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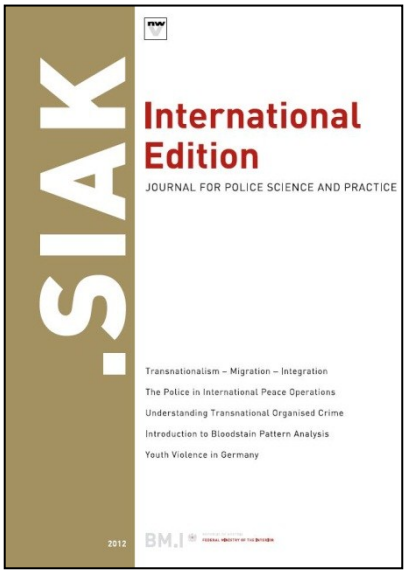

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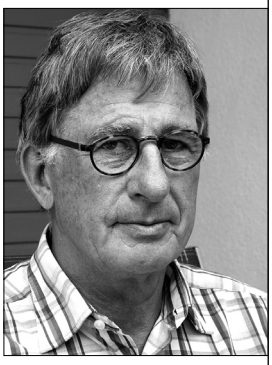
"Police Science"

A programmatic analysis of how police science stands in the German-speaking world



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Police science in the German-speaking world is a young discipline and typically has a "hybrid" status, rather than a homogenous research structure. I will return to this metaphor at the end of the paper in the context of the current debate on "Tides and currents in police theories" (Journal of Police Studies 2012). "Polizeiwissenschaft" (police science) in the German-speaking world differs fundamentally from Anglo-American police science (otherwise known as police studies) for reasons related both to contemporary history and culture. This paper outlines both those reasons and the findings of international police science research with reference to a number of a key studies, since greater attention should also be paid to these in police science in the German-speaking world. This paper is concluded with an excursus on the topic of politics and violence.

First of all, police science, if it is to earn its "science" label, needs to pursue rationally verifiable aims. One of those aims, and this is where the "police" part of the term comes in, is to have a scientifically informed and trained police force, especially at leadership levels. The police in the future will be considered as a knowledge organization. Dutch police scientist Pieter Tops asks whether the political sphere actually wants to have an intelligent police organization, in the sense of a scientifically capable organization. He argues that knowledge about society does not make the police incapable of action, as is occasionally claimed, but rather that it makes police action more professional (knowledge kills action vs. knowledge skills action), ensuring the police's capacity to act in the long term.[1]

The traditional didactics of vocational-type training following the tradition of "police officers learn from police officers what police officers learned from police officers" is outdated for that reason. The current situation at police higher education institutions can be described as a hybrid system given the combination of academic and practical subjects. In comparison to Greene's ocean metaphor for policing/police theory (Greene 2012) or the analogy of the raft of Medusa used by Sheptycki (Sheptycki 2012), the hybrid metaphor seems relatively undramatic. The term "hybrid" has come into popular use and has lost its faintly negative connotations thanks to being used in the fields of automobile construction, software and camera technology. Hybrid is a "a system that is combined, crossed and of mixed composition". The term "hybrid" should be distinguished from hubris, which rears its head in police science, when "academics" or "practitioners" believe that their contri-

bution to training future police leaders is of greater importance and indispensable. Hybrid systems are prone to malfunctions at the beginning of their development. Hubris, on the other hand, is one of the sources of conflicts at police training institutions. It is only by jointly training future leaders for police science research that police science can become a tool for research about the police and for the police.

Police science has the similarly important task of informing the public about the police in scientific terms. At the same time, police science will need to establish itself in the scientific community, i.e. achieve an appreciable status and acceptance as an equal player. Finally, the media, including the "new" media and the critical parts of the media, should be seen as important addressees of police science research.

An intelligent (which today means scientifically informed) and trained police force will pose a challenge to the political sphere as well as to internal hierarchies, since such a police force answers back and can back up its objections. That was not envisaged by the old didactical principles of police training. The independent development of police science at higher education institutions (such as the German Police University in Münster) are restricted by the modest dimensions of such graduate programmes. On the other hand, there is the uncustomary – and in the field of tertiary police training unique – opportunity for cooperation between university professors of various social and legal science disciplines, who are experienced in research, with police section heads, who in the future should also have experience of research and relevant academic qualifications (at least a Master's degree).

