Policing in Germany: Developments in the Last 20 Years

Thomas Feltes, Uwe Marquardt, and Stefan Schwarz

Country Information Regarding Police Organization

The Federal Republic of Germany is located in the heart of Europe, linking the west with the east, the north with the south. Germany, Europe's most densely populated country, has been flanked by nine neighboring states since the reunification of the two German states in 1990. Germany covers an area of 357,022 km^2. For most of its history, Germany was not a unified state but a loose association of territorial states that together made up the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" and in 1871 the "German Empire" was founded. Currently, the Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic society with a constitution, granting basic democratic and freedom rights to its inhabitants. Germany, divided into 16 federal states, is characterized by the largest economy within Europe, the fourth largest by nominal GDP and the fifth largest by purchasing power parity (World Bank, 2012) and counts as one of the major political powers and technical leaders of the European continent. The Legislation occurs at the federal as well as the state level and each state is governing its own area.

The states that exist today were established after 1945 but have in part retained their old ethnic traditions and characteristics as well as their historical boundaries. There are some 81.8 million people living in Germany currently, about 15 million people with migrant background, mainly from Turkey, but also from former USSR (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012a, 2012b). Currently around 20 % of the population own a German passport, but have a non-German background. If we look at given ages, groups, and certain areas of Germany, e.g., industrial zones and bigger cities, this percentage rises up to 50 % and above. During the transformation of Germany from an agrarian to an industrial society, many Poles migrated to the rapidly transforming areas around the Ruhr River, because the expansion of the coal mining industry required manpower which could not be supplied from the nearby regions. From the 1870s, a large migration wave of the aforementioned groups started to settle in the Ruhr area. Nowadays, about two million people with Polish background live in Germany. Later on, in the 1960s, large-scale immigration of Turkish workers occurred, due to the demand for labor in Germany and the poor living conditions in parts of Turkey. Approximately four million people with Turkish roots are living in Germany at this time.

The question, whether something like the *Urheimat* (homeland) of Germans really exists, is

T. Feltes (✉)
Department of Criminology, Criminal Police and Police Science, Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany
e-mail: thomas.feltes@rub.de

U. Marquardt • S. Schwarz
Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany
e-mail: Module3@macrimgov.eu; stefanschwarz-huerth@t-online.de

G. Meško et al. (eds.), *Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe*,
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4614-6720-5_7, © Springer Science+Business Media New York 2013

still unsolved. Profound changes in culture (and language) occurred over centuries, resulting in the fact that an indigenous population in Germany only exists in the minds of some Germans. This is a result of discussions about "foreign infiltration" during the 1990s, when Germany had high numbers of asylum seekers. Whereas Germany may be regarded as an open and tolerant society in general, a resulting xenophobia and aversion against foreigners in the population peaked in 2010, when a very controversial book with the title *Germany Abolishes Itself* (from T. Sarrazin, a politician from the German Socialist Party, former member of the Executive Board of the Federal German Bank and senator of finance for the State of Berlin) was published. It states that people with Turkish background are less intelligent than (indigenous) Germans and sparking a nationwide controversy about the costs and benefits of the ideology of multiculturalism.

Another issue is the loss of cultural identity to modernism with the younger generation, especially young people with a Turkish origin. They are now in the "third generation" after their grandparents came to Germany in the 1960s as guest workers. By law, every German citizen (indigenous and minorities included) has the unrestricted right to form (law abiding) political parties, stand for office and vote in federal, regional, and local elections. Some states also allow people with EU-citizenship to vote for local governments.

Members of migrant minorities, as well as people of Jewish religion and Roma/Gypsies, have faced considerable racist violence in Germany in recent years. One estimates, that nearly 150 people have been killed by right wing political extremists since 1990 (date of the reunification of Germany). After a series of killings by a group of right wing extremists, discovered in 2011, which had remained unsolved for years, the lack of cooperation between the German police and the federal and 16 state offices for the protection of the constitution was discussed. Three members of the so-called Zwickau cell murdered nine people of non-German background and one female police officer, despite being watched by police and intelligence agents for years. It became obvious that the authorities had failed, but also that many fellow citizens and even neighbors might have looked away during this period of 10 years while the three perpetrators lived underground. Besides that, the German majority regards immigration as a threat to high wages, employment, the welfare state, and ethnic and religious homogeneity. Tough policies on immigration and security against terrorism have been vote-catchers in recent elections.

Police Organization, Structure, and Function

The first organized police forces in Germany date back to the early nineteenth century, when the idea of Napoleon, to establish a *gendarmerie nationale* in France, has been adopted by some German Kingdoms. After the Second World War (1939–1945), the German police were under the supervision of the military regional governments of the Allies. With the new German constitution of 1949 and the foundation of 11 states in the early 1950s in West Germany, these states got the power to establish their own police forces. In East Germany (German Democratic Republic or GDR) as a state within the Warsaw pact, one central police force was established. After the reunification of Germany, each of the 16 German states has its own police law and its own police force. Furthermore, there are the Federal Police, the Federal Criminal Police Office (*Bundeskriminalamt*—BKA), the Police of the Parliament and the Federal Customs. The uniformed (state) police and the criminal investigators (usually in plain clothes) worked together in the same force. The uniformed or patrol police establish and ensure public safety and security in general, deal with public order, patrol services, high risk operations, traffic problems and accidents, and minor crimes. The criminal investigation police are responsible for all other crimes.

The former People's Police of the GDR was dissolved upon reunification. Those members successfully passing the vetting process have been integrated into the police force of the so-called new states. The vetting mainly aimed at checking the possible involvement of People's

Table 1 Inhabitants (2011), Police (2012), and Crime in Germany (2010)

State	Inhabitants (in 1,000)	Police[a]	Police-pop. ratio[b]	Crimes per 100,000[c]	Crime detection rate (%)
Baden Württemberg	10,753	23,207	1:463	5,324	59.9
Bavaria	12,542	31,573	1:397	4,958	64.6
Berlin	3,468	17,219	1:201	13,798	48.4
Brandenburg	2,500	7,437	1:337	8,135	54.0
Bremen	661	2,393	1:276	13,463	48.9
Hamburg	1,789	7,890	1:227	12,669	46.2
Hessen	6,067	13,866	1:438	6,629	58.3
Lower Saxony	7,914	18,676	1:424	7,347	62.9
Mecklenburg Western-Pom.	1,639	5,448	1:301	7,842	60.1
North-Rhine Westphalia	17,845	38,998	1:458	8,073	49.9
Rhineland-Palatinate	3,999	9,539	1:419	6,974	62.5
Saarland	1,017	2,811	1:362	7,030	55.3
Saxony	4,137	11,209	1:369	6,972	57.3
Saxony-Anhalt	2,335	7,351	1:318	8,028	58.3
Schleswig Holstein	2,833	6,689	1:424	7,822	50.0
Thuringia	2,235	6,724	1:332	6,136	65.3
Germany	81,739	211,030	1:387	7,253	56.0

Source: Lehmann and Proll (2012): 525–528
[a]Police officers (excluding officers-in-training)
[b]Inhabitants per police officer
[c]Documented crimes per 100,000 inhabitants

Police members in the former organization of the *Staatssicherheitsdienst* (STASI-the highly politic secret service of the GDR) have been integrated into the police force of the so-called new states. The Ministry for State Security and the STASI, which offices have been stormed in popular uprisings and whose files have been in part destroyed and the remains removed into Western custody, was dissolved.

The police are part of the executive force. This is ruled in article 20(3) of the German constitution (legislation concerning separation of power). The police laws of the 16 states deal with the prevention of crime, the preservation of public security and order, and the warding off impending danger. This is the main reason why there is no unique strategy or philosophy for policing in Germany: each state and even each local police authority is entitled to set its own priorities in the field of law enforcement and policing, such as for preventing or combating crime and whether and how to implement strategies like community policing.

The total number of police officers (States) on duty is about 211,000, resulting in one officer per 387 inhabitants. In fact, if one calculates losses due to the shift system, illness, training, administrative tasks in offices, ministries, etc., the number is more likely to be one officer available for 8,000–10,000 inhabitants at any given moment (Feltes, 1996: 583). The Police—population ratio differs from 1:201 for Berlin to 1:463 for Baden-Wuerttemberg (see Table 1). The crime detection rate ranges from 46.2 % (Hamburg) to 65.3 % (Thuringia).

