

What is a driver for criminal behaviour, according to the local police officer, is the average income of the families. Children from relatively poorer families tend to behave in a criminal way more often. Due to the fact that they have not much to spend, or have trouble with their finances every month, they tend to participate in the criminal circuit sooner. It is especially a driver for committing property-related crimes.

The most important crimes committed by the youngsters in this district according to the local police officer are violence and threatening. He states that while there are some other issues that play a role in this neighbourhood, these two issues seem to predominate. It are mostly groups of youngsters who seem to seek out for each other in violent conflicts. The other issues as mentioned by the police officer are property related crimes such as theft and burglary.

When asked what measures were already taken in the Kooi to reduce these forms of crime, the police officer answers with a new initiative where youngsters are taken in after school. The municipality created, together with the help of the local police and a voluntary youth organisation called TOS, a place where youngsters can hang around supervised after school. They converted a closed down school to a youth centre, with the aim of keeping these youngsters off the street and creating more social cohesion. While this project is still in an

early stage, and new crime numbers are not available yet, the police officer sees that more and more youngsters gather here and he thinks that crime numbers will drop eventually.

4.4.5. Comparing the interview to the survey

Findings from the interview, about the most severe problems and crimes in this district, do not fully correspond with the information drawn from the survey questions with the inhabitants. The results from the survey question showed a wide variety of crimes with the same severity. The local police officer, on the other hand, stated that there are a few serious problems, while other problems seem to have a lighter magnitude. According to the local police officer, the most important problems in this district are violence and threatening. A few groups of youngsters seem to be involved in group fights with threatening and physical violence. While violence and threatening were also two problems mentioned to a large extent by the inhabitants in the survey, other important problems such as theft, disturbance and destruction were not seen as severe by the local police officer. An explanation for this might be that this problem is newly introducing itself between the inhabitants, but the police has not noticed or labelled it as important yet. Despite the lack of attention for these problems by the police, these problems will be taken in consideration in this study, while they seem to bother the inhabitants to a considerable extent.

At this point in the analysis, information about the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the three districts are gathered. In the next paragraph the answer whether the JUP-approach could be successful in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk will be answered.

4.5. Will the JUP-approach be a success in the other two districts?

In this part of the analysis, the fifth and final part, the last sub-question will be answered. Answering the central question of this part of the research is the most important part in answering the research question. The question is: *“To what extent can the implemented measures of the JUP-approach be successful in reducing crime and disturbance in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi?”* To answer this question, the information from the first four sub-questions need to be combined. The three important components of the districts, the characteristics, problems and criminal activities need to be analysed and compared to each other to create a substantiated answer whether the JUP-approach can also be successful in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk. Therefore, answering this sub-question is divided in two parts. The first part is comparing the JUP to the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi on the characteristics, and the second part is comparing the crimes and problems of the districts.

4.5.1. Comparing the characteristics of the districts

First, the three districts will be compared to each other on the found characteristics from the literature; age, ethnicity and income. In the table below, the gathered information about these districts is fused together to create a handy overview.

District:	JUP	Slaaghwijk	Kooi
<u>Inhabitants:</u>	4304	4482	6215
<u>Age:</u>			
-18	14.5%	25.7%	18.9%
19-27	23.7%	15.2%	16.6%
28-39	14.2%	18.3%	20.9%
40-55	18.4%	20.2%	19.1%
56-65	12.3%	10.2%	11.1%
65+	16.9%	10.4%	13.1%
<u>Ethnicity:</u>			
Dutch	65%	46%	62%
Non-Western	25%	46%	28%
Western	10%	8%	10%

<u>Income:</u>			
Very High	17.5%	5.8%	8.4%
High	17.5%	16.8%	14.0%
Average	19.9%	19.7%	18.5%
Low	19.3%	25.5%	26.2%
Very Low	25.7%	32.6%	32.9%
Unemployed	60 families	60 families	95 families

The first thing that strikes when comparing the statistics from the Jacques Urlusplantsoen with the statistics of the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi, is the difference in size of inhabitants, while the JUP and the Slaaghwijk are quite comparable concerning the size (4.304 and 4.482 inhabitants), the Kooi is less similar to the JUP, as it has over 6.200 inhabitants. A possible implication that can be made concerning this observation is that the JUP approach might be a better fit for the Slaaghwijk than the Kooi, due to the fact that these districts have the same size. When looking only at the distribution in age groups, the JUP shows not much similarities with the other two districts. In every age group, the numbers are quite different. For example, in the JUP live significantly more seniors (65+) than in the other districts. Moreover, while in the Slaaghwijk (25.7%) and the Kooi (18.9%) live more youngsters than in the JUP (14.5%), the JUP contains clearly more (7 percent point) young adults than the other districts. The amount of people between the age of 40 and 65 seems to be the only thing these three districts have in common. In conclusion, the JUP approach might be little successful in these other two districts, considering the fact that the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk have little in common with the JUP concerning the ratio in age groups. However, considering the fact that the most important age groups in these districts are the groups of -18 and 18-27, the districts are quite comparable to each other. These groups are, according to the literature about urban crimes, the groups where most perpetrators are from due to peer pressure and biological factors that come forward in this period of puberty and growing up. When comparing the ratio of inhabitants from these two age groups, the observation can be made that these districts are quite comparable. In the JUP, these two age groups form 38.2% of the inhabitants, while in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi these groups form respectively 40.9% and 35.5% of the inhabitants.

When looking at the ethnicity of the inhabitants of the three districts, the Kooi seems to be the better match with the JUP. Where all three districts seems to have about the same amount of Western inhabitants, the Kooi and the JUP have respectively 62% and 65% of Dutch inhabitants. In the Slaaghwijk, this percentage is only 46%. The Slaaghwijk (46%) has in contrast to the JUP (25%) and the Kooi (28%) more non-Western inhabitants, which may indicate that there are more social and cultural differences and therefore frictions, which may lead to more incidents and criminal behaviour, based on the literature of Jennissen (2009) about perpetrators in problematic districts. Therefore, the JUP-approach might be a better fit in the Kooi, when only looking at these statistics. Considering the fact that all three police officers stated that the perpetrators in their neighbourhood are from all ethnicities, and no correlation can be found between these two factors, the ratio of non-Western and Western inhabitants becomes less important.

Considering the income groups, the Jacques Urlusplantsoen shows no similarities with the other two neighbourhoods. While in the JUP the highest income group consist of 17.5% of the inhabitants, this percentage is significantly lower in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi (respectively 5.8% and 8.4%). Moreover, the lowest income group also seems to be larger in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk, with both almost 33% of the inhabitants. In the JUP this percentage is only 25.7%. This shows that the division in income groups is more crooked in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi than in the JUP. The group of people who can feel more economically and socially disadvantaged can be larger, theoretically leading to more (property-related) crimes in these two districts.

Summarizing, when comparing the two problematic districts to the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, to see whether the JUP-approach might be a success in these districts, we see that the JUP has some characteristics in common with the other two districts. The first thing the JUP has in common with the Slaaghwijk, is the scale of the district. They both have little more than 4.000 inhabitants. The second thing the JUP, the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk have in common, is the amount of youngsters (children and young adults). The only other similarity the JUP has with another district, is that the ethnicity of the inhabitants is comparable to the Kooi. They both have little more than 60% of Dutch inhabitant, and both 10% of other Western ethnicities. The difference in ethnicity groups can be degraded to lower importance due to the observations of the police officers, about the perpetrators being from all ethnicities. This

does not correspond with the earlier found literature about the influence of ethnicities in urban crime districts. Concerning income groups, there are also not much similarities. The division in income groups is in the JUP less crooked and it seems to be a more prosperous neighbourhood than the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk. Thus, when comparing the districts on the characteristics, it becomes clear that the relevant income groups (youngsters and young adults) are quite comparable on size. The comparison on ethnicities showed less similarities, but these differences can be degraded to lower importance. Considering income groups, the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk are more crooked than the JUP. This may implicate that the origin of criminal activity relies more on the feeling that the perpetrators are socially and economically disadvantaged.

While the comparison on characteristics between these neighbourhoods is shows that some important indicators correspond, a comparison on just the characteristics is to limitary. The districts will be compared to each other on crimes and problems as well in the next paragraph.

4.5.2. Comparing the forms of crime and problems in the districts

While the characteristics of the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi showed to have some indicators in common with the characteristics of the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, the most important problems and forms of crime seem to be more similar to the issues in the JUP. In the following table, the minor and major problems in the three problematic districts are summarized to create a handy overview.

Magnitude: District:	Major Problems	Minor Problems
The JUP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Violence - Threatening - Disturbance - Destruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bike theft - Theft from cars - Littering
The Slaaghwijk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Destruction - Disturbance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bike theft - Violence - Threatening

The Kooi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Violence - Threatening - Theft from cars and bike theft - Disturbance - Destruction - Littering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pickpocketing - Burglary
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In the first sub question, after doing an interview and analysing statistical data concerning crime, it became clear that the JUP deals with some minor and major issues in the neighbourhood. The major problems in this district were disturbance, destruction, violence and threatening. Furthermore, the results from both the interview and the survey showed that littering is a minor problem, as well as bike theft and theft from cars. Considering the characteristics of the perpetrators, they are almost exclusively youngsters and young adults, from all ethnicities. In addition, the perpetrator are mostly from poorer families, or families that live on social support, corresponding with the literature on urban crime.

