Police profession as a Human rights service

How to improve the relationship between European ethnic minorities and police
‘Conflicts occur everywhere, whether at home in the family or on the street with weird and annoying people or at work. Most of the time, the cause is intolerance.’

(minority female)
People are on the move all over the world. International migration is already one of the biggest stories of the 21st Century, and reactions to this story have had economic and political implications everywhere. As is frequently the case when societies are changing, the police find themselves on the front line. They are expected to have workable answers to difficult questions raised by global migration. They are called upon to provide security and assistance – and to investigate – communities that they ill-understand. They may find those communities closed to them linguistically and culturally, accustomed to imposing their own social order. Identifying even common criminals can be difficult without active community engagement. Undocumented migrants flock to the emerging communities that migrants have built, for there can find work and keep a low profile. This creates further secrets that community members may wish to keep.

There police also face the specter of transnational organized crime and terror networks, problems that can call for intrusive tactics. The problem is that many immigrants bring with them language and gestures hard to summon up at the moment. At the extreme, encounters may spiral toward something worse. As in the United States, many prominent riots in Europe have been sparked by police encounters with minority members of the community that escalated beyond that tolerated by community standards.

However, the report suggests that routinized disrespect, impoliteness and use of unprofessional language are numerically of greater concern than systematic police violence. Apparently excessive identity checking, encouraged perhaps by the likely subversion of undocumented migrants in already established communities, appears to provide a common flashpoint from which problems emerge. From the point of view of those been questioned the police may seem to be engaged in ethnic profiling, motivated by racist assumptions. From their side, police may believe that they have to display their authority in order to maintain the upper hand on the street. Further, responding to the dual concerns of terrorism and organized criminal networks can create its own problems. This may call for policing strategies involving intensive surveillance, undercover penetration of community organizations and institutions, and conducting “sting” operations that attract community members into compromised situations. The resulting suspicion and mistrust can work against police effectiveness in dealing with other, more common crime and community problems.

Resolving these issues will not be easy. Education and training is called for, on both sides. Police need to become more familiar with the cultural patterns and expectations of the people they serve, including some simple signs of respect toward elders and women that can go a long way toward smoothing relationships. The report describes police as sometimes “irritated” by the barriers thrown up by language and culture, a reaction that surely is not the most intractable training problem they face. On their part, new immigrants may require a deeper understanding of the obligations and expectations that their host society will insist on placing on them, especially with regard to family and marital practices and educational requirements.

Beginning in the 2000s, police around the world began to invest in community-oriented policing. Mounting a campaign of community engagement is particularly important – if particularly difficult – in immigrant areas. There police have the problem of gaining for the first time the trust and legitimacy they need to be effective. Community policing promises to make police more responsive to the particular issues facing local communities, through the regular channels that it opens for civic engagement, and it will require special arrangements for reaching out to immigrant groups. Using community policing strategies, police hope to involve residents in programs, and to further educate them regarding their rights as well as their obligations in their new homes.

The report also suggests there should be space for a discussion of widening the scope of independent oversight of the quality of police service being rendered to all citizens, including immigrants. Representative elements of civil society could be involved in this process. The existence of such institutions could also provide a new platform for civic education regarding the rights and obligations of citizenship, and how legal institutions can be used to regress grievances.
Recent European Social Survey datasets comprising of 21 European countries and minority group members from 66 countries of origin, revealed that individuals who feel that they belong to a discriminated group have less trust in the police than individuals who do not perceive group discrimination. Such macro data analysis is in line with COREPOL research findings. COREPOL research has a European dimension which points at the necessity to establish more accountability regarding police work in EU member states.

Objectives of Minority Policing

Across modern societies research findings leave no doubt that minority populations are at a higher risk of being exposed to problems with the police. Additionally, they have less trust in law enforcement. Although police are not solely responsible for failed integration processes, they are a central player in what could be called the micro-politics of integration. Police can add to the ‘otherness’ of minorities and even reinforce it, or they can act as a human rights agency and serve and protect minority communities and their vulnerable members, mostly women and children. Even more, they can also help the communities to understand the work and the tasks of police and citizens in civil society. Most important, they can help to strengthen the norms and the fabric of civilized cultures, even among people who live in segregated circumstances.

Police and Minorities in the European Union

After incidents of spectacular crime and violence committed by persons of a migrant or minority origin, parts of the general public, of politics and the media tend to reinforce the notion of ‘otherness’ of all minority persons and new citizens. Measures to control migration (‘send them home’) are set high on the agenda of public concerns. Occasionally, this may foster expectations that law enforcement should proceed with more strictness, or somehow take care of crime and disorders associated to minority neighbourhoods. Police work in some minority quarters is often difficult and can be frustrating due to the fact that it is a ‘mixed bag’. The enforcement of the norms of civil society, the prevention of violence and victimization, the maintenance of public order, and the solving of crimes…, taken together this creates a real
challenge to the forces of order. However, police are not the main culprit when it comes to the failures of Euro-
pean integration politics. Police need more support to
professionally carry out what is needed and has to be
done with regard to minority problems. To carry out com-

munity policing in problematical areas and circumstances
is a task that asks for a shift of paradigm: The often some-
what fictitious image of police as the ‘crime-fighting’ force
has to make space for an understanding of police as a ser-
vise and central actor for the protection of Human Rights.

Migration and the Need to Deal with It
In the post WWII decades, the majority of minority
populations in EU countries were working migrants or per-
sons from the former colonies of European nations in Africa,
Asia or the Pacific. Since the financial crisis of 2008, hundreds
of thousands of young people have been migrating from
southern EU regions to Northern European countries as it is
where they might find paid work. These young people are
not seen as a problem. However during the last decades,
war and civil war, ‘ethnic cleansing’, religious hatred, famines
and natural disasters have led to an escalation of a refugee
movement. This has dramatically increased the amount of
people who are migrating to the European continent and
who are perceived as ‘visible others’. The ideology of Europe
as a ‘fortress’ has resulted in numerous deaths of refugees
and can be qualified as a chaotic failure. Turning a blind eye
will certainly not solve the problem. This problem is not going
to go away, to vanish somehow, rather it will become worse.

