Strategies for Police Violence Prevention in Childhood and Youth in Germany

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1 Preliminary Remarks

The police, and therefore also police crime prevention, in particular fall under the jurisdiction of the Länder (federal states). Consequently, the strategies, concepts, and measures as well as organisational, personal, and financial conditions are diverse. However, it would extend far beyond the scope of this chapter, purely in terms of space, to give an account of the respective strategies for violence prevention in childhood and youth in the Länder and the Bund (the German state at federal level).

Hence the following discussion refers especially to those strategies, concepts, and measures for violence prevention in childhood and youth, which were developed within the framework of the Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes (Police Orientated Crime Prevention by the Federal Government and the States), and are coordinated and put into practice across the regions (at interstate level). Nevertheless, since not all areas of violence prevention are associated with such strategies all over Germany, and given the particular importance of strategies at the regional (Land) level, reference is also made to individual federal states as exemplary cases.

Police Crime Prevention across the regions was reorganised on 1 July 1997. The activities of the Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes (Police Orientated Crime Prevention by the Federal Government and the States) were established under the working group for “Internal Security” of the Standing Conference of the Ministers and Senators of the Interior for the federal states, and comprise project management, the Kommission Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention (Police Crime Prevention Commission) and the Central Office. Within the strategic tasks of project management, the Commission undertakes conceptual casework, and its representatives are from all sixteen federal states, the German State at federal level, and the German Police University (in formation). The members have specialised in crime prevention topics (overall in 25 areas of work); basic and updated information on these areas of work is available to all Commission members via the police extranet.

A central part of the Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes is the ProPK Programme\(^1\). Its mission is to inform the public, multipliers, the media, and other crime prevention organisations about the different manifestations of criminality and the options for its prevention. This is made possible, among others, by crime prevention press and public relations work, mass media publi-
cations as well as the development of measures and concepts to support the prevention work of local police stations.

Within the framework of this programme, the majority of strategies coordinated all over Germany are developed and put into practice, as well as being available to police forces in the federal states and the German state at the federal level for their advice and prevention work, for instance, in the form of brochures, leaflets or films. Over and above this central service on offer, the federal states and the German state at the federal level implement independent prevention strategies to varying degrees.

The police strategies for violence prevention – as for the entire field of police action – are influenced by social, and especially criminal policy developments, and are subject to ongoing change. The extent to which they have changed over the past nearly two decades is clear by comparison with the expert report on the “Independent Governmental Commission on the Prevention and Control of Violence” published in 1990 (Violence Commission, cf. Schwind/Baumann 1990), and here in particular the expert report of the Sub-Commission V – Community Policing – “Verhinderung und Bekämpfung von Gewalt aus der Sicht der Polizeipraxis” (“Prevention and Control of Violence from a Community Policing Perspective”) (dated: Spring 1989; further citations below refer to Sub-Commission V).

2 Crime prevention as a police function

The functions of the police are defined in German law and statutes. “They include in particular

- averting danger including danger prevention and preventive control of criminal offences and breaches of administrative rules
- prosecution of criminal offences and breaches of administrative rules (...).

2 The sources for joint strategies, concepts, and measures are the print media published by the ProPK (Program Police Orientated Criminal Prevention), including the Handbook for Police Practice “Prävention auf einen Blick” (“Prevention at a Glance”) and the annual reports of the Kommission Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes (State and Federal Police Crime Prevention Commission). The “Leitlinien Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention” (“Guidelines for Police Crime Prevention”) of 1998 are the basis for these strategies and also mandatory across the regions, as well as the advice on crime prevention in the Police Regulation 100 “Führung und Einsatz der Polizei” (“Police Leadership and Deployment”) (1999 edition).

3 The reference to this expert report gains further significance because the Coordinator of Sub-Commission V, Alfred Stümper, President of Police for the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg – as the then Chairman of project management for the ProPK (Police Orientated Criminal Prevention) predecessor programme – was responsible for the area of Police Crime Prevention coordinated all over Germany and across the regions.
The police have to guarantee public safety and civil order in the first instance by preventive measures; and initiatives should be taken to promote this purpose. If necessary, priorities should be decided for exercising these functions; in principle, averting danger is to take precedence over criminal prosecution” (see Police Regulation [PDV] 100, 1.2). This priority is derived from the principle of citizen-oriented police work, the vital importance of the public's protection from crime and the recognition that it is more sensible not to allow criminal offences to occur in the first place, as opposed to the greater effort of prosecuting them at a later date.4

Crime prevention is understood by the police as a duty to perform for society as a whole, for which not merely the police, but above all politicians, other governmental and non-governmental agencies, business, the media, as well as the general public are held responsible and must make their specific contributions.5 Within the framework of crime prevention for society as a whole, police crime prevention is the duty of all police officers (see Guidelines; PDV 100).

2.1 Conditions of police violence prevention6 in childhood and youth

2.1.1 Objectives and conception of police violence prevention

This report interprets police violence prevention as the prevention or reduction of violent action towards or by children and young people. These objectives should be achieved through functions performed independently by the police, and with the co-active involvement of other parties responsible for prevention measures. An important target group are parents and legal guardians as well as multipliers active in prevention work.

The preventive functions to be performed independently by the police are oriented, on the one hand, towards the situative or specific prevention approach, and are aimed at reducing the opportunities to commit an offence; in particular by

- compiling criminality situation reports,

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4 The Sub-Commission V also viewed the matter in 1989 as follows: “The maxim must be that it is less important to punish committed acts appropriately, quickly, and fully than rather to prevent the occurrence of violence” (margin no. 329).

5 The extent to which other providers responsible for prevention now also view the issue in this way is not least made clear by this report on the strategies of violence prevention in the individual fields of action.

6 To prevent any potential misunderstanding: the police have no specific violence prevention strategies; rather, these correspond to or arise from the generally applicable and valid strategies of police crime prevention.
- police presence adjusted to the situation,
- security technology and behaviour-oriented advice, and
- crime-preventive public relations work.