In the Slaaghwijk, the forms of crime and problems showed to have a lot in common with the issues in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Both from the survey and the interview information was drawn that corresponded with the issues in the JUP. For example, from the 39 respondents, 24 stated that disturbance by youngsters is an important problem in this district. This is over 64% of the respondents. Furthermore, problems and crimes like destruction (22), violence (18) and threatening (18) were mentioned by approximately half of the respondents. Another quite severe problem in this district is bike theft, which was mentioned by fourteen respondents. Other forms of crime and problems that were mentioned were evidently less important, due to the fact that they were mentioned to a lesser extent. This was later on confirmed by the neighbourhood police officer, who said that the most important problems in the Slaaghwijk were disturbing the public tranquillity and destroying public and private property. According to the police officer, most of the complaints, notifications and arrests are about these two issues. These two issues were also mentioned by the inhabitants in the survey. According to the police officer, other problems such as littering, various forms of theft and violent crimes are also, but with lesser extent, important in this district.

This shows that in both the Slaaghwijk and the JUP, disturbance and destruction by youngsters are some of the most important problems. Moreover, in the Slaaghwijk, violence, threatening and bike theft were also mentioned by half of the respondents. These problems were also labelled as major and minor problems by the police officer of the JUP. Thus, we can conclude, that the problems and forms of crime in the Slaaghwijk are comparable to a large extent with the problems and crimes in the JUP.

The most important problems in the Kooi, were according to the inhabitants, from a wider variety than the other districts. While the JUP and the Slaaghwijk seemed to have a handful of important problems, the results of the survey show that the Kooi has eight important problems. Similar to the JUP, violence, destruction, threatening and disturbance are mentioned by a large amount of respondents. However, three other issues were mentioned with the same frequency that were not as severe in the JUP. These issues are theft from vehicles, littering and disturbance by neighbours. Moreover, burglary and pickpocketing are mentioned by approximately 20% of the inhabitants, while these issues were not discussed this extensive in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen.

In conclusion, issues that were handled in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen with the JUP-approach also occur in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi, based on the findings from the interviews and the survey. In all three districts, problems like disturbance, destruction, violence and threatening come forward, notwithstanding the severity of the issues. Some other issues, like bike theft, burglary, littering, theft from cars and pickpocketing did occur, but not in all districts. We can state that while the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi have some similarities to the JUP concerning crimes and issues, there are also some differences in issues. Moreover, the severity of the issues differs per district. Therefore the conclusion can be drawn that the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk are moderately comparable to the JUP concerning crimes and problems.

4.5.3. Will the JUP-approach be a success in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk?

To answer the question whether a full implementation of the JUP-approach in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi would be a success, it is important to take the differences and similarities between the districts into account, when looking at the measures that were taken in the JUP-approach. In the next two paragraphs, the implemented measures in the JUP-approach and their results will be laid over the other two problematic districts like a blueprint, to conclude whether it would be a success.

4.5.3.1 The Slaaghwijk

A short recap of the comparison between the Slaaghwijk and the JUP would be that while both districts are from a comparable size, the Slaaghwijk has more minors (25.7% and 14.5%) and less young adults (15.2% and 23.7%) than the JUP. Based on the findings in the interviews and the literature, the importance of this difference becomes less important, or can even be called a similarity, due to the note that criminal activity in these districts comes from youngsters and young adults primarily. Therefore, these two groups combined form the biggest part of the criminal circuit. In the Slaaghwijk, the amount of youngsters and young adults will therefore be 40.2% and in the JUP it is 38.9%. The other comparison made between these districts is the distinction in ethnicity. Also in this category, the difference is considerable. While in the JUP the amount of Dutch inhabitants is significantly larger than the amount of Dutch inhabitants in the Slaaghwijk, the importance of this difference becomes less important. Based on the perception of three different local police officers, the ethnicity of the perpetrators seems to be no main driver for enacting criminal behaviour. Group forming, a younger age and living in a relatively poor family seem to be more important indicators for criminal behaviour and trouble making. In the Slaaghwijk, the amount of poor families is considerably higher than in the JUP (respectively 32.6% and 25.7%). This may indicate that more youngsters feel socially and economically disadvantaged, eventually leading to more criminal behaviour. But, when looking at the CBS statistics, no large difference in crime numbers can be seen. Both districts have approximately 200 reported crimes on a yearly basis, while both districts are from the same size.

To this point, the JUP-approach seems to be a good fit for the Slaaghwijk, as these districts have the same size and a comparable amount of youngsters and young adults. When

comparing the crimes and problems in the two districts, another set of similarities can be found.

The first similarity that can be found when comparing the issues in the two districts is that in both districts destruction and disturbance are major issues. Another similarity is that in both neighbourhoods bike theft is labelled as a minor problem by the police officer and the inhabitants. Two other major problems in the JUP, threatening and violence, are labelled as less important in the Slaaghwijk. The last difference between these neighbourhoods is that while littering is labelled as a minor problem in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, this issue does not seem to be occurring in the Slaaghwijk. Summarizing, the observation could be made that the JUP and the Slaaghwijk are to some extent comparable to each other, as they share two major issues and two other major issues in the JUP occur also in the Slaaghwijk, only to lesser extent.

When analysing the measures taken in the JUP-approach, and considering their success in this neighbourhood, the JUP-approach could be a good fit in resolving problems in the Slaaghwijk as well. First of all, the two major issues in the Slaaghwijk, destruction and disturbance, were reduced in the JUP as well by the implemented measures. With the help of access control at the disturbance hotspots, the perpetrators were taken away the chance to create disturbance at these places. Moreover, the implementation of living rules to create more social cohesion was one of the measures that contributed to the drop in disturbance in the JUP. Moreover, destruction was reduced by refurbishing the neighbourhood with the help of access control. Likewise disturbance, access control caused the hotspots for destruction to be less attainable, eventually resulting in less destruction according to the police officer. Refurbishing the neighbourhood gave the neighbourhood a more liveable appearance, causing potential perpetrators to connect more with their neighbourhood, eventually causing them to abandon their plans of destroying public property. Finally, the problem of bike theft was reduced in the JUP by placing more CCTV in the neighbourhood. This measure may lead to reducing property-related crimes, due to the fact that the potential perpetrators get the feeling they are watched and will not get away with the crime. This measure could also help reducing this problem in the Slaaghwijk.

These measures from the JUP-approach can be a good start in reducing crimes in the Slaaghwijk, but the note has to be made that these measures are all focussing on crime

hotspots. An implementation of these measures in the Slaaghwijk needs to be executed at the specific crime hotspots in this neighbourhood. Copying these measures at the same places in the JUP may not lead to effective crime prevention, as issues as bike theft, destruction and disturbance may take place at other hotspots in the Slaaghwijk. Therefore, implementing these measures to reduce these crimes can only be done after an extensive analysis on crime hotspots in this neighbourhood.

In addition, while the measures in the JUP showed not to be effective in reducing two other minor issues, violence and threatening, implementing the JUP-approach will not contribute in reducing these two forms of crime. Violence and threatening occur less frequent at hotspots, but more randomly in the neighbourhood. Therefore the JUP-approach would not be a good strategy in reducing these two issues. Moreover, the JUP-approach showed to be a specific strategy based on situational crime prevention. This can be an effective strategy in reducing crimes on the short-term, but due to various forms of crime displacement, this may not be a solution on the long term. Criminal behaviour may shift to other crimes, other times or other places.

In conclusion, while the JUP-approach entails some useful situational crime prevention strategies for comparable issues in the Slaaghwijk, this crime prevention approach does not contain solutions for forms of crime that do not occur at crime hotspots. Violence and threatening cannot be solved by the situational crime prevention methods in the JUP-approach. Moreover, the JUP-approach focusses on preventing crimes on the short-term, but does not take crime displacement into account. On the long-term, criminal behaviour may shift to other times, places or even methods that need to be solved again. Finally, the JUP-approach shows too few strategies that focus on the social, economic and cultural issues that play a role in criminal behaviour in urban districts. The JUP-approach is too limited when it comes to the actual root of urban crimes.

4.5.3.2 The Kooi

The characteristics of the Kooi showed some similarities and differences with the JUP, as the Kooi is a significantly larger neighbourhood but has a comparable division in ethnicity of the inhabitants, as seen as earlier in this research. The amount of youngsters and young adults are also comparable to the JUP, as the Kooi has 18.9% of minors (-18) and 16.6% of young adults (18-27). Combined, the number ends on 35.5%, while in the JUP this number is 38.9%. The relative amount of youngsters and young adults are therefore quite comparable. Moreover, like the Slaaghwijk, the lowest income group is significantly lower than in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Where the lowest income group exists from 32.9% of the inhabitants, this percentage is only 25.7% in the JUP.

Considering the crimes and problems in the Kooi, this spectrum is to large extent comparable to the issues in the JUP. The police officer and the inhabitants of the Jacques Urlusplantsoen labelled violence, threatening, disturbance and destruction as major issues. In the Kooi, these four issues were also seen as major issues. The only difference between these districts is that bike theft, theft from cars and littering are also seen as major issues in the Kooi, while these issues were only seen as minor in the JUP. Furthermore, property crimes such as pickpocketing and burglary are seen as minor issues in the Kooi, while these issues did not come forward in the JUP at all. The most important observation is that the Kooi has a wider spectrum of crimes and problems than the JUP. More issues are labelled as major issues and property-related crimes seem to be more present in this neighbourhood. This might indicate an even more comprehensive approach to tackle all the problems in this district.