Cooperative research interests and the possibilities of access to the fields of police work, society and public life, as well as the spectrum of practical implementation of such interdisciplinary research are the unique features that distinguish Master's programmes from colleges of applied sciences and also from university departments. There is proven research at the police colleges of applied sciences, but this only in rare cases goes beyond police research as directly applicable to practical concerns of the police. University police science is also aimed more at basic research. Such cooperation can result in the creation of an interdisciplinary structural framework capable of consensus, i.e. a form of research basis, to characterize and profile police universities and institutions for basic research.

POLICE SCIENCE – A YOUNG DISCIPLINE

In Germany and, with the exception of Great Britain, in Europe, police science is a relatively young and little established discipline. Unlike with Anglo-American police studies, which incidentally is a more commonly used and more precise description than police science, in the German-speaking world there is no firmly established and accepted tradition of police science research. At its current stage of development in particular, police science poses a challenge to the political sphere, internal hierarchies and not least the institutions that train police officers.

However, it is still the case that the most frequently cited German-language work in relation to the term "Polizeiwissenschaft" (police science) dates back to the 19th century (von Mohl 1866).[2] There are only very few more recent papers that have received greater attention. That is rather sobering with regard to the current status of police science in the professional literature of the German-speaking world. Möllers comments suitably sceptically on the status of police science as an independent discipline in a historical overview of

how the concept of "Polizeiwissenschaft" has changed.[3]

Analysis of where police science stands in the German-speaking world needs to include the following:

- comparison with the international state of research,
- critical assessment of the current state of knowledge,
- an outline of how to proceed further.

There are two main reasons for the strikingly meagre content of police science in the German-speaking world compared to the Anglo-American situation. The first is related to the history of the German police, while the second has its roots in German legal history and legal culture, i.e. in the relationship of state authority to citizens. This paper describes these factors, to which too little attention is paid in the German discussion about police science, and then addresses the question of what the focus of police science should be. The paper first presents the state of research in police studies/police science on a broad basis, before outlining research work through a number of exemplary studies. A closing assessment again asks the question of what police science should not be and what it is capable of being.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY: THE BEGINNINGS OF POLICE SCIENCE IN GERMANY

Owing to the very delayed acknowledgment of the police's involvement in the Holocaust and the leading role that it played, the Nazi police remains the subject of historically-focused police science.[4] The main break in the German police tradition accordingly lies in its complicity with the crimes of National Socialism. However, the German police was not only complicit; it was organizer and executor of the Holocaust in Europe.[5] The incomplete clean-up of the police force after 1945 and the continued work of Nazi criminals at the higher levels of the hierarchies of the uniformed police and criminal police, at the newly founded Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation, the Gehlen Organization (predecessor of the Federal Intelligence Service) and in the interior ministries continues to be researched today, more than 60 years on.

The beginning of the police force's new approach to democracy and the public, including critical citizens, can certainly not be traced back to the immediate post-war period. The new approach came about towards the end of the 1960s at the earliest, partly thanks to the efforts of internal police reformers and partly owing to the impact of the critical and self-aware public on the self-image of the police. Clearly arbitrary exercise of power such as disproportionate beatings, and even killing of demonstrators in isolated cases, was no longer silently accepted. The largely authoritarian political culture of the Federal Republic, which the German police was tasked with serving as its law enforcement body, was radically questioned at this time in many areas of society.

The beginnings of scientific research on the function and organization of the German police date back to this time and are accordingly radical and frequently also ideologically based. Such criticism, understood as "police bashing", is even today associated in general with the term "police science" by a relatively small group of "practitioners". In addition, Anglo-American criminology and interactionist social research produced the labelling theory, according to which the deviant behaviour of individuals and groups is a self-fulfilling prophecy, determined by the labels assigned to them by the authorities. Accordingly, the criminal justice system "causes", to put it bluntly, the crime that

it purports to be fighting. However useful some aspects of this approach may have been, in German-speaking criminology the "labelling approach" became a fundamentalist tenet of faith. That radical approach understandably did not meet with enthusiasm among police officers. The "practitioners" who are still worked up about such police criticism forget that these scientists saw the police as an over-powerful, monolithic authority that needed to be massively attacked in order to democratise and open up society. One of the reasons was that labels like "communist troublemakers" and "subversive" were used as a reason for state coercive measures with alarming ease, carried out at least in part by police officers who were socialized in the fight against such people under National Socialism.

