Surrounded by Safety

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Safety as an encompassing policy concept in the Netherlands

Abstract

Safety used to be a pretty straightforward concept: governments need to safeguard the country from invasion and its citizens from crime. Over time, additional issues became to be defined as a safety problem. Even so, the safety problems and their accompanying policies remained clearly demarcated – safety revolved, for example, around product safety. Recently, an encompassing safety concept has become popular in the Netherlands. No longer referring to a clearly demarcated policy issue, the concept and its related integrated safety policy covers everything from fighting crime to making sure that street lights work. In this article, we show how safety in general has become firmly embedded on the Dutch government agenda over time and explain what integrated safety policy entails.

Keywords: Integrated safety policy, local safety policy, safety concept

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1. Introduction

It used to be that safety and security policies were clearly linked to a specific topic. Policies were geared towards issues such as crime or war. Over time, additional issues became to be defined as a safety problem. Even so, the safety problems and their accompanying policies remained clearly demarcated – safety revolved, for example, around product safety or transport safety. In recent years, however, the Dutch national government has introduced a safety policy which is all-encompassing. No longer referring to a clearly demarcated policy issue, the concept and its related policy (the so-called integrated safety policy (*integraal veiligheidsbeleid*))[1]

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[1]   *Integraal* stands for an encompassing policy that covers everything related to safety and security. *Integraal* could therefore be translated into encompassing. However, considering the fact that the concept of integrated policy (that is, the coordination of government service provision by several separate actors in order to deal with a complex problem (Keast, Brown, and Mandell 2007)) cor-

covers everything at the local level: from fighting crime to making sure that street lights work. So what then does this encompassing safety definition actually entail?

This is an important question because policies are shaped by the problems they need to solve. After all, a problem definition not only includes the causes of the problem and a description of the problem itself, but also the ways in which a problem can be solved (Weiss, 1989; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Stone, 1997). Sometimes, a problem can be uncomplicated in the sense that all actors involved in the policy network agree on what the problem is, what its causes are, and which solutions are suitable. Such a tame problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973), however, does not occur that frequently. More often than not, the government has to deal with wicked problems. In contrast to tame problems, wicked problems are not easy to define as no one is sure what the problem is since the problem is tangled up with other problems. Moreover, actors can perceive the problem differently depending on their point of view. Consequently, it is difficult to come up with a broadly supported problem definition for this type of problem since no one agrees what the problem is let alone what the solution should be (Rittel & Webber, 1973). One way for governments to deal with a wicked problem is to use an integrated approach in which a complex problem is no longer addressed by independently working (non-)governmental organizations resulting in a fragmented service delivery. Instead, these organizations work together, that is, integrate their services, in order to provide a comprehensive and coherent service delivery (Keast, Brown & Mandell, 2007; cf. Kapucu, 2005). The integrated safety policy studied in this article reflects this approach.

However, the integrated safety policy did not originate in a White Paper (Cachet & Ringeling, 2004: 637) and it was not clear from the start which safety issues were going to be addressed in this policy. This raises the question which safety issues fall under the header of integrated safety policy.

To answer this question, we took two steps. First, we took a step back to look at the broader picture of how the concept of safety has evolved over time in The Netherlands. By taking a closer look at the Dutch Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements – both recurring documents that set forth the national government's agenda – we show that (1) the Dutch government is using the word safety more often; (2) that the safety concept has expanded over time to include more issues; and (3) part of this expansion included the introduction of a general (or encompassing) safety concept which no longer referred to a clearly demarcated policy issue. Most, but not all, references in the Dutch Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements to this encompassing safety concept are either directly or indirectly related to integrated safety policy – thus showing how the Dutch government is struggling with the wicked problem of safety. Their solution to this wicked problem was the introduction of the integrated safety policy. The second step we therefore took to answer the research question was to determine which safety issues fall under the

responds with the intention of the safety policy, *integraal* could also be translated into integrated. We opted to use integrated when referring specifically to the safety policy discussed in this article, and encompassing when referring to the broad safety concept/problem definition.

header of integrated safety policy in order to explain what integrated safety policy entails.

To establish the safety issues referred to in the Queen's Speeches, Coalition Agreements, and integrated safety policy documents, we used a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). We deductively coded the Queen's Speeches (published once a year) and Coalition Agreements (published once every one to five years) in order to determine how often the Dutch government used the word *veilig* (which refers both to safety and security)[2] and which issues were being defined as a safety problem. Since numerous authors have published lists of safety issues, we used existing literature to code the Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements. However, since we did not know what to expect when analyzing the content of 47 integrated safety policy documents, a data-driven inductive approach was more appropriate since that would allow us to study the relevant documents while keeping an open mind and thus fully grasp the meaning of the new encompassing safety concept which has become popular in the Netherlands.

This article starts with a description of the issues that can be generally defined as a safety problem. Following our research design, we introduce the Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements and show how the concept of safety has evolved over time. A series of locally implemented integrated safety policies as envisioned by both national and local actors is then studied to determine which safety issues are part of the integrated safety policy.