The costs for Police are shown in Table 2.

The Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) assists the federal and state units as a clearing agency regarding criminals and criminal actions. Federal officers investigate certain actions, however, notably those inimical to the security of the state or criminal actions that transcend the confines of any given state.

The German Federal Police (former German Border Guard), as the BKA under the Federal Ministry of Interior, is responsible for ID-checks and policing the borders (especially at train stations, airports, and streets, crossing the border or close to the border). In recent years, this institution has increased cooperation with the state

Table 2 Police presence and costs (2012)

State	Inhabitants (in 1,000)	Police	Police-pop. ratio	Police budget (in 1,000)	Costs per citizen (in €)
Baden Württemberg	10,753	23,207	1:463	1,047,783	97.43
Bavaria	12,542	31,573	1:397	1,888,776	150.58
Berlin	3,468	17,219	1:201	1,486,926	428.64
Brandenburg	2,500	7,437	1:337	463,870	185.54
Bremen	661	2,393	1:276	182,268	275.68
Hamburg	1,789	7,890	1:227	664,215	371.28
Hessen	6,067	13,866	1:438	1,226,609	202.18
Lower Saxony	7,914	18,676	1:424	1,181,060	149.23
Mecklenburg Western-Pom.	1,639	5,448	1:301	411,858	251.29
North-Rhine Westphalia	17,845	38,998	1:458	2,500,834	140.40
Rhineland-Palatinate	3,999	9,539	1:419	632,600	158.17
Saarland	1,017	2,811	1:362	148,317	145.76
Saxony	4,137	11,209	1:369	852,388	206.00
Saxony-Anhalt	2,335	7,351	1:318	417,382	201.88
Schleswig Holstein	2,833	6,689	1:424	358,775	126.63
Thuringia	2,235	6,724	1:332	351,218	157.14
Germany	81,739	211,030	1:387	13,868,777	169.97

Source: Lehmann and Proll (2012): 528

police forces, e.g., in patrolling train stations and areas close to streets and shopping areas. What is called security partnership is in the light of the German constitution, a difficult subject because the constitution separates the state administration (and police is part of it) forces from the federal administration (and therefore the federal police forces). Usually it is not even allowed for a police officer of a given state to cross the (unmarked) border to another (German) state. He or she has to call the police of the respective state; only in a case of emergency, the officer is allowed to cross the border and to take the necessary measures or even use their firearm. An exception is allowed in case of police operations that require forces from other states or the federal police under existing administrative agreements, as for example larger Crowd or Incident management operations.

The responsibilities and powers of the BKA are regulated by law. The mandate is defined in the German Constitution and in the "BKA Law" and their headquarters is located in Wiesbaden. The BKA is subordinate to the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The BKA as the central police agency in Germany has the task of coordinating crime suppression at national and international level. All official communications between the German police and other countries are routed through the BKA. The BKA investigates outstanding cases of international crime as defined by law either on its own initiative, or whenever a public prosecutor's office puts it in charge of such investigations due to the significance of the criminal offence in question. The BKA is also responsible for protecting the members of the constitutional organs of the Federation. The BKA serves as the international criminal police force of the Federal Republic of Germany, which means that the BKA is responsible for investigations and searches involving a large number of cases in the field of international organized crime. In 2009, a total of 5,103 persons worked at the BKA (2009: 5).

The exact assignment of responsibilities depends on the respective federal state: in some states, the uniformed police deals with more than 70 % of all crimes, in other states the percentage is less than 30 %. An important part of the work of the uniformed police is often district policing. These officers are seen to have a positive impact on the relationship between police and citizens, by being present and establishing trusted contacts. It is the German version of community policing and suggested that their actions improve

the acceptance of policing and enhance the overall feeling of safety. In some cities and communities this has led to the specific so-called security partnerships between police and representatives of citizen organizations, businesses, and of private and state institutions. These security partnerships deal with social problems in the respective city. In some way this work can be regarded as community policing, but the work of the district police is often seen more in terms of "good to have around." Their deployment and handling differs by city.

All state police forces are subordinate to the respective State Ministers of the Interior. The internal structures of these police forces differ somewhat (which makes standards subject to local variation). Usually directly subordinate to the ministries of the interior are the regional police headquarters (called *Präsidium*). These direct operations over a wide area or in a big city and have administrative and supervisory functions. The *Präsidium* often has direct control of the force's specialist units such as highway patrol, mounted police detachments, and canine units. Under the regional headquarters, usually there are several district police headquarters (*Direktionen*) serving communities of 200,000 up to 600,000 citizens. Subordinate to each *Direktion*, there are several local stations (*Inspektion*) or precincts (*Revier*) that are manned on a 24-h basis, conduct day-to-day policing, and serve as points of contact for local citizens. Below this level, the Police post (*Polizeiposten* as it is named in some states) is a small police office manned by one or two officers, normally only during office hours.

The uniformed Police wear the respective federal or state patch on their uniform sleeve and sometimes metal city badges are worn at the right breast pocket indicating which police department they work for. Nameplates have been discussed over the last years, and some state police has introduced them, mainly on a voluntary basis. Police officers can be transferred anywhere within their state.

The criminal justice code applies to the whole Federal Republic. The authorities and officials of the police force must investigate crimes and take all measures necessary to prevent a crime from being overlooked. This principle of legality is the most unique regulation: The police, neither as an institution nor the police officer, himself/herself is allowed to dismiss a case. This is only possible by the office of the public prosecutor (attorney of the state), where every case has to be reported. According to the criminal justice code, the police are assistant public officials to the state attorney's office. The public prosecutor is solely responsible for prosecution of crimes. However, individual measures (arrests, searches, impoundments) can be authorized by the police if there is no time to contact a public prosecutor or a judge. The attorney of state also may give orders to the police. But in most investigations (especially concerning minor and medium crime) the necessary measures are taken without the cooperation of the state attorney, the case is merely sent to the prosecutor's office, once the police investigation is completed. The state attorney takes the decision on whether or not to prosecute the case and following the completion of investigations, the office of the public prosecutor decides whether the proceedings should be terminated or prosecution instigated. About 70 % of all cases, brought to the prosecutor's office by the police, are not processed by the court or through a written order, but dismissed by the prosecutor (the proceedings have been closed by the prosecutor). The police are solely responsible for the prevention of imminent dangers and in such cases not inferior to the prosecution service.

The use of firearms by police officers is only permitted if the general requirements for the use of immediate coercion have been met and using bodily force, devices aiding bodily force, or batons carried along have been applied without success or it is obvious that their application will prove unsuccessful. Firearms may only be used against persons if the success of police measures cannot be achieved by using them against objects. A firearm may not be used if there is a high probability of endangering innocent people. If using a firearm is the only means to avert a direct threat to life, this does not apply. Firearms may only be used against an individual person:

(a) To prevent or to interrupt the commission of an offence which according to the circumstances

Table 3 Use of a gun by German Police Officers (2006)

Use of gun (total)	6.038
Under these	
Against people	90
People killed	6
People hurt	15
Shootings at dangerous or hurt animals or things	5.948
To help other people	44
To avoid committing of a serious crime	2
To avoid offender from escaping	41

Source: Lorei (2012)

appears to be a crime punishable by law with at least a year imprisonment, an offence that is to be committed or that is being committed by using or carrying along a firearm or explosives

(b) To apprehend a person trying to escape arrest or having his identity checked if this person is caught committing an act, which according to the circumstances appears to be a crime or an offence which is committed using or carrying along a firearm

(c) To prevent escape or to recapture a person that is being or was being detained as a result of being sentenced for committing a crime, in protective custody, because the person is suspected of having committed a crime, due to a judicial decision or because he is suspected of having committed a crime, if indications are that this person will use a firearm or explosives

Consequently, the use of a gun by a police officer is a very rare event in Germany (see Table 3).

Up to 8 police officers (usually 1 or 2) are killed every year in the line of duty, mostly as a result of a firearm, discharged against a police officer or other weapons used. Officers killed in traffic or other accidents are not included (Lorei, 2012).