Considering the issues in the Kooi, measures from the JUP-approach might be a start in reducing crime on the short term. Due to the fact that destruction and disturbance were reduced in the Jacques Urlsuplantsoen after the implementation of the JUP-approach, these measures can help reducing these issues in the Kooi as well. Therefore, the measures of access control and refurbishing the neighbourhood can be helpful in reducing destruction and disturbance on the short term. According to the police officer in the JUP, access control prevents the potential perpetrator from accessing the places where they cause disturbance. Also, refurbishing the neighbourhood can lead to a reduction in destruction, as the neighbourhood gets a more home-like appearance. Moreover, based on the broken windows theory, a filthy, broken down neighbourhood leads to more destruction, as it seems like

nobody cares. For resolving violence and threatening, as already mentioned in the critical analysis of the JUP-approach, no measures seemed to be effective. A direct implementation of the JUP-approach might therefore not be successful. Three other major issues in the Kooi, as found in the surveys and the interviews, are bike theft, theft from cars and littering. In the JUP-approach, CCTV was used to tackle the problem of bike theft. These cameras were put up at crime hotspots, and seemed to reduce bike theft to some extent. Therefore, this measure can be used in the Kooi as well at crime hotspots for reducing bike theft and theft from cars. For the problem of littering in the JUP, access control seemed to influence the amount of littering, by closing of the places where the youngsters hang out. Moreover, burglary and pickpocketing seem to be minor issues in the Kooi, while these issues were not indicated in the JUP. A direct implementation of the JUP-approach might therefore not be successful in reducing these issues.

While some measures from the JUP-approach seem to be helpful in resolving the many issues in the Kooi on the short term, the same note can be made that was made for the JUP and the Slaaghwijk. On the long term, these measures may not be effective, as they do not focus on the social, economic and cultural roots of the issues. The problems in the Kooi will not be resolved to its full extent, as various forms of crime displacement may take place on the long term. As long as the inhabitants of this neighbourhood feel in some way disadvantaged, this can lead to criminal behaviour. Therefore, while the JUP-approach could be a good start in reducing crimes in the Kooi, more social and cultural motives for crime need to be taken away to successfully reduce crime numbers structurally.

In the interview with the police officer came forward that to reduce criminal behaviour among youngsters, they opened a youth centre in an old school. In this youth centre, youngsters can hang out for free after school. It contains various facilities and activities such as darts, a pool table and game consoles. In this way, they try to keep the youngsters off the street, but they also create more social cohesion among youngsters. It may eventually even help with cultural integration. According to the police officer, this measure shows great success in a short period of time.

5. Conclusion

Now that all results have been assembled and analysed, this study can be finalized by summarizing the most important findings, answering the research question and formulating a concise, suitable conclusion. First, a small recap of the motive for this research will be given, accompanied with a reiteration of the research question. After this, the most important findings from the analysis will be presented before answering the research question. At last, the most important finding for the field of knowledge about urban crime will be presented.

This research was started as a result of a quote from Henri Leferink, mayor of the municipality of Leiden. In the Jacques Urlusplantsoen, a well-known district in this municipality, crime and various other issues predominated the police's and the municipalities' agenda for years. In 2014, after an escalated drug trade that ended up in a shooting, the mayor decided that a comprehensive approach should be implemented to tackle the issues in this neighbourhood. In 2016, the implementation of various measures was started. CCTV was used first to reduce property-related crimes. After this, living rules and consultation hours were implemented aimed at increasing the social cohesion in this neighbourhood. Another set of measures, to reduce destruction and disturbance, were access control and refurbishing and maintaining the public domain. This last measure was based on the broken window theory, which indicates that people tend to handle their neighbourhood with more care when it is more clean and liveable. In 2016 and 2017, after the implementation of these crime prevention strategies, crime number dropped significantly and the JUP-approach was labelled as a major success by the mayor. The mayor even said that he wanted to implement this measure in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk, two other problematic districts, as well. This statement was the inducement of this research, and also the basis of the research question.

These three districts were compared on their characteristics, forms of crime and other problems to predict if and how the JUP-approach could also be successful in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk. This particular case study attempts to contribute to the academic research question: *"To what extent can an implemented crime prevention approach used in one urban district also be successful in other urban districts in the same municipality?"* For the gathering

of data and information in these three urban districts surveys, interviews and statistical data were used. The most important findings about these neighbourhood are presented below.

First of all, before comparing the three districts to each other, the JUP-approach was analysed. The measures taken in the JUP-approach showed to be almost exclusively based on situation crime prevention. While numbers of various forms of crime seemed to drop and the police officer was content with the result, the success of these measures is debateable. First of all, while situational crime prevention can be a good strategy to tackle forms of crime in a short period, the risk arises that crime will displace to other forms, places, times or strategies. This phenomenon, called crime displacement, is typical for situational crime prevention that focusses on crime hotspots. Second of all, based on the interview, violence and threatening was not reduced since the implementation of the JUP approach. As these forms of crime have no crime hotspots, and occur more randomly, the JUP-approach did not tackle these specific issues. Last of all, only two measures in the JUP-approach actually focus on roots of urban crime such as feeling economically or socially disadvantaged or a lack of cultural integration. The living rules and the initial weekly consulting hour are the only two measures that focus on the social aspects of urban crimes. The success of the JUP-approach can therefore be seen as doubtful, as the future may point out if this comprehensive approach will also be successful on the long-term. On the short-term, however, the JUP-approach showed to be a good start in preventing various forms of crime.

To answer the question whether this crime prevention approach could also be successful in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi, the three districts were compared to each other on characteristics and forms of crime. For the characteristics of the neighbourhoods, based on earlier literature about problematic districts, the neighbourhoods were compared on size, age groups, ethnicity and income groups. It became clear that the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk were quite comparable to the Jacques Urlusplantsoen on age groups. All three districts seem to have the same amount of youngsters and young adults. When comparing the districts on ethnicity, the Slaaghwijk seemed to differ from the JUP and the Kooi. The Kooi and the JUP both have about 65% of Dutch inhabitants and 25% of Non-Western inhabitants, while these percentages are respectively 45% and 45% in the Slaaghwijk. Last of all, the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi both seemed to have a more crooked division in age groups, as the lowest income

groups were about 33%, while this group only forms 25% of the inhabitants in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen.

When comparing the forms of crime and problems in these neighbourhoods, it became clear that all three districts have similar issues. While these issues may differ in magnitude per district, issues as destruction, disturbance, violence, threatening and various forms of theft occur in all districts. The situational crime prevention methods in the JUP-approach can be a good start in resolving issues like disturbance, destruction and theft, while violence and threatening cannot be reduced by the measures taken in the JUP-approach. For resolving the issues of violence and threatening in the Slaaghwijk and the Kooi, or even structurally resolving all issues in this neighbourhood on the long-term, measures based on the social, cultural and economic roots of urban crime need to be implemented as well. The only two measures in this comprehensive crime prevention approach that focus on the social and cultural roots of urban crime, are the living rules for inhabitants and the consulting hour, despite the fact that this last mentioned strategy showed to be no success. These two measures were implemented with the aim of improving social cohesion in the neighbourhood, to tackle the problem of feeling locked out or a lack of social and cultural integration. Another measure taken in the Kooi, which was creating a youth centre to keep the youngsters of the street and increasing social cohesion, seemed to be a good strategy in reducing crime and disturbance.

To answer the research question: *“To what extent can an implemented crime prevention approach used in one urban district also be successful in other urban districts in the same municipality?”* The answer would be, based on this case-study, that a full implementation of the crime prevention approach used in one district, would not be necessarily successful in other districts in the same municipality. Crime prevention strategies used in one district can be very practical and situational. This means that the implemented measures are based on the crimes, problems and hotspots in this district. These factors can be totally different in another district, although it lies in the same municipality. Therefore, implementing measures based on situational crime prevention, will not be successful in other districts. Only under the condition where the characteristics and forms of crime in the districts are comparable, measures from another district can be useful in resolving the issues on the short-term, but on the long-term, the risk of crime displacement can become an issue. Implementing a crime

prevention strategy from a comparable district, which is based on resolving social and cultural motives, could be more successful as it reduces the feeling of being disadvantaged.

Reflecting on the literature about urban crimes and problematic districts, the observation can be made that the JUP-approach shows particularly features of hot-spot policing to reduce urban crimes as seen in the 80's. Strategies that focus on the social, economic and cultural motives for criminal behaviour are scarce in the JUP-approach. As seen in the literature about problematic districts, situational crime prevention brings along the risk of crime displacement, despite the fact that it can significantly reduce crime on the short-term. The social and cultural measures for the at risk-youth seem to be more effective in actually reducing and preventing crime, instead of shifting the crimes to other times or places. Measures that keep at-risk youth off the street, special education and taking away disadvantages for these youngsters will resolve the problem of excessive criminal behaviour in problematic districts at the root of the problem.