Furthermore, preventive duties are also oriented towards the functions and objectives of juvenile criminal law. In this case, at the forefront is the prevention of other criminal offences by those young people, who have already attracted attention to themselves for violence and have been recorded by the police. This is the “basis for modern police youth social work that also takes into consideration the latest criminological findings. For the police, especially in the field of youth work, the valid principle is: “Prevention comes before repression” (from the introduction to Police Regulation (PDV) 382).

In police youth social work, the transitions between the broad situative-preventive outline of youth contact work and the repressive-preventive outline of youth casework is fluid, and overlaps occur (cf. Dietsch/Gloss 2005).

The prevention of criminal offences by generally supportive measures with a potentially preventive effect, for instance, in the field of social prevention – such as education, teaching values and training, prevention of deficiencies in personality training or removal of social disadvantages – is not an original function of police violence prevention. Here, at best the police can have an indirect influence; and in particular, they can make available to other authorities and institutions as well as political decision-makers their findings and insights into individual and social problems gained in the context of carrying out their functions.

Thus, alongside exercising their independent functions, the police mission is to become co-actively involved in the prevention measures of other responsible organisations. Since the police as well as the judiciary – unlike, for instance, local authority bodies, school and out-of-school institutions, parents or others involved in prevention – have explicitly been allocated criminal and thus also violence prevention as a specific function (“original competence”), they have an obligation to integrate this into the actions of others. To be “co-active” in this sense above all means the obligation to refer other responsible parties to problems relevant to violence, to provide the necessary police information, and to work towards joint prevention measures.

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2.1.2 Children and young people as a target group of police violence prevention

The most important target group for police violence prevention are children and young people as victims, witnesses, and offenders who have committed criminal actions. These children should be addressed either together with partner agencies such as schools or youth social work and youth services institutions or indirectly through the legal guardians.

The preferred approach for police violence prevention within the framework of the ProPK (Police Orientated Criminal Prevention) is not “a direct conversation” with the children and young people personally, but informing and educating the originally responsible individuals and institutions such as, for example, legal guardians or the school with the assistance of the ProPK brochure entitled “So schützen Sie Ihr Kind” (“How to Protect your Child”). The police aim is to support those responsible and actively involved in prevention “from the outside”, so that they can competently carry out their educational and training work on violence prevention.

In accordance with the police approach to prevention, which is oriented towards cooperation and support, the concepts as well as the informative material made available are basically developed with the relevant – especially educational – professionals, and if necessary coordinated with the relevant committees and the sector-specific Conferences of Ministers (such as the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the federal states). Whether and to what extent the concepts and material are used is decided above all by partners outside the police who are originally responsible.

2.1.3 On the concept of violence

The assumption is that violence always occurs if an individual is harmed by bodily or psychological injury or when material property is damaged. Actions causing damage by and to children and young people are – in the terminology of criminal law – bodily, psychological, and sexual abuse, actual bodily harm, threats, coercion, extortion and robbery offences, and also defamations. This also includes violence against property or criminal damage to property.8

However, since in the report as a whole violence is principally understood as damaging action deliberately directed against individuals, the strategies, measures, and concepts of police prevention of violence against property are at best only mentioned in a peripheral context.

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8 This is the definition in the ProPK brochure “Wege aus der Gewalt” (“Ways Out of Violence”), downloadable of the German brochure: www.propk.de/medialhek/kommunikationsmittel/broschueren
2.1.4 Fields of police violence prevention in childhood and youth

Police violence prevention in childhood and youth above all occurs
- in the close social environment
- in school
- with respect to multiple and persistent offenders
- in the public arena
- in community crime prevention.

2.2 The type, degree, and development of violence by and against children and young people: potential significance and limits of police criminal statistics

The prevention and prosecution of violent crime are at the heart of police work – not only when children and young people are victims, witnesses or offenders. This is mainly due to the nature of the criminal acts: their often considerable effects on the victims and witnesses and their related interference with safety and the sense of safety.

The data of the Police Criminal Statistics (co-)define the police’s violence prevention strategies, albeit with limited significance. The limitations are mainly based on the fact that the police are only partly aware of violent offences, mostly through complaints and rather seldom as a result of their own activities or in connection with investigations.

Nevertheless, complainant behaviour is not a constant value, but variable and influenced, above all, by media reports. Child and juvenile crime, especially violent crime, were and are “popular” topics for the media – the key words are “ever increasing, ever younger, and ever more serious”. Empirical evidence supports the view that media reports have led to an overestimation of juvenile violent crime among the population (and in politics!) (cf. Pfeiffer et al. 2004). Equally, there are indications of a growing inclination to make a complaint against children and young people causing disruption (cf. Oberwittler/Köllisch 2004). Moreover, this inclination is substantially greater for violence committed in public areas (the “typical” location of the crime scene for juveniles) than for violence in the private sphere (the “typical” location of the crime scene for adults).

The influential factor of “complainant behaviour” and other variable factors – such as police control, statistical records, amendments to criminal law – mean it is especially difficult to make statements about developments in criminality registered by the police: has criminality changed or do potential influential fac-
tors have an effect, or should both be assumed? No statistical assessments of unreported crime cases were previously carried out in Germany. Therefore, with respect to the type, degree, and development of criminality registered by the police, assumptions can always only be made with greater or lesser plausibility about how “true to reality” the recorded data are.

If the function of Police Criminal Statistics is considered as case-statistics, then a ten-year comparison between 1996 and 2005\(^9\) highlights (basis: Police Criminal Statistics for the Federal Republic of Germany):

- in 2005, the police investigated overall 2.3 million cases of those suspected of having committed an offence, 4.5% more cases than in 1996. 17% (or 387,574) of these were children and young people of the under-18 age group – 5.1% less than in 1996.
- For actual bodily harm, a total of 456,618 suspected of having committed an offence were under investigation, 51% more than in 1996. 26% (or 82,968) of these were children and young people, 64% more than in 1996.
- For robbery, a total of 36,755 suspected of having committed an offence were under investigation, 11% less than in 1996. 35% (or 12,829) of these were children and young people, 20% less than in 1996.
- For violent crime in the narrow sense\(^{10}\), in 2005 a total of 206,557 cases were recorded of those suspected of having committed an offence, 33% more than in 1996. 26% (or 53,979) were children and young people, 36% more than in 1996. In 2005, investigations were conducted into 9% of all those suspected of having committed an offence and 14% of the under-18 age group suspected of having committed offences of violent crime.