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

Nearly, but not all unlawful (criminal) acts dealt with by the police, including attempts subject to punishment, are recorded in the Police Crime Statistics. Drug offences handled by the customs authorities are also included. Breaches of regulations and road traffic offences are not covered. In addition, offences committed outside the Federal Republic of Germany and offences against the criminal laws of the individual German states are not included. Offences by children who cannot be held responsible under criminal law due to their age, and by mentally ill persons who also cannot be held responsible under criminal law, are included as well. The statistics are prepared by the BKA. The Police Crime Statistics Yearbooks since 1997 and the corresponding tables of time-series data starting in 1987 are published on the BKA homepage. The data provided by the 16 State Criminal Police Offices are presented in the form of tables and graphics along with commentaries. In 2010, 5,933,278 cases were recorded in the Federal Republic of Germany. The offence rate (number of cases per 100,000 inhabitants) is 7,253. Although the number of theft cases has decreased continuously during the last years, theft still dominates the overall crime statistics with a total number of 2,301,786 cases and a share of 30 %. The chart shows the number of crimes, registered by the police, cases solved, and offenders.

On average, about half of all crimes are solved, but the clear-up rate varies substantially between individual areas of crime. The clearance rate for theft from cars is 12.5 %, for murder and manslaughter, however, 95.4 %. Figure 1 shows the rate of offenders per 100,000 of the respective age groups for men (left) and women (right).

The informational value of the Police Crime Statistics is limited in particular by the fact that the police do not learn about all the criminal offences that are committed. The extent to which crime goes unreported depends on the type of offence, and this can vary over the course of time in response to a variety of factors (e.g., public willingness to report offences, the intensity of crime detection efforts). Thus the Police Crime Statistics do not provide an exact reflection of crime, but rather one that is more or less accurate depending on the specific type of offence. There exists no nationwide, yearly victim survey in Germany.

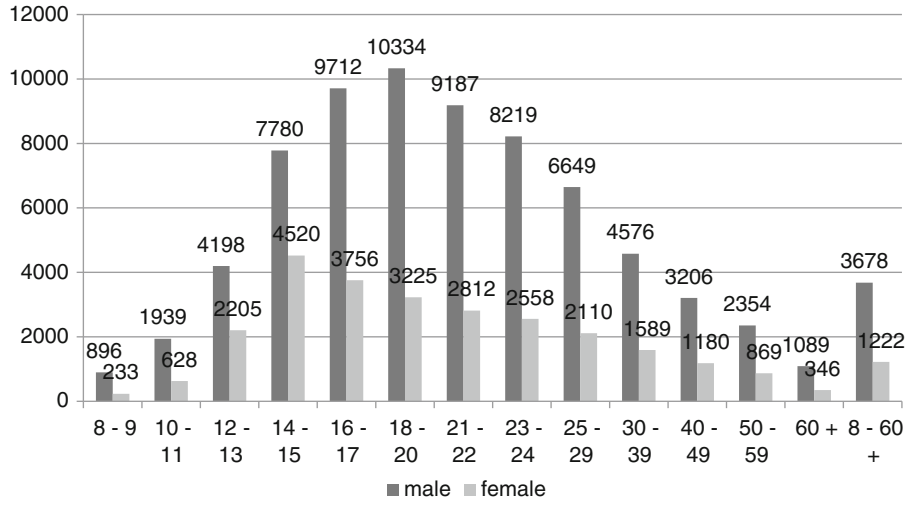

Fig. 1 Offenders per 100,000, German inhabitants by age groups (*Source*: BKA, 2010: 85; chart created by the authors)

Police Training and Education Systems

The recruitment of police officers is organized by the respective state police and federal police authorities, in some states the recruitment advertising and organization of information campaigns is separated from the recruitment (selection process) itself. The kind and duration of the selection process vary. It may be conducted by internal assessors or supported by external experts (e.g., psychologists, social scientists, human resources experts), it may consist of oral examinations, work sample, exercises in writing, intelligence tests, typical assessment centers, or other kind of exercises. The maximum age for deployment as a police officer is dependent on the respective state or federal provisions and goes up to a maximum age of 36 years. Other criteria have to be fulfilled as well (minimum height, maximum weight, body-mass-factor, fitness- and medical-checks, etc.).

Altogether there are different ranks on three levels (middle, high, and higher) (see "salary"). Approximately 50 % of all police officers belong to the middle ranks, 45 % to high ranks, and less than 5 % to higher ranks. In a state of national emergency the federal government may commandeer the services of various state police units, together with the standby police reserve that is trained and equipped by each state for action during civil emergencies. This standby police reserve is also used as a riot police in each state. Usually police recruits have to join this police force for between 1 and 3 years after their initial training and before they are submitted to a local police force.

The three different careers within the police service are generally strictly separated from each other which means that a promotion from the last step of a career (e.g., middle ranks) to the first step of the superior career (e.g., the higher intermediate ranks) is not possible. Entering the middle ranks after two and a half years of education (constable and above; the so-called green ranks, currently mostly blue ranks due to the color of the uniform and the badges of rank); another examination and selection process is required to enter the silver ranks (police Inspector and above); and then again to enter the golden ranks (superintendent and above). The possibilities for promotions within the respective career depend on the performance appraisal, the legal provisions (e.g., certain minimum time of service to the next promotion), the budget, and other criteria (gender, number of years in the service, special qualification, etc.).

The training for the middle ranks (constable) consists of theoretical as well as practical

components (dual system). The recruits gain knowledge and skills in law subjects (e.g., law on police, criminal code, criminal procedure code, constitutional law, traffic law), operational doctrine, criminalistics, intervention training, psychology, political science, sport-self defense and shooting training as well as behavioral training (theoretical framework of conflict management as well as role plays).

To change from the middle ranks to the higher intermediate ranks a further 3 years of study at a police university or college (University of Applied Sciences for Public Administration) is required. Once the police student (who gets paid during the study program, approximately 1,000€/month net) has successfully completed his studies, he will be qualified for the higher intermediate ranks and will obtain the grade and diploma of a bachelor of arts in public administration and police and is promoted to the rank of an inspector.

To proceed to the higher ranks, a further 2-year study program at the Police University in Münster (the only one in Germany) is required. This former so-called Police Leadership Academy (PFA) was converted into a formal Police University in 2006 and conducts the master study program "Public administration—Police management." After finishing the study program, the respective police officer will obtain a master degree and will be promoted to the rank of superintendent.

The police university in Münster is the central police institution for higher education for the 18 police services. Furthermore it offers training courses for all senior staff, is engaged in police research and serves as focal point for international education and training activities. Based on the master study program, a PhD program is currently planned to be implemented. Since 2007, the German Police University has a chair in police science, the second one beside the chair of criminology and police science at the Ruhr-University in Bochum established in 2003.

The Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) runs its own recruitment and education system. Officer candidates receive their education during a 3-year study program at the Federal University of Public Administration. After successfully completing the study program, the students obtain (like those who have been trained at the state police universities of applied sciences) the title "Bachelor of Arts." The BKA also provides training for civil servants at state and federal level to qualify them as experts in the fields of forensic science and fingerprinting. Numerous special police training courses, advanced training in scientific and technical fields, foreign language courses, and task-oriented operational training complete the educational program.

Any applicant for one of the police services has to fulfill the respective requirements which may vary between the 16 states, the federal police and the BKA. Generally the applicant must be an EU-citizen (in former times only native Germans were entitled to enter the police service) but in certain cases ("for operational requirements") a non-EU-citizen may be admitted as well. In recent times the police services, driven by political will, try to increase the percentage of applicants coming from non-German countries ("quota for migration"). In particular the urban police departments are interested in recruiting officers from ethnic minorities to reduce language and cultural barriers. However, minorities still make up less than 1 % of the entire police staff. The state police service had employed female officers since the services were reconstituted after World War II. Initially female officers were only assigned to cases involving juveniles and women but in the mid-1970s they were entitled to become patrol officers. Against the background that 40–50 % of police trainees are currently female, it can be foreseen that the proportion of women in the police service of currently roughly 20 % will considerably increase.