2. Safety

Safety can be defined in many ways; it can refer, for instance, to border security, crime or disasters. Since we are interested in how the word safety is used in national government documents which set out the government's future agenda, we need authors who give a clear overview of what safety can be about. We therefore opted to use two authors who, when taken together, cover the whole spectrum of safety problems bar one (which we will get back to later on). Röling (1983) focuses on outside threats that could endanger a state. He talks about military, ideological, and economic

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[2]   In the Dutch language, there is no distinction between safety and security issues since one word (*veiligheid*) is used for both concepts. This would mean that if we were to use safety and security in this article, we would have to determine for each issue whether it was a security or safety issue. This, however, is no easy feat since the way in which safety and security are defined depends on the research disciplines and authors used (Pietre-Cambacédès & Chaudet, 2010). Some authors, for instance, only define military issues as a security issue, while others say that any existential threat which requires emergency action is a security issue (Buzan, Waever & De Wilde, 1998). Others state that security is about 'the perceived protection from danger' (such as police on the street) and that safety is about the 'real protection against dangers' (such as having an insurance or pension) (Marcuse, 2006, p. 924-5). Considering the difficulties in determining whether something is a safety or security issue, we decided for this article to use the word safety to reflect both safety and security issues since safety is often used in the English literature on local safety in the Netherlands.

safety. *Military safety* revolves around the threat of war. *Ideological safety* stresses how ideological or religious differences can cause problems such as terrorism. *Economic safety* refers to economic interdependencies, such as financial institutions, that can have an uprooting effect on a country. Pleysier (2008) emphasizes national safety problems when discussing police, physical, civil, and social safety. *Police safety* includes issues such as crime and public nuisance. *Physical safety* is about transport safety as well as safety ensured by man-made constructions such as levees. *Civil safety* covers everything related to disaster management. *Social safety* pertains to society as a whole and ranges from social welfare to integration and sports policies.

These categories were used to create a codebook to which we added two more categories: product safety and general safety. *Product safety* refers to any product, such as food or drugs, which can be harmful for citizens or their surroundings. This code was added based on our experience of coding various government documents (Resodihardjo, 2011; Resodihardjo & Kors-Walraven, 2012). *General safety* refers to any safety reference where it is not clear which issue is being labelled as a safety problem or the safety reference is too broad to be categorized.

3. Research design

For this article, we used different research approaches. To establish which safety definitions were used in the two sets of national documents which set forth the government agenda, we used a deductive approach using the abovementioned safety categories to determine which issues were defined as a safety problem. From the deductive research, we can conclude that an encompassing safety definition (that is, a safety definition that is too broad to be categorized) became more prominent over time (Resodihardjo, 2011) as exemplified, for instance, by the introduction of the integrated safety policy. To investigate what integrated safety policy actually entails, we used an inductive approach since that allowed us to get a better idea of the various issues at stake considering the broad range, the complexity, and the integrated nature of the policy.

The research design is characterized by a hybrid or combined approach of deductive and inductive content analysis of Queen speeches, Coalition Agreements, and national policy plans. Content analysis of this type of existing material by no means generates knowledge of measurable and perceived safety in Dutch society. However, the programmatic and political nature of these documents makes them a suitable source of data for generating insights into the agenda for public interventions regarding safety issues in the Netherlands over the years.

3.1. Deductive approach

The following steps were taken to study the Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements. Using the keyword *veilig*, we selected sentences which contained this keyword. Nouns were included unless they referred to security organizations (such as the UN Security Council; though references to attending the Conference

on Security and Co-Operation in Europe were included). Adjectives and verb constructions were only included if they made sense by, for instance, referring to a specific policy. As a result, the Dutch Queen's Speeches dataset (1945-2010) was brought back from 213 to 203 uncoded sentences, whereas the Dutch Coalition Agreement dataset (1963-2010) decreased from 232 to 206 uncoded sentences. For each safety reference, we determined which issue was being defined as a safety problem. We coded a sentence twice or even more times if (a) the sentence contained the word safety more than once or (b) the word safety was linked to a number of issues. References to the Cold War, for instance, could result in a sentence being coded twice: once as a military issue and once as an ideological one. All references were coded twice by two coders who worked independently. The coding was quite straightforward, resulting in an inter coding reliability of 96.8% with an agreement reliability of 99% for the Queen's Speeches and a 95.4% inter coding reliability and 99.6% agreement reliability for the Coalition Agreements.

3.2. Inductive approach

To study the safety issues incorporated in the integrated safety policy, an inductive approach was used. This inductive approach was adopted in an attempt to grasp the full meaning of integrated safety and avoid missing issues not mentioned in existing safety literature.

