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Improving the training system of police officials -
Problems of creating an international standard for police officers
in a democratic society

1. Starting Point

1.1 The Role of the Police in a Democratic Society

To view the social reaction against crime as a police monopoly is obviously untrue. Public opinion and informal social control have the central role, not only in defining what is crime, but also in maintaining social order. Many police agencies and local governments have reached a critical point in their response to social unrest, disorder, and crime. They can no longer adhere to traditional forms of police work because the world is changing rapidly and quite often is in an upheaval. Large-scale migrations are bringing people of different races, cultures and languages into closer contact with each other, making enormous demands on their tolerance. Increasing numbers of immigrants are moving to cities in affluent Western countries that already harbor the majority of that country's population along with most of its problems. At the same time many of these counties are faced with uncertain economies, overburdened social and public services, and declining educational standards. There are widening class divisions, more broken families, home- and hopelessness, growing anger among the disadvantaged, and a rise in violent crime.

Over the last years there has been a reappraisal of policing philosophy and the role of the police, which was more or less intensive or radical within different european countries. The background is difficult to describe, but at least the following factors played an important role:

- drives for greater efficiency within the police service had led to an erosion of service-styled policing;
- public dissatisfaction with the police reported in nearly all european countries stemmed largely from inappropriate and outdated policing styles and poor service delivery;
- since a long time ago we know, that the police do not have immediate access to offenses and offenders; nevertheless we still believe in the proactive, crime-reducing capacity of the police;
- the police furthermore do not and can not effectively control crime-prone individuals and/or criminogenic structures and situations; prevention through repression and prevention through police patrol is rather ineffective.

As a result of that, policing policy is discussed more and more seriously. Most forces have begun to devise plans to evaluate police performance through local crime surveys and through police activity surveys with the view of improving the quality of policing at the local level. Some countries like the Netherlands have even changed the total structure of their police forces, resulting in a more decentralized system with local and very personal responsibilities. This seems to be a kind of "state of the art" within the international discussion on how to reform police forces. In Sweden the local police force is now responsible even for the decision whether a given amount of money is used for more staff, for better training of the staff, for more technical equipment like personal computers, for more patrol cars and the like.

The traditional delivery of police and public services, has frustrated citizens and officers alike. There exists a widespread assumption that police and other government agencies are too detached from the community's problems, that they are too remote and distant to be able to effectively impact on the problems the citizens experience. The same frustrations can also be found among police. Patrol officers and those who actually work face to face with the citizens on a daily basis often feel that their work is not given enough appreciation and respect.

A community oriented strategy broadens the definition of an agency's function. It includes order

maintenance, conflict resolution, problem solving, and provision of services, as well as other activities. Community oriented policing and government services seem to be a promising strategy to address the rapidly shifting needs in today´s societies.

Core values for future police work were discussed during the last years in nearly every country, resulting e.g. in reorganisation of police forces and implementation of "leading goals" or "policing models" by or for police forces.

One (and perhaps the most important) value is, that police officers shall be an integral part of the community and work in partnership with the local community.

In doing so, police shall provide the public with high quality services with sensitivity to the particular needs of victims, minorities, and vulnerable groups such as women, children, and the elderly. Police shall work to reduce fear of being victimized and concerns about local crime and disorder problems, and not to increase fear by special preventive activities, mass media reports and so on. In partnership with other agencies, but not alone, police is responsible for peace, order and security within the community. The police has and need the authority and the power to intervene by force in situations where emergencies and conflicts occur. Especially lower class people, having no resources for other solutions, trust in that competence. New models of policing must help to give them that authority to the police back and to (re)built a trustful cooperation between police and citizens.

Citizens are the customers of the services delivered by the police - not the state as an abstract organisation nor governmental institutions or bodies.

A concept of "war on crime" is a most dangerous one since a war needs a distinct and discernable enemy. But many fundamental crime (causation) problems are nothing but the other side of the coin, the (partly inevitable) by-product of the basic structures of the given State and society, in particular of the condition and the developmental stage of the whole socio-economic field.

The police could, apart from their rather restricted genuine field of activity, to a wide extent serve as "detectors" of problems due to their daily contact with many parts of the population. Those problems could and should actively and publicly (if not sometimes drastically) be delegated or transferred to other actors in State and society that are nearer to the sources of primary socialization, mutual exchange, and informal social control[1].

Late modern society consists of institutions organized in relation to fear, risk assessment and the provision of security. This is true right now for most of the western european societies and it will be true within the next years for the eastern european societies as far as the "free economic market" (i.e. capitalism) is pushing away and displacing the planned economy (i.e. socialism) - with the result, that tight social bindings and communications between the people will disappear (this is one of the most

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[1] Kerner, H.J. 1993: Crime Prevention and the Role of the Police. In: Dölling, D., Th. Feltes (Eds.) 1993: Community Policing - Comparative Aspects of Community Oriented Police Work, Holzkirchen, pp.13-25

important results of recent research on the effect of the unification in Germany). Theft, fraud and all the other crimes will become widespread, and the people will call for a more powerful police and state again. This could be of great danger for those new democracies: If police are not able to cope with these problems, and if politicians blame the police for failing these objectives, the old fashioned system (and those who were in) may strike back by a counter-revolution.

Community in late modern society is different. It is constituted by bureaucratic institutions and their communications media[2]. These institutions and media fundamentally transform community as communications that involve sharing, tradition, quality human relationships, and local spatial arrangements. Late modern institutions are increasingly organized in terms of fear, risk assessment and the provision of security. Security is multifaceted and includes for example security of territory (e.g. safe streets, secure premises), of the environment (e.g. healthy natural environment, safe products), of life course (e.g. social security, private insurance), and of identities (e.g. protection of national and ethnic identities in multi-cultural societies). Late modern institutions are so driven by the production and distribution of knowledge for risk assessment and security provision that it has become reasonable to suggest that they constitute a "risk society"[3].

Just now we find all different policing policies in the european states:

- militarism (order maintenance)
- legalism (police officers as law officers)
- professionalism (public servants)
- "communitarianism" (community agents)

The problem with everyday policing and with the cooperation of different police forces is, that those policing policies do not fit together. Until a police force has its very special philosophy, elaborated by the police officers themselves, each of the police officers has its own, sometimes very personal philosophy on how and why policing is done. Large discrepancies in everyday policing are the result. Police should be professional security experts. They possess abstract and specific knowledge about security that is valuable to others but is used until now mainly internal and not within community communications. Police has to start such communications and to occupy this field of public interest. This results in a proactive role of the police, acting as a service institution for the citizen and not as an institution which is responsible for the inner security of the State.