The radical nature of the scientific police criticism of that time, primarily formulated by academic sociologists and social-scientist criminologists, has led to social science, and in particular sociology, being regarded to this day by the mouthpieces of police higher education institutions as unwaveringly hostile to the police or at least as "useless, of no practical application" and therefore as dispensable.[6] Significantly, new and useful research by police scientists has led to scientifically backed changes and improvements to police practice and to police training/further training beyond the narrow horizons of such mouthpieces.[7]

Reasons can certainly be found for the objections to the sociological police criticism of the 1960s/1970s. Currently police criticism, however, draws not so much on sociology as on the critical media.[8] The reliance of the police on economic analyses is clear in light of the current problems relating to controversial major projects, policing in emigrant quarters, the recruitment of junior police officers, dealings with the "new media", raising the proportion of staff with a migration background and continuing issues with reconciling the police profession with family life. "Sociology simply confuses police students" is and remains an ignorant point of view.[9] Without decidedly social science-oriented police science, it will not not be possible to understand sufficiently the change in the relationship between society and the police or to introduce internal reform processes in police organizations.

Unfortunately, to date a predominantly normative logic has given German-language contributions to the definition of police science a limited theoretical and practical scope. The definitions are not clearly divided from the normative focus of police thinking resting on "tried-and-tested" everyday theories and the corresponding demand for "practical relevance", whose more precise definition mostly remains vague.[10] The continuing insistence on allegedly "well established" practical findings holds back the necessary development of police science.

Returning to post-war history, a chronology of turning points in terms of challenges in the relationship between the police, the political sphere and the public can be established that extends from the 1950s[11] through the Schwabing riots, the police search of the editorial office of "Der Spiegel", the demonstration against the visit of the Shah of Iran in front of the opera house in Berlin, the Brokdorf decision concerning the right to assemble, the anti-nuclear demonstrations in Mutlangen, Gorleben and Wackersdorf to the demonstration against the felling of trees in the Schlossgarten park in Stuttgart to make way for a new railway station. It can also be regarded as progress towards the dawn of democratic accountability of the police in a state based on the rule of law (see below: accountability). This is a crucial subject for

German police science given the historical facts described above. Unreflecting transfer of the range of tasks, methods and scientific organization of police science of Anglo-American provenance to German and European police science is a mistaken approach on several levels. Accountability must be defined in the given legal and socio-cultural context.

LEGAL TRADITIONS: COMMON LAW VERSUS CIVIL LAW

The definition of police science customary in international professional literature applies to societies whose legal culture derives from English common law. That legal tradition is based on precedence cases. The judge controls the process like a referee at a sports match, rather than investigating. Judicial proceedings are adversarial, rather than inquisitorial as in Germany. In societies with a common law tradition, the relationship of the state and the police to individual citizens and society is different from the one in continental European countries. "Polizeiwissenschaft" does not equal police science, and not only because there are 25,000 police organisations in the USA, compared to 19 in Germany and even lower numbers in Austria, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Poland.

There is no analogous technical term for "accountability" in the German language, which otherwise sets great store by terminological precision.[12] The fact that "police accountability" is also "non-translatable" into French can be explained by the significant difference between the common law legal cultures in the English-speaking world and the civil law legal systems of continental European provenance (Glenn 2007), which rest on codified law and give citizens a different legal status towards the state and its police. However, what some of the mentioned EU member states have in common is that, in addition to a national and local civilian police force, they also have a militarily organized police force subordinate to national defence for the area outside metropolises (Gendarmerie in France, Guardia Civil in Spain, GNR in Portugal, Carabinieri in Italy) and that serious crimes in some countries are also investigated by a criminal police assigned to the justice ministry.