However, before we could start with our inductive research, we needed to decide which documents to select since integrated safety policy cannot be found in a single policy paper nor does it have a clear starting date as the policy is the result of a culmination of policy decisions (Cachet & Ringeling, 2004). The idea of an encompassing safety approach first came to the fore in the late 1980s in response to increasing crime rates and new forms of crime which the police could not effectively address on their own (Commissie Roethof, 1984; Ministry of Justice, 1985). This approach gained momentum from the early 1990s onwards. In the last two decades, it has become the dominant policy strategy regarding safety in the Netherlands while becoming firmly embedded at the local level where mayors and their teams are responsible for the implementation of the policy – even though the policy itself is developed at the national level and thus national policy documents need to be investigated to determine what integrated safety policy is about. However, considering the haphazard way in which the policy was formed, the broad range of issues covered by the policy, and the many actors involved, there is not a single specific document that we can draw from. On the contrary, integrated safety policy is mentioned in a wide range of national policy documents such as integrated safety reports, national safety policy papers, and budgets from the two ministries responsible for safety (the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Internal Affairs). Consequently, we studied various safety-related national government documents from 1990 to 2010 (the time period during which the integrated policy approach to safety became the dominant strategy regarding safety). These documents include public safety policies as well as the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice's explanatory memoranda of the budgets (see the appendix for an overview

of the documents coded to investigate integrated safety policy).[3] The national policy documents provide insight in government's public safety strategies and priorities as the two ministries describe, for instance, in their explanatory memoranda which safety problems and strategies will receive funding in their annual budgets. Taken together, these documents provide a good overview of the public safety frame as a whole and the integrated safety policy in particular.

It is important to note here that the documents investigated for this article cover different time periods. Budgets, for example, describe safety priorities for a single year. In contrast, the safety guidelines in a single policy document can remain valid for a number of years. It is therefore important to consider when a document was valid when coding them. The appendix not only provides an overview of the documents coded for this investigation, but also when each document was active.

To tease out which issues fall under the header of integrated safety policy, the following steps were taken. First, each document was searched for chapters addressing safety. The selected chapters were carefully read to establish which sections focused on safety at the local level. We focus on safety at the local level since municipalities are responsible for implementing the integrated safety policy and they need to adapt their own local integrated safety approach to reflect priorities expressed at the national level.

Once the relevant sections were identified, the second step could be taken: coding the text. Two codes were assigned to the selected text: a general code and a categorical code. The general code of *local safety* was assigned to all the text investigated. The general code helped us to create a chronological overview of what was mentioned regarding local safety and when. The categorical code is an inductively created safety category which describes the types of safety issues mentioned. Categories were created and assigned as follows. Having narrowed down the selected safety chapters to the sections on safety at the local level, these sections were studied to determine which safety issues are mentioned. To determine which category to assign to a safety issue, we looked at the overall theme of the section. If a paragraph addressed the safety issues surrounding prostitution, that paragraph could be a part of a section on sex. The category sex was therefore assigned to that safety issue. This process of categorization resulted in 33 categories which together reflect the various types of safety issues covered by the integrated safety policy documents. Please note that a single category can cover various safety issues. The category crime for example, covers safety issues such as bicycle theft and financial crimes. Conversely, a single issue such as youth crime can be part of multiple categories such as crime and youth depending on where and when the issue is addressed in government documents.

During the third step, a second coder coded several randomly selected documents in order to determine the replication level of the results and to check for researcher's bias (Miles & Huberman, 1994). There were some minor differences in coding and categorization, but these were acceptable considering the fact that all inductive analysis requires interpretation. More importantly, the extra coding did not yield any new categories or trends in safety issues.

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3   The Ministry of Justice became the Ministry of Safety and Justice in October 2010. To keep the text legible, we use Ministry of Justice throughout the article.

4. The rise of safety on government agendas

There are two recurring Dutch government documents in which the government sets forth its agenda: the Queen's Speeches and the Coalition Agreements. The Queen's Speeches are held annually on the third Tuesday of September. In this speech, the government explains to its citizens what it has achieved so far, what the current concerns are of the government and its citizens, and what the government would like to achieve in the year to come (Breeman et al., 2009; John & Jennings, 2010). Coalition Agreements are the result of lengthy negotiations between political parties that need to form a coalition government since no single party has enough seats to govern alone. These agreements are made public since 1963. In these agreements, the newly formed coalition government introduces its agenda for the next four years.
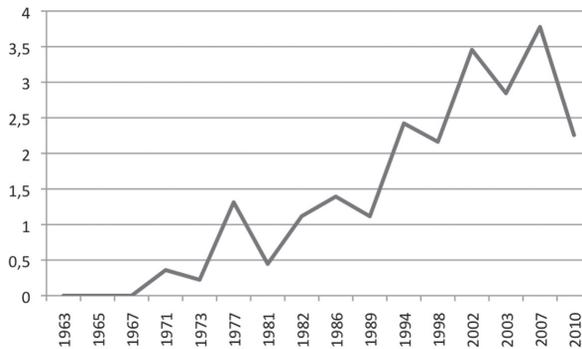
Figure 1: Relative use of the word safety in the Dutch Queen's Speeches (1945-2010)
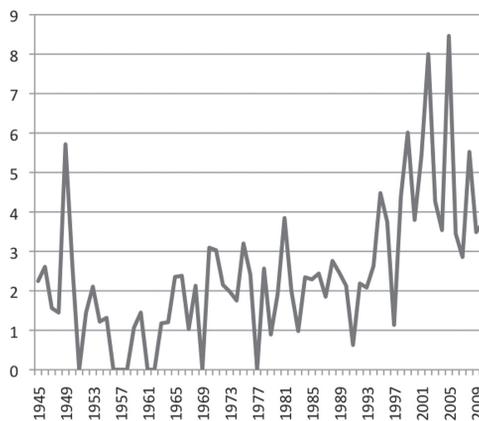
Figure 2: Relative use of the word safety in Dutch Coalition Agreements (1963-2010)