Although the majority of those alleged offenders registered by the police were young men or boys, the girls have “caught up”: in 2005, the proportion of under-18-year-old girls among all alleged offenders of this age group was 27% – in 1996, this was 26% (this trend for the girls obscures a slight increase in the absolute numbers of those suspected of having committed an offence of 0.2% – and for the boys, in contrast, a decline of 7%). For robbery, in 2005, the proportion of girls is 11% – in 1996, this was still 3%, (although for the girls, too, the absolute numbers of alleged offenders declined during the comparison period: by 16% – for boys, however, by 24%). For actual bodily harm, in 2005, the proportion of girls is 20% – in 1996, this was 17%, (this represents increases in the absolute numbers of alleged offenders for the girls of 97% and

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\(^9\) As police criminal statistical data are not comparable “before and after the fall of the Wall” due to German unification, no reference can be made to the year 1989 – the year of the report by the “Violence Commission” – hence the methodologically standard ten-year comparison.

\(^{10}\) The summary code of Police Criminal Statistics 8920 “Gewaltkriminalität” (“Violent Crime”) incorporates manslaughter, rape, robbery, grievous and serious actual bodily harm, extortionate kidnapping, hostage-taking, attack on air traffic, and the largest proportion of alleged offenders – approx. 80% – is in the category of offences for grievous actual bodily harm.
for the boys of 57%). For *violent crime* in the narrower sense (see the definition in footnote 10), the proportion of girls is 17% – in 1996, this was 14%, (this represents increases in the absolute numbers of alleged offenders for the girls of 62% and 32% for the boys).

As regards the “degree” of violence, it can be observed that as previously, the girls primarily and more frequently attracted attention than boys for committing offences of a trivial nature, and/or as accomplices. The “girl gangs that hit hard” are an absolute exception – and therefore also a media event.

In comparison with media reports and thus their essential influence over the perception of juvenile violence, the analysis of reported crime cases to the police and violent acts accounted for in the Police Criminal Statistics offers a differentiated and less “shocking” picture:

- in no sense is “everything getting worse”, but certain things are even getting better: for instance, the frequency with which children and young people are registered with the police as “thieves” has been in marked decline for several years;
- violence is by no means only “typical of youth”: although the proportions of children and young people suspected of having committed violent offences are higher than among alleged offenders overall, but even for robbery they only represent 35% of alleged offenders – two thirds of alleged offenders are therefore 18 years or older;
- accordingly as regards violent acts, by no means is there only an increase in the absolute frequency of children and young people suspected of having committed an offence, but rather this applies also to 18-year-old and older alleged offenders.

If it is further taken into consideration that it is more common for violence committed in public areas by children and young people and together with others to be reported substantially earlier than for the typical violence committed by adults in the private sphere, and moreover that really serious violent acts by children and young people are committed much less frequently than by adults, then it becomes clear that violence is not a “speciality” solely of young people and that the dramatization of youth violence is not justified on these grounds.
3 Strategies of police violence prevention in childhood and youth in specific areas

3.1 Prevention of violence against children and young people in the close social environment

In the close social environment, in particular within the family, children and young people can become victims of violence by adults as well as witnesses of violence among adults. This is by no means a recent occurrence. On the contrary, the extent of intra-familial violence also and especially against children was even significantly greater ten or twenty years ago than today. Nevertheless, for the Sub-Commission V, the close social environment was considered rather more “hesitatingly” as an area of police violence prevention. At the centre of the statements on “violence in the family” in 1989 was the physical maltreatment of children, while sexual abuse against them was not addressed. Moreover, the fact that women and older people can become victims was mentioned, yet not considered in further depth, and the same also applies for the “resolution of disputes”. This corresponds to the cautious evaluation of the police’s preventive possibilities: “The police are principally obligated to prevent and prosecute criminal offences. This also applies for this area. However, the constitutional protection of the close social environment of home and family sets limits to direct influences. Maltreatment that occurs within the family is therefore excluded from direct preventive action. Furthermore, the police must show restraint with interventions, in order not to intensify an existing crisis, or prevent or impair therapeutic measures. Therefore, the principle must remain valid that as far as possible the police should be last in the intervention chain. However, protection afforded by criminal law as an emergency brake cannot be entirely dispensed with” (see margin nos. 315, 316; seven out of a total of 127 pages of the expert report of the Sub-Commission V refer to violence within the family).

Since then, police strategies have substantially changed for violence prevention within the close social environment. Police action – either preventive or repressive – within the close social environment may still and unquestionably be a precarious issue, since the police intervene in what is probably the most pro-

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11 In 2005, 17,558 children were registered as victims of sexual abuse, 10% less than in 1996; almost half (49%) were related or known to the alleged offender. In 1996 this figure was still 31%. In addition, there were 3,390 victims of maltreatment, 52% more than in 1996; 95% of them were related or known to the alleged offender (1996: 92%).

12 This is confirmed by results of the extensive studies on unreported crime cases by the Kriminologisches Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen (Criminological Research Institute of Lower Saxony) on the type and degree of maltreatment of children by their parents.
ected sphere. Nevertheless, meanwhile the viewpoint still represented in 1989 by the Sub-Commission V has changed entirely. This is not least due to the experience that even and precisely for those institutions that are “actually responsible”, things only improve over the longer term once the police has seen to the problems of violence – and indeed not merely as the last in the intervention chain.13

Police strategies to prevent violence against children, with protection of the victims at the centre, are aimed not only at direct, immediate violence against them, but also at indirect, third-party violence against children as witnesses of domestic violence.