COREPOL Focus
Aiming at an improvement of European police-minority
relations, COREPOL has focussed on three countries, their
populations of ‘visible others’ police and their mutual relati-
onship and experiences:
- In Germany: Persons from Turkey who came to Europe to
  work and then brought their family members to their host
country;
- In Austria: Africans who decades ago, came to the country
  for study purposes or more recently because they had to
  flee or because they wanted a better life for themselves and
  their children;
- In Hungary: The resident discriminated minority of Roma
  in cities and the countryside.

COREPOL findings can serve as a stepping stone towards
- the reflection of the structural problems in minority-po-
  lice interaction and conflict,
- the development of better communication strategies in
  minority-police relations,
- the improvement of knowledge about policing in Europe
  an democracies amongst minority populations and their
  representatives, and also
- the advancement of police education and training to
  achieve these aims.

‘I always say he’s a human being as well. It is
both of our interest to proceed with the official
act. I try to communicate with them - even in a
simplified language.’
(policeman)
In that respect, COREPOL findings address the needs of European stakeholders, politicians, NGOs, security experts, police management and academics in the area of migration, integration strategies for minorities, refugees and asylum seekers, community policing, order maintenance and crime prevention.

European Police: Excellence and Need of Improvement

In comparison to many overseas law enforcement organisations, policing in Europe can claim high rates of professional police standards, established educational and training standards, and a comparatively low level of police interventions with fatal consequences, i.e. police shootings and police scandals related to corruption or police crime involvement. In Europe, the lack of independent police oversight taints this overall favourable image, and accordingly, the establishment of independent oversight authorities in the EU member states ought to be a decisive role in such endeavours. Minority experience must play an increase in misconduct. It could indicate a rise in citizens’ confidence in the oversight authority and its legitimacy. On a wider European scale the lack of police oversight, in particular in the context of minorities and ethnic homogeneity, the immigration and living of the COREPOL partner countries can one find established and efficient mechanisms or systematic approaches to police oversight. In addition, from our knowledge of the policing practices in other EU member states we are left with the impression that -with the exception of the UK/Ireland, Benelux, and the Nordic countries -EU policing practices on the whole suffer from a definite lack of police oversight. Accusations of racial/ethnic bias and ethnic profiling can only be proven without substance if police are willing to accept oversight agencies to establish facts about such claims. On the part of police leadership and police unions independent oversight is associated with all kinds of fears and suspicions. Police work is blocked, accusations are directed against the innocent. An increased amount of complaints does not necessarily imply an increase in misconduct. It could indicate a rise in citizens’ confidence in the oversight authority and its legitimacy. On a wider European scale the lack of police oversight, in particular in the context of minorities and police, can be traced back to a number of circumstances:

Ethnic Homogeneity vs. Diversity

Being nation states based on an ideological tradition of ethnic homogeneity, the immigration and living

Slogan/Craen and COREPOL show that minority citizens lose confidence in law enforcement and their host state when they hear that profiling is being practiced. This pertains even to those who have no personal experience of being profiled. They still tend not to cooperate with the police in the future.

The Vicious Cycle of Negative Minority-Police Interaction

Research on police accountability affirms: Across EU member states marginalized populations tend to get on a sliding curve of immersion in criminal activities which raises the suspicion of law enforcement officers. Due to this generalized suspicion, minority people feel that they are overly exposed to police controls. As a consequence police and minorities are stuck in a system of antagonistic and confrontational interactions. Police oversight may prove effective in providing an empirical more substantiated answer to the accusation of ‘racial/ethnic profiling’. Minority people see the police as agents of the state. Misconduct in the context of law enforcement is perceived as unjustifiable and racist, even more so if it is perceived as unfair or excessive use of force. For that reason, members of minority populations more frequently distrust police and voice disappointment in regard to police behaviour.

Misconduct by Police Officers

According to persons interviewed during COREPOL field research, a lack of respectful behaviour of officers towards persons or groups with a minority background or even cases of excessive use of force have been witnessed personally. Additionally, such incidents have been reported to them by friends, family members or people from their neighbourhoods. Recent research findings by

Structural Police Reforms are Needed

COREPOL data contains reference to instances of police misconduct that are serious and not in concordance with legal and procedural norms concerning police performance. A careful analysis of the reported incidents in the partner countries’ interview data calls for structual reform of police accountability and democratic transparency. Although such abuses of police power appear to be the exception and rather not the rule, minority populations are particularly vulnerable with regard to excessive force, or in milder forms, inappropriate and unprofessional policing, impoliteness or the use of hateful language. They are also less likely to bring such incidents to the attention of the authorities, i.e. to file official complaints or criminal charges after they have been mistreated by police.

Police Authority Perceived by Ethnic Minorities

Negative attitudes between minority members and police result in a mutual lack of trust and confidence – this reduces the chance that members of the minorities reflect on police activities as legitimate, and therefore do not volunteer to cooperate with police and report crime. Nearly all the men and women interviewed by COREPOL field researchers however saw police as an indispensable authority in dealing with violence, crime, and accidents or dangerous situations, and most said that they would call them for help. However, they usually would do this only in cases of serious crime and violence. In the case of hate speeches, domestic violence and minor episodes of hate crime, members of the minorities tend not to ask for the help of police.