Figures 1 and 2 show the relative usage of the word safety in the Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements (that is, the number of sentences containing a relevant safety reference compared to the total number of sentences in the document). Although the lines are erratic, they do show an upward trend thereby indicating that the Dutch government uses the word safety more frequently than it used to. Table 1 shows that the types of issues being labelled as a safety problem expanded over time as well. It also becomes clear from Table 1 that all categories are mentioned in these documents bar economic safety in the Coalition Agreement.

Table 1: Issue expansion on Dutch agendas

Issue	Queen's Speeches	Coalition Agreements
Military	1945 (World War II)	1971 (need for a European security convention)
Ideology	1959 (importance of NATO alliance)	1977 (nuclear plants possible target for terrorist action)
Economic	1989 (European integration results in economic stability)	---
Police	1976 (cooperation between police forces)	1977 (more violent crimes and concerns about safety)
Physical	1946 (improve road safety)	1973 (road safety)
Civil	1997 (fire brigades' contribution to safety)	1998 (increase in air traffic and the resulting need for safe transport and to avoid disasters)
Social	1975 (improve work safety)	1989 (bad neighbourhoods)
Product	1999 (food safety)	1977 (nuclear plants)

5. Integrated safety's building blocks in the Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements

In addition, and as illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, general safety became more prominent over time. The category of general safety was originally created for those safety references which could not be categorized since it was not clear what safety referred to. In 2010, for example, the government wrote that 'its task was to improve safety' (Coalition Agreement, 2010, p. 7) without making clear what safety was about. However, along the way, the function of the general safety category was expanded to include safety references too broad to be categorized as different safety issues were combined and then linked with various actors and policies.
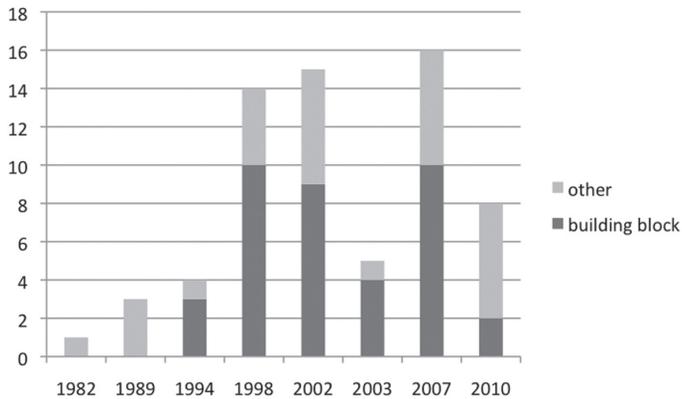
Figure 3: Number of general safety references in the Queen's Speeches for the period 1945-2010 (only years in which a general safety reference was made are included)
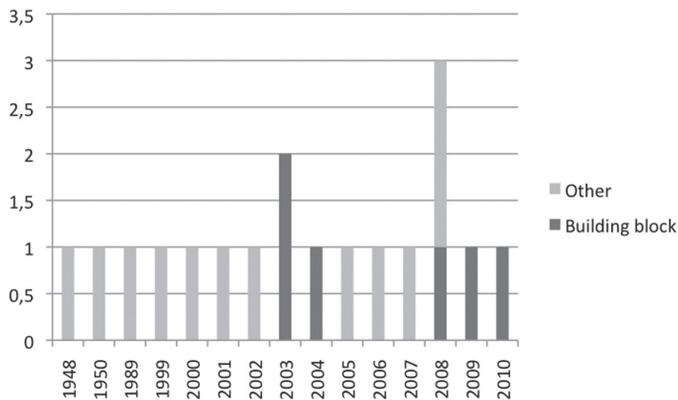

Figure 4: Number of general safety references in the Coalition Agreements 1963-2010

When taking a closer look at the sentences categorized as general safety, it is possible to discern two subcategories as illustrated in Figures 3 and 4: other and building blocks. Other is any general safety reference which is not linked to integrated safety policy. In contrast, building blocks refer to any general safety reference which is either about integrated safety policy, policies that form the foundation of integrated safety policy, or the predecessors of integrated safety policy. Big Cities Policy, for instance, already has some elements that were copied into the integrated safety policy such as the director's function of local government (mayor in integrated safety policy) (Coalition Agreement, 1994, p. 52) and the importance of an integrated approach to improve safety and liveability in big cities (Coalition Agreement, 1998,

p. 78). What is especially clear in Figure 4, is that the increase in general safety is partly caused by these building blocks.