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[2] Ericson, R.V., K.D. Haggerty, K.D. Carriere 1993: Community Policing as Communications Policing. In: Dölling, D., Th. Feltes (Eds.) 1993: Community Policing - Comparative Aspects of Community Oriented Police Work, Holzkirchen, pp.41-70

[3] Beck, U. 1992: The Risk Society. London

A changing system of values touches not only the society and the people living in it but also the police and the criminal justice system as a whole. Police have to cope with those changes, and a recent empirical field study on the effect of the unification on everyday policing and the attitudes of police officers could show, that there is a great unsteadiness under those who remained at the police, resulting in frustration, aversion against organisational changes and drawing-back from the publi[4].

Rational policing means to assess the organizational capabilities of the force, the identify critical issues, threats, and opportunities by assessing the present and expected future environment in which police function. Success should be measured by the public value, produced by the police and not by clearance rates, number of convicted criminals and so on. Policing must be an political active business. Police should not wait for the politicians to decide what has to be done, after special (and very often momentary) problems occur; they should go ahead in approaching the public and serving their demands; and those demands seem to be quite the same in most of the european countries. The public cares less about drugs and organized crime but very much about the everyday disturbances and troubles. Even if sometimes those everyday troubles might be connected with drugs or other "official" crimes with the result, that the public is concerned about the trouble or the inconvenience (or just "unmorality"), but not really about the fact, that a crime is going on.
In the near future, Policing must face an increase in special interest group protests, with a corresponding increase in civil disobedience and violence. Hate groups will proliferate as social unrest groups in coming decades. The unsolved problems of unemployment, poverty, homelessness will contribute to social turmoil, with a rising frequency of minority-related crimes, both in western and eastern european states.

The key words for management in the police will be flexibility, shared power, autonomous teams and regional responsibility. Police officers of the future will be active problem-solving participants, particularly when given the necessary discretion, encouragement, and opportunities by their supervisors. Small work units, free-flow information, cooperation with private security institutions are some other key words, challenging the former militaristic, bureaucratic structure of the police forces all over Europe.

Highly educated officers and better trained personal do not per se guarantee better cooperation and communication, but training and education is a sine qua non factor on the way to improve the quality of police work. As highly educated police officers could become frustrated in their jobs, grow cynical and look for formal or informal ways out, changes must occur not only in the recruitment, selection and training programs, but in the organizational environment as well[5]. Otherwise, new personnel will have little chance of surviving in the organization. The pressures for conformity are so strong that a new officer will either be forced into the police subculture, with the values and orientation of the larger group replacing his own, or his life will be made so unpleasant he will decide to resign[6].

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[4] Behr, R. 1993: Polizei in gesellschaftlichen Umbruch. Ergebnisse der teilnehmenden Beobachtung bei der Schutzpolizei in Thüringen. Holzkirchen

[5] Goldstein, H. 1977: Policing a Free Society, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] Sewell, J. 1985: Police. Urban Policing in Canada, Toronto

1.2 The Actual Situation, the Function, and the Philosophy of the Police in a Democratic Society

Crime, urban crime and especially fear of crime is the most important issue of the nineties. The demand for help or intervention by the police has risen and is still rising in every european society. The rise of the criminal offenses, registered by the police, is only partly responsible for this[7], but the readiness and/or capability of the citizens to settle conflicts by means of communication has decreased. Victims are less ready and capable of helping themselves. Official authorities are increasingly called in to clear and settle conflicts. Even the rise of registered offenses can be explained by this phenomenon - if we look e.g. at the U.S. of America, where the rate of offenses, registered by the police, was increasing (at least until 1992), while the victimization rates, measured by the annual victim survey, are decreasing[8]. "Crime waves"[9] are more constructed by the media than actually happening[10]. The crime wave is in the heads of the people, and the question is, why is this so, and who gets an advantage from this situation. The "Make Believe Crime War" and the consequences have absolutely no empirical support, but they focus the public opinion to a "problem", which fits well into moral beliefs and liberates politicians from other problems and explanations, which are more difficult to be given to the public (e.g. unemployment, domestic violence). Furthermore, the criminal justice legislation is more related to economic conditions than to the actual crime rate, as a recent empirical study in the U.S. could show[11]. The level of poverty has a significant positive relationship for all crime categories, and changes in the unemployment rate are also positive related to murder, robbery, burglary, and larceny/theft, but not to (other) property crimes[12]. As a result of this, the recently discussed "decrease" in the metropolitan crimes rates in America (and especially the given reasons by hard-liners, that being tough on crime is the explanation for that[13]) has to be seen and discussed in this context. As I will show later on, the police is ill-advised to jump on this

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[7] Feltes, Th., Notrufe und Funkstreifeneinsätze als Meßinstrument polizeilichen Alltagshandelns. In: Die Polizei 1995, S.157 ff.

[8] The National Crime Survey in the U.S. reveals that crime rates have fallen over the past 20 years. Rates for violent crimes such as rape, robbery, and assault were lower than those reported 10 years ago. Even the murder rate, registered by the police, was 9.4 per 100.000 in 1973 and 9.3 in 1993; see Krisberg 1996, p. 39

[9] Fishman, M., Crime Waves as Ideology. In: Social Problems 25, 1977, pp. 531 ff.

[10] "We all have heard the message - young people nowadays are more vicious, more cold-blooded than ever before. It is alleged that very young adolescents are becoming the major crime threat in America. The facts contradict these myths. Juveniles represent a small and declining part of serious crime in America. During the last 10 years in which violent arrests were virtually unchanged, the juvenile share of these arrests increased by 0.3% - hardly a crime wave"; Krisberg 1996, 39; Jones, M., B. Krisberg, Images and Reality: Juvenile Crime, Youth Violence, and Public Policy. San Francisco (NCCD), 1994. What has increased is the number of children being murdered or committing suicide. The availability of handguns and assault weapons is behind this development, while the number of youths involved in violent conflicts is not increasing; Block, C., R. Block, Street Gang Crime in Chicago, Research in Brief, Washington (National Institute of Justice; U.S. Department of Justice), 1993. Children in America as in other countries face greater danger from adults (mostly at home) than from other teenagers.

[11] Barlow, D.E., M.H. Barlow, W. W. Johnson, The Political Economy of Criminal Justice Policy: A Time-Series Analysis of Economic Conditions, Crime, and Federal Criminal Justice Legislation, 1948-1987. In: Justice Quarterly 13, 2, 1996, pp 223 ff.

[12] Fowles, R., M. Merva, Wage Inequality and Criminal Activity: An Extreme Bounds Analysis for the United States, 1975-1990. In: Criminology 34, 2, 1996, pp. 163, 179

[13] See U. Schmid, Weniger Kriminalität in den US Grossstädten, NZZ 4./5. Mai 1996; A. Karmen, What´s driving New York´s crime rate down? In: Law Enforcement News, Vol. XXII, No. 456, Nov. 1996, p. 8 ff.

crime-wave train and to use this to claim more personnel and better technic.