To enter the before mentioned higher immediate career, 12 or 13 years of school and a university-entrance diploma (A-level) is mandatory. For the applicants for the middle ranks (only in some states), an O-level (10 years of school) is sufficient. The two and a half year education comprises both theoretical and practical subjects such as legal studies, law enforcement, psychology, sociology, political science, criminology, criminalistics, self-defense, shooting, and crowd/riot control. After finishing their education, the young officers may be assigned in praxis, be it on patrol

or within formed police units. With few exceptions, recruits must go through the street patrol experience for at least a couple of years.

After gaining some practical experience, the constables are entitled to apply for the higher intermediate career and after being selected, may undergo 2 or 3 more years of education at a Police University of Applied Sciences to become either criminal investigators or middle-management supervisors (e.g., shift leaders). They will obtain a university diploma in public administration or a bachelor degree ("bachelor of arts in public administration and police"). Due to the Bologna process, most of the states (and the BKA) offer a certified 180 ECTS Bachelor study program.

In some states new recruits are entitled to enter this higher immediate education directly (without practical experience) and to start their career as inspector candidates. The recruits are usually living at home or in private apartments and are only called into barracks for special training purposes (such as crowd and riot control). Some states provide student housing for police students.

Police education and training is organized in special schools, colleges, training centers or universities, separate from other universities and under the supervision of the federal or state ministries of interior. Openness and reform of training is difficult because of this "closed circuit" system in which training is organized from the beginning until the end in and by internal police training institutions, under the responsibility and supervision of the state ministries of interior.

Only a few police officers or civil servants within the police service (e.g., experts for chemical analysis, DNA-tests, lawyers, psychologists) are employed with a degree from a "free" university being entitled to enter the high career directly. After graduating and being appointed as a lifelong civil servant, the officer has to work until the statutory retirement age which varies between 60 and 65 years. An early retirement is only possible in cases of disability and even then a redeployment to an administrative post is likely. Apart from a few options within the private security system, the typical police career doesn't allow any other occupational engagement outside the police service.

Changes in Policing Over the Last 20 Years

Like other services, the police service in Germany had to adjust its security strategy to the political, social, and economic development during the last decades. The fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification in 1989/1990 led to a new political situation and challenged the then German Border Guard (later renamed to Federal Police) in many ways. The inner German boarder did not exist anymore; the security of the new east border had to be established and enhanced embedded in the evolving Schengen area. Combating illegal immigration (by asylum seekers and others) and the (organized) trafficking of human beings became one of the core tasks developing within the so-called integrated border management.

New developments in the 1990s such as the Internet created new crime phenomena, and the field of cyber crime developed rapidly. Well-known forms of crimes could be committed easier (e.g., fraud and child pornography) and the Internet as information and communication means created new possibilities in the field of economic and organized crime as well as in the field of crime against national security. Since combating organized crime (trafficking of human beings, narcotics, and corporate crime) was a major challenge in the 1990s, new legal and tactical instruments like financial investigations were implemented both for the prosecutors and the police. It became a new approach to sentence perpetrators not only by a penalty (monetary, imprisonment) but also to seize and confiscate, beside the instrumentalities, any kind of unlawful profit be it high-value vehicles, hard cash, bank assets, personal property, or real property. This kind of deprivation developed to an appropriate and successful instrument in combating serious crime.

In the mid 1990s, the importance of international police cooperation and collaboration within a common European space of security started to develop and does still. The political, financial, and legal framework of the respective multinational and international entities (e.g., Europol, Eurojust,

Interpol, OLAF, Frontex) was established and enhanced following the political process of "Europeanization."

The German police also became involved in the large field of peacekeeping activities in the mid 1990s when federal and state police officers were deployed with the EU and later with the UN on the Balkans. While the total number of police officers involved in UN missions worldwide was 35 in 1988, the figure increased to 17,500 in 2011. Since 1990, roughly 6,000 German police officers have been deployed in international peacekeeping missions worldwide (see Feltes, 2008, 2009). They had to play a very difficult role, because the people, living in such countries in transition, do not only expect better economic situation as a consequence of separation, civil war, or other reasons for transition; they especially ask for safety and security. Theoretically, the idea that security is a public good has been developed since the end of the 1990s by Clifford Shearing and others (Ayling & Shearing, 2008). Security is a constitutive ingredient of the good society, and the democratic state has a necessary and virtuous role to play in the production of this good (Loader & Walker, 2007). In "weak" or "failed" states, often the government lacks the capacity to act as a security-enhancing political authority. This increase in crime in nearly all of these countries was one of the unintended, but unavoidable consequences of the opening and "democratization" of societies in nearly all former socialist countries (starting with the former GDR in 1989). These countries will follow the "western" ones in a world where neoliberalism and the order of egoism rule and rise. Those with the greatest supply of economic and social capital capture policing and security resources, leading to an inverse relation of risk against needs (Loader & Walker, 2007).

In the 1990s in Germany, the concept of victim protection became popular within the police. Following a legal, political, and social discussion, the police developed new approaches regarding the victim's role. Victims of burglary, rape, or robbery were not only treated as witnesses or even means of evidence anymore (during the ongoing investigations as well as in the course of the main trial), but became regarded as human beings with own interests and fears to be protected and supported in the line of a criminal offence as well as prevention of crime. Another example for this paradigm change is the legal and operative concept in cases of domestic violence. Since the early 2000s, the police play an essential part when assisting mostly women to escape from a violent relationship, e.g., by banning the perpetrator from the victim's home. Banning orders, first established in Austria, have been introduced since then in all German states.

The terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 triggered a discussion about the appropriate security architecture in general and the role of the police services, the armed forces, and the intelligence services (federal and state offices for the protection of the constitution) in particular. New legal instruments were implemented and the collaboration and information flow between the different actors in the field of internal and external security were strengthened. The counter-terrorism police units had to get familiar to a new field of political crime—beside the well-known left- and right-wing terrorism—the Islamist terrorism which is still on the agenda of the German police.

German legislation that came in the wake of 9/11 emerged along several lines (see Albrecht, 2006 for strategies in Germany between 1970 and 2000 and after 9/11). Legislation, predesigned for the control of transnational crime, money laundering, and illegal immigration as mentioned above, represents the core of antiterrorist legislation after September 11. The label of antiterrorism legislation was assigned to laws without any rational assessment or even evaluation, whether these laws really have any impact on terrorism (see Albrecht: 44). For example, the attempt to get hold of information collected by private telecommunication providers, in the creation of obligations on the private sector (individuals or companies) to actively support criminal law-based strategies of prevention and repression. These developments become visible in the further deployment and extension of new investigative methods that have been initiated since the

1980s within the context of control of organized crime or transaction crime as well as in the systematic and widespread use of conventional precarious investigative methods such as use of private informants or crown witnesses.

All state police forces carried out large-scale "fishing net expeditions" on the basis of police laws (partially amended immediately after 9/11 to include data mining investigation) and on the basis of various data sources (including university information systems). Police laws allow for "data mining" or launching "fishing net expeditions" when grave risk for the Federal Republic of Germany (or a state) or immediate dangers for life and limb of individuals require such investigative techniques in order to counter such risks (see Albrecht, 2006: 52). Systematic evaluation of the fishing net expeditions launched after 9/11 was not carried out. Scattered information allow for the conclusion that this approach did not generate relevant information. "Sleeper cells" have not been identified. Search criteria applied (e.g. in Bavaria) concerned: male, 18–40 years old, Islamic religion, student or former student, legal immigration status, not dependent on social security and coming from selected (Islamic) countries), but suspicious cases have not been identified. The then Minister of Finance earmarked three billion marks for this counterterrorism package. The funds were collected from the tobacco tax (Albrecht: 52).

At the same time, a general trend towards increased punitiveness in Germany can be observed. Sentencing in Germany became harsher during the last 25 years, especially the sentencing of sex offenders. Sentences of 5 years or more in prison for rape and sexual assault have tripled between 1980 and 2004. The punishment for sexual abuse of children as the harshest sanctioning category has even multiplied by six (Obergfell, 2008: 305). Over the years, the portion of longer sentences has increased in Germany, although suspended sentences for probation have increased too. Nowadays offenders have a higher chance of receiving a longer prison sentence than 20 years before, but their probability of being incarcerated has decreased (Obergfell: 316).