Police Accountability

It is therefore necessary, to discuss ‘accountability mechanisms’ in the form of external and independent oversight of policing. Police accountability in democratic and civilized societies may require a combination of external and internal control authorities. At present, in none of the COREPOL partner countries can one find established and efficient mechanisms or systematic approaches to police oversight. In addition, from our knowledge of the policing practices in other EU member states we are left with the impression that -with the exception of the UK/Ireland, Benelux, and the Nordic countries -EU policing practices on the whole suffer from a definite lack of police oversight. Accusations of racial/ethnic bias and ethnic profiling can only be proven without substance if police are willing to accept oversight agencies to establish facts about such claims. On the part of police leadership and police unions independent oversight is associated with all kinds of fears and suspicions. Police work is blocked, accusations are directed against the innocent. An increased amount of complaints does not necessarily imply an increase in misconduct. It could indicate a rise in citizens’ confidence in the oversight authority and its legitimacy. On a wider European scale the lack of police oversight, in particular in the context of minorities and police, can be traced back to a number of circumstances:
conditions of persons/families from other countries and continents, or in the case of Hungary and Austria they have a minority status. The results of such studies have led to a long-lasting political and/or immigration societies. There, the structural friction between police and minorities and related riots and disorders have piled up, as well as the pressurization by communities of a resident rural and urban minority, have been appreciated and declared as ‘a problem’ of the minorities and not as a failure of the societal, political, and cultural mainstream. Reforms, many of them of a hesitant nature, have not yet led to a dynamic of successful integration of ethnic minorities, neither have they fundamentally changed the set-up of state services, nor foremost the organizational culture of police.

Law Culture Traditions

Historically, by being civil (Roman) law cultures Germany, Austria and Hungary have no deep-rooted tradition of critical police review on the part of civil society. In a normative view police is assumed to always act in accordance with the law and the country’s constitution. In many European countries the institutionalized organizational answer to the question: ‘Who guards the guards?’ does not allow for a comparison to the civilian (or hybrid) oversight agencies that can be found in the majority of English-speaking common law countries, many of them set-up of state services, nor foremost the organizational culture of police.

Ethnic Minority Riots

In the last decade ethnic minority riots have become a feature of conflict in some European countries. Nearly all of them broke out after police was accused of killing minority adolescents or minority males, e.g. in the UK, France and Sweden. The question of improved police-minority relations, among them police oversight concerning minority communities, is of utmost significance for the future of professional and democratic policing in Europe.

Police Power and the Blue Wall of Silence

Police have an extraordinary amount of power as they are able to observe, stop, arrest, and detain citizens. Organizational studies of police have described features of a ‘police culture’ and a ‘police code or blue wall of silence’. These norms occasionally resemble the codes of tightly-woven family clans. Likewise the occupational police culture tends to deal with incidents of violence in a non-transparent and clandestine manner. While in family clans this may pertain to acts of violence against members of their own or other families, acts of police abuse of power are being handed out by officers against civilians. Accordingly, ‘peer accountability’ or ‘whistle blowing’ is not a regular feature in many police organizations. Similar codes and norms may be observed in other professional cultures but rarely is the ‘blue wall of silence’ as thick and as high as in many front-line police organizations. Admitting mistakes or handing out gestures of apology or regret about wrongdoings on the part of officers has so far not even been presented to the parties who are involved in the conflict. In some cases victims and offenders do not even meet each other in person. Here police have a role as a catalyst and initiator of transparent and accountable conflict solving mechanisms. This is a genuine challenge for community policing practices.

Community Policing

Community Policing is a city’s or county’s program requiring a network of volunteers, community organizations and city service outfits/agencies to cope with citizens’ concerns. Community Policing differs from strict crime-control/ law and order approaches by directing police activities towards the provision of services and the maintenance of order and peace. Accordingly it can serve as a test-case for democratic policing and trustraising. In particular with regards to the relationship between police and minority communities.

Good Police Work with Neighbourhood Focus

The minority persons or groups and police meet during neighbourhood conflicts or in matters regarding complaints about behaviour, often later at night. Occasionally, clan- or ethnicity-based disputes between people from different ethnic background cause conflicts, some of them with violent outcomes in the neighbourhood.

Informal Conflict Resolution within Minorities

Like Roma and Sub-Saharan Africans, Turkish and Arab people marshal similar conflict-solving mechanisms. While disputes or even violent quarrels are going on, people try to avoid involvement of police. Instead they try to involve formal or informal leaders in the extended family or seek help from trusted elders. In case of conflicts within the community, these persons act as a sort of mediator, since the community members give credit to their advice. In some instances in Germany as in Hungary, respected people of the community take care of disputes and conflict.

When Minorities and Street Cops Meet: Community Policing

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Police in Hungary

The Hungarian Police are the largest of all law enforcement organisations in Hungary after the 2008 merger of the Hungarian Police and the Border Guard. The police organization is divided into county police headquarters; these are then partitioned into urban police stations. In Hungary there is only one uniformed police service. According to the Hungarian Police Yearbook of 2011 the number of total staff is more than 46,000 (460 police officer per 100,000 inhabitants). The average age of the Hungarian police members is between 34 and 35 years. The average years of service is 14 (2011). The sex ratio has remained similar over the previous years: one third is female, two thirds are male.

Socio-Demographic Data of Roma in Hungary

Data on the number of Roma who live in Hungary differ considerably. According to a recent survey, about 8% of the Hungarian population, i.e. 800,000 citizens out of a total of 10 million belong to Roma and are the largest minority in Hungary. The latest national census of 2011 put the number of Roma at 315,000 meaning those who defined themselves as Roma as a self-assigned ethnic identity. Roma organisations in Hungary consider this number to be much higher. The highest rate of Hungarian Roma population can be found in the north-east of Hungary, roughly a third of the Hungarian Roma live in this area.

Current demographic changes in Hungary show an aging and all in all decreasing population while the Roma population is on the rise. The age distribution reveals that Roma are much younger than the overall Hungarian population.

In contrast to the increase in the Hungarian population of Roma, their life expectancy is considerably lower than that of the general population. In general and in comparison to the majority of Hungarian citizens, the housing situation of Roma is miserable, and their educational
The European Dimension of COREPOL achievement levels are low. Accordingly, Roma persons have difficulties in their access to the labour market. This affects the average income and the unemployment rate of minority persons in Hungary.