The JUP-approach contributes to the field of knowledge on resolving urban crime, as it shows that a comprehensive crime prevention policy in a problematic district should be a well-balanced combination of measures based on reducing crime on the short-term and the long-term. The situational crime prevention methods in the JUP-approach showed to be a good way to start in reducing crimes immediately, as crime numbers dropped in the first year after the implementation. The risk is, however, that criminal activity may have shifted to other places or will reoccur in the future. Therefore, measures based on fixing the cultural, social and economic issues that form the motives for urban crime need to be added when composing a comprehensive crime prevention approach. This study shows that the balance between these two forms of crime prevention is essential in resolving crime effectively and structural.

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APPENDIX 1 – INTERVIEW JACQUES URLUSPLANTSOEN

Intro: the mayor of Leiden finds the changes in the JUP due to the JUP-approach so successful, he want to implement this approach in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk as well. In this research, I try to answer the question if this approach will also be a success in these two other districts.

Questions were asked in Dutch, therefore the transcript of the answers will also be in Dutch

Q1 – Kunt u me iets vertellen over uw functie en uw relatie met het Jacques Urlusplantsoen?

Mijn precieze functie is wijkagent in het Bos- en Gasthuizendistrict, en ik voer deze functie al ruim twintig jaar met veel plezier uit. Naast deze functie, waar ik de langste tijd van mijn werk mee bezig ben, heb ik ook de schoolzaken in Leiden-Zuid mijn portefeuille. Dit houdt in dat ik voorlichtingen geef op deze scholen over belangrijke zaken die spelen in de wijk, zoals drugs, diefstal, verkeer, alcohol en geweld. Dit doe ik vaak een keer in de zoveel weken. De meeste tijd besteed ik in mijn eigen wijk, waar ik voornamelijk bezig ben met het oplossen van belangrijke zaken, het in gesprek gaan met de inwoners en vooral het patrouilleren en aanwezig zijn. Dat is het aller belangrijkste, er zijn.

- En wat is uw relatie met het Jacques Urlusplantsoen?

Het Jacques Urlusplantsoen is een van de wijken die in mijn gebied vallen, en het is ook een van de meest roerige wijken. In de afgelopen jaren heb ik dan ook bijvoorbeeld meer tijd en energie moeten steken in het Jacques Urlusplantsoen dan in andere wijken in mijn gebied. Daardoor heb ik, hoe zeg je dat, dan ook een hechtere band met het JUP dan met bepaalde andere delen van mijn gebied. Het JUP heeft een breed aspect aan problemen gekend, maar de laatste jaren gaat het steeds beter, en daar ben ik persoonlijk ook erg uhhh, trots op.

Q2 – Hoe lang voert u deze functie al uit?

Deze vraag is reeds beantwoord in het antwoord van de respondent in Q1 (meer dan 20 jaar).

Q3 – Bent u bekend met de term ‘JUP-aanpak’ en kunt u me kort vertellen wat dit inhoudt?

Ik ben zeer bekend met de JUP-aanpak, aangezien ik zelf persoonlijk meerdere malen aan tafel heb gezeten met meerdere mensen en organisaties om tot deze aanpak te komen. Het

Jacques Urlusplantsoen heeft een lange geschiedenis van criminaliteit en overlast, en een aantal jaar geleden hebben we besloten dat dit per direct moest stoppen... of in ieder geval zwaar verminderd moest worden. Ik ben daarom door een contactpersoon van de gemeente benaderd om een bijdrage te leveren aan het in elkaar zetten van deze aanpak, aangezien ik er het dichtste op heb gestaan de afgelopen jaren. Mijn bijdrage aan het creëren van de JUP-aanpak is dan ook redelijk groot te noemen. Dus om je vraag te beantwoorden, ja, ik ben er zeker bekend mee.

Part one of the interview (SQ1) – What were the most important problems in the Jacques Urlusplantsoen before the implementation of the JUP-approach?

Q4 – Wat was het belangrijkste motief om met de JUP-aanpak te beginnen?

Wat het belangrijkste motief is geweest om hier mee te starten weet ik niet exact, aangezien ik op een gegeven moment benaderd ben om mee te werken. Het idee om te starten met deze aanpak is niet bij mij vandaan gekomen. Ik weet wel dat er een aantal opeenvolgende situaties geweest zijn in het JUP waar de politie in grote getallen ingeschakeld werden, vlak voor ik benaderd ben door de gemeente. Misschien was dat de druppel die de emmer deed overlopen in ogen van de gemeente.

- Weet u nog welke situaties dit waren? En wat er toen precies gebeurd is?

Als ik het me goed herinner waren er in die periode een aantal geweldsdelicten. Een aantal vechtpartijen tussen jongeren heeft een aantal weken lang gezorgd voor meer politie en toezicht in het JUP, om een verdere escalatie te voorkomen. Verder schiet me zo snel niks te binnen... Oh, wacht. Het schiet me te binnen. De belangrijkste gebeurtenis in die periode moet de schietpartij geweest zijn. Er was dus een schietpartij vlak naast de twee flats die deze wijk vormen, vermoedelijk door een misgelopen drugsdeal. Hoewel er bij deze schietpartij geen gewonden of doden zijn gevallen, was dit wel de verst geëscaleerde situatie die het JUP gekend heeft. Het geluid van de schoten en de politie achtervolging die volgde werd door veel inwonende, en omwonenden, beschreven als erg angstaanjagend. Ik denk dat ik vlak na deze gebeurtenis benaderd ben om bijeen te komen met enkele andere instanties, waar wij toen na meerdere bijeenkomsten de JUP-aanpak in elkaar hebben gezet.

Q5 – Wat waren de belangrijkste problemen in het JUP voor 2014 en wat of wie was de oorzaak van deze problemen?

Dit is een korte vraag met een erg lang antwoord, haha. Er zijn namelijk enorm veel problemen geweest in het JUP, en het is zeker niet zo dat de een veel belangrijker was dan de ander. Tuurlijk zijn er problemen geweest die grootschaliger waren met meer gevolgen dan andere problemen, maar het totaalplaatje van alle verschillende problemen is wat deze juist zo problematisch maakt. Juist wanneer een wijk maar kampt met een of twee problemen, is het oplossen relatief simpel. In het JUP zijn er de afgelopen jaren steeds verschillende en ook veel problemen geweest, waardoor het oplossen ook lastiger werd...

... We hebben in het JUP ook periodes gehad waarin sommige problemen duidelijker waren dan andere. Zo heeft het JUP bijvoorbeeld een periode gekend waarin een aantal maanden lang erg veel werd gestolen 's nachts uit de geparkeerde auto's tussen de twee flats in. Maar andere periodes lieten weer zien, na dat dit probleem opgelost was natuurlijk, dat er bijvoorbeeld weer erg veel geweld was door jongerengroepen die tegenover elkaar kwamen te staan. Dat was dan weer een periode waar een groep jongeren elkaar had gevonden en dag en nacht samen rondzwerven door de wijk, en het aan de haal kregen met andere groepen jongeren, soms uit dezelfde en soms uit en andere wijk. Hier kwamen dan weer veel klachten en meldingen van, en de politie moest vaak ingrijpen om er voor te zorgen dat de situatie niet verder escaleerde. Deze jongerengroepen hebben trouwens ook een verleden van vernieling in de wijk. Zo zijn er bijvoorbeeld regelmatig prullenbakken, delen van de speeltuin, en bushokjes gesloopt. Ook dit gebeurde vaak in periodes...

- Bedoelt u met jongeren mensen onder de 18 jaar?

Ja, maar ook jongvolwassenen. In deze gevormde groepen zitten ook genoeg mensen die al in hun twintigerjaren zitten.

- En dertigers?

Dertigers zaten er eigenlijk nooit bij. Deze mensen zijn in mijn ogen al een stap verder in het leven en zijn minder bezig met baldadigheid. Zij richten zich al meer op carrière en het starten van bijvoorbeeld een gezin...

... In het JUP zijn er ook de nodige structurele problemen geweest. Zo is het belangrijkste probleem, dat er eigenlijk altijd al was, de overlast van jongeren. In het JUP wonen veel jongeren, en jongvolwassenen, om terug te komen op je vraag net, die erg veel hangen buiten. Nou moet ik er wel gelijk bij zeggen dat samen hangen buiten in eerste instantie niet

per se een probleem is natuurlijk. Maar dit rond hangen gaat vaak gepaard met harde muziek en het vervuilen van de omgeving. Hier ondervinden anderen bewoners weer last van, waardoor er veel klachten binnen komen. De meest voorkomende klacht is dan ook altijd dat deze jongeren in de avond of nacht nog steeds te veel herrie maken, waardoor andere bewoners niet goed kunnen slapen. Een andere veelvoorkomende klacht is dat deze jongeren rondhangen op de speeltuin, waardoor kinderen hier niet meer durven te spelen.

Q6 - Wat waren de belangrijkste vormen van criminaliteit in het JUP voor 2014 en wat of wie was de oorzaak hiervan?

Zoals ik net al noemde zijn er erg veel verschillende problemen en dus ook vormen van criminaliteit geweest. Ook dit ging vaak in periodes. Zoals ik al zei hebben we bijvoorbeeld een periode gehad waar er opeens erg veel uit auto's werd gestolen. Zo kregen wij in een tijdsbestek van drie a vier maanden een keer een stuk of vijftien meldingen van diefstal uit mensen hun auto's, terwijl er in het halfjaar daarvoor pas vier meldingen waren geweest. Dit is dan een typisch voorbeeld van een tijdelijk probleem, een periode. Zo zijn er ook periodes geweest waar vernieling belangrijk was, en vechtpartijen, vaak door jongeren... zoals ik hier voor al zei.