Police, the Media, and Public Opinion on Police

Surveys show that for a number of years the citizens hold the police in high esteem. Nonetheless the police estimate their own position as far inferior. This contradiction is typical of the present situation inside the police. The latest surveys show that citizens hold the police in higher esteem than important organs of the constitutional democratic state, for instance the federal government and federal parliament. Latest results available from different independent institutes that have held surveys rank the police only second to the federal constitutional court. Irrespective of this general widespread acceptance of the police as an institution, police often find themselves being criticized by the public, mainly by the press. Reasons for this can be found mainly in mistakes made in spectacular criminal cases or in the interaction between the police and citizens. In this respect the press views itself as a democratic organ of control, the so-called fourth power of the state. Empirical surveys which assess how pleased the citizens are with the way the police act in general show a positive trend, and the police always occupy top positions in public rankings. In 1997, more than 50 % of all people surveyed found that the police (and not schools, politicians, churches, or families) should teach or bring "values" to the people. Usually, community surveys show a high degree of general satisfaction with the police service. Surveys rank police just after citizen groups, environmentalists, human rights activists, and courts.

According to surveys, in 2008, 11 % of the German population felt unsafe, compared to 47 % in 2001 (after 9/11) (Bulmahn et al., 2009: 129), but as we could show some years ago, fear of crime differs quite a lot between different regions and cities, although we do not have a clear explanation for that (Feltes, 1998).

Such feelings can have a certain influence on individuals and a population. Whereas some degree of fear can be healthy and help to solve problems; such feelings can erode public health, wellbeing, and trust into the neighborhood and

government. They may very well change the habitual way of life. Main factors that are influential are the psychology of risk perception, constant reminders of the risk of victimization (mainly through mass media) and public perceptions of neighborhood stability or instability. Fear of crime has increased slowly but steadily across the EU as a whole between 1996 and 2002. The only Member State where there has been a continuous decline since 1996 in the feeling of insecurity is Germany. Across the EU, women and the elderly are the demographic groups who are most likely to feel insecure. The level of fear of crime in large towns is in almost every country higher than in rural villages and country specific effects also explain different levels of crime fear. Crime-feared people have a higher punitivity level and are less satisfied with public safety.

Criminology in Germany has become increasingly aware of the fact that the fear of crime concept transcends the area of crime as crime fear is a sort of code or a symbol representing social anxieties in a more general sense. Hope and Sparks (2000: 5) consider that "sometimes the question of fear seems chronically enmeshed with the dynamics of detraditionalization and an accompanying sense of disruption of formerly settled moral and customary orders." As in other countries, the fear of crime has become an important part of criminological discussion in Germany, in particular in the field of criminal policy (see Kury & Obergfell-Fuchs, 2008). This trend has been accentuated by the political events at the end of the 1980s with the German unification, the opening of the borders and the ensuing population migration. "Based on survey results, the actual or putative fear of citizens of becoming a victim of crime is often used, particularly on the political front, as an argument for a tougher stance on crime. With the rise of victim studies in the second half of the sixties, next to questions concerning the actual victimization, the fear of crime and other crime related aspects often became part of the inquiry, yet only a restricted number of questions could be asked for each of these secondary topics in order to avoid lengthy and thus impracticable research instruments" (Kury & Obergfell-Fuchs: 53).

Our knowledge about fear of crime is limited. Yet the results from surveys concerning the fear of crime are eagerly picked up by the media. The public tends to assume that the fear of crime is a consequence of high levels of crime.

Trends in Policing

Since the late 1980s the cost pressure on the public service in general and the police in particular led to the implementation of private economy proved instruments within the police service. The new public management idea was regarded as a concept to cope with the need to downsize personnel while the police tasks were still increasing in quantity and quality. Steering by output/outcome (instead of input in former times), client orientation, decentralization of responsibility for resources and employee satisfaction became key objectives in the line of policing. In the 2000s, this development was followed by concepts of staff development and organizational development. Since the personal expenses make up more than 70 % of the overall police budget, the optimization of organizational aspects and career development ("The right person to the right position") were considered as indispensable to maintain public order and security even in times of cost pressure.

On the other side, the market and demand for private security has increased in Germany since the 1980s. Nowadays there are some 3,000 enterprises with some 173,000 employees. Compared to 121,000 employees in 1997, there was an increase of more than 40 % during the last 15 years. Their main tasks are securing buildings (private property), transporting money, and security services in relation to mass events like football games or concerts. Most of the private security guards are not armed: they are also not trained very well. The German law demands 4 weeks of training only. More and more, public police are cooperating with private police, e.g., in train stations or during mass events. The results of the World Football Championship in 2006, where 20,000 private security personnel were involved showed that this cooperation was successful.

But such police private partnerships are still resisted by the police unions and by most politicians. Nevertheless, more cities outsource security tasks to private companies, mainly in connection with the protection of buildings, but the topic of cooperation between state and private police forces is still heavily debated, especially by police unions.

In order to perform its original task (to assure the security of its citizens while maintaining an open society), the contemporary state no longer makes use of its own institutions like the police and the municipal departments for public order. Commercial security services, groups, and associations organized by the general public, nongovernmental organizations, and semigovernmental players all now collaborate with public security forces for the purpose of dealing with hazardous situations. While some of these organizations partly work autonomously, there is also extensive cooperation between organizations in the construction of private and public order. Such cooperation, to which various legal competences have been given and are organized differently, increasingly characterize the structure of security in European societies. According to the particular national state they are embedded in, this mix of different security providers has developed its own security structures and security cultures.

The situation within Germany (as within the EU) in relation to this new surveillance arrangement is exceedingly heterogeneous. Thus, there are no agreements or EU guidelines which, for instance, regulate uniform training standards for the police and private security forces as well as the competences these organizations have. Like social and educational systems, surveillance systems differ from one another considerably. In the same ways in which social and educational systems cause variable results concerning social standards and the level of provision in relation to different educational quality and participation in education, different surveillance regimes generate various levels of citizens' security from organized and everyday crime as well as from terrorism and politically motivated crime. It is also possible to achieve similar results in terms of security but by using very different methods.

In establishing and sustaining public security, certain tendencies towards extensive and new forms of regulation can be denoted. As in many other policy fields of modern services of general interest like social and economic policy, in the area of public security a transition has occurred from hierarchical control mode to a cooperative network mode in which the state concentrates on administrative functions (currently of various intensity). Political control occurs augmented by delegating assignments to networks of actors. Divisional boundaries and hierarchies in security institutions loose importance. Policing is still associated with the activities carried out by the public or state police, but on closer inspection policing is a much more integrated task in that various organizations, groups, and individuals participate. "Today, it is more accurate to suggest that policing is carried out by a network of public police and private security that is often overlapping, complimentary and mutually supportive. Within this context, it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between public and private responsibilities" (Law Commission of Canada, 2006: XIII).

At the same time a multifaceted and new form of presence of the state can be observed. Regarding the change from an interventionist state to a cooperative state policy, this can no longer be regarded as a decision of a single actor but, as the concept of governance emphasizes, has to be designed by the interaction of many actors. Within public administration, "philosophical themes of governance are increasingly replacing traditional concepts of bureaucratic governmental structures, behaviors and models" (Jones, 2009: 338).

This is also the case for the field of public security operations. In the course of versatile and partially overlapping processes of delegation, expansion, and cooperation, an expanded network among those involved in public security has developed in the last few years (Stegmaier & Feltes, 2007; Terpstra, 2008). This has led to a *mixed economy* of policing (Crawford, Lister, Blackburn, & Burnett, 2005: 4) and to *hybrid policing institutions* (Law Commission of Canada, 2006: 26). The role of the police in particular within the field of public security is changing. Although remaining a central player in the

networks, "the police are only one node in a network of auspices and providers of nodes that work to govern security both alone and in conjunction with each other" (Shearing, 2005: 58).