Not only policies that became part of integrated safety policy are mentioned in these documents, integrated safety policy itself is also mentioned in the Coalition Agreements (from 1998 onwards) though not in the Queen's Speeches. However, the 2010 Queen's Speech does contain the reference to a safety policy that does seem to resemble integrated safety policy. Yet, instead of calling it integrated safety policy, the government talks about *the* safety policy. As if, by now, everyone should understand what the policy is about. After all, *'For years now, the safety policy has been geared towards dealing with public nuisance and crime as well as structurally improving the quality of living conditions in neighbourhoods'* (Queen's Speech, 2010, p. 3).

So which safety issues are addressed in this integrated safety policy? Considering the complexity of the policy, in terms of issues and actors involved, we first need to describe the aim and strategy of integrated safety policy. Only then can we explain which issues fall under the header of integrated safety policy.

6. An introduction to integrated safety policy

In the early 1980s, a commission on crime in the Netherlands (Commission Roethof, 1984) concluded that the Dutch police were no longer able to effectively address a wide variety of threats to safety on their own. Consequently, national government and the police needed help from other actors in order to deal with new, complex, and often persistent safety problems. Considering the many actors involved and the numerous issues covered by this new safety policy, the label integrated safety policy was soon coined. The integrated safety policy was to be implemented at the local administrative level of Dutch municipalities while mayors were responsible for designing, coordinating, and evaluating integrated safety policy (Cachet et al., 1995).

The integrated policy approach to public safety is an ambitious one. At least five aims are mentioned (Prins & Cachet, 2011). These are:

Combining technical and administrative approaches: Traditionally, professionals such as the police and fire department are responsible for safety. Their approach to safety used to be a technical one: dealing with actual safety issues once they occur. The idea behind an integrated safety approach is to actively involve other actors, such as municipalities, who can bring an administrative approach to the table. Involving local government would add a structural policy strategy in which safety issues are constantly managed or even prevented rather than merely reacted to (Cachet et al., 1995).

Safety as an encompassing policy concept: An integrated perspective on public safety goes beyond traditional public safety issues such as recorded crime and disorderly behaviour. Integrated safety policy deals with matters of objective and subjective safety (that is, do citizens feel safe); with future safety problems resulting from either human behaviour or natural events (such as floods); and with safety problems currently challenging local government (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1993; Cachet et al., 1995).

Cross sectoral approach: The integrated safety approach is broader than the traditional focus by police and public prosecutor's office. In order to deal with the encompassing safety concept effectively, policy sectors such as environment, transportation, education, and social welfare are also included (Cachet et al., 1995). The integrated safety approach combines policy efforts within these various sectors in order to improve local safety. Educational programmes at secondary schools on, for instance, lover boys (young pimps who charm and then force vulnerable girls into prostitution) can lead to a safer local society with fewer sexual violence victims. Considering the many policy sectors involved, fragmentation needs to be avoided by combining and coordinating the various safety measures taken within these policy sector into a single integrated safety approach.

Safety chain management: In The Netherlands, a safety chain approach is taken when dealing with safety issues. The approach consists of perceiving the management of safety as a set of interconnected links which, when taken together, form a chain. The safety chain consists of the following links: pro-action, prevention, preparation, reaction, and recovery. Each link represents a particular phase during the processes of safety management. The integrated approach towards public safety requires that equal attention is paid to all links of the safety chain (Cachet et al., 1995).

New alliances among providers of public safety: An integrated approach requires cooperation and the forming of partnerships between various actors (Cachet et al., 1995). Within the local safety networks, (non-)governmental actors, including the police; judicial actors; local authorities; security companies; schools; citizens; shop owners; and housing corporations are brought together.

In short, integrated safety policy is complex, ambitious, and encompassing; not just in terms of issues involved but also of actors participating in this policy. The introduction of the integrated approach to public safety has led to the emergence of various local public safety networks (Prins & Cachet, 2011). In these networks, the police work together with public and private actors in order to effectively manage various new safety problems. The national government has promoted the active involvement of actors such as private security guards (Van Steden, 2007), citizens (Van Caem, 2008; Terpstra, 2010), and local governments in these local public safety networks. Nowadays, managing public safety is part and parcel of the daily business of running a municipality and the responsibility of the appointed mayor in his role as director of integrated safety policy. Each municipality has its own tailor-made integrated public safety policy (Terpstra, 2010). How these are filled in, however, depends on the priorities set forth in national documents on safety. Which brings us back to the question we started with: which safety issues fall under the header of integrated safety policy?