This new broad outline is also influenced by amendments to the statutory basis: since November 2000, the prohibition of physical and psychological violence in upbringing has been anchored in Section 1631, Para. 2 of the Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (German Civil Code): “Humiliating educative measures, in particular physical and psychological maltreatment, are unlawful.”

On 1 January 2002, the “Gesetz zum zivilrechtlichen Schutz vor Gewalttaten und Nachstellungen” (“Law for Civil Legal Protection from Violent Acts and Stalking Offences”) came into force with considerable consequences for the police: in all federal states, framework provisions and guidelines have been adopted for the effective protection of those affected by domestic violence, in particular, children who grow up in an environment influenced by violence. The Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth) commissioned the scientific assessment of the intervention projects dealing with domestic violence and observed: “The police [...] have proven themselves as a model institution for the control of domestic violence: different coping and working methods were achieved, especially for police [...] practice in cases of domestic violence.”15

3.1.1 Protection of children as victims and witnesses in the context of domestic violence

This law at the latest offered the “official” recognition and confirmation of the fact that violence within the close social environment, and in this instance especially the privatised areas of violence in the close social environment: violence against old people, especially violence in (home) care. For the consequences arising from this new broad outline for training and continual professional development in the police, the key word is professionalism – cf ch. 4.

13 Incidentally, this experience now caused the police to accept, too, one of the last taboos and “privatised” areas of violence in the close social environment: violence against old people, especially violence in (home) care. For the consequences arising from this new broad outline for training and continual professional development in the police, the key word is professionalism – cf ch. 4.

14 The Violence Commission already requested a ban on the right to corporal punishment and made a corresponding proposal: “Children are to be reared without the use of violence. Using physical violence and other humiliating educative measures is unlawful. Section 1631, Para. 2 BGB (German Civil Code) is to be amended accordingly” – Final Report Part B: Proposals, p. 183.

pecially domestic violence, is not a private matter, but an issue of public interest. Moreover, this had a considerable impact on police behaviour.

While police concepts and measures primarily focus on the protection of the immediate victims—generally women or spouses—they have an indirect effect on the children, who have even experienced at least physical violence as witnesses of violence between partners. Now, it is more frequently the case than before that the victims do not leave home and seek refuge with the children\textsuperscript{16} in a women’s refuge, but the perpetrators are placed under an exclusion order—according to the principle “Whoever hits out, goes”. And, at least indirectly, this has positive effects on the children as well, and highlights how violence is not an accepted means of conflict resolution.

Police violence prevention therefore follows criminological findings, according to which not only psychological, physical, and sexual violence committed by parents and next of kin against their children cause them considerable damage, but also observing violent confrontations between parents can have serious and permanently damaging effects—and is always to be assessed at least as mental violence towards children. In addition, the danger especially for boys is that they themselves become violent as direct and/or indirect victims of parental violence.

Since children who have witnessed manslaughter in the context of domestic violence are particularly damaged, the attention that the police devote in advance to this form of violence (in forecasting danger and, if applicable, in warnings to potential offenders) is at least of indirect benefit to them.

Equally, provided that the police attempt to gain the consent of those concerned in every case of intervention in domestic violence, in order quickly to forward their details to one of the cooperating advice points, then collaboration between the police and intervention agencies for domestic violence—which goes as far as pro-active approaches—has a positive effect on the children who are also affected by domestic violence.

3.1.2 Protection of children from maltreatment and sexual abuse

Police strategies for the prevention of mental, physical and sexual abuse now take into account—also under a broad new outline—that not merely the mental and physical maltreatment of children especially occurs within the close social environment and is primarily perpetrated by the guardians, but also the majority of sexual abuse cases: “The numerical proportion of unknown offenders, who are the focus of a great deal of public attention, is usually overestimated. All findings show that the abuse of children occurs primarily within the family.

\textsuperscript{16} Empirical and statistical findings show that children are present in at least three quarters of cases of domestic violence that the police are called to.
or social environment, for instance, by a father, uncle, grandfather, cousin, neighbour or friend – thus, overall by people who in some form or other are the next of kin of those affected” (see the ProPK\textsuperscript{17} handout “Prävention auf einen Blick” (“Prevention at a Glance”), 2004: 165).\textsuperscript{18}

As child abuse not only occurs in the close social environment, and by no means all offenders are fathers or partners of the mothers, police violence prevention measures are also aimed at legal guardians: in the ProPK brochures “Wege aus der Gewalt – So schützen Sie Ihr Kind vor Gewalt” (“Ways Out of Violence – How to Protect Your Child from Violence”) and “Wohin gehst du? – So schützen Sie Ihr Kind” (“Where Are You Headed? – How to Protect Your Child”) basic information is provided on the type and degree of violence, danger to children as well as relevant tips on prevention and recommendations.

However, since this target group of police violence prevention should not only protect children under their care from violent acts, but they themselves can turn into offenders, assistance for children who have become victims must (also) come from outside. For that reason, the aim of police violence prevention with initiatives such as support for “civil courage”\textsuperscript{19} is to motivate witnesses not to look away, but to inform the police. Furthermore, the abovementioned ProPK brochures are not only aimed at legal guardians, but also educational professionals in school and out-of-school institutions to raise their awareness of the danger for children and to motivate intervention.

At the level of several federal states, material about prevention has also explicitly been revised for children. Thus, maltreatment and sexual abuse are addressed, for instance, in the homework exercise books used by the police in primary school classes.

In any case, the actual emphasis of violence prevention in this area does not reside with the ProPK, but with the federal states, if the police participate in those prevention programmes that are designed to encourage children to “say no” (for instance, using role play, theatre, assertiveness training – with the key word: “Making children strong”) –, and if the corresponding information is given to parents and legal guardians (for instance, in cooperation with schools at parents’ evenings or similar events). The ProPK uses its materials and concepts – often these are action-oriented and interactive – to support such approaches by the police in the federal states.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Programm Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes} (Program for Police Oriented Criminal Prevention by the Federal Government and the States)

\textsuperscript{18} See further also in the Police Crime Statistics data quoted in footnote 11.