On the other hand, the police is less and lesser capable of accomplishing the task of keeping up order and settling conflicts adequately and for the benefit of the victims concerned. To view the social reaction against crime as a police monopoly is obviously untrue, as Jock Young pointed out some 10 years ago. Public opinion and informal social control have the central role, not only in defining what is crime, but also in maintaining social order[14].

Police officers are eager to help other people[15], but the police apparatus and political decisions complicate the officers´ job unnecessarily. Just to put a few more police officers on the street has no impact on both the crime rate and the clearance rate[16], which is determined by a lot of different factors, not to be influenced by the police itself. The number of police officers per 100.000 inhabitants seems to be a very important point both in the political and the internal police discussion. A ratio of 1:250 to 1:400 is mentioned very often, and federal states, cities or villages with lower ratio often complain. In reality, and if we ask, how many patrol police officers are "on the street" at a given moment in Germany, the number is between 1:10.000 and 1:20.000, depending on the size of the city. To ask for just one police officer more on the street will cost about one million German Marks, because you need all in all 14 officers, to fill the position[17]. Keeping in mind, that there is abundant evidence to the effect that crime is not reduced nor apprehension increased by just adding police[18], the recent dispute in Germany, whether 30.000 new police officers are needed (as The Police Union is claiming), or 30.000 officers are not necessary to fulfill the tasks (as organizational analysis by private consultants suggest)[19] is more a political than a structural discussion.

The reasons for the believe, that police do not prevent crime include the following[20]:

1. Most police work is not devoted to crime[21].

2. Only large increases in police levels can produce enough police presence on the streets to actually deter crime, and such increases are not possible due to fiscal restrictions (see above).

3. The most common police strategies are poor crime-prevention strategies, because police mainly relies on car patrols and rapid response to emergency calls. Crime prevention is not a task, which is highly

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[14] Young, J., The Tasks Facing a Realist Criminology. In: Contemporary Crises 11, 1987, pp. 337 ff.

[15] For more than 80% of the police officers, this is the main reason for choosing this profession, see Feltes, Th., Einstellungen von Polizeibeamten zu gesellschafts- und kriminalpolitischen Problemen. In: Feltes, Th., E. Rebscher (Ed.), Polizei und Bevölkerung, Holzkirchen 1990, pp.198 ff., 213

[16] Williams, F.P., C.P. Wagoner, Making the Police Proactive. An Impossible Task for Improbable Reasons. In: V.E. Kappeler (ed.), The Police and Society, Prospect Heights 1995, pp. 365 ff.; Walker, S., Sense and Nonsense about Crime: A Policy Guide. 2nd Ed. Pacific Grove 1989

[17] Feltes, Th., Die Effektivität polizeilichen Handelns. In: Die Polizei 1990, pp. 301 ff.

[18] See e.g. Bayley, D.H., Policing for the Future, New York 1994, p.1

[19] Zimmermann, H., 30.000 Polizisten zuviel oder zuwenig? In: CD Sicherheits-Management 6,1995, pp 86f.

[20] Taken from Marvell, Th.B., C.E. Moody, Specification Problems, Police Levels, and Crime Rates. In: Criminology 34, 4, 1996, p. 609 ff., 610

[21] As our own study could show, approx. 30% of all patrol car activities are devoted to crime; see Dreher, G., Th. Feltes, Notrufe und Funkstreifeneinsätze bei der Polizei. Holzkirchen 1996.

accepted by the superiors and police managers[22].

The impact of police on crime is based on utilitarian theory and an old conventional wisdom since police exists. "It assumes that criminals are rational and balance th cost and benefits of alternative courses of action ... Additional police presence deters crime in this manner by making criminals believe arrests and subsequent sanctions are more likely"[23]. Bearing in mind, that dark-figure-relations and rates of dismissals are spoiling every rational calculation (the chance, to get arrested and sanctioned is somewhere between 1:2 and 1:200, depending on the kind of offense[24]), this theory seems to be outdated.

More police might eventually lead to more crime. If criminals are deterred by police, they may move to other communities and/or switch to less risky crime types and methods[25] and finally must commit more (lower level) crimes, to maintain their illegal income levels[26].

Police presence might even affect reported crime statistics, because citizens might report more often when police is available on the streets and/or acting community oriented. Recent work by Levitt however suggests that adding police has little impact on reporting and recording crimes[27].

More than 30 studies in the U.S. tried to find out, whether or not a causal relationship between police and crime exists. "The 36 studies gave little evidence that more police reduce crime, but they strongly suggest the opposite, that more crime leads to more police"[28]. By using the Granger causality test to determine whether causation exists between police levels and UCR crimes and to determine the causal direction, Marvell and Moody reanalyzed the data of those studies. The results are: Police levels and crime rates clearly affect each other. The impact of crime rates on police levels generally occurs through a two-year lag. Higher police levels reduce most types of crime, particularly at the city level[29]. The authors even calculate, that each additional officer at the city level results in 24 fewer crimes (-.02 homicides, .1 rapes, 1.8 robberies, 5.3 burglaries, 12.5 largencies, 4.5 auto thefts). "The per-officer savings to victims of UCR index crime are roughly \$100.000 per additional officer, approximately twice

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[22] One reason for this is, that crime prevention seems to be not measurable. But as studies could show, it is possible to establish measurement tools for policing systems

[23] Marvell/Moody, 1996, p. 609

[24] A recent victimization study (n=20.000 Germans) by a group of researchers in Baden-Württemberg showed dark-figure-relations (relation between offenses registered by the police and quoted in the survey) between 1:1.3 for personal theft, 1:5.6 for burglary, 1:15 for robbery and 1:20 for damaging cars (Forschungsgruppe Kommunale Kriminalprävention - Dölling/Feltes/Heinz/Hermann/Kury/Obergfell-Fuchs/Spieß, to be published in 1997).

[25] Cook, P., The Clearance Rate as a Measure of Criminal Justice System Effectiveness. In: Journal of Public Economies 11, 1979, p. 135 ff.

[26] Marvell/Moody 1996, p. 610

[27] Levitt,S.D., The relationship between crime reporting and police: Implications for the use of Uniform Crime Reports, unpublished paper, Harvard Society of Fellows, Cambridge 1995 (cited by Marvell/Moody 1996).

[28] Th.B. Marvell und C.E. Moody, Specification Problems, Police Levels, and Crime Rates. In: Criminology 34, 4, 1996, S. 609 ff., S. 613

[29] Marvell/Moody 1996, p. 640

the nationwide costs per officer"[30].