7. Safety issues addressed in integrated safety policy

Document analysis yields two interesting findings which are illustrated in Figure 5 and Table 2. First, a substantial safety *issue expansion* can be discerned from 1990

till 2010. Second, this process of issue expansion is dominated by the presence of specific types of safety issues. In other words, some categories of safety issues are mentioned more frequently than others. We call this variation in *issue presence*.
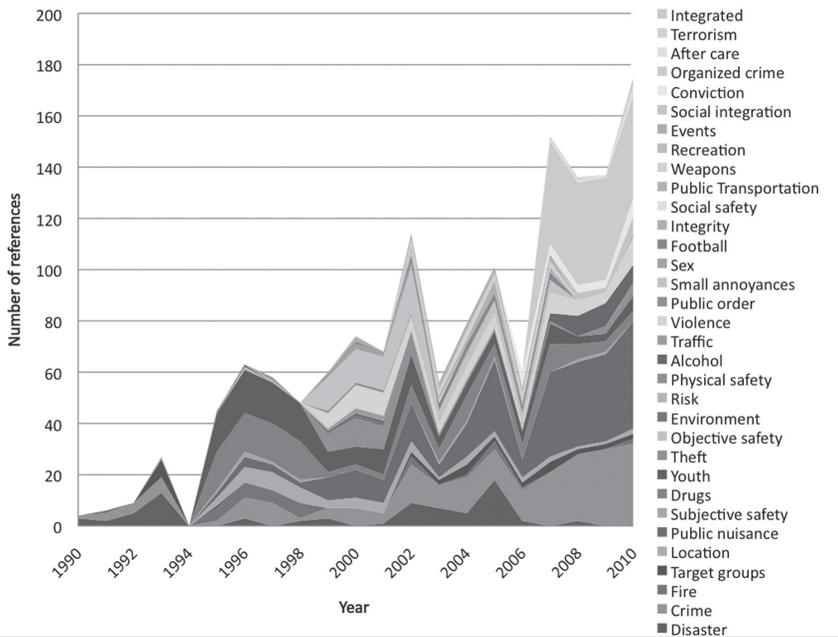

Figure 5: Issue expansion of the concept 'local safety' 1990-2010

7.1. Issue expansion

Figure 5 shows the expansion of issues labelled as a local safety problem in the integrated safety policy documents between 1990-2010. Two safety categories were part of the integrated safety policy from the start, though they are not mentioned every year. These are disaster and crime. *Disaster* refers to various sorts of disasters, accidents, and crises in general while *crime* covers topics such as petty crime; youth crime; financial crime; cyber crime; and factors potentially resulting in criminal behaviour.

The integrated safety policy started to expand in 1991 when *fire* was added to the mix. In 1993, this expansion continued with the introduction of target groups and location. The documents stated that more attention needed to be paid to *target groups* in order to improve safety. Examples of target groups include repeat offenders and young individuals from specific ethnical backgrounds committing crime or causing trouble. *Location* focuses on the location of safety problems, such as safety problems in large municipalities, schools or at home.

In 1995, the integrated safety policy expanded even further with the introduction of five new safety categories: public nuisance; subjective safety; drugs; youth; and theft. *Public nuisance* covers problems caused by the deterioration of public space

as well as by people such as psychiatric patients, homeless people, and youngsters hanging around. *Subjective safety* is about citizens feeling safe. *Drugs* is about drug use and the existence of phenomena like coffee shops and drugs tourism. *Youth* covers a wide range of youth related issues, including dropping out of school and youth crime. *Theft* refers to burglaries and the stealing of various items such as cars and bicycles.

By adding objective safety and environment, integrated safety policy was further expanded in 1996. In contrast to subjective safety, *objective safety* is not about feelings but about ways in which to objectively measure safety using numbers such as crime rates. *Environment* addresses the need to prevent environmental mishaps such as flooding and safeguarding the environment as a matter of safety governance.

In 1997, risks and physical safety were introduced. The category of *risks* stresses the increasing importance of managing potential future threats to local safety whereas *physical safety* focuses on unintentionally (that is accidentally and naturally) caused safety problems.

In 1999, integrated safety policy substantially increased thanks to the introduction of safety problems related to alcohol; traffic; violence; public order; small annoyances; and sex. *Alcohol* relates to safety problems caused by, for instance, alcohol abuse and store owners selling alcohol to under-aged individuals. Drinking and driving is the most frequently mentioned issue when it comes to *traffic*. *Violence* covers violence in both public (such as on the streets or in clubs) and private (such as domestic abuse) domain. *Public order* refers to substantial disturbances of the public order. Various issues to be fined by local authorities, such as double parking, littering, and cycling in pedestrian areas are all part of the *small annoyances* category. *Sex* refers to safety problems caused by prostitution.

In 2000, two new categories were mentioned for the first time. *Football* is mainly about hooliganism whereas *integrity* is about the need for (local) governments to screen citizens and companies to avoid accidentally giving permits to criminal organizations.