- **Zijn er ook vormen van criminaliteit geweest die structureler zijn? Zoals bijvoorbeeld overlast een structureel probleem blijkt te zijn.**

Ja, zeker. Hoewel alles fluctueert, en in periodes gaat, zijn er zeker een aantal vormen van criminaliteit die we het hele jaar door, ieder jaar, tegen komen. Diefstal is een van de belangrijkste hierin. Of het nou gaat om diefstal op straat, uit huizen of het stelen van fietsen die 's nachts niet in de schuur zijn gezet... Diefstal is er altijd, en we krijgen ieder jaar een groot aantal meldingen hier van. Om fietsendiefstal tegen te gaan zijn we trouwens begonnen, ook in de JUP-aanpak, met het ophangen van borden bij iedere portiek van de flats. Op deze borden staat dat je je fiets in de schuur moet plaatsen, in plaats van buiten. Sinds deze borden er hangen zie ik dan ook steeds minder fietsen zo maar op straat geparkeerd...

... Een ander structureel probleem is geweld en bedreiging. Vooral door de eerder genoemde groepen jongeren, die rondhangen in deze wijk, wordt veel geweld gebruikt. Er komt iedere maand wel een melding binnen van een vechtpartij of mishandeling. Negen van de tien keer

blijkt het om groepen jongeren te gaan, een enkele keer gaat het bijvoorbeeld om een burenruzie tussen volwassenen.

- **Van alle problemen die nu genoemd zijn, zowel structureel als tijdelijk, dus dan heb ik het over vernieling, overlast, geweld, bedreiging, vormen van diefstal en vervuiling, welke zijn er concluderend ernstig te noemen? En welke minder heftig?**

De belangrijkste problemen in deze wijk die de meeste energie kosten om op te lossen zijn denk ik wel overlast en vernieling. Zoals ik hier voor al uitlegde, zijn deze problemen er altijd. Zelfs wanneer het tijdelijk beter lijkt te gaan, komt er vaak een terugval. Verder zou ik diefstal ook scharen onder de belangrijke problemen. Er worden veel fietsen gestolen die 's nachts buiten voor de flats staan en ook uit de auto's wordt vaak gestolen. Het laatste echt grote probleem zou ik geweld noemen. De eerder genoemde jongerengroepen blijven elkaar opzoeken en de gevolgen van deze vechtpartijen zijn vaak groot. Er moeten regelmatig jongeren naar het ziekenhuis omdat er serieus letsel is.

- **Ik hoor dat de meeste problemen en vormen van criminaliteit worden veroorzaakt door jongeren en jongvolwassenen. Zit er ook nog een verschil in de afkomst van deze jongeren? Of het inkomen van het gezin?**

Hoewel veel mensen dit denken, of suggereren, blijkt dit niet zo te zijn. In ieder geval niet in het JUP. De groepen jongeren en jongvolwassenen, of natuurlijk de individuele overtreiders, zijn van alle afkomsten. Soms zijn het wel groepen Marokkanen en Turken, of Antillianen, maar dit net zo goed soms groepen Nederlandse jongeren. Sterker nog, vaak zijn de groepen die aanraking komen met de politie, of die ik aanspreek in de wijk, een combinatie van verschillende etniciteit. Ik ben van mening dat groepsvorming een veel grotere rol vormt in crimineel gedrag dan afkomst. Wel zijn de meeste jongeren in deze groepen afkomstig van gezinnen waar het inkomen relatief laag ligt, of die een uitkering ontvangen. Deze gezinnen staan bij de politie in deze wijk ook bekend als echte probleemgezinnen.

Part two of the interview (SQ2) - What factors of the JUP-approach contributed to the drop in crime rates and disturbance and why?

Q7 – Welke maatregelen zijn genomen in de JUP-aanpak om de eerder genoemde problemen en criminele activiteiten te tackelen?

In de JUP-aanpak is gekozen voor een erg breed assortiment aan maatregelen. Omdat er ook erg veel verschillende problemen in de wijk zijn, is een keuze van twee of drie maatregelen niet genoeg om alle problemen te verhelpen. Een stuk of acht maatregelen, die met elkaar samen hangen en ook daadwerkelijk nageleefd worden door alle betrokken mensen en organisaties, werkt veel beter. Dat is ook wel gebleken, aangezien het JUP steeds rustiger en vrediger wordt. Ik hoef er persoonlijk ook minder energie in te steken dan ik vroeger deed, voor de JUP-aanpak...

... Deze maatregelen zijn bijvoorbeeld het plaatsen van camera's op alle hoeken van de straat, aan sommige lantaarnpalen en bij iedereen ingang van de portieken, zowel buiten als binnen. Dit was eigenlijk de eerste maatregel die genomen werd, al tijdens de bijeenkomsten hoe we de problemen structureel op gingen lossen. Het succes van de camera's was echter gering. Zaken als diefstal van fietsen bij de portieken en diefstal uit voertuigen nam gelijk sterk af, puur om het feit dat er camera's op stonden en mensen zich waarschijnlijk bekeken voelden. Voor bijvoorbeeld het rondhangen, ruzie zoeken, en overlast veroorzaken hadden de camera's weinig nut. Ik denk persoonlijk omdat de jongeren minder het gevoel hebben dat ze dan crimineel bezig zijn, en het daarom niet erg vinden dat ze 'bekeken' worden.

De volgende maatregel die genomen werd, na vele bijeenkomsten met de gemeente, was het opknappen van de buurt. Een van de gemeenteleden bij de vergaderingen kwam met dit idee, en ik was het er vrijwel direct mee eens. Ik had al vaker meegemaakt in mijn carrière dat het opfleuren van een buurt kan bijdragen aan het verminderen van criminaliteit. Het idee hier achter is dat mensen zich meer thuis voelen in de wijk en het geeft een positieve uitstraling. Zo zijn we begonnen met het vernieuwen van de speeltuin in het midden van de wijk, deze was erg verouderd en beklad. Ook worden de gebouwen en de flats vaker geveerd en bijgehouden. Zo wordt er ook wekelijks gedweild in de gangen van de flats. Naar mijn idee komt, sinds we de wijk goed bijhouden, vernieling ook steeds minder voor. Ook het rondhangen van jongeren in de nacht, en ook overdag trouwens, komt steeds minder voor, omdat een van de maatregelen in de aanpak was dat bepaalde plekken waar de jongeren rondhingen moeilijker te bereiken zijn gemaakt. Zo zaten ze bijvoorbeeld vaak op het pleintje van de opvang, maar sinds hier grote hekken omheen staan en deze alleen nog bereikbaar is van binnenuit, komen de jongeren hier niet meer. Het aantal klachten over hangende jongeren is dan ook sterk afgenomen. Het aantal klachten per jaar is nu minder dan de helft

van wat het vroeger was. Dit mag toch wel een succes genoemd worden. Ook het verminderen van de verlichting om dit plein heeft hier aan bijgedragen. 's Nachts kan je elkaar hier amper meer zien, niet echt gezellig lijkt mij, haha...

- **Zijn er ook maatregelen genomen voor het verbeteren van de sociale cohesie, en zo ja, welke?**

Dit was precies waar ik in mijn verhaal verder over wilde gaan... Oh, excuses... Geeft niet hoor, haha... We zijn bijvoorbeeld begonnen met de introductie van zogeheten sociale regels. Deze regels zijn net als de borden over het plaatsen van fietsen in de schuur gehangen bij iedere inhang, iedere portiek. Op deze borden staat bijvoorbeeld dat je je medebewoners groet bij het langslopen, fietsen dus in de schuur moeten staan, vuilnis gelijk opgeruimd moet worden en dat klachten bij ons gemeld moeten worden in plaats van direct bij de burens. Zo voorkom je dat situaties tussen mensen of gezinnen escaleren en tot geweld leiden. Zo gaat iedere klacht via een officiële instantie of via mij. Het effect van deze leefregels waren al snel duidelijk te zien. Door dat mensen elkaar begonnen te groeten, erkennen ze elkaar als medebewoners. Hierdoor krijgt hun relatie met elkaar toch een soort van, uhh... extra dimensie. Ze zien elkaar als medebewoners in plaats van mensen die toevallig in dezelfde wijk wonen. Ze gaan zo toch meer rekening met elkaar houden. Deze regels zijn in mijn ogen essentieel geweest in het laten slagen van deze aanpak. De regels zijn erg belangrijk geweest in het oplossen van de problemen hier. De regel van het vuilnis direct weg gooien draagt er aan bij dat er niet overal vuilniszakken staan, wat eigenlijk gezien kan worden als verloedering van de buurt. Jongeren zijn dan toch sneller geneigd om ook rotzooi te maken, en dit spreekt het opfleuren van de buurt zwaar tegen.