Images of ‘Criminal Roma’

In present-day Hungary, ‘gypsy crime’ has become a widespread stereotype attached to the Roma, as it appears mainly in the media and in the radical right-wing Jobbik party rhetoric. Jobbik was voted for by 20% of the electorate. The New York Times described Jobbik’s paramilitary arm and its ‘openly anti-Semitic and anti-Roma views’. Apparently, the prevailing vulgarity in relation to Roma has become an acceptable feature in present-day Hungarian mainstream discourse. As a result, hate speech and hate crime incidents have become more numerous.

Roma: Images and Acceptance of Police

A smaller section within the group of COREPOL interview partners expressed positive attitudes towards the work of the police. These Roma had not encountered police misconduct like abuse of force. They were satisfied with public safety, i.e. they felt safe and appreciated the work of the police. In contrast, the majority of the Roma claimed that police officers have strong prejudice towards Roma. Officers would tend to look down on Roma and they would feel contempt for the members of this minority. According to COREPOL interview data, police members in the capital are trusted more than those outside the cities. Interviewed Roma deemed police in the countryside to be more of the ‘tough’ or ‘redneck’ types because more often members of the minority are treated in a rough manner.

Police: Image and Acceptance of the Roma

Most of the police interviewed during COREPOL field work described members of the Roma minority as family-centred and characterised by strong communal solidarity, however also as hot-tempered, with different habits as well as a different culture and behaviour as non-Roma citizens. A lot of interviewed police believe that Roma do not have trust in police.

Depending on the location of the field work different types of discriminating attitudes surfaced. While the majority of the police officers in Budapest and Miskolc revealed a stereotyped, discriminatory attitude towards Roma in general, the interviewed police members in Nógrád county had opinions that showed more differentiation. The majority of interviewed police officers express beliefs that the ratio of persons committing crimes for economic gain is high among the Roma. This is seen as a consequence of their low level of education, the high unemployment rate and widespread poverty. Furthermore, in the view of police officers the inclination of Roma persons to commit illegal acts for economic gain could also be attributed to different values such as the Roma concept of ‘possession’ or ‘property’.
Situations Prone to Police-Minority Conflict: The Roma View

Many Roma respondents consider the police to hold racist attitudes against them. Some of our interviewees pointed out that the police charged unreasonably high fines for insignificant misdemeanours. Roma also were regularly accused of allegedly ‘feigned’ charges after police arrived or left the area. Additionally, Roma complain about unsubstantiated police activities, which for some of them comes across as a form of harassment. Moreover, the Roma respondents complain about cases of disrespectful and degrading behaviour on the part of police. In addition, most interviewed minority persons believe that Roma are more likely to become a subject of identity checks than non-Roma. During police measures non-Roma receive preferential treatment because police appear to trust them more than Roma. The data suggest that too often police tend to communicate with minority members in an offensive manner. In essence, interview data leads to the impression that Hungarian (police) practice, racial profiling and discrimination of social welfare payments. Experiences with ID checks, which are also typical in conflict situations, were frequently reported by the interviewees. The interviewee police think that reasons for conflicts might be that they are bothered or even feel intimidated by the presence of large numbers of ‘noisy’ Roma while performing the provision of procedures.

The police respondents believe that the attitude, behaviour, habits and the ‘temperament’ of the Roma also play a role in the easy outbreak of conflict between the Roma and members of the police. According to the police interviewees, the conflicts begin typically because the Roma do not understand the language that is used by the police or the distribution of substances. Some interviewees mentioned that the police are regularly present during the distribution of social welfare payments. Experiences with ID checks, which are also typical in conflict situations, were frequently reported by the interviewees. The interviewees believe that the key element of a successful measure is that the police officers should treat the Roma on an equal level and as an equal person and should not intend to create a hierarchical relationship. A few opinions were expressed that if calm communication doesn’t work, they are forced to use a harsher tone which could be a kind of solution to the conflict.

Police Complaint Management Procedures in Hungary

The official complaint can be filed to the Independent Police Complaint Board. After the modification of Act XXXIV of 1994 on the police in 2007, the election of the first five members of the Board in 2008 the Independent Police Complaint Board started its activity. Any lawyer with a clean
Police officer:

“When an officer starts behaving like a superior being this will immediately provoke a similar reaction. So the police officers who didn’t start acting this way but treated the other person as equals, even if with authority, these escalations did not happen.”

Minority male:

“90% of the police officers in the district have a normal attitude towards things. I have a good relationship with them. This is because I live here. When there were a lot of new police recruits, I always kept up good relations with these young guys. So they joined when they were youngsters and we’ve known each other ever since.”

The Hungarian Police were subordinated to the Ministry of Interior until 2006; then the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement took over their supervision (from 2008 together with the border guards) for four years. After the 2010 parliamentary elections the Ministry of Interior restarted its operation. Over the investigative activities the prosecutor’s offices can practice control.

In 2007 with the modification of Act XXXIV of 1994 on the Police, the Parliament amended the provisions for the structure of the police and established the Independent Police Complaint Board. The aim of the Board is, on the basis of the Police Act, to conduct complaint procedures – which fall into the exclusive competence of the police before – on its own, from a fundamental rights protective point of view and irrespective of the subordinate relations. The idea of establishing an independent body that monitored the work of the police came up earlier, in- ter alia in the proposals and recommendations of different NGOs. The demonstrations and riots in the autumn of 2006 and the serious police abuse and violations of law related to them played a significant role in the fact that the Board did not remain solely a vagrant idea. In 2007 with the modification of Act XXXIV of 1994 on the Police, the Parliament amended the provisions for the structure of the police and established the Board. The Board works as an organ of civil control by giving a new platform for citizens to complain against Police conduct.

Who Controls Hungarian Police Bodies?