Another term introduced by Shearing is *multilateralization*. This suggests that it is not only the privatization of public security which is at issue but also the many different actors involved in the creation, delivery, and guarantee of public security. Promising (often only short-term) improvement in efficiency and cost saving by widely establishing *Public Private Partnerships* will entail changes which will lead to a novel social form of public order transcending the concept of Public Private Partnership and opening into a dominant form of preventative security order (Bayley & Shearing, 2001). The concept of network is fast becoming omnipresent. In Germany, as in many countries, the global transformation of the national monopoly of violence described as "multilateralization of governances" can be regarded as a network of national-public, commercial and communitarian institutions. Concepts such as network-policing and plural policing are currently discussed in Germany, although not with the same intensiveness as, e.g., in Great Britain or the USA.

In many organizations, founded with the advancement of community crime prevention, these tendencies are obvious. But there is still a lack of research on the consequences of acceptance and success of cooperation with regard to the actors' self-perception and perception of others. The cooperation between the actors (e.g., private security and public police) has been monitored rarely, and mainly in context of bigger sport events like the 2006 soccer championship in Germany (Bach, 2008). Most notably, possible advantages and disadvantages interplay and effects of synergy on their action are not investigated systematically. Studies that examine, for example, the importance of the prevailing political culture for the initiative, the formal principle and the successful outcome of security strategies in a comparative way (Schulze & van den Brink, 2006) are sparse. Legislation has an increasingly "tentative" character in order to react quickly to changing circumstances as the above mentioned criminal acts of the so-called Zwickau cell, the growing violence against police officers and the yearlong reaction on stalking cases show. How this affects security and the sense of security has not yet been investigated. "The gradual 'pluralization' of policing provision has been noted in many countries during the last 20 years or so, but little has been written about how policing might be effectively governed and held accountable in the public interest in such an environment of plural provision" (Stenning, 2009: 22).

The interdependencies are shown in Fig. 2, referring to the interdependencies between security structures and security cultures as well as between the different subdivisions within the security structures on the one hand and security cultures on the other.

In contrary to theoretical and political discussion on police and police function and to numerous studies in foreign countries, empirical police research was rare in Germany until the beginning of this century. Police in Germany is—like in other countries—an unspecified agency, used by citizens for various purposes which exceed by far the much specified duties named in the German Law.

Unlike other Police Forces, German police don't have (as already mentioned) any discretionary power in criminal cases. Nevertheless, in neighborhood disputes, family conflicts, and minor offences, police officers have possibilities of discretionary decisions in everyday conflicts. They use techniques like immediate conflict solution, and take immediate actions to help people in everyday conflicts. Further on, police play an important role in the settlement of conflicts and in the redress of various molestations (disturbances, brawls). In these areas their work is relatively effective and efficient. But these services have only partly to do with their legal task. In regard to prosecution, however, police work is rather ineffective. Citizens call the police to solve very different problems more often than in earlier times. Victims call the police in order to find an institution and people who are able to help them and to support them emotionally (mostly) and (sometimes) financially. Just to put a few more police officers on the street has no impact on both

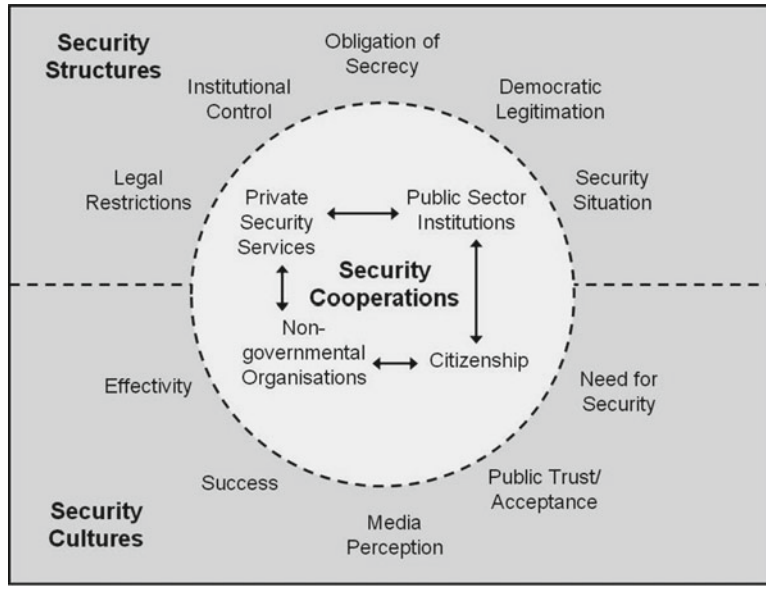

Fig. 2 Security structures and cultures

the crime rate and the clearance rate, which is determined by a lot of different factors, not to be influenced by the police itself. The police are less able to cope with the different and difficult tasks of policing a modern, complex society. Community policing as a solution for the problems mentioned and as a reaction to the increase of registered crimes in the 1970s and 1980s was discussed in Germany since the beginning of the 1990s (Dölling & Feltes, 1993). Since then, more and more communities have implemented some kind of community policing, although there is no nationwide understanding of what that really means and whether community policing is a new strategy, philosophy, or just new wine in old barrels (Feltes, 1995b). Community policing in Germany is largely an outgrowth of a community concept of crime prevention. German concepts of community policing emerged from the new crime prevention philosophy, both social and situational. German states have tried out various policing theories or working philosophies over the past two decades, including what can be called "citizen-friendly policing," which evolved into today's Community Crime Prevention. Thus, community policing in Germany is not a single organizational feature of German police forces, but rather an applied philosophy that can be used in specific neighborhoods, in specific instances, and for achieving clearly defined results. In most states, police either take the initiative in organizing Community Policing boards or councils in their town or city, or cooperate with the mayor or city council by participating on a local Crime Prevention Council (Jones & Wiseman, 2006; Pütter, 1999).

Community policing in Germany is also known as district policing, aiming to gratify the citizens' needs for a visible police that is openly present at their surrounding and among the people living there. The officer should talk to the people, be a direct partner for their requests, and have knowledge of their concerns and emergencies. The district police officers should provide close and trustful contacts. In doing so, they should increase the overall feeling of security, enhance the understanding of police actions and influence the relation of police and citizens in a positive way. In particular, the officers shall initiate and keep up contacts in their district. This applies to businesspersons, institutions, and organizations but specifically contacts with citizens are volitional. The district police officers' scope of duties is vast. They deal with aspects of traffic, crime

prevention, and tracking. The officers' specific knowledge of a place and its people can furthermore add to crime investigation.

Officers responsible for the city center usually work on their own responsibility; however, often cooperations are built with persons or organizations. The district officer generally is on foot patrol and sometimes he uses public transport. Police cars are only used in exceptional cases. Usually the officer is on early shift, starting in the early morning. Regularly, however, late shifts have to be carried out. For financial reasons, the number of district officers is being reduced in many cities. Naturally, district policing should be without any operational specifications so that the officers can merely concentrate on their district; de facto, however, each officer has to fulfill a number of orders every day. The tasks summarized under the term "foot patrol" are: making contact with the citizens and business people; keeping people informed about the happenings, areas of problems and conflict; taking youngsters to court, to the youth welfare office or prison; investigating wanted persons for other services (other police services or the office of public prosecutor); supporting victims after break-ins, robberies, and thefts; giving statements for requests; cooperating with the crime prevention unit; working with kindergartens and primary schools (e.g., information, pedestrian training, bicycle training, checking child safety seats of parents who take their children to school by car, etc.); investigating motorists with radar photos; check of persons in regard to the law on firearms; small investigations supporting the emergency patrol unit; research on false alarms caused by private systems; and everything else that occurs on the spot or what the officers observe.

While on duty, the district officer is connected to the overall radio traffic of the main police station and is able to react when he or she is close to an incident. Direct orders from the radio communicator to the district officers are rare, and only occur when all patrols are engaged elsewhere. The district officers have the same information technology and databases at their display as their colleagues from the emergency patrol. Other cooperation concerns municipal and public organizations. An official partnership between police and the city government, for example considers regular joint patrols of district officers and officials from the municipal department for public order. These are occasionally accompanied by the security service of the public transport company, who are responsible for safety and order around the central station and the bus and tram stops. Information exchange between these parties is regularly initiated.