What does "efficiency", "effectiveness" and "professionalism" for the police mean? The patrolman, the lowest man in the hierarchy - and usually the least well trained and educated - is in the key position of exercising the greatest amount of discretion on criminal or possibly criminal activities. He has "wide discretionary power concerning if, when, why, and how to intervene in private affairs"[31]- and this is also true for Germany, even with the "principle of legality", where the police has by law no discretionary power and no possibility to dismiss a criminal law case.
Professionalization means[32]:

- prolonged membership
- requirements for higher education
- specialized training
- controls over training
- controls over licensing
- developed rhetoric
- a shared perspective
- belief that work is worthy of high self-esteem
- autonomous command and control of the organization.

Nevertheless, a report for the U.S. Department of Justice pointed out: "The professional policing model has been ineffective in reducing crime, reducing citizens' fears, and satisfying victims that justice is being done. Indeed, recent research indicates that a majority of the population believes that the crime problem has become progressively worse during the past decade (...). Similarly, citizens have lost confidence in the criminal justice system to protect them"[33]. Crime rates are affected by vast social, economic, and political forces. No matter how professional, police cannot solve the "root causes" of crime.

1.3 Approaches to Controlling Urban Crime
Until now, there have been two predominant, but unconnected approaches to controlling urban crime[34]. The most prevalent response has been to call for greater law and order, which means more police, tougher laws, stiffer jail sentences, and keeping people in jail longer. The assumption is, that crime and fear of crime result from too many criminals and insufficient criminal justice.
The second approach has been to focus on root causes of crime: systematic disadvantage, neglect, and discrimination.
There are differing views among researchers about whether police efforts can influence crime. In

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[30] Marvell/Moody 1996, p. 633

[31] Manning, P.K., The Police. Mandate, Strategies, and Appearances. In: V.E. Kappeler, The Police and Society. Prospect Heights 1995, p. 114

[32] Alpert, G.P., R.G. Dunham, Policing Urban America. 2nd ed.,Prospect Heights 1988, p.88

[33] Alpert, G.P., M.H. Moore, Measuring Police Performance in the New Paradigm of Policing. In: Performance Measures for the Criminal Justice System, U.S. Department of Justice (NCJ) 1993, pp. 109 ff., 112

[34] Wekerle, G.R., C. Whitzman, Safe Cities. Guidelines for Planning, Design, and Management. New York etc. 1995, p.5

general terms, these views fall into two groups[35]. One group argues that police have little or no impact on the level of crime because they have no control over the forces that cause it. The second group argues that police can contribute to crime reduction, though often acknowledging that police can do little to affect the root causes of crime. In a series of studies, Sherman finds evidence in some cases for crime control effect (drunk-driving enforcement), in some cases not (burglary stings), and in some cases for a crime-producing effect (arresting spouse abusers)[36].

Fact is, that the police alone cannot maintain public order and cannot protect everybody from suffering a crime. In Stuttgart, three out of four patrol car activities in connection with bodily harms result in domestic violence, and everybody knows, that the police is far away from adequate dealing with those cases. The vast majority of the population living and working in major cities cannot be protected by means of isolation and/or insulation, and if we intend to do so, crime and delinquent behavior will migrate to the suburbs or the rural area[37].

There is no evidence to suggest that law and order approaches or fortress-building responses deal adequately with the problem of increasing public violence or increasing public fear on crime. The main studies on deterrence and incapacitation effects of sentencing are supporting the opposite view. "The paradox is that the law and order response kills the city it is purporting to save. It deepens the divisions and the fear of the ´other´ which are among the most harmful effects of fear of crime"[38]. Furthermore, it costs a lot of money[39], but contrary to the overall financial situation, nobody really cares about those costs.

The "third alternative" to the law and order and fortress security approach is gaining more and more popularity in many countries. The "Safer Cities Approach" to urban crime encourages partnerships between police and community, governments and citizens, institutions and individuals. This approach focuses on prevention and the combination of social activities and a new philosophy of policing.

The situation in many countries shows, that we do need the police in a lot of everyday situations, in which the citizens rely on the police. But the police is less and lesser able to cope with the very different and difficult task of policing a modern, complex society. Furthermore, the fear of crime is increasing (especially in Germany), even in a time with (nearly) stable official crime rates. The satisfaction with the police is still high, but is decreasing, as our most recent study could show[40]. Much fear of crime is

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[35] See Sherman, L.W. Attacking Crime: Policing and Crime Control. In: Modern Policing , ed. by M. Tonry, N. Morris, Chicago 1992 (University of Chicago Press)

[36] For further explanations see Shelley, J.F., Criminology, 2nd. ed. Belmont etc. 1995, p.400

[37] This happened in many cities during the last years. While the inner city crime rate decreased, the suburban crime rate increased.

[38] Weckerle/Whitzman 1995, p.6

[39] For instance, the sentencing law aimed at recidivists enacted in California (the broadest version of "Three Strikes and you are out") will double the state´s prison population, requiring the taxpayers to fund a prison expansion equal to the entire amount of state funding for all public universities and colleges in California; Krisberg, B., Distorted by Fear: The Make Believe War on Crime. In: Social Justice 21, 3, 1996, p. 38

[40] See Forschungsgruppe Kommunale Kriminalprävention in Baden-Württemberg (D. Dölling, Th. Feltes, W. Heinz, D. Hermann, H. Kury, J. Obergfell-Fuchs, G. Spieß), Opfererfahrungen, Kriminalitätsfurcht und Vorstellungen zur Delinquenzprävention. In: Kommunale Kriminalprävention, hrsg. von Th. Trenczek, H. Pfeiffer, Bonn 1996, S. 118 ff.; G. Dreher, Th. Feltes, Das Modell Baden-Württemberg. In: E. Kube, H. Schneider, J. Stock (Hrsg.), Vereint gegen Kriminalität,

independent of victimization. There are many things the police can do to deal with fear, but using rising rates of registered crimes without a solid explanation is a contradiction to this aim. Safe (or safer) cities seems to be more and more an "conventional wisdom", chased by politicians and police leaders. Guidelines for planning, design and management of such "Safe Cities" are more and more delivered and discussed[41]. Crime prevention through environmental design, safer transportation, safer housing, safer parks and urban open space, safer urban cores, safer workplaces, and even safer campuses are in discussion and projects are designed - with only modest results[42]. The idea of "designing out crime"[43] looks fascinating, but may result in closed neighborhoods, designed by Walt Disney[44] and displacing crime and unsafe neighborhoods to the next lower social class available. Terms like "Defensible Space"[45] and "War on Crime" support the impression, that crime and public unsafety are the results of militaristic, armed conflicts to be solved by more and stronger weapons on the side of those, who are "the good ones". In a complex, modern world conflicts can not be handled by means of weapons and power alone. Whilst the real militaries are in a process of learning their lessons in war games from Vietnam over the Gulf War to Jugoslavia, more and more military leaders are relying on policing rather than weaponing such situations, those who are responsible for the local safety still trust in "more of the same", as Watzlawick called this phenomenon of trying the same, but harder instead of trying something new.