\textsuperscript{19} “Aktion-Tu-Was” (“Act-Now Campaign”).
3.1.3 **Protecting children from violence in families with a minority ethnic background**

Presently, police violence prevention all over Germany is aimed at families with a minority ethnic background, and in this case especially families of Turkish descent. The empirical findings demonstrate a significantly higher burden for these families due to domestic violence and physical violence against children, so in collaboration with Turkish partners the *ProPK*\(^{20}\) has launched an initiative to promote violence-free education. This involves the publication of exemplary and aspirational biographies of prominent immigrants, who grew up in their family without violence. These positive messages, for instance, with television commercials, newspaper adverts, and the like should sensitize parents of Turkish descent and initiate a discussion process among migrants. Needs-oriented help offered by the *ProPK* print media supports the campaign.

3.2 **Strategies for the prevention of violence towards and by children and young people in school**

This area has also gained considerable significance for police crime prevention. The Sub-Commission V only dedicated three pages to the topic of “Violence in School”, starting with the statement: “The police only have a limited state of knowledge” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 292); and if at all, then about violence against property, while “violent acts against individuals in school ...” remain “mostly unknown to the police” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 293). “The essential deficiency in this area consists in the inadequate state of knowledge. This is one reason for the danger of the development turning unnoticed into irreversible forms, as is the case in the USA and in some cities in Great Britain” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 297). “The Sub-Commission ‘Police Practice’, based on the self-definition of the police as an organisation serving society, would like to dispense with proposals for the necessary reform of the educational sector. Moreover, it would like to emphasize more clearly the need for corresponding proposals from other Sub-Commissions. In this case, the results of various education and school reforms should not remain unconsidered” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 299).

This situation has completely changed. Nowadays, the police are present in schools to a degree that the Sub-Commission V could probably not have envisaged, and nor perhaps wished to. Police prevention is no longer only based

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\(^{20}\) *Programm Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes* (Program for Police Oriented Criminal Prevention by the Federal Government and the States)
on “road-traffic training and anti-drug education” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 298), but also and especially on violence-preventive concepts and measures: “A ‘worrying increase’ in juvenile criminality calls police prevention to action with an urgent appeal to all parents, teachers, and pupils to stop this ‘disconcerting development’ [...] With the motto ‘No chance left for bullies’, for instance, the press release issued by the Police Crime Prevention is now aimed at an especially subtle form of violence ... so-called ‘bullying’ ... This term refers to targeted, systematic, and repeated physical and mental harassment by stronger pupils against the weaker” (Pressdienst Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention, (Press Release, Police Crime Prevention), dated 16 July 2004).

The quotation clearly illustrates the importance of differentiating between the current strategies of police violence prevention in educational institutions, in particular, in schools. On the one hand, strategies need to be identified that target violence by and towards children and young people that actually occurs at school. On the other hand, strategies are needed that “serve” the school as a place and means of prevention. Children and young people spend a large part of the day in school and in no other place are they so easily “within reach” – for the purposes of violence-preventive measures and concepts as well.

3.2.1 School as a scene of violence towards and by children and young people

Spectacular individual cases easily distort the view that schools are relatively uncommon crime scenes for physical violence. Indeed, only a small portion of violent offences committed by young people and registered in the crime statistics actually record school as a crime scene, (even though children and young people spend most of their day here)? Moreover, the trend is for this frequency to decline. This is not only proven by Police Criminal Statistics, but also by statistics published in 2005 by the German Federal Association of Accident Insurance Funds on the trend for “accidents related to scuffles” in schools – their frequency is in decline, and this applies to all types of schools. The results of studies on unreported crime cases also point to a decline in physical violence in schools; in contrast, verbal and mental violence – often described as bullying – seem to be noticed more frequently.

21 In 2005, for instance, in Bavaria the school crime scene was reported as the location for all alleged offenders of the age group 14-17 for the relevant group of criminal offences for robbery 8.2%, for grievous and serious actual bodily harm 7.9%, for intentional (slight) actual bodily harm 14.7%, and for damage to property 7.2%.
23 See further especially the findings of the representative follow-up surveys of pupils in (Fuchs et al. 2005).
With the aim of preventing or at least reducing violence in schools, for instance, the handout “Challenge Violence” was developed in cooperation with and for those engaged in education. This focused on coping with aggression in everyday school life, and was made available to schools by the ProPK. It is based on the anti-bullying concept developed and successfully implemented by Olweus.24

The ProPK media pack “Abseits?!” (“Offside?!”) also refers to violence in everyday school life. This comprehensive pack deals with topics of violence prevention for school pupils from the age of nine years and incorporates the film “Abseits?!”, with five short episodes addressing various forms of violence in everyday school life, a booklet accompanying the film with tips for teachers to work on violence-free conflict resolution in class, and information for parents in German, Turkish, and Russian.

3.2.2 School as an “instrument” of police violence prevention

Police violence prevention in schools is aimed in the first instance not at “violence at the school crime scene”, but violence towards and by young people in general. They should be made aware of the measures and concepts of violence prevention through school, teachers, and legal guardians. This strategy also corresponds to the principle of police crime prevention being aimed as far as possible not merely at children and young people, but working in collaboration with others, especially teachers. They should be supported in carrying out their educational and training work also in a competent and crime-preventive fashion.

To inform and support teachers and those active in child and youth social work25, numerous materials have been developed and distributed in cooperation with educational professionals and with the involvement of the ministries of culture.

One of the most recent productions is the media pack “Wölfe im Schafspelz” (“Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing”) which is directed against right-wing extremism and its new manifestations. It was specially designed for pupils in secondary schools and addresses exclusion, intolerance, and violence motivated by right-wing extremism.

24 Bullying refers to deliberate damage of other pupils that is repeatedly exercised within a relationship over a longer period of time and manifests an imbalance of power (cf. further, for instance, Olweus 1995).

25 For parents, the aforementioned brochure “Wege aus der Gewalt” (“Ways Out of Violence”) has been developed to supplement the materials used in class; this is also distributed through the schools.
For children in day-care centres and in the first two classes of primary school, two children’s books are offered on the topics of “Violence” or “Tolerance and Integration” for use by the qualified childcare workers.