Most police forces have some kind of Community Beat Patrol (CBP). In a study, we observed incidents in which two cities with their patrol police and CBPs were involved (Tables 4 and 5). A police officer deals with 1.3 and his/her district colleague with 2.1 incidents per hour. Calls per hour were 0.8 for emergency patrol and 0.2 for community policing. However, these numbers do not include incidents that involved answering questions from the public or chatting with citizens, which accounted for high numbers of incidents, see below. With regard to the total numbers, traffic seems to be an issue of emergency patrol rather than community policing. For the total observations, the highest numbers related to "maintaining the law." The percentage of community police work in one of the cities differs

Table 4 Patrol work subdivided into main categories (%)

	N	Maintaining the law	Maintaining public order	Giving assistance	Networking	Internal job	Other
Emergency patrol							
A	129	47.3	3.9	38.8**	1.6	1.6	7.0
B	167	61.1	8.4	22.2	3.0	0.6	4.8
Community beat patrol							
A	162	34.0	9.3	17.3	22.2	14.2	3.1
B	196	21.9**	4.6	32.7**	31.6*	1.5**	7.7

*$p<0.01$; **$p<0.001$

Table 5 Patrol work subdivided into subjects (%)

	Traffic				Law		Order/assistance					Other		
	Collision	Violence	Check	Other	Serious crime	Other	Social problem	Questions from public	Troublesome youth	Public order	Other	Networking	Internal job	Else
Emergency patrol														
A	17.8**	25.6	5.4	3.1	10.1	3.1	13.2	3.1	0.0	0.8	10.1	1.6	1.6	5.4
B	12.0*	28.1	13.2	4.2	14.4	3.6	4.2	1.2	0.6	4.2	7.8	3.0	0.6	3.0
Community beat policing														
A	0.6	15.4	9.9**	4.9	5.6	1.2	1.9	13.0	0.6	6.8	3.7	22.2	14.2	0.0
B	1.5	15.8	3.6	3.6	1.0**	0.5	2.0	27.6**	0.0	4.6	4.1	31.6**	1.5**	2.6

*$p<0.01$; **$p<0.001$ (with respect to total PSE)

substantially from the other: 21.9 % compared to 34.0 %. Accordingly, very few incidents relating to serious crimes were observed by district police. Also internal tasks seem to play a relatively minor role for community policing. The district police work is largely concerned with "networking" and "giving assistance," particularly answering questions from the public. As Tables 4 and 5 show, there are significant differences between the two cities, which make clear that local and regional decisions vary and result in a kind of "local police culture," equivalent to the already described local legal culture (Church, 1985). In one city, figures for "Giving assistance" differ significantly from the average with regard to the work of the emergency patrol. Officers here were for the most part engaged in recording accident data, assisting persons requiring help (see example below) or helping out during riots, e.g., at psychiatric departments. Particularly during night shifts, the officers assisted in cases of disturbance of the peace.

Incidents involving marginalized persons, such as alcoholics, drug addicts, or homeless people are more likely to occur in non-traffic situations. Of these, most incidents are dealt with by the officers working on CBPs. The district officer seemed to have a very good knowledge of the marginalized persons in his district. When patrolling, he/she proactively approached and talked to marginalized groups or individuals. The encounters were always friendly, even when the officer had to ask them to leave certain places. He/she knew the people by name and was known to them and accepted by them, as his orders were generally complied with. The outcomes of incidents have been measured in terms of measures taken by the officers divided into warnings, summons or tickets issued to citizens, and arrests. Considering the overall numbers, German emergency policing looks rather repressive, as many summonses are issued (Table 6).

Table 6 Proportion of incidents in which officers took oppressive measures—all incidents (%)

	N	Warning	Summons	Arrest	One of these
Emergency patrol					
A	129	22.5	20.9**	3.1	46.5
B	167	21.6	22.8**	4.8	49.1**
Community beat patrol					
A	162	6.2**	1.9	0.6	8.6**
B	196	18.4	1.5	1.0	20.9

*$p<0.01$; **$p<0.001$

Besides that, special Community Policing projects focus mainly on crime prevention: local or regional councils with representatives from social institutions, churches, public administration, business, etc., analyze the local situation (usually by using victim surveys) and develop strategies for prevention (Dölling, Feltes, Heinz, & Kury, 2003; Feltes, 1995a). Very few of these activities are evaluated. Community policing is rather a philosophy than a new strategy. As a consequence, the training and the management of police needs to be adjusted to this new approach (Feltes, 2002). The cooperation of the various actors in the field of community crime prevention is the most crucial point. Local crime prevention through community policing needs a cross-departmental collaboration and networking to the particular agencies and those who have the local expertise and the environment knowledge within police, law enforcement, social services, and other stakeholders in the community. They have to exchange and compare their individual and institutional resources and expertise and need to concentrate on bureaucratic obstacles in the control and prevention of crime. This happens for example in community prevention bodies, where communication has a key role in coordination and cooperation between the actors. The question, whether the programs implemented have in fact the desired effects in the local situation is difficult to decide, because too many variables influence the result (changes over time and space). The prevention discourse sometime gets (too) close to "law and order" concepts (such as broken windows or zero tolerance, see Dreher & Feltes, 1998); sometimes tries to implement solutions that really focus on the local rotes of crimes. It very often also misses the necessary broader public impact, especially due to the fact, that the crime rate in Germany is decreasing since the late 1990s. Nationwide, one estimates that 2,000 municipal bodies do at least some kind of prevention work, but very few are evaluated in a sense that the

situation before the starting of such a project is compared with the situation afterwards.

Community policing is based upon the idea that the activities of the police have to be extended in the communities to become an institution that cares and coordinates efforts to improve social cohesion (Weitekamp, Kerner, & Meier, 2003). But in Germany, crime control in general and the idea that fighting crime is the core task of police is still prevalent. As community policing has its main focus on keeping the public peaceful, mediating conflicts, coordinating efforts to improve the whole quality of life in the community, and on crime prevention (Feltes & Gramckow, 1994), it still lives a quiet life within the German police and tended to be sidelined. Community policing in Germany is mainly regarded as district policing or as a tool for prevention, working with joint crime prevention bodies in cities. The evaluation of such activities is very rare, and because of the decreasing crime rate, most activities are volatilizing.

Future Developments in Policing: Concluding Remarks

The changes and current developments described above will continue to influence the work of the German police and lead the path to future challenges. Whereas Police in Germany cope with limited human and financial resources and a constantly aging staff, criminals are crossing open borders within the EU and transnational crime is on the increase. Cyberspace is a rapidly growing field for new forms of crime and offers a vulnerable spot for governments, economic systems, and the society as a whole against perpetrators. Just recently, the Police of North Rhine-Westphalia and other states had to close their web sites and online services as these proved much too open for hacker attacks. Therefore, the use of modern and secure (information) technologies, communication, information sharing, and mutual cooperation between the German police services and external law enforcement services have become increasingly important. In this respect, the federal system with 16 states plus the border police and the federal police is somehow of a handicap. It took for example more than 10 years to find a common solution for new digital radio systems in the police, and even in 2012, not all Police Forces in Germany are equipped with such radios. The exchange of information and the cooperation between Police on one side and the other (intelligence) institutions, which are or might be responsible for fighting political crimes or hate crimes (like the office for the protection of the constitution was challenged in connection with the "Zwickauer Trio"—see above). At least some state agencies did not share relevant information with others.

With less personal communication and contacts between neighbors and a fading social cohesion in society, conflicts are handed over for solution to the police. The police are more often in a situation to "iron out" problems, originally caused by politicians. Citizens are unhappy with their personal and financial situation resulting in more tension between Germans who feel to be left behind the overall development (especially those with migrant background) and others, who get constantly richer, can be expected. Situations of social unrest might occur, and hate crimes or right wing extremism may increase.

With the breakdown of certain North African governments in 2011, the so-called arab spring, Germany is also affected by refugee movements as a result of poverty, civil unrest, and civil wars. This and the ongoing "war on terror" against an invisible enemy have made aware of the need for a joint civil crisis management on European level. The police are also important actors in international crisis prevention and risk and crisis management and together with justice as one part of civil administration, will become even more important when it comes to help to build up or reinvent inner security in the so-called failed states or those that are on the verge to fall into chaos. Here, the trend goes more towards monitoring, mentoring, and advising the local inner security mechanisms instead of delivering law enforcement as this has been done with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) from 1999 on. To stop transnational

and globalized (organized) crime and terrorism, a multifaceted and multilayered approach is needed from the police and other security services. Such "Networks of Security" may be the only way to counter criminal networks. In contrast, this also leads even deeper into the conflict between safety and security on one side and freedom rights on the other.