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Austria

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Police Oversight by External Bodies in Austria

After the end of the WWI, the previously named Imperial Police Guards were replaced by the Federal Security Guards. In contrast to the Federal Police, the Austrian Gendarmerie (founded in 1849) was under the control of the military, namely the Ministry of War. In the course of the 2005 reform a merger of the Federal Gendarmerie, the Security Police, and the CID units took place. Several laws were reformed and as a result Federal Police Headquarters in every federal province were established.

Today the Austrian police are divided into nine regional police directorates consisting of 83 district police commands and 27 city police commands. Police-citizens ratio is at 300:1 with a proportion of 14 per cent females in the service. The Austrian police education is divided into basic police training (24 months), mid-level management education (bachelor program: 3 years) and the Master Program (3 years).

During encounters between people of African origin and police officers specific police units are more often involved, in particular the Street Crime Task Force and the Tactical Units (riot police). Additionally, among others the Police Detention Centres, the so-called Aliens’ Police (Fremdenpolizei), the Border and Immigration Police Department, and the Unit for Minority Contacts have more frequent contacts with persons of African origin who live in Austria.

Sub-Saharan Africans Living in Austria

In the post-war decades larger numbers of Africans came to Austria to study at the country’s universities, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. This has changed in the last decades as fewer students of African origin arrive in Austria for study purposes. At present, the reasons behind immigration or seeking asylum in Austria are predominantly political persecution, natural disasters, war and civil war and related conflicts. At the beginning of 2001, more than 40,000 people, about one third being women, predominantly from Nigeria, Ghana and South-Africa have taken residence in Austria, and about half of them in Vienna. Residence and legal status play an important role as far as the risk of being deported and access to employment are concerned. This however, also affects their ability to participate actively in civil society. As a consequence of difficult access to the Austrian labour market, Africans with an
academic qualification are (generally) not able to pursue their profession. They therefore have to seek work in menial jobs for which they are, by far, over qualified.

The term ‘African’ is quite often associated with drug-related crimes. African people are often confronted with discrimination, prejudice, and racism and they are frequently exposed to harassment and violence. The stigmatization of people from Africa due to their language, clothes and colour of skin is closely related to the image of ‘the black drug dealer’. This stereotype is consolidated through public, right-wing political, and often tabloid media debates. Such a bad reputation of Africans often leads to repercussions when it comes to contact with public service facilities, but especially with police officers and criminal proceedings.

Conflicts between African Minority Persons and Police

Based on the data of the field studies in Vienna and Graz five main areas of conflict between the police and persons of African origin have been identified. The results indicate remarkable differences along the two spatial settings of African minority. Additionally, some interviewees reported offensive and degrading actions and incidents of being ill-treated by the police. Conversely, police officers outlined disrespectful behaviour of some persons of African origin towards them. Such behaviour increases the risk of an escalation of the respective official act. In some cases, culture-based differences may be experienced as offensive behaviour. Nonetheless, many negative incidents can be attributed first and foremost to a lack of respect and friendly language, gestures, and attitude towards the vis-à-vis. They cannot simply be traced to cultural differences.

Identity checks & stops and searches:

The results show that there are difficulties of mutual comprehension with regard to official acts. This is particularly relevant when more complex communication is needed that may have consequences for legal proceedings. Furthermore, communication difficulties sometimes arise from cultural differences. These differences increase the likelihood of conflicts and escalation during an official act. Language differences may also be exploited to avoid communication. Such strategies seem to be used by persons of African origin in a critical situation, and also by some police officers, in which case it contributes to a misuse of power.

Disrespectful experiences and racial slurs:

Though a lot of official acts take place in a respectful way, occurrences were repeatedly referred to where police officers made use of pejorative slurs towards persons of African minority. Additionally, some interviewees reported offensive and degrading actions and incidents of being ill-treated by the police. Conversely, police officers outlined disrespectful behaviour of some persons of African origin towards them. Such behaviour increases the risk of an escalation of the respective official act. In some cases, culture-based differences may be experienced as offensive behaviour. Nonetheless, many negative incidents can be attributed first and foremost to a lack of respect and friendly language, gestures, and attitude towards the vis-à-vis. They cannot simply be traced to cultural differences.

Identity checks & stops and searches:

Identity checks appear to be the most significant area of conflict and represent the fundamental experience of discrimination in the everyday life of Africans in Austria. The data reveal how visible ‘otherness’, socio-economic markers, and stereotypes (‘criminal’) merge towards specific ethnic minorities and affect the control activities of certain police officers. The selectivity of the control practice partly results from practical experiences which are not adequately reflected and thus coagulate to a ‘second code’. More frequent checks of persons of African origin feed into a kind of general suspicion against the minority. Preferred treatment of (fair-skinned) Austrians during official acts:

In official acts where the police were called to intervene in conflicts between persons of African origin and fair-skinned Austrians, occasionally police treat ‘Austrian natives’ in a preferential manner while establishing the evidence and the relevant facts. Subsequently, a systematic disadvantage for persons of African origin may arise in the case of a subsequent legal proceeding.

Physical violence:

The interviews leave the impression that many police officers tend to regard and experience the African minority as particularly dangerous. Negative expectations towards persons of African origin obviously have an effect on the professional day-to-day interactions of the police with them. They put particular emphasis on self-protection in official acts with persons of African origin. This makes the accusations of the latter against the police plausible, namely that police officers particularly often and rapidly use direct physical power against persons of African origin and often call for reinforcement. This demonstrates that there is a vital necessity to thoroughly examine within the police, how experienced or imagined threats show up in practice. The resulting implications and effects on persons with an African migration background need systematic monitoring and analysis.