A PC game, developed by a renowned games manufacturer, is directly aimed at children in the eight to twelve years age group – the game “Luka und das geheimnisvolle Silberpferd” (“Luka and the mysterious silver horse”) should motivate children to deal with the topic of violence through play, and to resolve conflicts without violence. To reach as many children as possible, the game was distributed to schools all over Germany. Furthermore, it can also be downloaded free of charge from the ProPK website via www.polizei-beratung.de.

The police participate in violence-preventive lessons or corresponding campaigns only at the school’s request and in close cooperation with the teachers. This strategy is based on the consequences drawn by the police from experience with their involvement in drug prevention schemes in schools. In the past, responsibility in this field has frequently been delegated to the police, along the lines of: the police were here and gave a talk, so there is no need for us to take further action. However, successful violence prevention requires a permanent and coordinated approach on the part of all those actively involved. Support for positive social behaviour can, in any case, not be achieved by one-off police campaigns, but only by continual action that, above all, relates to the causes. The police can neither achieve this nor are they held responsible.

Further measures and concepts were developed in the federal states. As these are now used in several federal states, it is worthwhile mentioning the homework exercise books, which are designed for pupils of primary school age and intended to counteract dangers of crime and road traffic, and the project “Prävention im Team” (“Team Prevention”). This project gives all secondary schools the opportunity to carry out a joint crime prevention seminar also about “Violence” in a team composed of teachers, police offers, as well as other professionals. In Lower Saxony, the programme “Prävention als Chance/Schulbezogene Gewaltprävention im Verbund” (“Prevention as a Chance/School-Related Violence Prevention in Networks”) is still in a trial stage and is being carried out and evaluated in three locations. The providers of the project are the State Office of Criminal Investigation of Lower Saxony and the Gemeinde-Unfallversicherungsverband Hannover/Landesunfallkasse Niedersachsen (Community Accident Insurers’ Fund Hanover/State Accident Insurers’ Fund of Lower Saxony).

In view of the plethora of class materials compiled by the police, the question only arises as to whether this is in fact a police duty and not of the departments.

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26 Programm Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes (Program for Police Oriented Criminal Prevention by the Federal Government and the States)
of education of the federal states and also whether this is not “instrumentalising” the schools for the purposes and objectives of police violence prevention.

As far as the question of “responsibility” is concerned, this certainly always rests with the police, whenever it is about fulfilling their obligation to inform and integrate police findings and experience into a lesson on violence prevention or to provide the corresponding materials. However, in this case these must also be prepared jointly and managed by educational professionals and used with the explicit approval of the ministries of culture.

As regards the danger of “instrumentalising” school for police crime prevention, it is rather the case that this is always only an offer of assistance by the police. The school decides whether, when, and where to use and implement this.

In comparison with the numerous activities of police violence prevention in and with schools, the tendency is to collaborate less closely and on a less long-term basis with out-of-school institutions, especially the child and youth welfare service institutions. Although materials compiled for the purposes of prevention in schools are basically also directed at out-of-school educational institutions, these are used and implemented less frequently. Improvements are possible here as far as the integration and collaboration with the Conference of Youth Ministers is concerned. An approach that promises to be successful for the closer interlinking of youth social work is being pursued with the ProPK project for the “Schutz von Kindern gegen Gefahren des Internets” (“Protection of Children Against the Dangers of the Internet”). This concerns promoting Internet skills for teachers and youth social work professionals. This principle of good collaboration between providers of youth social work and the Conference of Youth Ministers should be transferred to violence prevention strategies.

3.3 Strategies for violence prevention for multiple and hardcore offenders

Collaboration with the child and youth services and the judiciary over strategies aimed at young people, who have already attracted attention to themselves through violence, is more closely and in part also formally regulated. This is especially true for multiple and hardcore offenders. In these “cases of difficult juveniles” it is important to prevent further criminal offences. 28 Therefore, here

27 Programm Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes (Program for Police Oriented Criminal Prevention by the Federal Government and the States)
28 See further and on the following the aforementioned PDV 382 – “Bearbeitung von Jugendsachen” (“Processing Youth Matters”) and Dietsch/Gloss 2005.
police strategies range between prevention and repression, and between youth contact work and youth casework, and overlaps may occur.

### 3.3.1 Youth contact work

Youth contact work – broadly with a preventive outline – that impacts on a young person’s attitude, social skills or the structures of his or her environment with the aim of achieving positive behavioural changes, is differentiated from social work by restricting the responsibility of the police to these “cases of difficult juveniles”. “Only if disruptions to public safety are caused by this group in the form of endangering others or the individuals themselves, or if these can be anticipated with a sufficient degree of probability, are the police responsible for preventive measures” (see Dietsch/Gloss 2005: 119).

Considerable importance is attached to the preventive use of the “crisis of being caught”. The importance of a rapid and consistent police reaction in the case of infringements against the rule of law as well as the type of police contact with children and young people have a substantial and lasting effect on their future behaviour, as shown by surveys of young people on the effects of “initial police contact”.

In several federal states, for this reason, too, the police educational talk was introduced. As the police – unlike the child and youth services and judiciary – in each case has contact with the young person causing disruption, previous personal connections to the alleged offender or existing knowledge of the youth “scene” can be used. The educational talk should occur in proximity of the act, in order to discuss at an early stage the offence and its consequences as well as existing problems, and – if possible – to work through these. At the same time, information about the young person, his or her individual and social situation are made available to the successor authorities that make decisions easier, and can therefore also speed up the process.

The tried and tested police strategies in the field of youth contact work also include the use of specially trained youth police officers.