Such deeply rooted cultural and structural differences need to be paid greater attention to in the European police science project than at present. The integration of the European police forces at present seems to be "ordered from above", rather than a project that enjoys the consensus of those concerned. Harmonization of police activity occurs between member states and with regard to surveillance of the external borders of the EU.[13] Without taking into account the relationship of the national or local police to citizens as determined by culture and legal tradition, European police science is restricted to terminological abstraction and to bookish reflections lacking in practical relevance.[14]

It needs to be recognized that police science to date has predominantly been regarded internationally as rooted in the legal cultures of common law countries, which implies a different relationship between the police, citizens and the state. Unreflecting transfer of the methods and content of police science to the circumstances in Europe is, therefore, not possible. The international discipline of police continues to rest between sociology and criminology, rather than predominantly in the domains of law and administrative science. Police studies/police science are primarily sociologically based or criminologically focused endeavours. Almost all internationally important police science researchers have been and are trained sociologists.[15]

ACCOUNTABILITY AS A YARDSTICK FOR POLICE ACTION IN CIVIL SOCIETIES

Police science, if it wishes to be guided by international standards, needs to turn its attention to the assessment of police actions by civil society as fair and just. From this perspective, justice encompasses fairness on a more or less equal footing. An evaluation of police practice that goes significantly beyond a purely administrative or legal appraisal is required. Legal monitoring of police activity is a great achievement of democratic civil societies and is therefore crucial. However, a more comprehensive understanding of the role of the police in terms of the quality of democratic reciprocity requires more than just legal monitoring of whether police actions are proportional. In other words, fairness and justice are also measured by how the other party perceives police measures. Citizens typically follow police orders even if they are disadvantageous for those concerned. It is precisely because police forces in democratic societies operate in a professional way and are monitored in their work that they can live up to that requirement. To put it another way, good police science does not necessarily produce a good police force. More often that one would wish, the motivation for independent police science does not derive from an unprofessional and democratically poorly monitored police force.

This broader definition of justice, namely as fairness (Rawls 1999) has been the focus of assessment of the past decades in Anglo-American police science, according to which it should be an aim of police activity to cause as little "damage" as possible. Such a pragmatic evaluation of the police is diametrically opposed to the normative and from a sociological point of view ideal-typical postulate of the police always acting lawfully. Furthermore, according to the police science argument, the situation of those who are on the margins of the society and can hardly enforce their rights should not be exacerbated by police actions.[16] Given the socio-structural circumstances in European countries and the greater and more entrenched divide between the rich and poor and between native citizens and immigrants, it can no longer be claimed that this postulate only applies to the USA and not to Europe. However, it can certainly be observed that the minimum criteria required by Manning (do not cause damage, do not exacerbate the situation of those who are in a socially weaker position) are aspired to more in the police forces of some EU countries than in the big-city police forces of the United States. From this perspective, the quality of police activity is a "reliable measure of how society takes care of the wellbeing of its citizens".[17]

From a social science perspective, accountability must therefore be at least one of the focal points when shaping and setting apart police science, as a modern way of determining the content and tasks of the discipline. Accountability is an overall qualitative requirement of the police force and their activities in both everyday and extreme situations that enables monitoring of whether the police acts in a way that is legitimate in accordance with the rule of law, fair, proportionate to the situation, understandable to citizens and reasonable. It is only in judging the "whole package" that police accountability becomes tangible in democracies and therefore also measurable to a certain degree.

Police work must be understood according to this approach to police science as a reflexive, situated practice and incident-focused street-craft.[18] Sociological research into the relevant change in the police is lacking both in Germany and in many other EU countries.

US police scientists, by contrast, tend to be more concerned about the excessive practical orientation of their scientific discipline. They argue that because the discipline is guided by imperatives, evidently political oriented motives and seemingly "inherent" police mentalities in a manner typical of practical research, independent, incorrupt and high-quality research on the police has been sidelined or unable to be produced at all. Police science "goes to great lengths to research every possible trendy approach, always without any theoretical basis"[19]. It is argued that there is too much focus on the police and too little attention paid to the social, cultural and political context of police actions and to the organizational culture of the police.[20] That undesirable development needs to be avoided in the further development of police science in the German-speaking world.

Accordingly, police science must therefore not only reproduce the police perspective on matters, but be able to understand that perspective and reflect critically on it. The popular culture (media) and political mentality that feeds the fear of crime through law & order rhetoric without any empirical evidence must not be "obediently" adopted by police science. An "authoritarian understanding"[21] of research may serve everyday theories of security politics, but has little to do with science.