1.4 Targets and Strategies of Crime Prevention[46]

Traditionally police forces have used task-oriented strategy i.e. the police reacts to individual incidents (calls for service) or uses data describing crime trends and the distribution of reported crimes (uniform crime statistics). Only partly, repeat victimization or victimization studies are used to monitor the past. Deterrence and control are considered the main preventive measures. As James Q. Wilson in a paper for the Study Group on Criminal Justice Performance Measures points out: There are no real measures of success; what is measurable about the level of public order, safety, and amenity in a given large city can only partially, if at all, be affected by police behavior. "Proxy measures almost always turn out to be process measures - response time, arrest rates, or clearance rates - that may or may not have any relationship to crime rates or levels of public order. In my view, the search for better measures of police performance is doomed to failure so long as it focuses on city-wide or even precinct-wide statistics. ...

Lübeck u.a. 1996, S.137 ff.

[41] See e.g. Wekerle/Whitzman 1995

[42] E.g.: One neighborhood in Heidelberg, especially designed for communication and living-together by Alexander Mitscherlich in the 1960s, is now one of the social problem neighborhoods in this city.

[43] Geason, S., P. Wilson, Designing out Crime: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. Canberra (Australian Institute of Criminology) 1989

[44] In fact, the Walt Disney Cooperation is reported planning a village with special preventive measures and more than 8 Mio. people are reported to live behind "barbed wires" and walls in America; see also Shearing,C.D., Stenning,P.C., From the panopticon to Disney World: The development of discipline. In: Perspectives in Criminal Law, hrsg. von A.N.Doob und E.L.Greenspan, Toronto 1984.

[45] Newman, O., Defensible Space, New York 1972

[46] For this chapter see Kiehelä, H., P. Raivola, Research Proposal: A comprehensive evaluation system for the police services, Helsinki 1995 (unpublished). The proposal is part of an grant application to the EU by a Research Consortium of British, Dutch, Finnish, Hungarian, Irish and German Police Colleges and Universities.

No matter how we improve the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) or the National Crime Victimization Surveys (NCVS), they will not tell us very much ... about what difference the police make in the lives of the citizens"[47].

Situational crime prevention (physical environment) is one of the latest strategy in police work. The aim is to make a local area a less attractive target to crimes. Comparative case analysis, and an in-depth local picture of the public order situation (not only the crime situation, as documented in the uniform crime statistics) is used to obtain an understanding of the pattern of crime in an area in order to find targets of likely victimization and to develop preventive measures. Thus, in developing criteria, mere listing of actions is not enough, we need to take also matters of tactics and strategies into account. Social crime prevention (social environment) is the general term for different types of community oriented strategies in crime prevention. These crime prevention models are based on social support and assistance, as well as on strengthening the community's ability to prevent crime. Co-operating in networks of authorities, communities, and people gives the police several roles in crime prevention and creating a safe and pleasant environment.

Community Crime Prevention and Community Policing are main reforms in crime prevention strategies, developed during the last years in North-America and Europe[48]. Both have implications for police management and the philosophy of policing. While the reform itself is targeted towards high volume crime where offenders are often juvenile, emphasizes police-community relations and local crime analysis and environmental analysis, the background philosophy is based on a distinct set of values within the police force and the understanding, that crime prevention is a task for all members of a community. Community policing is a comprehensive approach suggesting a multi-causal view of crime and a multidimensional approach to crime prevention.

There has been several attempts to define community policing[49]. Community policing is described as family of reforms[50]. It seems to be more fruitful to list important characteristics of community policing than to attempt a strict definition.

The following characteristics are considered as important:

-       To solve problems, where they appear
          ☞   **= local approach**

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[47] Wilson, J.Q., The Problem of Defining Agency Success. In: Performance Measures for the Criminal Justice System, Discussion Papers from the BJS-Princeton Project, U.S. Department of Justice, NCJ, 1993, pp. 157 ff., p. 160

[48] See W. G. Skogan, Community Policing in the United States. In: J.-P. Brodeur (ed.), Comparisons in Policing: An International Perspective, Aldershot etc. 1995, p. 86 ff.; J.R. Greene, S.D. Mastrofski (eds.), Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality?, New York 1988; S. Sadd, R.M. Grinc, Implementation Challenges in Community Policing: Innovative Neighborhood-Oriented Policing in Eight Cities. NIJ Research in Brief, 1996 (NCJ 157932); Communities: Mobilizing Against Crime. Making Partnerships Work. National Institute of Justice - Journal August 1996.

[49] Dölling, D., Th. Feltes, Community Policing. Holzkirchen 1993; Trojanowicz, R.C., Community Policing: A Survey of Police Departments in the United States. National Center for Community Policing, Michigan State University, U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1995; Workshop on Evaluating Police Service Delivery. Report. Sponsored by Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. Organized by International Centre for Comparative Criminology, University of Montréal, Montréal 1995; Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium (Wesley Skogan u.a.), Community Policing in Chicago, Year Two: An Interim Report, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority Juni 1995

[50] Rosenbaum, D.P. (Ed.), The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promises, Thousand Oaks, London, New Dehli 1994

- To solve problems by creative means and with unconventional measures, when necessary
  ☞ **= creative approach**

- To solve problems by analyzing the structural causes and not sticking on individual explanations. A view of all underlying factors and available means of creating safety, not just those related to traditional police work.
  ☞ **= structural approach; problem oriented policing**

- To look at problems from a more general point of view and not only from a crime-fighting and repressive approach. Safety orientation means: Creating a safe community is considered more important than mere control of crimes or compliance to norma
  ☞ **= `look and say´ method; multi-factor approach**

- To solve problems together with others; police must cooperate with all individuals, institutions and groups in an community (private security services included); police should deny responsibilities where others are more competent or have better resources for solving a given problem. A broad strategic co-operation with other authorities, communities and people is needed.
  ☞ **= division of labor approach**

- To see police as a part of the community (pars pro toto)
  ☞ **= cooperative approach**

- The police takes the initiative and is not captured by sheer reactive measures after crimes have been committed or calls for service are received.
  ☞ **= proactive approach**

- To decentralize police organization
  ☞ **= decentralized approach**

- To-be-named-characteristics ...
  ☞ **= work-in-progress approach**

1.5 Is Crime Control possible?

Recent studies and experiences in bigger cities in the US and Europe suggest, that crime **can** be controlled, by taking a holistic and strategic approach. Most crime reduction programs represent one-off attempts to reduce crime. The benefits tend to be eroded as time passes, enthusiasm wanes, and organizational constraints set in. This decline would be inexorable given a general but typically unstated assumption that crime is uncontrollable in the long term.