### 3.3.2 Youth casework

The repressive broad outline of police youth casework is oriented towards juvenile criminal law. Its principle of “education before punishment” also has an impact on the preliminary hearing that is essentially influenced by police investigations. In this instance, the police are also obligated to undertake crime-educational action for coping adequately with minors suspected of having committed an offence (see Dietsch/Gloss 2005: 120f.). As far as possible, in this field specially trained youth case-workers should be therefore employed. However, unlike in the justice system, this specialization is not a normative prescription for the police.
Clarification of the act, which as far as possible should be non-contradictory, is the basis for all subsequent preventive and/or repressive measures. Furthermore, the mission of police youth casework is to have an “educational” effect on the offenders. Here, the action concept of intervention is used, which is focused on an enduring effect, and extends far beyond clarification of the punishable action. Its broad outline is a concrete issue that can be restricted to a person or a precisely defined group (see Dietsch/Gloss 2005: 248f.). Police intervention includes measures to avert dangers in accordance with police law, and measures in accordance with the German Code of Criminal Procedure – such as exclusion orders, taking into custody, searches or seizures. If necessary, educational talks are also included as well as warnings to potential offenders, where potential offenders are visited and instructed.

In several federal states – such as in Baden-Württemberg, Hamburg, Saxony-Anhalt and Schleswig-Holstein – the police, and not merely the public prosecutor’s office have the option to suggest diversion proceedings, that is, informal settlement of the proceedings instead of formal sanctions.29

Special police strategies and measures are aimed at multiple and hardcore offenders – at the relatively small proportion (approx. 10%) of young violent offenders who are responsible for the majority (approx. 50%) of violent offences registered with the police for this age group. Numerous police stations, especially in major cities, have such hardcore offender programmes. They are generally networked and established across departments, in order to adopt a fully targeted approach and to deal emphatically – for instance, in the context of individual case conferences – with the problems of the individual young hardcore offender. More recent police strategies are aimed at identifying so-called offenders ‘on the brink’ or those attracting attention to themselves on multiple occasions and about to become hardcore offenders – in an effort to prevent their “career” evolving through suitable measures.

3.4 Prevention of violence towards and by children and young people in public areas

The “public arena” and its sub-areas of “violence on the streets and squares” and “violence in the stadium” was also addressed by the Sub-Commission V.30

The central points at that time were vandalism and rowdy behaviour such as violence by groups such as skinheads, rockers, and punks. The Sub-

29 According to the current status of comparative research into sanctions, the re-offending figures after diversion tend to be lower than after conviction (see Heinz 2005: 308).
30 An additional chapter – by far the most extensive – of the Sub-Commission V expert report concentrated on the then extremely relevant acts of violence in connection with demonstrations.
Commission V at best expected a “limited effect” of police prevention (see Sub-Commission: margin no. 260), stating that “the containment of this phenomenon can only be a police function ultima ratio, with the certainty of a pragmatic and overriding superficial approach to dealing with delinquency” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 261), “the influence over individuals and groups who seem dangerous must primarily be reserved for other social institutions and agents. The police should not criminalize young people by disproportionate reactions or favour criminal careers” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 266).

As regards “violence in the stadium”, “managing in real terms violent individuals and violent-inclined people and groups is envisaged by the police on three levels:

- preliminary work in cooperation with the social services;
- preliminary work and direct influence in cooperation with the club;
- preventive and repressive intervention at events” (see Sub-Commission V: margin no. 283).

In comparison with the development of strategies of police violence prevention in the fields of the “close social environment”, “school”, and “multiple and hardcore offenders”, the “public arena” has rather lost significance, even if the prevention of youth group violence remains as relevant as ever – the same as, for instance, work with football supporters or the preventive reaction to (right-wing) extremist groups. However, essentially no new strategies have been added. The police should be present, in particular, and de-escalate conflicts with specially trained youth police officers, as well as clarify the law, whereas in this case, unlike in school, they “appeal to” young people directly and on the spot.

As previously, it is mainly typical for young males to draw attention to themselves in the public arena. By far the most violent acts committed by young males and registered with the police – especially for actual bodily harm and robbery – are recorded in public areas. The reasons for this are not only that public areas continue to be their preferred place to meet up, but also because here their behaviour is particularly visible, being classified as “violent” and reported to the police. Incidentally, those who are the most frequent victims of this violence often make reports: other young males. Generally, violence in

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31 The use of technical prevention measures such as video surveillance is aimed not only at the prevention of juvenile violence. The same applies for police measures such as conversations with agitators or preventive taking into custody.
32 In 2005, the proportion of alleged offenders of the under-18 age group for “robbery on streets and squares” and for “grievous and serious actual bodily harm on streets and squares” was 49% in each case.
33 However, in this case not least due to the proliferation of mobile telephones, the inclination to make a complaint has also markedly increased on the part of third parties who are not involved (“eye-
public areas concerns confrontations between young males, and there are frequent cases of “victim-offender status exchange”. A characteristic is a high proportion of boys from a minority ethnic background; alongside young people of Turkish descent, in particular, juvenile late repatriates also draw attention to themselves here.

Typically, violent acts in public areas are committed by several young persons together or they are initiated from within a group, however, rarely by long-term, fixed groups or by youth gangs in the stricter sense. As it is important for children and young people to form same-age peer groups while growing up, it is typical for their age group and therefore “normal” for young people to join together in groups. Only a few groups become problems, because criminal offences and in these cases especially also violent acts are committed from within their ranks. This violence “emitting from” groups is often less serious than when young persons commit violence alone.

Empirical findings and criminal statistics data suggest that young people, who have become victims of violence, clearly tolerate this less often than previously, and frequently report the offence and the offender to the police: a complaint is a legitimate means of defence. And this is what police violence prevention wants. For instance, in the brochures such as “So schützen Sie Ihr Kind” (“How to Protect Your Child”) and “So schützen Sie Ihr Kind vor Gewalt” (“How to Protect Your Child from Violence”), the appeal is made: “Defending oneself also means making a complaint as soon as possible...”. The ProPK³⁴ initiative for more civil courage – the “Aktion-Tu-Was” (“Act-Now Campaign”), developed against the backdrop of street crime and aimed at young people as offenders, victims, and witnesses – also further appeals for active assistance to involve the police. If more violence is registered this can also point towards the efficacy of police violence prevention, and not towards more violent and more violent-inclined youth!