The police is important and the subject of scientific research not because it is the only bastion against social chaos and crime, but because a professional police force always creates awareness of social order. It conveys disapproval of threats to order and fosters trust. All that has direct consequences for the maintenance or corrosion of democratic circumstances. Ultimately, the conclusion of Anglo-American police science is that how police officers take care of the wellbeing of their citizens (in particular difficult citizens) determines the quality of the police in a democracy. The police needs order in order to be able to function. Security policy developments in the crisis regions of North Africa, the Middle East and the Arab world demonstrate that very clearly. For that reason, the police needs the trust of citizens. Naturally citizens also want order, but without the police arbitrarily exercising power like in a police state. A democratic police force is one of many important players contributing to maintaining order, rather than the master player. The interaction of these forces, which are not always pulling in the same direction, is a subject for police science analysis.

It is crucial to an understanding of the system of international police science that the starting point of police science and criminological research in the USA, Great Britain and Australia were regular police scandals, i.e. the precise opposite of democratic accountability. Having got out to the public, such behaviour could no longer be denied or excused. If, as with the New York police of the 1960s, corruption is no longer just a problem of a few "rotten apples", but pervades the whole organization like a malignant tumour[22], then we cannot speak of police accountability. There is no gradation of police accountability. Either the police is democratically accountable or not. In order to ensure such accountability, police forces and their management need to be capable of admitting errors, drawing the necessary conclusions and making these public.

Unfortunately, it is a pronounced feature of the German police tradition that it does not seem to be capable of doing so, which is why it has an underdeveloped culture of error management. "Just don't admit it", "deny it", "sit it out" and the "wall of silence" are almost reflex reactions to evident problems extending from the bottom

to the highest level of the organization. They result from the prescribed normative logic that the police must not do anything wrong legally. Despite the prescribed infallibility, mistakes frequently occur.

In the German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria and Switzerland), in comparison to other countries, including those in Europe, citizens' acceptance of the police is high, the level of education is higher than in most modern democracies, the professionalism of everyday actions and major operations is undeniable and the risk of corruption is low etc. All the conditions for the police to be more open towards citizens, including those who are critical of the police, are more favourable in the German-speaking countries than in many comparable countries. Calling for and encouraging that process would be another "to-do" item on the agenda of police science.

The discipline could therefore be defined as scientific, criminological and organizational sociological analysis, in addition to the legal, normative yardstick, with regard to its police accountability.[23]

POLICE SCIENCE: THE INTERNATIONAL STATE OF RESEARCH

In a current review essay, Ian Loader tackles the following question: "Where is Policing Studies?" Despite the well-established tradition of Anglo-American police science, there is a question mark after the title of this review essay. Is the Anglo-American debate at a stage that does not allow the current situation of police science to be clearly established? The essay refers to several more recent publications of the founding fathers of police science in the English-speaking world, namely Peter K. Manning (USA), Jean-Paul Brodeur (1944–2010 Canada) and Clifford Shearing (South Africa). Like Jack Greene and Richard V. Ericson, who died in 2007, they contributed decisively to the theoretical foundation of what is known today internationally as police studies or police science. Ian Loader sees the new papers of Manning, Brodeur and Shearing as milestones in which the historical development and the state of the discipline of police science in the common law legal cultures, especially in the USA and Great Britain, are compiled, diagnosed and analyzed in a prognostic manner.[24]

How is it that in Anglo-American police science there is noticeable scepticism of the ability of the police to fight crime as effectively as it claims to do?[25] In US police science it is argued that some concepts for tackling crime are past their time because they refer to an outdated understanding of crime whose key characteristics derive from the 19th century. Instead, the in actuality highly significant function of the police in day-to-day crises, where it performs an invaluable service, is emphasised.[26]

From this perspective in democratic societies the police represents the values of civil society, or, to put it another way, the norms of "decent society", the description used by Avishai Margalit for democratic civil society.[27] This, according to the representatives of police science, is the litmus test of the relationship or the "chemistry" between the police and living democracy. The verification by means of historical, politological and sociological analysis that the police functions in this democratic way as a representative of civil-society values should therefore be a significant task of European police science.

While studying international papers in peer reviewed journals on police science, articles with practical relevance for Germany and the European context can be found. However, such research needs to be replicated (for example, in the form of

Master's theses), rather than suggesting that the results can be transferred directly to our circumstances. In the paper "Organizational Justice and Police Misconduct", the criminologists Wolfe and Piquero investigate the effects of the police's organizational culture on the willingness of police officers to behave in compliance with the law and regulations.[28] The results of this study refute the "rotten apple" myth, according to which the conduct of just a few bad police officers has a contagious effect. Leadership style is the decisive variable for misconduct of police officers, rather than individual behavioural dispositions. Unlawful intervention or violence of the noble-cause-corruption type is supported by peers in the given professional culture. The willingness to act as part of the "wall of silence" is related primarily to leadership behaviour.