Complaints against the Austrian Police

In Austria, the Security Police Act forms an important legal basis for complaints against the police: sections regulate complaints with regard to the infringement of subjective rights and cover complaints due to violations of the guideline ordinance. This latter includes the possibility to stimulate a dialogue between the complainant and the respective officer. A complaint against police officers can be filed at every police station, at specific complaint departments within the Police Headquarters, at the Independent Administrative Tribunal or at Court or at NGOs concerned with anti-discrimination and anti-racism. Another address for complaints is the Austrian Ombudsman Board. The responsible unit for complaints within the Federal Ministry of Interior is the Federal Bureau of Anti-Corruption. This unit is in charge of investigations in the case of criminal acts (e.g. misconduct) of the police and other employees of the national public sectors. Within the Federal Police, the Bureau for Quality and Knowledge Management, and the Bureau for Controlling are there to ensure the efficiency and the professionalism of police work. Most of the forwarded cases relate to accusations of excessive use of force by police officers. The Citizen Information Service is responsible for the first processing of the official complaint. The case can then be forwarded to the Commissioner of Human Rights (CHR) for example, who contacts the accused officer.

The CHR has the responsibility to ensure compliance with human rights in general in all departments. Depending on the case, CHR can moderate an exchange between the victim and the officer in question. In 2010 the Unit for Minority Contact was established. This department of the Austrian police has its roots in the association Fair & Sensible.
The association was founded after cases like the one of Marcus Omofuma became public. Omofuma was an asylum seeker who died due to maltreatment during his deportation flight. The aim of Fair & Sensibel is to sensitize police officers towards people of African origin and their culture. With the establishment of the Unit for Minority Contacts the activities of Fair & Sensibel have been institutionalised. Here dialogues are offered to settle conflicts between citizen and police officers.

Restorative Justice Oriented Approaches of Conflict Resolution within the Austrian Police

Beside the possibility of the Unit Minority Contact a second institutionalised form of restorative justice oriented conflict resolution is a ‘charge dismissal dialogues’ (‘Klagstellungsgespräch’), an approach that is legally fixed just in the case of a complaint in accordance with the Security Police Act. In such a meeting the involved official and the complainant discuss the incident, with the aim of the complaint to be settled and no charges being brought. In the best case the procedure is closed with a written declaration by the complainant that the complaint is withdrawn.

The interviews showed that in those few cases where such conflict resolution meetings took place experiences were mainly positive. However, there are limiting factors for the application of this dialogue-oriented possibility of conflict resolution. The complainant has to refer explicitly
to the specific section of the law, so complainants have to know about this option. Additionally, sufficient support from the superiors is of crucial importance for promoting this alternative instrument in dealing with conflicts. Furthermore, it is important to raise awareness among police that the affected officers should directly take part in these meetings. It should be considered that for senior police officers who act as facilitators in conflict resolution meetings role conflicts can be a consequence.

Police Oversight by External Bodies in Austria

In July 2012 the Austrian Ombudsman Board (AOB) took over the tasks of the former Human Rights Advisory Council (HRAC). The HRAC examined the situation of persons who had been detained with respect to humane treatment and investigated police actions regarding any aspect of human rights violations. Today six commissions monitor and control all institutions and facilities where people with or without disabilities are in danger of abuse, inhuman treatment and measures that may deprive them of their liberty. The AOB gives recommendations to prevent human rights violations.

Apart from the above mentioned, NGOs are relevant concerning the control of police actions. These comprise of non-university research institutes that are usually positioned between science and practice with a strong application orientation (e.g. Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights). At the moment there is no independent complaint office in Austria. Most of the existing possibilities are closely connected to the police, high-threshold, and not anonymous. Furthermore they carry a risk of costs and have limited possibilities for the success of a complaint.

Minority male:
‘Recently, one of the statements we often hear: “To protect the population”. And many black people who are controlled ask themselves, why must “the population” be protected from them. Respectively, are they not a part of the population?’

Minority female:
‘So, if you are out and about as a woman with children, nobody will control you. That is not part of racial profiling. Profiling is clearly addressed at males. And if it is females, then black women who are fashionably dressed. Another cliché: young, well turned-out, prostitute. But us, the mommy-types, nobody will control us.’

Minority female:
‘It was such a good feeling that they (police members invited to a festivity) ate our food with pleasure, what we had cooked for them. They were happy to eat. They did not eat small portions, they actually made it double helpings, that is how much they liked it. And we had such great talks there with them.’

Minority female:
‘It is simply the case that officers don’t watch the behaviour of civilians carefully enough. Instead they tend to see the seemingly ‘self-evident’ signs. OK, black, subway station, that matches, let’s go and get him. Unless he wears a suit, because then he could be a doctor or so.’

Interviewer:
‘And you would say that this is still rather entrenched within the police?’

Police officer:
‘Now even more than ever.’
The German Police System

Germany is a federal state and therefore each of the sixteen states in Germany has its own police and its own police law. In addition there is also the Federal Police, which is responsible for border control and the safety of railways, the German Federal Criminal Police Office and the Police of the German Parliament. Since all ministries of the states work together closely, the police laws of the federal states are at least similar and comparable and are all based on common principles of the German constitution. The main task of the police is addressing safety and security needs, to do criminal prosecution and to deal with conflict situations. In 2012, 243,982 police officers were employed by the police and about 20% of the police officers were female.

Labour Migration from Turkey to Germany

Muslims began to migrate to German cities in the early 1960s when the building of The Wall between East and West Germany stopped the inflow of East Germans coming into the West German labour market. ‘Guest workers’ from Southern European countries were no longer available, and so the migration of Muslim contract workers from Turkey commenced. To a large extent Turks did not return to their homeland but remained in the cities of West Germany. After 1973 contract worker recruitment came to an end. Migration from Turkey to Germany continued however as family reunion. The size of the migration from Turkey to Germany has made it the 5th largest migration movement in the world. The largest Turkish community outside of Turkey live in Berlin.

German-Turks: Moving between two Worlds

First-, second-, third-, and fourth-generation people with a Turkish background reside in Germany. Many of them keep tight bonds with their relatives in Turkey and still have Turkish citizenship and passports. A large part of this minority lives an everyday-life according to
Turkish traditions, gets their groceries from Turkish shops, and watches TV stations from their home country. As a result, many German-Turks have hyphenated identities and ‘move between two worlds’. This is not always easy and can cause misunderstandings and conflicts, particularly in contacts with the police. Although many Turks are residents of districts in German cities, they and their families do not fully take part in German mainstream social activities. Furthermore, in comparison to the average Germans, a majority of Turkish-Germans still live in disadvantaged conditions, in particular when it comes to housing. In general terms, these city districts are termed ‘communities’.