A further expansion of integrated safety policy took place in 2002 when social safety; public transport; weapons; recreation; and events were added to integrated safety policy. *Social safety* captures general remarks to safety problems caused by intentional behaviour, such as violence and theft (in contrast to accidentally caused safety problems). *Public transportation* mainly focuses on safety in trains, buses, and metro. The category of *weapons* mostly deals with illegal ownership of weapons whereas *recreation* and *events* point towards possible safety problems when it comes to fun things such as sports (recreation) and festivals (events).

In 2003, social integration was mentioned for the first time. The category of *social integration* includes issues such as the polarization and segregation of (ethnic or religious) groups in society.

Conviction became part of the integrated safety concept in 2006. This category covers any strong believes people can have, whether it is about human rights, animal rights or religion.

In 2007, organized crime, aftercare, and terrorism were introduced. *Organized crime* refers to various forms of organized crime of which human trafficking and

criminal organizations are frequently mentioned. *Aftercare* deals with the issue of former prisoners returning to society. *Terrorism* is a rather self explanatory category and covers any safety problem related to terrorism.

In the last year investigated for this study (2010), an interesting new category was introduced to integrated safety policy: integrated. *Integrated* stresses the integrated aspect of public safety issues in general.

7.2. Issue presence

As the integrated safety policy emerged over the past twenty years, a rather encompassing perspective on local safety has evolved. Table 2 provides a chronological overview of all the safety categories that have been added to integrated safety policy over the years (first and second column). However, some safety categories received more attention than others. Per year, we counted the total number of references made to safety as well as the total number of categories addressed in that year. Based on these numbers, it was possible to calculate the average number of references per category per year. The average indicates the number of references each category could have received in a single year if all categories received the same amount of attention. Since attention differed per category, we can compare the actual number of references made to a category with the average to determine whether a category received less or more attention than a category would have received if all categories received the same amount of attention. A category qualifies as dominant in a single year if it received more than the average number of references in that year; a category qualifies as overall dominant if it was dominant in more than 50% of the years since the first time the category was mentioned in policy documents. Table 2 provides for each category the year in which the category was first mentioned, the years in which the category was dominant, and whether the category was overall dominant or not.

Our analysis shows that seven out of 33 categories dominated integrated safety policy documents. These are crime; nuisance; drugs; youth; violence; small annoyances; and organized crime. Since these are the most dominant categories, they will in all likelihood represent what integrated safety policy is all about. Taken together, these categories show that integrated safety has been the terrain of traditional types of safety issues for a long time. However, even though integrated safety policy started with traditional safety issues as crime and theft, it evolved over time to include more unconventional safety issues such as small annoyances (like illegal parking). Moreover, severe safety problems which used to be solely addressed by (inter-)national government actors (such as organized crime) are now to be dealt with by local governments as well.

Table 2: Safety categories addressed in integrated safety policy documents
between 1990-2010

Category	First mentioned	Dominant in year	Overall dominance?
Disaster	Before 1990	1990/92/93 2002/03/04/05	No
Crime	Before 1990	1991/92/93/96/97/99 2000/01/02/03/04/05/06/07/08/09	Yes
Fire	1991	2006/07/08	No
Target groups	1993	1993 2004	No
Location	1993	1996/97/98 2000/01	No
Public nuisance	1995	1999 2000/01/02/03/04/05/06/07/08/09 /10	Yes
Subjective safety	1995	-	No
Drugs	1995	1995/96/97/98 2002/03/04/05/06/07/08	Yes
Youth	1995	1995/96/9/98/99 2000/01/02/03/04/05/06/07	Yes
Theft	1995	1999 2000/01/02	No
Objective safety	1996	-	No
Environment	1996	-	No
Risk	1997	-	No
Physical safety	1997	-	No
Alcohol	1999	2008/09/10	No
Traffic	1999	-	No
Violence	1999	1999 2000/01/02/03/04/05/07/08/10	Yes
Public order	1999	-	No
Small annoyances	1999	1999 2000/01/02/03/04/05/06	Yes
Sex	1999	-	No
Football	2000	2003/06	No
Integrity	2000	-	No
Social safety	2002	-	No
Public Transportation	2002	2005	No

Category	First mentioned	Dominant in year	Overall dominance?
Weapons	2002	-	No
Recreation	2002	-	No
Events	2002	-	No
Social integration	2003	2010	No
Conviction	2006	2006/10	No
Organized crime	2007	2007/08/09/10	Yes
After care	2007	-	No
Terrorism	2007	-	No
Integrated	2010	-	No

8. Conclusion

Safety definitions are no longer always clearly demarcated. Within a single safety definition, multiple issues, actors, and policy sectors can be involved as exemplified by the local Dutch integrated safety policy. The search to understand what this encompassing safety policy is about, has revealed an increase in the usage of the word safety in government documents as well as an expansion of issues being defined as a safety problem. This increase and expansion of the safety concept fits with the larger trend of the securitization of society (Foucault, 1977; Beck, 1992; Garland, 1997; Garland, 2001; Simon, 2007) and occurred not only at the national level (as indicated in this study by the Queen's Speeches and Coalition Agreements) but also at the local level (as indicated in this article by various national documents that explain what local integrated safety policy is about). At both levels, new safety issues such as product safety and conviction were introduced alongside well established and traditional safety concepts such as war and crime.