- **Ik heb ook gelezen over een wekelijkste bijeenkomst voor bewoners om hun ideeën en ervaringen te delen. Hoe is dit idee uitgekomen?**

Dit was oorspronkelijk ook een idee ja, maar deze bijeenkomsten werden amper tot niet bijgewoond. Daarom hebben we dit gewijzigd naar een bijeenkomst of 2 a 3 per jaar, afhankelijk van de interesse van de bewoners. Er staan twee bijeenkomsten standaard ingepland, waar vaak wel veel mensen aanwezig zijn. Als er grote problemen zijn, of er is veel vraag naar een nieuwe bijeenkomst, organiseren wij vaak een extra bijeenkomst. Maar het zijn er zeker geen een per week meer, dat was iets te enthousiast gepland denk ik.

Q8 – Zou u de JUP-aanpak succesvol willen noemen?

Ja, dat zou ik zeker. De meeste maatregelen in de JUP-aanpak hebben hun vruchten afgeworpen. Vrijwel iedere vorm van criminaliteit is gedaald en ook de overlast is duidelijk afgenomen. Er komen steeds minder klachten en meldingen binnen. De wijk is inmiddels een stuk leefbaarder en veiliger geworden.

- Dat was mijn laatste vraag, enorm bedankt voor uw tijd.

Geen probleem, ik hoop dat je er wat aan hebt en ik vond het leuk om je te helpen en wat over mijn werk en ervaringen met het JUP te vertellen.

APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEW SLAAGHWIJK

Intro: the mayor of Leiden finds the changes in the JUP due to the JUP-approach so successful, he want to implement this approach in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk as well. In this research, I try to answer the question if this approach will also be a success in these two other districts.

Q1 – Kunt u me iets vertellen over uw functie en uw relatie met de Slaaghwijk?

- *Mijn exacte functie is wijkagent. Dit ben ik in de Slaaghwijk, maar dat hoeft ik jou denk ik niet te vertellen. Daarom zit je hier tenslotte. Deze functie houdt heel simpel gezegd in dat ik alle politie functies uitvoer met betrekking tot deze wijk. Vroeger heb ik ook andere functies uitgevoerd. Zo ben ik bijvoorbeeld een multi-inzetbare motoragent geweest en heb ik een tijdje een kantoorbaan bij de politie uitgevoerd. Eerst ben ik nog wijkagent in een rustigere wijk geweest in Leiden, maar toen ben ik overgeplaatst naar de Slaaghwijk door de aanhoudende problemen hier. Inmiddels doe ik dit al een aantal jaar, en eerlijk gezegd, vind ik dit de leukste functie die ik tot nu heb uitgevoerd. Ik ben veel meer direct betrokken met mensen dan in mijn vorige banen. Dat komt omdat je als wijkagent ook heel betrokken móet zijn. Om de wijk goed te kennen en goed te kunnen handelen in specifieke situaties, is het belangrijk dat je de wijk echt kent. Dat vind ik ook het leukste aan deze functie. Het voelt gewoon als mijn wijk, waar ik verantwoordelijk voor ben. Hoewel dat ook erg zwaar kan zijn, geniet ik er elke dag van.*

Q2 – Hoe lang beoefend u deze functie al?

- *Ik doe dit nu 2.5 jaar. In eerste instantie was het de bedoeling dat ik een nieuwe functie zou krijgen afgelopen zomer. Ik heb dit echter afgewezen omdat ik het gevoel heb dat ik hier nog niet klaar ben. Misschien wil ik dat over een jaar wel, daar moet ik nog over na denken. Maar daar zal ik jou niet mee lastig valen, haha...*

Q3 – Bent u bekend met de JUP-aanpak en zo ja, kunt u me vertellen wat deze inhoudt?

- *Nee, wat houdt dat precies in?*

- Zo niet, een korte uitleg. → *In het Jacques Urlusplantsoen is de gemeente een jaar geleden begonnen met de JUP-aanpak. Een combinatie van verschillende maatregelen om criminaliteit tegen te gaan...*
- *Oh ja, nu je het zegt, daar heb ik wel het een en ander over gehoord. Het schoot me alleen niet gelijk te binnen bij de term 'JUP-aanpak.' Welke maatregelen zijn dit precies allemaal geweest?*
- ... **Het was een grootse aanpak met veel verschillende aanpakken. Zo werd er bij iedere ingang en elke hoek van de straat een camera geplaatst voor meer toezicht. Ook werden er leefregels geïntroduceerd voor alle inwoners. Zoals elkaar groeten, overlast beperken, je vuilnis buiten gooien en je fietsen in de schuur plaatsen. Deze regels werden gebruikt voor het verbeteren van de sociale cohesie. Bovendien werden de belangrijkste hangplekken van de jongeren afgeschermd met hekken in het kader van 'access control', zodat ze hier niet meer konden hangen. Ook werd de buurt opgeknapt en werd er een wekelijkse bijeenkomst georganiseerd voor alle inwoners om hun ervaringen, klachten en ideeën te delen met de rest en met de aanwezige politie. Uiteindelijk bleek criminaliteit en overlast flink te dalen door deze maatregelen.**

Deze aanpak vormt de basis van dit onderzoek, mijn volgende vragen zullen gericht zijn op de problemen en vormen van criminaliteit in de Slaaghwijk.

SQ 3 & SQ 4: "What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Slaaghwijk?"

Q4 – Wat zijn de belangrijkste vormen van criminaliteit in de Slaaghwijk en wie of wat is de oorzaak hier van?

- *Leuk dat je deze vraag stelt. In de vorige wijk waar ik gewerkt heb, en in veel andere wijken waar ik met collega's over spreek, blijkt er een zeer breed spectrum te zijn van problemen. Denk hierbij een drugshandel, geweld, diefstal, overlast. Soms zelf nog heftigere issues zoals seksuele mishandeling, stalken en ernstige bedreigingen. Deze problemen komen dan echter maar in kleine mate voor, en overtreders zijn vaak eenmalig betrokken bij dit soort incidenten. In de Slaaghwijk ligt dit heel anders, dat*

maakt deze wijk heel bijzonder. Waar er bepaalde problemen zijn die zelden tot nooit voorkomen, zijn er andere hele serieuze problemen waar bijna niet tegen op te boksen is. Zo blijkt het spectrum waar ik het eerder over had veel kleiner te zijn, maar ook veel heftiger. Ook worden deze problemen veroorzaakt door een kleine groep mensen, die inmiddels ook bekend zijn bij ons. Eens in de zoveel tijd zien we deze personen weer op de radar verschijnen.

- **Welke problemen zijn dan zo heftig in deze wijk?**

- *De twee grootste problemen in deze wijk worden veroorzaakt door een kleine groep jongeren die we dan ook als probleemjongeren labelen bij de politie. Zij hebben een vergaand verleden in overlast creëren en het vernielen van de wijk. Zo hebben wij regelmatig speeltuinen voor kinderen, bushokjes, prullenbakken en dergelijken moeten vervangen als deze jongeren weer bezig zijn geweest. Bovendien is het ook vaak voorgekomen dat bezittingen of zelfs woningen van anderen inwonenden zijn beschadigd door deze groep jongeren. De schade die is aangericht door deze groep is buiten proporties. Dit durf ik dan ook wel het grootste probleem van deze wijk te noemen.*

- **En de overlast?**

- *De overlast is ook zeker een groot probleem te noemen. Deze zelfde groep jongeren hangt vaak laat op de avond of in de nacht rond op plekken waar veel woningen in de buurt zijn. Behalve het geluidsoverlast dat zij veroorzaken krijgen we ook veel klachten over dat mensen zich niet veilig voelen met deze groep in de buurt. Dit komt waarschijnlijk ook door de vernielingen en enkele situaties die we ervaren hebben met geweld. Al met al verstoren deze jongeren op meerdere manieren de openbare rust en orde.*

- **U spreekt ook over geweld onder deze jongeren. Is dit ook zo een groot probleem?**

- *Uhm, ja, geweld is wel vaker voorgekomen, maar in duidelijk mindere mate dan vernieling en overlast. Soms eindigen situaties wel in geweld, of vindt deze groep een andere groep en leidt dit tot gewelddadige situaties, maar dit komt relatief weinig*

voor. De andere problemen die deze groepen veroorzaken staan we hoger in onze agenda.

- **Welke problemen staan er nog meer wat lager op jullie agenda?**

- Een aantal andere problemen waar wij mee kampen zijn diefstal en vervuiling van de buurt. Deze twee problemen worden echter niet enkel door deze groepen veroorzaakt. Hoewel deze groepen ook wel eens op diefstal betrappt worden, of gewaarschuwd worden op het vervuilen van de plekken waar zij rond hangen, wordt dit voornamelijk door anderen gedaan. Zo is diefstal echt een issue die door een wat oudere groep mensen wordt veroorzaakt. De groep jongeren waar ik eerder over sprak zijn voornamelijk tussen de 16 en 21. De diefstal die wordt gepleegd, is vaak door individuen van een iets oudere leeftijd. Denk daar bij aan tussen de 23 en de 30.

- **Nu we het toch over het profiel van de overtreeders hebben. Wie zijn in algemene zin de overtreeders in de Slaaghwijk?**

- Hoe bedoel je precies?