References

Albrecht, H.-J. (2006). Counterterrorism policies in Germany: Country report on Germany. In R. Neve, L. Vervoorn, F. Leeuw, & S. Bogae (Eds.), *Een eerste inventarisatie van contraterrorismebeleid: 'Policy and research in progress' in Duitsland, Frankrijk, Italië, Spanje, het Verenigd Koninkrijk en de Verenigde Staten* [A first inventory of counterterrorism policy: Policy and research in progress in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, the UK and the US]. The Hague: WODC. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.mpicc.de/shared/data/pdf/fa_38_albrecht10_06.pdf

Ayling, J., & Shearing, C. (2008). Taking care of business: Public police as commercial security vendors. *Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 8*(2), 27–50.

Bach, S. (2008). *Die Zusammenarbeit von privaten Sicherheitsunternehmen, Polizei und Ordnungsbehörden im Rahmen einer neuen Sicherheitsarchitektur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Beobachtungen und Analysen im Zusammenhang mit der FIFA WM 2006.* Holzkirchen: Felix-Verlag.

Bayley, D., & Shearing, C. (2001). *The new structure of policing*. Washington: The National Institute of Justice.

Bulmahn, T., Fiebig, R., Hennig, J., Pietsch, C., Wieninger, V., & Zimmer, S. (2009). *Sicherheits- und verteidigungspolitisches Meinungsklima in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Ergebnisse der Bevölkerungsbefragung 2008 des Sozialwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Bundeswehr*. Strausberg: Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.streitkraeftebasis.de/resource/resource/MzEzNTM4MmUzMzMyMmUzMTM1MzMyZTM2MzEzMDMwMzAzMDMwMzAzMDY3NjgzNzY5MzM3NDMxMzUyMDIwMjAyMDIw/FBpercent2090_ohne percent20Abb_TabVerz.pdf

Bundeskriminalamt [BKA]. (2009). *Facts and figures 2009*. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.bka.de/nn_205958/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/Broschueren__node.html?__nnn=true

Bundeskriminalamt [BKA]. (2010). *Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik (PKS) 2010*. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.bka.de/nn_193486/DE/Publikationen/PolizeilicheKriminalstatistik/pks__node.html?__nnn=true

Church, T. (1985). Examining local legal culture. *American Bar Foundation Research Journal, 10*(3), 449–518.

Crawford, A., Lister, S., Blackburn, S., & Burnett, J. (2005). *Plural policing: The mixed economy of visible patrols in England and Wales*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Dölling, D., & Feltes, T. (1993). *Community policing: Comparative aspects of community oriented police work*. Holzkirchen: Felix-Verlag.

Dölling, D., Feltes, T., Heinz, W., & Kury, H. (2003). *Kommunale Kriminalprävention: Analysen und Perspektiven*. Holzkirchen: Felix-Verlag.

Dreher, G., & Feltes, T. (1998). *Das Modell New York: Kriminalprävention durch 'Zero Tolerance'?* Holzkirchen: Felix-Verlag.

Dunn, J. (2005). *Democracy. A history*. New York: Atlantic Monthly.

Feltes, T. (1995a). *Kommunale Kriminalprävention in Baden-Württemberg*. Holzkirchen: Felix-Verlag.

Feltes, T. (1995b). Bürgernahe Polizeiarbeit—neuer Wein in alten Schläuchen? *Jahrbuch Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie 1995*, 125–148, Vienna.

Feltes, T. (1996). Effizienz der Straftatenbekämpfung. In M. Kniesel, E. Kube, & M. Murck (Eds.), *Handbuch für Führungskräfte der Polizei* (pp. 573–602). Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild.

Feltes, T. (1998). Policing a modern society: Tougher than the rest? Fear of crime, victimization, and new policing styles. *Police Research and Management*, 13–35.

Feltes, T. (2002). Community oriented policing in Germany: Training and education. *Policing, 25*(1), 48–59.

Feltes, T. (2008). Peacebuilding and police reform in the new Europe: Lessons from Kosovo. In H. W. Möllers & R. C. van Ooyen (Eds.), *Jahrbuch öffentliche Sicherheit 2008/09* (pp. 439–466). Frankfurt: Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft.

Feltes, T. (2009). *Building peace and justice in countries in transition: The Kosovo experience* [Occasional Papers]. University of Cape Town, Centre of Criminology. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.criminology.uct.ac.za/merl/physical/

Feltes, T., & Gramckow, H. (1994). Bürgernahe Polizei und kommunale Kriminalprävention. *Neue Kriminalpolitik, 3*, 16–20.

Hope, T., & Sparks, R. (2000). Introduction. In T. Hope & R. Sparks (Eds.), *Crime, risk and insecurity: Law & order in everyday life & political discourse* (pp. 1–10). London: Routledge.

Jones, A. A., & Wiseman, R. (2006). *Community policing in Europe: Structure and best practices (Sweden, France, Germany)*. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.lacp.org/Articles%20-%20Expert%20-%20Our%20Opinion/060908-CommunityPolicingInEurope-AJ.htm

Jones, M. (2009). Governance, integrity, and the police organization. *Policing, 32*(2), 338–350.

Kury, H., & Obergfell-Fuchs, J. (2008). Measuring the fear of crime: How valid are the results? In H. Kury (Ed.), *Fear of crime—Punitivity: New developments in theory and research* (pp. 53–84). Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer.

Law Commission of Canada. (2006). *Search of security: The future of policing in Canada.* Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/JL2-26-2006E.pdf

Lehmann, G., & Proll, U. (2012). *BOS Führer Deutschland 2012/2013—Handbuch Innere Sicherheit*. Berlin, Bonn: ProPress.

Loader, I., & Walker, N. (2007). *Civilizing security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lorei, C. (2012). *Schusswaffeneinsatz* [PowerPoint slides]. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.schuss-waffeneinsatz.de/Statistiken_files/Statistiken.pdf

Obergfell, J. (2008). "Punitivity" within the criminal justice system in Germany. In H. Kury (Ed.), *Fear of crime—Punitivity: New developments in theory and research* (pp. 303–320). Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer.

Pütter, N. (1999). Community policing: Alternative zu herkömmlicher Polizeiarbeit? *Bürgerrechte & Polizei/CILIP, 64*(3), 6–16.

Schulze, V., & van den Brink, H. (2006). Political culture as a basis for local security and crime prevention: A comparison of the conditions in Germany and The Netherlands. *German Policy Studies, 3*(1), 47–79.

Shearing, C. (2005). Nodal security. *Police Quarterly, 8*(1), 57–63.

Statistisches Bundesamt [Federal Statistical Office]. (2012a). *Bevölkerung 2011 nach Migrationshintergrund und Ländern*. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund/Tabellen/MigrationshintergrundLaender.html

Statistisches Bundesamt [Federal Statistical Office]. (2012b). *Bevölkerung: Deutschland, Stichtag zum Quartalsende, Geschlecht.* Retrieved March 18, 2013 from https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online/link/tabelleErgebnis/12411-0020

Stegmaier, P., & Feltes, T. (2007). *Die ganze Vernetzung der inneren Sicherheit: Wissenskrise und Effektivitätsmythos. Möllers/van Ooyen: Jahrbuch öffentliche Sicherheit 2008/09, Frankfurt 2008*, 417–428.

Stenning, P. (2009). Governance and accountability in a plural policing environment—The story so far. *Policing, 3*(1), 22–33.

Terpstra, J. (2008). Police, local government, and citizens as participants in local security networks. *Police Practice and Research, 9*(3), 213–225.

Weitekamp, E., Kerner, H.-J., & Meier, U. (2003). Problem solving policing: Views of citizens and citizens expectations in Germany. *Social Work and Society*, *1*(1), 52–77. Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://www.socwork.net/sws/article/view/253/428

World Bank. (2012). *Gross domestic product 2011.* Retrieved March 18, 2013 from http://databank.worldbank.org/databank/download/GDP_PPP.pdf