Wehrmann and de Angelis investigated what factors influence the willingness of members of minorities to work together with the police in community-based organizations.[29] Their results indicate that community-based police work is decisive in fostering such cooperation and that the given crime rate of a community does not necessarily determine the willingness to cooperate with the police. It is also demonstrated that disadvantaged minorities are more willing to cooperate in such a way than members of majorities. This should also be investigated more closely with regard to the European situation.

The work of Wesley Skogan, who has performed the most extensive and long-term research into community policing in Chicago to date, points in a similar direction.[30] With reference to the data discussed in the paper in question, it is evident that the reassurance model represents an explanation for high levels of fear of crime. The findings show that police investments, such as foot patrols and neighbourhood activities (round tables), i.e. making police officers visible as "protectors" of the neighbourhood, can have a decisive influence on the fear of crime. Since trust in the police influences the willingness to report crime, this finding is of further significance. Such research results on everyday police work are backed up by the study of Patricia Warren into the perception that members of minorities have of vehicle spot-checks.[31]

Given that Europe-wide research shows that citizens from ethnic minorities in Germany and in other EU member states are more likely to find such police measures problematic, leading to accusations of ethnic profiling, Warren's results also have implications for the German and European situation, especially since it has been shown that negative experiences with the police are disseminated beyond those originally affected through social networks. That can result in a more extensive loss of confidence in the police.

Finally, a study performed by Diaz in Miami deserves mention.[32] It concerns the monitoring of police work by citizens. Contrary to police prejudices towards such monitoring of police activity by citizens and the local community, the findings of Diaz show the positive consequences of informal complaint management focused on resolving conflicts.

RESULT OF THE SITUATION ANALYSIS

Based on the specific historical development, challenges and relationship of the police to the given public, civil society, security structure and integration issues, a specific definition of the working basis of police science is needed, though it should be provided in a European and international context of security and respect for human rights. For that reason, the present outline of where police science stands

could not seek to be a conclusive attempt at a definition. Instead, it is intended to present an approach that can provide provisional orientation for a specific definition of police science. This will need to continue to take place in various stages, drawing on the trends of the internal debate and then raising questions based on the specific situation that the police science community needs to address.

The term "Polizeistudien" (police studies) would perhaps be a more pragmatic description of such work, since it makes fewer claims of itself and is less concerned with status than "Polizeiwissenschaft" (police science), a term that currently nobody really knows what to make of in the German-speaking world outside of our university departments. Without the public-oriented contribution of police science as a developing discipline, combined with targeted public relations work, that state of affairs will change little.

"To one, it is an exalted goddess; to another it is a cow which provides him with butter" (Friedrich von Schiller). Schiller speaks here about science, and the quotation encapsulates the ambivalence and perhaps also the confusion described here of the expectations towards the purpose of police science and the use of police science as a way of securing funds and titles. Ultimately scientific research on the police and police activity "(...) is obliged to answer a much broader question: what makes a society safe and orderly?"[33]

Police science as an academic and practical discipline cannot serve the purpose of researching everything as long as results are not critical of the police. Furthermore, not only those topics should be allowed to be subjects of research that can be transferred just as they stand to formulaic knowledge. Nor should police science serve as a cheap way of granting titles for a professional organization that is very greedy for those.

Police science is

- A developing hybrid discipline that draws on various branches of science and practical facts.
- In order to be able to achieve a national research basis and integrate that with international research as it stands, the discipline requires an empirical foundation.
- It will not survive either as "police criticism" nor as a normative and philosophical debating circle.
- It needs to make reference to international research and distinguish itself from such research.
- European police science needs to address the diversity of European cultures and police organizations and police traditions.
- At the same time, it must put problematic tendencies in dealing with human rights and minorities on its agenda.
- Monitoring of the democratic accountability of police forces will also need to serve as a fundamental building block of the police science structure that is now being built for the pan-European police framework.