Who is the German-Turkish ‘Community’?

At a closer look the expression ‘community’ appears somewhat misleading because it implies a coherency which more often than not, does not exist. For example, the Muslim neighbourhoods of Berlin consist of people of very diverse ethnic origin, religious affiliation and cultural roots: Turks (mostly from Anatolia), Kurdish people from different regions, Palestinians, Lebanese, and most recently people from Syria. They do not form a homogeneous but rather a complex and unstable situation with numerous internal conflicts between individuals, family clans, and their neighboring Germans.

Minority female: ‘In my neighbourhood the cops are very good, they are there when you call them and need them.’

Minority male: ‘Our ... people believe that the police will only be called when there is a major problem. They should be informed, that police would also come for minor problems, without negative repercussions.’
Two examples that we encountered during our field work show that such activities can improve the relationship between the police and the neighbourhood.

MaDonna is a neighbourhood project in the middle of an area mostly populated by families with a migrant background. It was founded more than 30 years ago with an original focus on activities and counselling for girls and women. In the meantime the project is open to the needs of all the people living in the area when it comes to solving family conflicts, actively supporting the school careers of girls and boys in the families, and most importantly enhancing civil society on a local level. The project workers have a long tradition of contacts and cooperation with local police on the beat and the city administration.

The Mannheim project ‘Cooperation for public safety – Police and Immigrants in open discussion’ (‘Sicherheit gemeinsam gestalten – Polizei und Migranten im offenen Gespräch’) consists of a series of direct face-to-face encounters between migrant community citizens and street police. Members of the city’s top police leadership have established reliable contacts to minority representative and community organizations, including Mosque associations. This cooperation has been going on for more than a decade now. On a wider scale, potentially dangerous conflicts were solved, riots avoided, and on a micro-level the Mannheim police are a respected player in community life. The face-to-face seminars have had a strong impact on mutual understanding and respect between police practitioners and men and women who live in this area. Whilst the first set of seminars included activists and educated citizens, the following meetings will include community members from all strands of the minority population.

Too Much or too Little Police in Migrant Quarters?

Similar to research findings in other Western societies, COREPOL data points at features of under-policing and over-policing in minority neighbourhoods. Residents, particularly interviewed females ask for more police presence, faster police responses to emergency calls and better protection, while others (more often younger males) complain about police stops and frequent ID checks. For more than a decade now, in our field research sites, police organizations have been actively trying to improve police-community relations. At the outset, the contacts were concentrated on local Mosque associations. At a later stage, cooperation with other community groups and activists was initiated.

Inequality starts at school

Problematical attitudes towards education and in particular, the educational status of parents/mothers are seen as contributing factors to ongoing processes of discrimination in the German education system. These problems lead to minimal educational achievement and accordingly, restrict the access of younger people with a migration background, in particular young males, to the labour market.

Higher unemployment rates of parents, higher rates of physical abuse in families against children and against partners, together with a higher visibility of adolescent offenders with a Turkish/Arab family background are seen as consequences of failed integration. On the part of the German majority this can add to feelings of resentment and prejudice. Recently, the perceived radicalization of segments of the Turkish/Arab population in relation to Jihadist and IS involvement has added to the estrangement between a growing number of Germans and ‘the Muslims’.

Conflicts between German-Turks and the Police

In the restricted sample that has contributed to our data and in consideration of our observations, Islamism or even Jihadist fanaticism found no mentioning at all. In the neighbourhood interviews and mostly among younger males we have occasionally encountered disaffection with police and German society. This is a group where police ‘micro-politics’ can achieve a lot by practicing fair policing. However, police officers may use hostile or overly harsh approaches and by doing so may contribute to disaffected or alienated attitudes. This may steer young men to pursue avenues of masculine identity which starts with them joining gyms and becoming part of neighbourhood cliques, and finds them ending up on the battlefields of Syria or elsewhere.

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How German Police Perceive German-Turks

Among the interviewed German police officers through the ranks, most individuals and families from an ethnic minority background are seen as ‘normal’ people with ‘normal’ problems, and of no special threat to safety, disorder, or criminal issues. Apart from this general opinion there are some groups of young males and adolescents who are seen to frequently act in a rude manner and who tend to insult police officers. Similarly, demonstrations of misled masculinity and misogynist behaviour abound in some strict Muslim households. These norms lead to conflicts within families, groups and frequently appear as a source of conflict with police.

The Need to Know One’s Rights

On the part of the German-Turks, the demand to empower this minority to be self-confident in situations of contact with the police needs to be strengthened. German-Turks should learn which rights they have as people living in Germany. Furthermore, they also need to develop a correct understanding of the legal framework of policing and its roots and role in a democratic society. Many German immigrants and also young male adolescents are brought up according to the rules of patriarchy and its hierarchy. To them the typical German non-hierarchical structure appears strange and hard to understand.

Schools, for example, must become places where children with Turkish and Arab backgrounds can learn about democracy, democratic values, about the role as well as the authority of the police, and about their own rights and obligations within German society. An improved understanding of the police’s role in society will be enhanced if German-Turks and Arabs are in direct and positive contact with the police.

German Police and Human Rights

According to Amnesty International, the police can be viewed in terms of a human rights organization. However, the public image of police relies still quite often on a crime-fighting paradigm. Although research findings across countries clearly prove that crime-fighting is NOT the bread-and-butter business of modern police, this image is also partly reinforced by police management. Thus, the awareness of police as a human rights service needs to be strengthened and will be a vital part of successful police reform. However, as police work is very often about solving problems within the context of unpleasant or even violent circumstances, the vision and knowledge of the purpose of good policing needs to be called into consciousness on a more routine basis.