Between 1990 and 1995, the crime rate in many cities decreased (see following table).

Table: Crime Rates in European Cities and Countries, 1990 to 1995[51]

City	Abs. number of offenses, diff. between 1990 and 1995 in%	Crime rates (per 100.000 inhabitants) difference in %	Differences for offenses/rates for the resp. countries
Helsinki	- 22,9%/ -26,6%		Finland: -10,8%/-12,9%
Stockholm	- 9,3%/-11,9%		Sweden: - 6,0%/-8,8%; increase in arrested offenders in Stockholm by +11,6%, in Sweden by + 1,0%
Kopenhagen	- 4,8%/-5,9%		Denmark: + 2,2%/+0,7%
London	- 2,2%/-5,3%		England/Wales: + 12,3%/+9,9%
Vienna	+ 1,6%/- 5,3%		Austria: + 6,3%/+0,9%
Ljubljana	+ 1,9%/+ 8,0%		Slowenia: - 0,5%/-0,1%
Paris	+ 2,6%/-1,0%		France: +4,9%/+2,4%
Budapest	+ 16,9%/ + 22,2%		Hungary: +47,2%/+109,9%
Oslo	+44,0%/+37,4%		Norway: +9,8%/+7,3%
Ankara	+ 60,2%/+41,5%		Turkey: +33,0%/+16,5%
Prague	+ 61,0%/+60,7%		Tschechia: +73,2%/+73,6%
Bruxelles	-		Belgium: +103,0%/k.A.
Zurich	-13%		Geneva: -22%

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[51] Source: Survey by the author, December 1996; for Zurich and Geneva: Eisner 1996 (FN 51)

Stuttgart	-10%	Germany: not comparable

The discussion whether the police might be responsible for the decrease is still going on. As Al Blumstein[52] mentioned, decrease may be more likely a result of local police work, local culture and regional factors than state-wide decision. Or just: "Better departments produce better results"[53]. "We´re clearly seeing something in the big cities that represents a decline in some of the most serious crimes, and the smaller cities are lagging, in part, ... because of the lag in the arrival of the drug markets, which I think were a major factor in the growth of crime in the late ´80s. Drug markets arrived in the smaller cities 1 to 5 years later. This phenomenon (the decline of big-city crime rates) may be a maturation of drug markets, and the maturation will occur later in the smaller cities"[54]. The same explanation is given by Eisner for the decreasing crime rate in one of the European capitals, Zurich[55].

Whilst traditional approaches analyze the crime levels and patterns to initiate operations, the outputs are indeterminate because no systematic process control mechanisms are included. The alternative to the traditional crime control model is to assume that crime levels are controllable within a wide range, and to reflect that in strategy, such that increases in crime levels trigger action to return them to a specified target level. The analogy is with servo-mechanisms like thermostats, where departures from the desired temperature lead automatically to their removal. Where suitable information technology is available, statistical process control (SPC) methodology can be used.

Local police officers and citizens very often undertake small scale actions to reduce the incidence of crime. These initiatives often go unnoticed as successes even within a force. The reason for this is two-

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[52] See Measuring What Matters, Part One: Measuring of Crime, Fear, and Disorder, NIJ - Research in Action, Dec. 1996, p.12: "... I think Bill Bratton has caught everyone´s attention with is the basic theme that´s sweeping industry of continuous improvement. One can do (continuous improvement) in a variety of ways. One can hold one´s managers´ feet to the fire based on the outcome measure you´ve defined ...".

[53] Chief Robert Ford of the Port Orange Police Department. In: Measuring What Matters, Part One: Measuring of Crime, Fear, and Disorder, NIJ - Research in Action, Dec. 1996, p.14

[54] Blumstein ibid.

[55] Eisner, M., Rückgang von Kriminalität in der Städten. In: Neue Kriminalpolitik 3, 1996, S. 38 ff.. See also H. Hess, New York zieht die Lehren aus den zerbrochenen Fensterscheiben. In: KrimJ 1996, S. 179 ff.

folded: First, local projects are hard to be copied by other communities and/or police districts, because the local situation differs and there is no structural intent to make such successful projects available for others. Second, "success" is often defined by the local forces themselves, and no scientific evaluation by an expert is provided. Both seems to be necessary to learn systematically from successful local crime prevention activities.

1.6 The Effects of Police Training

Police today are more highly trained than ever before, and the quality of the training has probably never been higher. This is true for Germany and most of the other (western) european states, and for North-America. Nevertheless, the positive relationship between training and enforcement seems to be evident, but this effect is not studied very much. The benefits of the training for institutions are generally more assumed or served as an important legitimating function for headquarters, than empirically demonstrated[56], and empirical studies have focused on officers´ attitudes rather than actual behavior[57]. A recent study by Mastrofski and Ritti showed, that the impact of training depends on organization-level considerations[58]. Training has a significant positive effect in agencies that provide a supportive environment, but fails to have an effect in agencies that are otherwise indifferent or hostile to the intentions, the officers are trained for. The effect of the training therefor depends on the opportunities, afforded by the institution to apply it, on supervisors, who encourage the trained person and the intention, and on its relevance to the prospects for career advancement[59]. The supervisor philosophy "Go out there and don´t get into trouble" is not a good one, to encourage trained officers (it is not a good one anyway). What is necessary is the institutional and personal (by the supervisor) value, given to the intended activity. The supervisor must "live" what he or she wants to be happen[60].

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[56] Scott, W.R., J.W. Meyer, The Rise of Training Programs in Firms and Agencies: An Institutional Perspective. In: Institutional Environments and Organizations: Structural Complexity and Individualism, ed. by W.R. Scott, J.W. Meyer and Ass., Thousand Oaks 1994, pp 228 ff., 232.

[57] Mastrofsky, S.D., The Prospects of Change in Police Patrol: A Decade in Review. In: American Journal of Police 9, 1990, p. 1 ff., p. 16

[58] Mastrofski, S.D., R.R. Ritti, Police Training and the Effects of Organizations on Drunk Driving Enforcement. In: Justice Quarterly 13, 2, 1996, pp. 291 ff.

[59] Mastrofski/Ritti 1996, p.296, 304.

[60] A good example gave the former chief of the Edmonton Police, Chris Braiden; see Braiden, C., Community-Based Policing: A Process for Change. In: Community Policing in Canada, hrsg. von James Chacko und Stephen E. Nancoo, Toronto 1993, S. 211 ff.; Braiden, C., Policing - From the Belly of the Whale. Manuscript, Chris Braiden Consulting Inc. o.J. (1994)

No time for crime prevention?