A fundamental debate on the topic of police theories, which was not yet in print when the German version of this paper was written, has recently been published (Journal of Police Studies 2012). There are numerous points of contact between the papers of Greene, Manning, Sceptycki, Feltes/Dinca and van der Vjver/Moor in particular and the situation analysis of European police science outlined here. In the discussion among the authors, a distinction is made between micro, mezzo and macro levels of policing. As far as I am aware, there is no material available concerning the police forces of the EU countries with which it would be possible to participate in such a debate.[34]

EXCURSUS: POLITICS, POWER, VIOLENCE: REFLECTIONS IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

In a political commentary on the student unrest in the USA and Europe, published at the end of the 1960s, Hannah Arendt addressed the question of how it came to general outrage that manifested itself in widespread aggression and rage and led to, in some cases deadly, conflicts between protesters and police.[35] She argues that the "reasonable suspicion" that possible change is deliberately hindered triggers rage. According to Nietzsche, it is powerlessness in the face of people and not in the face of nature that generates "the most desperate embitterment". If people's sense of justice is offended, outrageous events lead to violence based on the "inherent immediacy" of outrage. She argues that it lies in the nature of outrage not to react slowly and with deliberation.[36] Yet "rage and violence" are not necessarily "irrational". A historical analysis of uprisings shows, according to Arendt, that widespread outrage can also be touched off by members of the "upper classes". "Rage and violence" are "human emotions", even if they "are in conflict with the constitutions of civilized communities".[37] The state acts with "brute force above all in situations where power is lost".[38]

Arendt also stresses the significance of the hypocrisy of politicians in triggering violent outrage: "And this violence again is not irrational. (...) Words can be relied on only if one is sure that their function is to reveal and not to conceal. lt is the semblance of rationality, much more than the interests behind it, that provokes rage."[39] In place of individualistic values, "we find a kind of group coherence which is more intensely felt and proves to be a much stronger, though less lasting, bond than all the varieties of friendship, civil or private."[40] The coherence of the protest scene ("Wutbürger", enraged citizens), that has astounded the police and political sphere, is not a new phenomenon in Germany from this perspective, either. It occurred during the Schwabing riots, the student unrest and at later protests such as in Gorleben and Wackersdorf and most recently in the Schlossgarten park in Stuttgart. At times, "strong political pressure tactics (…) encouraged an unwise, disproportional police intervention".[41] A police force that acts in obedience with the political sphere in such situations must reckon with violence in view of the given sense of outrage. Even lawful police actions are rarely perceived as appropriate in such cases. When reviewing those conflicts since 1962, it can be seen that the police has suffered greater damage to its image in almost all cases than the responsible politicians.

At a time in which there is ubiquitous monitoring of police use of force by citizens equipped with digital recording technology and the subsequent widespread dissemination of such recordings via YouTube[42],Twitter etc., the police leadership needs to ask whether the disproportionate insubordination of "Wutbürger" (enraged citizens) triggered by outrage is worse or not than the "Wutpolizisten" (enraged police officers) visible on YouTube and in the serious visual media.

[1] *Tops 2009.*

[2] *http://scholar.google.de/scholar?start=20q=Polizeiwissenschaft&hl=de&as_sdt=0 (October 2011). The online encyclopedia Wikipedia lists five German-speaking authors under the term "Polizeiwissenschaft" (police science): http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polizeiwissenschaft. The important contributions of the authors van Ooyen (van Ooyen 2011) and Möllers (Möllers 2011) are not mentioned. In the English-language version of Wikipedia, police science is described as an umbrella term. However, the list of scientific disciplines under this key term is incomplete and contains errors.*

[3] *Möllers 2011, 25 ff.*

[4] *Schulte 2011.*

[5] *Dierl et al. 2011.*

[6] *This can also be seen from the enthusiasm with which "practitioners" as heads of police colleges of applied sciences thoroughly removed sociology or sociological course content in the framework of the Bologna reform, for example in Baden-Württemberg. Möllers speaks in this context about the return to "crammers" (Paukschule) and "institutions for churning out officials" (Beamtenprägeanstalt) (Möllers 2011, 26).*

[7] *Basic research using social scientific methodology that falls into this category has been published by, for example, R. Behr, B. Frevel, A. Jacobsen, T. Ohlemacher, J. Reichertz, B. Schroers, and K. H. Liebl.*

[8] *The discussion about the state of the police currently tends to be taking place in the serious print media rather than in specialist literature. Cf. Cadenbach/Fellmann 2011.*