- **Uit uw opmerkingen van net maak ik duidelijk dat het vooral jongeren en jongvolwassenen zijn. Maar kunt u me meer vertellen over de etniciteit van deze jongeren? Of het inkomen van het gezin waar zij uit komen?**

- Dat van de jongeren en jongvolwassenen klopt zeker ja. Wat betreft de etniciteit van deze jongeren, daar kunnen we moeilijk wat over zeggen. Hoewel de meeste jongeren die in contact komen met de politie, of gewaarschuwd worden, Noord-Afrikaans of Antilliaans zijn, zijn er ook genoeg Nederlandse jongeren gewaarschuwd. Het is wel belangrijk om in te zien dat de meeste jongeren in deze wijk dan ook van een niet-Westerse afkomst zijn. Ongeveer 70% van de jongeren in de Slaaghwijk is niet van Nederlandse afkomst. Dus hoewel je kan zeggen dat de meeste overtreeders een buitenlandse afkomst heeft, kan dit gerelativeerd worden door het feit dat de meeste jongeren hier dan ook niet uit Nederland komen.

- **En wat betreft het inkomen van de gezinnen?**

- Daar kan makkelijker een uitspraak over gedaan worden. Bijna alle probleemjongeren in deze wijk komen uit gezinnen met een uitkering of een extreem laag inkomen. Uit de wat welvarendere gezinnen komen vrijwel geen jongeren die in contact komen met

de politie. We merken ook uit onze samenwerking met de lokale scholen en opvangen dat deze wat 'rijkere' kinderen vaker gewoon op school verschijnen en minder met criminele activiteiten bezig zijn. Dit ligt natuurlijk ook redelijk voor de hand, als je kijkt naar wat deze rijkere jongeren hebben, wat de jongeren uit armere gezinnen niet hebben. Zij gaan bijvoorbeeld op zoek naar andere manieren om aan geld of spullen te komen. Of ze hebben minder te doen thuis omdat ze bijvoorbeeld geen tv of spelcomputer hebben. Dan gaan ze meer op straat hangen met de jongeren die dit ook niet hebben.

Q5 – Wat zijn de belangrijkste problemen in de Slaaghwijk en wie of wat is de oorzaak hier van?

- **Deze vraag is beantwoord in het vorige antwoord.**

Q6 – Welke maatregelen zijn er in de Slaaghwijk al genomen om deze problemen te tackelen?

- *Uhm, voor de problemen die we net behandeld hebben zijn er nog niet veel maatregelen genomen. We zijn de laatste maanden wel intensief in contact met enkele jeugdorganisaties zoals HALT en beleidsbepalers, omdat verbetering van de situatie de afgelopen jaren uit is gebleven. Een andere maatregel die we een jaar of twee terug hebben genomen is het plaatsen van meer camera's bij het winkelcentrum. Dit heeft er voor gezorgd dat winkeldiefstal sterk is terug genomen. Daarom wordt winkeldiefstal op dit moment ook niet meer als een groot probleem gezien hier. Een andere maatregel die we genomen hebben met betrekking tot overlast, was het gebruik maken van patrouillerende 'wachten.' Deze wachten waren vaak handhavers of politie agenten, met als doel om hangjongeren weg te houden. Natuurlijk komt hier ook bij dat wanneer er meer 'blauw' op straat is, en vooral direct zichtbaar is, andere vormen van criminaliteit ook af kunnen nemen, zoals bijvoorbeeld vernieling. Echter bleek deze maatregel niet een duidelijk succes te zijn. Hoewel op de momenten van patrouilleren er minder overlast was op deze plekken, bleek op andere plekken overlast toe te nemen. Ook werd al snel duidelijk dat de jongeren inzicht kregen in de tijden en plekken van patrouilleren, waardoor zij op andere momenten gingen 'hangen', wanneer er geen toezicht was. Dit betekende dus eigenlijk dat het*

probleem verschoof, in plaats van opgelost werd. Er is vervolgens gesproken om deze maatregel te verstevigen, maar dit bleek een enorm dure optie te zijn. Ieder moment van de dag, op iedere 'hangplek' in de wijk, toezicht te hebben, is een dure en niet haalbare oplossing voor het probleem...

Q7 – Denkt u dat een volledige implementatie van de JUP-aanpak een succes zou zijn in de Slaaghwijk?

Ik denk zeker dat een aantal maatregelen die daar genomen zijn ook hier erg bruikbaar kunnen zijn. Een aantal genoemde problemen lijken wel overeen te komen zoals de hangjongeren en diefstal. Ik denk daarom dat maatregelen die daar op gericht zijn in ieder geval een goede start zouden kunnen zijn voor ons. Dat laat niet weg dat iedere wijk anders in elkaar steekt en er andere problemen zijn. Hoogstwaarschijnlijk ook met een andere groep overtreders. Hier zullen ook zeker belangrijke verschillen in zitten tussen mijn wijk en het Jacques Urlusplantsoen. Daarom denk ik dat simpelweg deze aanpak 'kopieren en plakken' naar onze wijk niet de oplossing is. Het zal geen exacte fit zijn, ondanks dat er bruikbare methoden bij zitten. Daarom denk ik persoonlijk dat het beter is om eens goed naar deze aanpak te kijken, en hem te filteren op wat wij nodig hebben in onze wijk, om onze specifieke problemen te verhelpen.

- **Bedankt voor uw tijd en uitleg. Het is zeer bruikbare informatie.**
- *Geen dank.*

APPENDIX 3 – INTERVIEW KOOI

Intro: the mayor of Leiden finds the changes in the JUP due to the JUP-approach so successful, he wants to implement this approach in the Kooi and the Slaaghwijk as well. In this research, I try to answer the question if this approach will also be a success in these two other districts.

Q1 – Kunt u me iets vertellen over uw functie en uw relatie met de Kooi?

- *Ik ben momenteel een van de twee wijkagenten in de Kooi. Nou ja, praktisch gezien ben ik gewoon de enige wijkagent, maar ik heb er een tweede agent bij gekregen die zich focust op de jeugd. Het is zijn taak om er voor te zorgen dat de jeugd minder betrokken raakt bij criminele activiteiten terwijl ik de normale taken van de wijkagent uit voer: het betrokken zijn met de wijk in ieder opzicht om de publieke rust en orde te handhaven.*
- **Waarom is deze tweede agent er bij gekomen?**
- *Het idee van een tweede wijkagent hing al langer in de lucht, omdat de Kooi simpelweg een te grote wijk is om aan één wijkagent over te laten. Tenminste, de grootte van de wijk hoeft geen issue te zijn, maar gezien de grootte van de problemen en het criminele circuit hier was deze maatregel wel erg nodig. Een aantal jaar geleden is deze functie daarom toegevoegd.*
- **En waarom is deze functie speciaal op de jeugd gericht?**
- *Het is in de Kooi voornamelijk de jeugd die betrokken is bij criminele activiteit, en dit baart ons erg veel zorgen. Bijna 80% van de criminelen die betrokken zijn geraakt met de politie zijn jongeren onder de 25 jaar. Dit is een zorgwekkend hoog percentage. Om deze reden hebben we de functie gericht op het werken met jongeren en deze weg houden van het criminele circuit.*

Q2 – Hoe lang beoefend u deze functie al?

- *Ik beoefen deze functie al 6 jaar, dus ik ben erg bekend met wat hier speelt. De functie van de tweede wijkagent is geloof ik twee a twee en een half jaar geleden ingesteld, voor als je je dat ook af vroeg.*

Q3 – Bent u bekend met de JUP-aanpak en zo ja, kunt u me vertellen wat deze inhoudt?

Nee, hier ben ik niet bekend mee.

- ... Het was een grootse aanpak met veel verschillende aanpakken. Zo werd er bij iedere ingang en elke hoek van de straat een camera geplaatst voor meer toezicht. Ook werden er leefregels geïntroduceerd voor alle inwoners. Zoals elkaar groeten, overlast beperken, je vuilnis buiten gooien en je fietsen in de schuur plaatsen. Deze regels werden gebruikt voor het verbeteren van de sociale cohesie. Bovendien werden de belangrijkste hangplekken van de jongeren afgeschermd met hekken in het kader van 'access control', zodat ze hier niet meer konden hangen. Ook werd de buurt opgeknapt en werd er een wekelijkse bijeenkomst georganiseerd voor alle inwoners om hun ervaringen, klachten en ideeën te delen met de rest en met de aanwezige politie. Uiteindelijk bleek criminaliteit en overlast flink te dalen door deze maatregelen.

Deze aanpak vormt de basis van dit onderzoek, mijn volgende vragen zullen gericht zijn op de problemen en vormen van criminaliteit in de Slaaghwijk.

- *Als ik vragen mag, hoe is deze aanpak tot stand gekomen?*
- **Na een geëscaleerde situatie in 2014 besloot de burgemeester dat het genoeg was geweest. Vervolgens zijn beleidsmakers van de gemeente in combinatie met de lokale politie en andere organisaties bijeengekomen om deze aanpak te maken. uiteindelijk was deze set van maatregelen het eindresultaat. De burgemeester vond het zo succesvol dat hij het ook in de Slaaghwijk en de Kooi wilt introduceren.**

SQ 4: "What are the most important characteristics, problems and forms of crime in the Kooi?"

Q4 – Wat zijn de belangrijkste vormen van criminaliteit in de Kooi en wie of wat is de oorzaak hier van?

- *De belangrijkste vormen van criminaliteit... er zijn een hoop vormen van criminaliteit waar wij attent op zijn al politie zijnde in dit gebied. Natuurlijk zijn er belangrijke issues waar wij ook meer mee bezig zijn, maar het zou te kort door de bocht zijn om te stellen dat er een aantal problemen zijn die belangrijk zijn en andere niet. Alle vormen*

van criminaliteit zijn belangrijk om te voorkomen en te bestrijden, maar er zijn natuurlijk wel vormen die meer impact hebben dan anderen. Ik denk dat dat is wat je bedoelt...