It is often complained, that answering calls for service and making arrests for other offenses may leave little time for officers to increase their preventive productivity. The mentioned study by Mastrofski and Ritti did not support this explanation (or excuse?). In this study, the departments with higher arrest rates for drunken drivers also are burdened with higher arrest rates for other offenses. Departments that tend to be busy are busy in any kind of activity, and departments, that tend to be "lazy" are lazy anyway[61]. In our study of calls for service in three cities in Baden-Württemberg, we found a high percentage of misuse and calls for information[62]. The proactive patrol car activities were very low. Crimes count for 7% to 19% of all calls for services, and for 19% to 39% of all patrol car activities. The rate for Stuttgart in a former study was 18,8%[63]. "According to this view, police spend most of their time attending to order-maintaining functions, such as finding lost children, substituting as ambulance drivers or interceding in quarrels of one sort or another. ... the police spend as little as 10 to 15 percent of their time on law enforcement"[64]. Research findings and practice make clear that citizens use the police for many purposes other than crime control and that things other than crime are principal concerns[65].

In our study, the arrest rate varies between 0,3% of all patrol car activities in Calw, 1,4% in Ravensburg/Weingarten and 7,4% in Freiburg[66]. In an average, a German police officer arrests seven offenders per year.

If we combine these results, time for crime prevention activities should be available, if the head of the department and/or the supervisor of a given turf insist in these activities and new strategies for handling non-emergency calls are established[67].

1.7 Conclusion

Because of the changing nature of society, as well as the changing nature and increased amount of crime and/or public fear, the change of the police is both desirable and/or eminent. Within today´s fast-paced world, it is necessary to cope with the barrage of changes that confront police executives daily. The police must develop strategies to plan, direct and control change, and to built the necessity of change into their own philosophy.

Problem oriented policing, team policing, and finally community policing are terms, reflecting the

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[61] This is not a new explanation, because this pattern, at least with regard to arrests, has been observed e.g. by Wilson, J.Q., Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities. Cambridge 1968 and Wilson, J.Q., B. Boland, The Effect of the Police on Crime. In: Law and Society Review 12, 1978, pp. 367 ff.

[62] misuse between 14% and 30%, information between 14% and 35%; Dreher, G., Th. Feltes, Notrufe und Funkstreifeneinsätze bei der Polizei. Holzkirchen 1996, p.45

[63] Feltes, Th., Polizeiliches Alltagshandeln: Ergebnisse einer Analyse von Notrufen und Funkstreifenwageneinsätzen. In: Die Polizei 6, 1995, pp. 157 ff.

[64] Manning 1995, pp. 97ff.

[65] Alpert, G., R. Dunham, Policing Urban America, Prospect Heights, 1992, 2f.

[66] Dreher/Feltes 1996, p. 52; for Stuttgart, a rate less than 1% was calculated by Feltes 1995, excluding shop lifting and using public transportation without paying.

[67] Some cities in the US offer special telephone numbers for such non-emergency calls; e.g. Baltimore with a 311-number and New York with a 888-677-LIFE-number for quality-of-life issues (see the report in Law Enforcement News XXII, No. 456, Nov. 1996, p.5

changing of the philosophy of policing during the last years. Although this change might be for some outstanding visitors too slow, for the internal system of the police this is a tremendous challenge, because the main structures of leadership, the structure and the form of the organization have to be changed. This includes attitudinal, organizational, and subcultural changes. The keywords are participation, decentralization, motivation and working together with the community to solve problems of crime and related social ills.

The policeman´s view of his role and his occupational culture are very influential in determining the nature of policing. As Manning points out, the basic source of police trouble is the inability of the police to define a mandate that will minimize the consistent nature of their self-expectations and the expectations of those they serve[68].

The development into a more citizen-responsive force and oriented to a closer relationship with the community has to be real rather than superficial and therefor requires a significant change in philosophy, a reordering of priorities, and potentially massive restructuring of police organizations.

There must be a greater coordination of police and other agencies within the criminal-justice system in order to increase the benefits to the client and break down the isolation of the police. An organizational change in the policeman´s function could lead to a referral specialist, a "Special Generalist", who is specialized in and responsible for all general problems, brought to the attention of the police, a coordinator of family health, a source of records and information (for the client, not for the state), a family counselor. This "would begin to bridge the chasm between the police and many hostile segments within the public, a process that could be facilitated by the creation of a community-relations division within police departments"[69] - but better: by re-organizing the police force into a community oriented, decentralized and independent organization with participatory management.

Police must engage in community-based processes related to the production and maintenance of local human and social capital. The means by which these lofty goals are to be achieved are through the development of strong relationships with institutions and individuals in the community[70].

The way the police visualize their work and their methods has to be challenged. In the traditional strategy, policing is an reactive approach: the key unit of work is the "incident." Patrol officers respond to a specific incident, and it is the incident that becomes the focus of a criminal investigation. What we have recently learned, however, is that a large proportion of incidents emerge from a relatively small number of situations and locations, and that it should be possible to reduce such "incidents" by tackling with the more general background of these situations and locations.

Changes in internal working relationships mean, that police agencies need to examine the potential strengths and weaknesses of decentralization of authority by seeking ways to guide discretion and police behavior generally through increasing reliance on values rather than rules and strict methods of accountability[71]. These ideas are central to the concepts of community policing, problem-solving policing and smarter policing.

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[68] Manning 1995, p. 120

[69] Manning 1995, p. 123

[70] Alpert/Moore 1993, p. 113

[71] Alpert, G., W. Smith, Developing Police Policy: Evaluating the Control Principle. In: American Journal of Police, 1993; Alpert/Dunham 1993, p.117

Measures should also include - as Alpert and Dunham pointing out[72] -

- police-related and inter-governmental activities that improve the social fabric of the community
- projects with the assistance of private industry that improve informal and formal social control in the community
- tackling the fear of crime
- victimization and police service programs that help promote community spirit in those neighborhoods where none existed.

The one and only way to deal with the public concerns is to develop a tailored program for individual areas. In other words, do not assume that each community has the same concerns or problems or that each community should respond similarly to certain problems. An open system of policing will find tailored solutions for a small world (neighborhood) within a learning institution.

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[72] Alpert/Dunham 1993, p. 123

2. Targets for Police Training[73]

2.1 Principle Targets

As the complexity of workload is not only increasing, but also changing by time, Police **training must be constantly on the move**. Contents and targets have to be changed and adopted to new circumstances and advantages.

2.2 Personal Targets

The increasing workload in volume and complexity imposed upon the police agencies and the budgetary restrictions imposed by the authorities require an optimal use of the limited resources. As a result senior police staff members at different levels **need to master modern management skills and techniques** to run their organisation efficiently. They must at least have a good understanding of these techniques and skills.

Every organisation or institute, private or public, sooner or later experiences the need to review its organisation and procedures, and to check its mission and objectives against the daily realities and socio-economic changes of the society it is supposed to serve. The need to introduce or intensify management skills in the police officers' training is conditioned by a number of external and internal factors. These factors have a direct and continuous influence on police activities, training programs, the effectiveness and the efficiency of the agency.