[9] *The anti-science and unconstitutional tenor of this approach can be seen currently in the controversy between the police scientist Rafael Behr and police representatives on violence and "lack of respect" towards police officers. "Die Polizeiführung jammert" (The police leaders complain) (Interview with Rafael Behr). http://www.taz.de/Professor-der-Hochschule-fuer-Polizei/!77000/.*

[10] *"(…) too much work in policing studies has succumbed to a sociologically naive fantasy – a fantasy that mimics rather than challenges the police-centred visions of order that circulate among officers and predominate in popular and political culture" (Loader 2011, 451).*

[11] *The first confrontation of the police with political protestors occurred in 1952 in Essen, during which a youth was killed. At that time, there were also several attacks, with varied degrees of organization, on police officers and even isolated police stations in Rhineland as form of weekend entertainment. Uniforms, especially those worn by Germans, did not go down well with the young generation of workers.*

[12] *"Zurechenbarkeit" refers rather to a state of mental composure and the psychologically and psychiatrically measurable functioning of a person's mental state, the opposite of which would be of a pathological nature. The equivalent term in English would be "sanity". In contract law terminology, the "sanity clause" refers to the contracting parties being of sound mind when concluding a contract. Nor does "Berechenbarkeit" (predictability or calculability) get to the heart of police accountability, since the term (and its opposite: "Unberechenbarkeit") either describes a state of character or refers to precise quantitative measurement.*

[13] *This could be described as the fundamental problem of CEPOL, but in another form also of other types of European police cooperation.*

[14] *Accordingly, the papers of the CEPOL Reader published in 2007 have very different topics. At least in places it is not entirely clear how the joint beginnings of European police science can be identified.*

[15] *Manning 2005.*

[16] *In light of this position, Manning, were he a German police scientist, would have to put up with "practitioners" with no scientific credentials calling for him to be removed immediately from training police students. "Trade unions: Polizeikritiker entlassen" (Trade unions call for police critic to be dismissed). http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/kommunales/ article2002956/Gewerkschaften-Polizeikritiker-entlassen.html.*

[17] *Manning 2010, 249; cf. Loader 2011, 452.*

[18] *Cf. Manning 2010, 190.*
[19] *Ibid., 106.*
[20] *Ibid., 100; Manning 2012, 74 f; Sheptycki 2012.*
[21] *Möllers 2011, 21.*
[22] *As for example in the 1980s in the Australian state of Queensland or in New South Wales, when widespread police crime was uncovered extending to the management level, resulting in the issue of an international arrest warrant for a senior police chief. If city police forces like the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) need to be placed under state supervision, then a similar, to us inconceivable, extent of corruption has been reached. For more on such police scandals and cases of police crime, see Prenzler 2009.*
[23] *The distinction between research about the police and research for the police from today's perspective no longer seems particularly sound as a way of defining the tasks of police science.*
[24] *Loader 2011.*
[25] *Manning 2005, 25.*
[26] *Manning 2010, 249; cf. Loader 2011, 452; cf. Hanak et al. 1989.*
[27] *Margalit 1998.*
[28] *Wolfe/Piquero 2011.*
[29] *Wehrmann/de Angelis 2011.*
[30] *Skogan 2009.*
[31] *Warren 2011.*
[32] *Diaz 2009.*
[33] *Brodeur 2010, 453.*
[34] *I wish to thank T. Goergen, C. Fromm, G. Thielmann, R. Behr and C. Lorei for their critical comments and helpful suggestions. As author, I of course remain exclusively responsible any erroneous assessments of situations and for errors.*
[35] *The following excursus makes reference to Arendt 1970, 64 ff.*
[36] *Ibid., 64. According to Arendt, outrage is by no means an "automatic reaction to misery and suffering", since incurable diseases, natural disasters or social conditions that seem to be unchangeable do not cause general outrage.*
[37] *Ibid., 67.*
[38] *Ibid., 55.*
[39] *Ibid., 67.*
[40] *Ibid. Arendt notes critically: "This violent reaction to hypocrisy, however justifiable in its own terms, loses its raison d' être when it tries to develop a strategy of its own with specific goals."*
[41] *Scarcinelli 2011, 11.*
[42] *It is also worth reading Schug 2011 for more detail.*

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