3.5 Prevention of violence by community crime prevention

Under the headline of “Prevention and Control of Violence as a Task Across federal states, Departments, and Groups” the final report of the Violence Commission, among other things, suggested: “For the effective prevention of

34 Programm Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes (Program for Police Oriented Criminal Prevention by the Federal Government and the States)
crime, it is ... necessary to create an organisational structure that is suited to focus and implement prevention on realistic conditions and needs on location. A majority of offences is committed within the local community. Therefore, the organisational emphasis of crime prevention should rest with the local authority.

Within the local communities, the various groups and experts in the field of crime prevention should work together in local organisations. The providers or organisers should in this case be the local communities themselves ... Alongside youth services authorities, the churches and trade unions, police and judiciary in particular, yet the citizens and media representatives should also be involved..." (see Final Report Sub-Commission V: margin nos. 504, 505 and proposal no. 148, cf. Schwind/Baumann 1990).

Since the publication of the expert report, community crime prevention has undergone a “boom”: from 1990 onwards, approx. 2,000 prevention committees at local authority level were set up all over Germany. However, the pace of progress with their development in the federal states has been varied, and in recent years, new committees have rarely been set up.

Community crime prevention operates with a variety of different organisational forms, participants, and activities. However, there are two typical features: the police are always involved – mostly as an initiator and “driving force” of activity, and frequently the emphasis is on child and youth crime prevention and here especially on violence prevention.

The police participation in the committees is an expression of their understanding of violence prevention for society as a whole and of their insight into the necessity of a coordinated, networked approach.

4 Internal conditions for the success of police violence prevention

To do justice to the high status and aspiration of police violence prevention, the necessary conditions must be created for the organisation of the police, the allocation of personnel and funds, and for training and continuing professional development.

Since these areas and their regulation fall under the jurisdiction of the federal states and therefore can be implemented in very diverse ways in terms of organisation, staff, and financing, the *Polizeiliche Kriminalprävention der Länder und des Bundes* (Police Orientated Criminal Prevention by the Federal Government and the States) can only provide incentives and, if applicable, make available the material resources. These are to improve police professional practice for violence prevention as well.
All police officers should be capable of giving simple instructions on how to protect oneself from violent acts. For instance, “Prävention auf einen Blick” (“Prevention at a Glance”), the Handbook for Police Practice, pursues this objective along with the available ProPK materials for the whole of the police service.

All State Offices of Criminal Investigation, the Federal Criminal Police Office, and the Federal Police employ police officers as ProPK instructors. Their task also includes informing lower police ranks about the concepts, measures, and materials of the ProPK.

All police officers must be sensitized for the concerns of victim support: the protection, assistance, and support of victims (of violence) is part of the function of police prevention. The corresponding competences for this are supported, for example, in the film “Nab dran” (“Up Close”), a film intended for police practice, and the victim protection software “Victim”.

It is important to raise the awareness of the whole of the police – every police officer – about the concerns and needs of crime and violence prevention in Germany as a migration society. The ProPK supports the necessary transfer of intercultural competence and, for instance, published the ProPK guide on the support of cooperation entitled “Polizei und Moscheevereine” (“Police and Mosque Associations”).

Concepts, projects, measures, and media of police violence prevention, in particular, those that have proven to be effective, must be explained and made accessible to police crime prevention officers in a more comprehensive way. The corresponding possibilities for information about crime-preventive projects are offered by the Federal Criminal Police Office and entitled “InfoDOK” (“InfoDOC”), and this can be accessed via the police extranet.

Evaluation is mandatory for the quality assurance of police violence prevention. For the ProPK projects, formative and process evaluation is now commonplace. Meanwhile, with the ProPK publication entitled “Arbeitshilfe für die Evaluation” (“Aid for Evaluation”), support is given to all those who plan and carry out prevention projects. This is still used rather tentatively – and an efficacy evaluation is generally not completed (incidentally, the same is also true for repression projects). An improvement can be anticipated only when training and continuing professional development, and above all, senior police executives promote and support evaluation more than previously.
5 Conclusions, further development, recommendations

The strategies of police violence prevention in childhood and youth have substantially altered in recent years both for violence prevention under the jurisdiction of the federal states and across the regions, as well as at the ProPK level.

In this instance, the broad strategic outline of police prevention coordinated across the regions at interstate level, and especially at the ProPK level, is oriented towards regular representative surveys of the population (last carried out in 2002) relating to the feeling of security, attitudes towards the police, the need for information on protection against criminal offences, the degree of publicity for the ProPK media and (crime) police advice points, as well as contexts and situations in which citizens are especially receptive to the police’s provision of advice and information.

On the basis of the findings of these surveys, in future the police’s violence-preventive work will have a greater dependence on:

- needs-oriented prevention using methodological analyses (“prevention situation survey”);
- networking and bundling resources by closer integration of collaboration partners and media representatives;
- effective public representation of prevention projects;
- the professional quality of crime-preventive public relations work, for instance, through planning and carrying out current subject-specific campaigns, the stronger presence of information availability in mass coverage media, and by the support of crime-preventive journalism;
- consideration of the aspects of ethnic background and gender;
- consideration of the potential danger and opportunity for criminal acts through the new media (Internet, mobile telephones, and the like);
- the survey of information and communication needs of individual target groups;
- the support of police training and continuing professional development;
- the evaluation of police violence prevention projects and measures;
- the transfer of intercultural competence within the police;
- the control of violence in the close social environment;
- the extension of local community crime prevention beyond the sphere of juvenile crime;
- the reinforcement of prevention in the out-of-school area (for example, in clubs);
- the clarification of the roles and responsibility of those actively involved in the area of the prevention work of networks and society as a whole;
the consistent reinforcement of prevention awareness at all levels, in particular, in the context of repression.

At the level of the federal states, one point of emphasis will be on the police participation in the work of local authority prevention committees, in order to further integrate aspects of violence prevention. Efforts should also be reinforced to employ individuals with a minority ethnic background in the police service.

6 Literature