So what is this encompassing safety concept about? It is about the need to provide safety to citizens: to make sure, for instance, that crime rates are low, drug abuse decreases, youths do not bother other citizens (or make them feel unsafe), street lights work, garbage is collected, violent and organized crime decrease, disasters are prevented or mitigated, public nuisance remains low, and citizens can party safely. Though this encompassing safety policy covers a broad range of safety issues, seven safety categories dominate the discussion about integrated safety: crime; nuisance; drugs; youth; violence; small annoyances; and organized crime. These and more safety issues are addressed in the integrated safety policy with the need for an encompassing approach (that is, an approach which is broader than the traditional safety focus and also includes perceived risks and people feeling unsafe) and an integrated approach (in which various public and private actors combine their services in order to promote safety) as driving forces (Cachet et al., 1995).

The expansion of issues falling under the header of integrated safety was accompanied by an increasing involvement of local governments held responsible for designing, implementing, and coordinating integrated safety policies in close cooperation with many other actors. Local government's spending on order and safety increased from 590 million euro in 1998 to 1511 million euro in 2008 (CBS, 2008). Meanwhile, Dutch mayors received multiple new and sometimes far-reaching powers to address various new types of safety issues (Mein, 2010; Sackers, 2010a, 2010b). Overall, integrated policies became a dominant policy strategy for addressing the encompassing safety concept in the Netherlands during the past twenty years (Cachet & Ringeling, 2004). As such, the local policy practices fit nicely with the trend to introduce integrated comprehensive models so that wicked problems are no longer addressed by independently operating organizations since that resulted in fragmented service delivery (Keast, Brown, & Mandell, 2007; Kapucu, 2005).

This study shows that the Dutch integrated safety policy did not come out of the blue. Slowly and steadily, ideas about cooperation and coordination and about what safety should entail emerged in a series of government policies. The need for a new policy strategy towards public safety was fostered by the Roethoff committee report which stressed that government (1) would not be able to effectively address rapidly increasing numbers of crime in the near future; (2) should make explicit choices regarding policy topics; and (3) should actively look for ways to collaborate with others (1984). Consequently, the first steps towards integrated safety policy were taken in various government policies such as Big Cities Policy (De Haan, 1997) while Integral Safety Reports explored the concept of integrated policy strategies for public safety issues (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1993, 1999). The building blocks for integrated safety policy were already in place before integrated safety policy came into being at the local level (for a detailed historical overview of the policy and political steps towards integrated safety policy see Cachet & Ringeling, 2004 and Cachet & Prins, 2012).

What is interesting, is that in the first 20 years of its existence, integrated safety policy was undefined (or under-defined). It was created in order to deal with the wicked problem of safety, but because it was a wicked problem, no one knew what integrated safety policy was actually about (Cachet & Ringeling, 2004). While actors were struggling to determine which problems would fall under the header of integrated safety policy, there was a strong need for input to shape the content of this policy. Consequently, numerous national government documents explain what integrated safety policy is about, which issues need to be dealt with, by whom and how. It seems, however, that after 20 years, the actors involved have a better idea of what integrated safety policy entails. So much so, that national policy documents have started to simply use the words 'integrated safety' when describing this encompassing policy without feeling the need to further elaborate on what integrated safety policy is actually about.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix documents used to study integrated safety policy

Explanatory memoranda of the annual budget of the Ministry of Justice 1990-2010

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1989-1990, 21 300 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 1990]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1990-1991, 21 800 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 1991]

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The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1995–1996, 24 400 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 1996]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1996–1997, 25 000 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 1997]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1997–1998, 25 600 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 1998]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1998–1999, 26 200 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 1999]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1999–2000, 26 800 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2000]

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The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2004–2005, 29 800 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2005]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2005–2006, 30 300 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2006]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2006–2007, 30 800 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2007]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2007–2008, 31 200 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2008]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2008–2009, 31 700 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2009]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2009–2010, 32 123 chapter VI, nr. 2 [time period: 2010]

Explanatory memoranda of the annual budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs 1990-2010

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1989-1990, 21 300 chapter VII, nr. 2 [time period: 1990]

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The Dutch House of Representatives, year 1999–2000, 26 800 chapter VII, nr. 2 [time period: 2000]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2000–2001, 27 400 chapter VII, nr. 2 [time period: 2001]

The Dutch House of Representatives, year 2001–2002, 28 000 chapter VII, nr. 2 [time period: 2002]

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