- **Ja, klopt. Kunt u me vertellen welke van de vormen van criminaliteit dan een grote impact hebben en welke minder?**

- *...Ook dat is een lastige vraag. Ten eerste is het bijna niet op te noemen met hoe veel vormen van criminaliteit of crimineel gedrag wij te maken hebben in de wijk. Dit verschilt van groot- tot kleinschalige criminaliteit. De impact van deze criminaliteit kan erg verschillen. Daar mee bedoel ik dat ondanks dat een overtreding of misdaad niet vaak voor hoeft te komen, de impact wel groot kan zijn, en vice versa... In deze wijk is het erg belangrijk om te begrijpen dat de overtredingen, of in ieder geval de mensen die deze overtredingen en misdaden begaan elkaar versterken. Dat maakt het zo lastig om in deze wijk tot oplossingen te komen...*

...Een van de meest voorkomende overtredingen is diefstal. En dan spreek ik over bijna elk mogelijke vorm van diefstal. Of het nou zakkenrollen, inbraak, winkeldiefstal of eigendom diefstal is. Diefstal is al jaren lang een van de grootste problemen van de criminele activiteiten in de Kooi... Ook geweld en bedreiging zijn serieuze problemen in de Kooi. We krijgen elke week wel een aantal meldingen van bedreiging en vaak gaat dit ook gepaard met fysiek geweld. Of dit nou in huiselijke sferen gebeurt of openbaar, het komt erg vaak voor in onze wijk. Wanneer dit in huiselijke sferen gebeurt is het vaak een echtelijke ruzie of een familie conflict. Wanneer dit buiten in het openbaar voorkomt zijn het vaak jongeren die elkaar opzoeken. Dit geldt echter ook voor het probleem van diefstal dat ik eerder noemde. De overtreeders bij winkeldiefstal, zakkenrollen en overvallen zijn bijna altijd jongeren. Alleen bij inbraak blijkt de verdachte vaak net iets ouder te zijn...

- **Behalve dat de overtreeders 80% jongeren onder de 25 zijn, kunt u me wat meer vertellen over de etniciteit van deze overtreeders? En iets over hun inkomen?**
- Deze overtreeders, die dus bijna allemaal uit jongeren bestaan, zijn van verschillende etniciteiten. Ten eerste is het belangrijk om te weten dat deze overtreeders bijna altijd in groepen opereren. Het komt zelden voor dat overtreeders van deze leeftijd alleen

crimineel gedrag vertonen en in aanraking komen met de politie. Bovendien zijn jongeren in deze groepen vaak van dezelfde etniciteit, maar per groep verschilt de etniciteit. Sommige groepen zijn volledig Nederlands, andere zijn bijvoorbeeld weer Turken en anderen Surinaamse jongeren. Er zijn ook een paar groepen waar jongeren van verschillende afkomsten in zitten. Eigenlijk kun je dus stellen dat de etniciteit niet zo veel zegt, aangezien overtreders in deze wijk van iedere afkomst zijn.

- **En wat is de invloed van de inkomens van de gezinnen op crimineel gedrag?**
- *Hier kunnen we wel een duidelijkere lijn in terug zien. Hoewel er natuurlijk wel personen van zowel welvarende als minder bedeelde gezinnen in aanraking komen met de politie, is het grootste deel van deze groep van de relatief armere gezinnen. Dit is trouwens sowieso een algemeen beeld van crimineel gedrag, vooral wanneer het aankomt op vermogensmisdrijven zie je dat het vaak de minderbedeelden zijn die hier aan deelnemen. Voor andere vormen van criminaliteit is dit overigens minder te zien. Al zien we nog steeds wel dat ook de mensen die met ons in aanraking komen door bijvoorbeeld geweld, vernieling of bedreiging, ook vaak van armere gezinnen zijn. Het verschil is echter aanzienlijk met vermogensmisdrijven.*

Q5 – Welke maatregelen zijn al genomen om deze problemen te verhelpen in de Kooi?

- *Er is een tweetal maatregelen genomen om deze problemen te verhelpen. Het probleem van de grote aantallen jongeren betrokken bij deze criminele activiteiten is geprobeerd te verhelpen, of in ieder geval te verminderen, door het invoeren van een tweede wijkagent om deze jongeren meer weg te houden van criminaliteit. Het succes van deze maatregel is een beetje discutabel. We merken een kleine daling in het aantal nieuwe jongeren dat in aanraking met ons komt, maar de jongeren die al betrokken waren in criminele activiteiten krijgen we hier eigenlijk niet meer uit. Behalve de kleine daling in criminaliteitscijfers merken we wel dat we meer inzichten hebben gekregen in de redenen van de jongeren achter hun daden en welke 'drivers' meespelen. Het succes van deze maatregel is dus gering te noemen, waar we een veel grotere daling voor ogen hadden...*
- .. *Een tweede maatregel, die we genomen hebben om de bedreiging en het geweld tegen te gaan, is het gebruik maken van het lokale jongerencentrum. Om hier wat*

meer over uit te leggen: we hebben een half jaar geleden een oude basisschool, die werd gesloten, veranderd in een jeugdcentrum. In ieder lokaal van deze school is een soort hangruimte gemaakt. In sommige lokalen staat er muziek aan en staan er banken waar ze kunnen zitten, in andere lokalen staan bijvoorbeeld pooltafels en hangen er dartborden. Alles is altijd onder toezicht van twee a drie begeleiders van de lokale organisatie Thuis Op Straat (TOS). In samenwerking met hen proberen wij er voor te zorgen dat deze jongeren van de straat blijven, waardoor zij uiteindelijk minder overlast veroorzaken. Ook is het doel hier van dat deze jongeren groepen elkaar hier vinden, in plaats van ruzie met elkaar op zoeken op straat, het draait dus ook om het verbeteren van de sociale cohesie tussen de jongeren.

- **Hoe succesvol is dit jongerencentrum tot nu toe?**

- *Het begint nu eindelijk van de grond te komen. De eerste paar maanden kwam er bijna niemand op af. Nu merken wij dat het steeds meer onder de jongeren rond gaat en er veel jongeren hier na school heen komen omdat zij geen zin hebben om naar huis te gaan. Hierdoor zijn zij minder in het openbaar aan het hangen, wat wij als een positieve verandering zien. Natuurlijk is dit nog maar een klein deel van de jongeren. Er zijn ook nog genoeg jongeren die buiten rondhangen na school of later op de avond. Dit centrum heeft ook de capaciteit niet om alle jongeren op te vangen, dus bij eventueel groot succes zouden we er nog eentje moeten openen. Of het uiteindelijk ook invloed gaat hebben op de criminaliteitscijfers is nog afwachten, maar ik zie de situatie positief in.*

Q6 – Denkt u dat een volledige implementatie van de JUP-aanpak een succes zou zijn in de Kooi?

- *Heb je nog even? Haha. Nee dit is een erg lastige vraag, ten eerste omdat ik niet precies weet wat hoe de situatie in het Jacques Urlusplantsoen is verlopen tijdens de introductie van deze aanpak en ten tweede omdat ik niet weet hoe vergelijkbaar deze twee wijken zijn. Dus laat ik het kort houden. Ik denk dat het strategisch plaatsen van camera's zoals in het Jacques Uslusplantsoen gedaan is, hier ook uitkomst kan gaan bieden om bepaalde vormen van diefstal tegen te gaan. Mensen krijgen toch het gevoel dat ze bekeken worden en niet overal mee weg komen, dus dit zou een goede*

uitkomst kunnen bieden. Verder denk ik dat we al goed op weg zijn met ons jongerencentrum om de jeugd van de straat te houden. De leefregels lijkt me ook een goede optie, al vraag ik me af hoe veel mensen zich hier uiteindelijk aan gaan houden. Wanneer zij dit wel doen, kan het zeker van toegevoegde waarde zijn, maar ik denk dat dit niet het geval zal zijn. Verder vind ik het opknappen van de wijk een goede manier om de uitstraling te verbeteren. Hoewel wij hier de wijk natuurlijk ook al periodiek opknappen, kan dit misschien een keer grootschaliger. Dat geeft een toch een wat positievere uitstraling... Al met al denk ik dat er een paar leuke manieren bij zitten om bepaalde problemen tegen te gaan, maar er meer bij komt kijken om deze buurt minder problematisch te maken.

- **Bedankt voor uw tijd en de informatie. Ik ga er mee aan de slag.**
- *Geen probleem, ik vond het erg leuk om een keertje uitgebreid over mijn wijk en mijn werkzaamheden te spreken met iemand van buitenaf. Ik hoop dat je er wat aan hebt.*

APPENDIX 4 – SURVEY

Q1 – In welke wijk woont U?

De Kooi

De Slaaghwijk

Anders

Q2 – Wat is uw leeftijd?

>18

19-26

27-39

40-54

55-65

65+

Q3 – Welke vormen van criminaliteit doen zich voor in uw wijk en kunt u per vorm een voorbeeld noemen? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

Q4 - Welke andere problemen, los van criminele activiteiten, doen zich voor in uw wijk en kunt u per vorm een voorbeeld noemen? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)