What does Intercultural Competence Mean?

Although police officers normally attend basic and advanced intercultural training courses, COREPOL results leave no doubt that police officers are still irritated or uninformed about German-Turks and their behaviour. Therefore police officers need further empowerment to be self-confident when dealing with migrants. Language problems often contribute to misunderstandings between German-Turks and the police. Especially in stressful situations (e.g., accidents, violent offences) migrants who are involved, often are not able to express themselves well in the German language (although they might speak it in daily life). To reduce the excitement, to detangle confusion, and to build trust, it is a simple but crucial recommendation that police officers working with German-Turks learn at least some helpful Turkish phrases.

Towards Constructive Conflict Management

Some police stations in Germany already do a lot to come into contact and to maintain contact with German-Turks. These activities can be understood in terms of prevention and pre-conflict management. However, when conflicts occur, police need to be additionally empowered to provide long-term conflict resolution. Existing conflict resolution strategies should be publicized to other city or federal state police. This should include practical training courses with stakeholders of Turkish-German conflicts (e.g. housing managers, social workers). This could also reveal important resources for effective conflict resolution. Minority members need to have participation in democratic activities. Complaining, including criticism of police practices, is part of a living democracy and transparency of the state. Police stations already offer email addresses, where praise and critique can be communicated. However, the following proceedings often remain incomprehensible or obscure. Therefore, easy-access complaint systems (e.g., special offices) should be established.
According to COREPOL field study data and concerning police oversight in Austria there seems to be a need for a more thorough grasp on the part of police officers regarding ‘charge dismissal dialogues’. This dialog-oriented conflict resolution meeting can take place in the course of a complaint in accordance with the Security Police Act. It is too seldom used or even unknown among street police. A training session is recommended for the Basic Police Training:

**Aims:**

- Dissemination of the opportunity to discuss a specific incident with the aim of the complaint being settled and no charges being brought, i.e. ‘charge dismissal’. Exchange of perspectives (of complainant and accused officer).
- Awareness-raising of pros and cons and practical aspects of such conflict resolution mechanisms.

**Participants:** Police officers of Basic Police Education courses (year 2)

**Applied training methods:** Group work, role play, reflection

**Equipment:** Flip charts, pens, cards, copies of the §§ section (Security Act), copies of examples

**Timeframe:** 2-2.5 hrs.
The trainer asks the participants to discuss for a period of 15 minutes in groups of three the following questions:

a. What is a ‘charge dismissal dialogue’? What is its legal basis?
b. Are you familiar with this instrument? Practical experience?
c. What are the pros and cons of its practical application?

The participants present their ideas. If needed, the trainer completes the information about this chance for a non-adversarial conflict resolution (hand-out §§ Section of Security Act).

The trainer asks three volunteers to perform a conflict resolution meeting: one person takes the role of the complainant (A), one of the accused officer (B) the third the role of the mediator (C). The three persons study a case where a conflict situation between a police officer and a civilian is described. All the other participants act as observers. The trainer hands out the following questions:

a. On which level did the complainant/the accused officer argue (objective, emotional, role-related, any other level)?
b. How did the mediator fulfil his/her task? How did he/she support or impede the process of conflict solution?
c. Was the resolution satisfactory for both parties?
d. When did the conflict turn towards problem-solving?
e. What went well/not so well/wrong during the meeting?

After the role-play the trainer asks the three volunteers about their experiences. Afterwards the other participants present their observations. The whole group reflects on the role-play.

The trainer hands out cards and pens and asks the participants to build groups of four. The small groups are requested to think of pros and cons of a conflict solution meeting and of suitable cases and also unsuitable cases for applying the non-adversarial conflict resolution approach. Results are written down. After 15 minutes the groups present their results and pin their cards on the flip chart. If needed the trainer completes the lists.

Tips for the trainer:

Although this specific approach is legally embedded in the Austrian law, the idea of exchanging perspectives (of complainant and accused officer) and finding a peaceful resolution without bringing further legal actions with the aim to settle the complaint, can be applied in other countries.
DRAWINGS: 'How do you perceive the police'

by MaDonna Mädchenkult.Ur e.V.
DHPol – German Police University

Being a central University providing senior police training and police further training to the senior police services of the Federation and the Federal states throughout Germany, the Deutsche Hochschule der Polizei - DHPol (hereinafter referred to as ‘German Police University’) is located in a Southern part of Münster, the suburb of Hiltrup. The German Police University was founded in 2006. Its predecessor institutions, the ‘Polizei-Führungsakademie’, and the ‘Polizeinstitut Hiltrup’ have been located at this place since the mid-40s of last century. The German Police University seeks to become the most important forum for providing linkage between academic science and practical policing, thus forming an arena for the discussion of relevant policing subjects in Germany.

IRKS – Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology

IRKS (Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie) is a research institution that was established in 1973. To a major extent the research of IRKS represents the sociology of law and criminology in Austria. Among others key areas are: Institutions of social control, social inclusion/exclusion, mediation and restorative justice, crime and (in)security. IRKS proposes and designs legal or organizational reforms and analyses their implementation. It is IRKS’s aim to connect practical and scientific undertakings, along with contributions from different disciplines in order to advance research, law and practical activities.

NUPS - National University of Public Service

The Faculty of Law Enforcement at the National University of Public Service went operational in January of 2012. Similar to its predecessor, the Police College, the Faculty of Law Enforcement continues to be the sole higher education institution to conduct law enforcement training. It provides training for professionals, among them commissioned officers, public servants and public officials for posts in law enforcement organisations, especially the Hungarian Police Force, the Hungarian Prison Service, the National Tax and Customs Administration, the Office of Immigration and Nationality and also the private security sector.

.SIAK – Sicherheitsakademie

The Security Academy .SIAK is the training, education and research department of the Austrian Ministry of Interior. .SIAK (Sicherheitsakademie) consists of five subdivisions. Key elements are the focus on police and social science, as well as on leadership, personal and organizational development.
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