Major external factors are:

*   the increase of the police product in volume, gravity and complexity, aggravated by the expanding international dimension requiring new resources, connections and information exchange;
*   the development of new technologies;
*   a greater mobility and the abolition of borders clearing the way to larger markets for criminal organisations with easier escape routes and the availability of effective communication systems;
*   the economic and political situation with social and political unrest, economic crunch, massive unemployment, juvenile crime and further migration waves from third world countries;
*   the budget restrictions imposed by the government or local authorities cutting down additional human and material resources.

Many police agencies are mainly bureaucracies functioning at the organisational level. Quite a few, especially those at a local level, are essentially static organisations running by structural inertia with little or no managerial capability. Others, especially larger agencies, suffer from organisational gravity. Some major areas of police reform which need management intervention include the following:

*   the inadequate value systems concerning police roles and goals;
*   the organisational gravity, lack of flexibility, and absence of space for creativity;
*   the absence of effective leadership and discontent among police officers;

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[73] The following chapter is partly taken from: F. Dennis, Management Training of Senior Police Officers. TEXTE No.7, Fachhochschule Villingen-Schwenningen, Hochschule für Polizei, 1995

*   the increasing unrest, job dissatisfaction among police ranks;
*   an increasing gap between the lower ranks and the commanding officers;
*   the quest for police professionalism;
*   the growth of militant unionism.

Finally it must be realised that police agencies are big organisations, sometimes the size of large companies. They have to manage thousands of employees, public finances and an increasing range of equipment, simple and sophisticated, with high technology being introduced at an increasing pace. There is an urgent need for police managers who master the abilities and skills required to assure an effective functioning of the agency and an efficient use of the limited resources.

As management is a never ending process, so is the training which has to be regularly up-dated and completed by refresher courses. They are a unique instrument to complete the basic training and adapt to local specificities or punctual needs for further education.

Management must be viewed as a cultural activity which brings together the effective acquisition, integration, and utilisation of human and physical resources in order to accomplish man's goals of survival, stability, and progress. It is a never ending process of a rational adaptation to the needs of a changing society which will bring an inevitable static organisation to live as a suitable and efficient institute.

There is no effective management without effective managers. It requires men who master the necessary management ability and skills to accomplish the intellectual effort to straighten out organisational complexities by rational means. Since nobody is born rational, it follows that effective management is an acquired ability. Developing this ability and educating the required skills are the goals of the proposed scheme for a basic police management training program.

2.3 Structural Targets

Actually, we have two different career profiles and two different possibilities, to structure a police career:

1.   The bottom-up career in which case the different (mostly three) levels of training are cumulated and necessary for promotion; you can be only a police leader, if you start at the very lowest lewel of both training and career.

The "**advantage**" of this system is, that police officers are more easy to lead, more "the same", more adjusted to the formal in informal rules of police, more adapted to the old thinking of police work as executing state authority, more dependant from orders and instructions by their supervisors etc. The **disadvantace** of this system is, that an insider training is provided, which is not controlled by external supervisors and not evaluated by independend institutions. "Success" is implemented in this system, because it is very expensive, and unsuccessfull police officers usually can not be fired due to their civil servant status. The police officers never learn to look into other training institutions and other methods of thinking. The are not able to act independently.

2.   A careers with (at least the possibility of) a direct entry at a higher level. The training is received not only by police institutions, but by independent institutions like Universities etc.

The **advantages** are, that you get well trained, well motivated, self depending and reliable police officers, who are able to cope with new situations and challenges and who are eager to learn more and to conduct their career by their own.

3. Means and Methods to reach the Targets

3.1 Basic Training

The basic education of an aspirant police officer and the successive basic police training he receives in the course of his career, reflects his ability to cope with continuously increasing obligations to master new techniques and to acquire new skills.

The practical or on the job training must be a necessary part of the basic training.

This part of the training must enable to future officer to act like a policeman or -woman and to cooperate with citicens as far as possible. It must qualify to act as a junior (or second) partner together with a more experienced senior partner.

The training should include the following topics:
*   law (police and penal law, but esp. constitutional law and human rights)
*   psychology and conflict training; management (basic rules)
*   sociology (society)
*   self-defense (judo, shooting, verbal-judo as de-escalation strategy)
*   criminology and criminalistics
*   traffic rules etc.

3.2 Advanced Training

In todays modern and fast changing society nobody escapes the need for further training on subjects that extend far beyond the classical and purely professional topics.

In certain basic training courses for young officers the fundamentals of management are instructed. Older officers, mostly their superiors, never received such a training. This may enhance the generation gap and lead to misunderstandings and frustration. To overcome this situation, advanced management training programs for senior officers, as well as refresher courses, have to be organised. The aim is to help senior officers not only to be good and efficient police men, but equally to be qualified leaders and managers of the limited resources made available to them by the community.

Management seminars, refresher courses or free studies at police institutes or external management institutes should considered at least as an additional asset for promotion.

Police officers should attend specialised courses in other institutes such as universities or management training institutes.

Management techniques and Quality management, Conflict and Crisis management, Strategic Management, Organisation, Leadership, Human Resources and Communication are some topics of such courses. But also statistics, finance, planning and control, and information technology should be stressed.

The main objective of a police management training is not to train police officers as management experts, but to give them
*   an initiation to the practice of modern management,
*   enough insight and practical understanding of the techniques and tools available;
*   the ability to identify the possible benefits and opportunities, and to apply the tools for the accomplishment of their daily tasks;
*   the possibility to manage decisions in a structured way and to run the operation effectively and

efficiently.

The basic principles to build-up the program are the following:

*	a progressive functional build-up adapted to the tasks and responsibilities at each level;
*	the topics and contents must be adapted to the practical daily police work;
*	the program must give each level a good understanding of management, and the position of each member of the organisation in the system,
*	for middle and top levels the training should give the officers the ability to apply the techniques at their level of responsibility, to dialogue with experts and to evaluate and appreciate their contribution to the system and the agency.
*	a consciousness of the importance and the value of his individual contribution to the global reliability of the whole management process of the agency.

The attitude and behaviour of each individual agent is crucial for the image of the whole agency. One negative incident annihilates 30 positive experiences.

The topics of this part are:

*	the public as client, the fundamentals of public service with the stress on the notion of service;
*	attitude and communication training, conversation, body talk, uniform;
*	behaviour in different practical situations.

In view of the absolute need for police officers to acquire managerial capabilities, the management training should be an integral part of the basic training and not instructed by the way of refresher courses or seminars. The latter are to be considered as part of continuous updating programs. Management training courses are more effective and profitable when addressed to officers who already have acquired 5 to 8 years of practical experience in the organisation.