

New Public Management Reforms in German Police Services

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Abstract

During the last fifteen years NPM reforms affected Germany's federal and state polices facilitated by socio-economic forces and upcoming international new public management ideas in particular. Systematising the NPM process we distinct a pioneer phase (1995-1999), a modification phase (1999-2002), and an integration phase (2002-2005). NPM reforms did not constitute a holistic model for police administration and could therefore not completely replace the traditional bureaucratic model. In contrast there have been considerable adoptions of "NPM-tool-kit" in a pragmatic way. NPM concepts become only partially institutionalized leading to a hybrid type of traditional administrative organisational structure and culture with sedimentations of certain NPM elements.

1 Introduction

New Public Management (NPM) has become a standard international model for public administration reform (Schedler and Proeller, 2002: p. 163) during the last two decades. The rise of NPM reforms in Germany had several impacts on the federal and state police services. Against this background, we compare and contrast the development of NPM reforms in the police services to analyze if the NPM concepts of entrepreneurial management are appropriate to reform this special type of executive administration.

At first we depict the competences of Germany's eighteen police services assigned by the German constitution and present policies' responsibilities defined by federal or state police law. Correspondingly we highlight characteristics and derive implications for NPM reforms.

Secondly we describe global economic forces and socio-demographic change, and the upcoming new management ideas generating reform pressure towards NPM reforms.

Thirdly we summarize the development of NPM reforms and distinct three phases to identify varying NPM implementation measures and NPM variants within the police services.

2 Police Services as a special type of public administration: Characteristics and Implications for Public Management Reforms

We argue that contexts are of outstanding importance when analyzing management reforms (Flynn, 2002: p. 57). The context of the specific German police system presents several implications for the introduction of management reforms which we like to discuss in the following.

Competences of German police services assigned by the German constitution

Under the German constitution (German Basic law) legislative powers on the general police law are assigned to the federal states (Grundgesetz, Artikel 70). Only special police responsibilities are assigned to the federal police services, e.g. the Border Police tasks (Grundgesetz, Art. 73 Nr. 5), the suppression of international terrorism (Grundgesetz, Art. 73 Nr. 9a), and the coordination of federal and federal states' authorities in criminal police matters (Grundgesetz, Art. 73 Nr. 10). Therefore the fundamental responsibility for public security falls under the legislative competence of the federal states' authorities (Schenke, 2007: p. 10).

Hence, each of the 16 federal states enacted its own police law and maintains its own police service (Landespolizei). In addition, the federal government has two specialised police services, namely the Federal Police (Bundespolizei, BPol) and the Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt, BKA).

Competences of German police services - Implications for management reforms

Because of the separation of competences of police services management reforms are quite diverse and heterogeneous as they

are part of the individual states' or federal government's policy programme.

Since police services have been a symbol of the specific state's authority (Terpstra and Van der Vijver, 2006: p. 91) and are perhaps the most political of all bureaucracies, partisan politics influence management reforms. A commonly invoked condition for successful management reforms is the particular willingness of political leadership to drive through radical changes (Flynn, 2002: p. 63) which might be different within governments' initiatives.

Besides, the political context management reform concepts also have to be in line with the historical context of various governments' experience. For instance the reform process began later in the "new" federal states than in the "old" ones as a long period was necessary to transform the East German police forces (Rickards and Ritsert, 2008).

Responsibilities of German police services at the federal states' level (Landespolizeien)

The state police laws define the responsibilities of the Landespolizeien. In general, the main responsibility of the Landespolizeien is to maintain public order and security by preventing and detecting crime (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 103). As security was named a "basic right" and became a "state duty" (Lepsius, 2004: p. 436) the German police perform preventive safety measures (prevention of crime) as well as repressive safety measures (detection of crime) (Folkers and Weißgerber, 2008: p. 163). Within this context further responsibilities include keeping peace, protection of private and public property, investigation of crime, and the enforcement of law.

The Landespolizeien are subordinate to their respective federal state Minister of the Interior and are basically divided into four branches: uniformed police (Schutzpolizei), criminal police (Kriminalpolizei), river police (Wasserschutzpolizei) and the mobile reserve units (Bereitschaftspolizei). Chart no. 1 provides a brief overview of the four branches and their responsibilities.

Chart no. 1: Branches and responsibilities of the Landespolizeien (federal state police forces)

Name of the branch of service	Areas of responsibility
<u>Uniformed police</u> (Schutzpolizei)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prevention of upcoming dangerous situations (e.g. crowd control) - Traffic regulation - Investigation of petty and medium-level crimes
<u>Criminal police</u> (Kriminalpolizei)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fight of most serious crimes, especially organised crimes, economic or serial crimes (e.g. theft, extortion, illegal drugs, counterfeiting) - Pursuance of politically-motivated criminal acts
<u>River police – uniformed</u> (Wasserschutzpolizei)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Control of traffic on state waterways
<u>Mobile reserve units – uniformed</u> (Bereitschaftspolizei)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support of the security and criminal police forces on special occasions (e.g. demonstrations, state visits, major disasters, sporting and other mass events) - Training and education of junior staff

Source: Own chart following Promberger et al., 2005: pp. 82 ff.

Due to the police services' origin in their historical context, to customary police organisations and the existence of specialised police units in a number of federal states, the official denominations among Germany's various police services may differ from federal state to federal state. Accordingly, hereafter we simply refer to the two federal and sixteen federal states' overall organisations as "police services".

Responsibilities of German police services at federal level (Bundespolizeien)

Both police services at federal level, the Federal Police and the Federal Criminal Police Office come under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Bundesministerium des Innern).

According to the law governing the federal police selected main tasks are, among others, the following: maintaining of border security, establishment of security at German international airports and railways, protection of key public buildings (Bundespolizeigesetz, 2009).

The following chart no. 2 provides an overview of the responsibilities of the Federal Police and the Federal Criminal Police Office.

Chart no. 2: Branches and responsibilities of the Bundespolizei (federal police forces)

Name of the branch of service	Areas of responsibility
<u>The Federal Police</u> - uniformed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintenance of border security - Protection of federal buildings and foreign embassies - Provision of the federal government's mobile response force for internal security events - Ensure security at international airports and on German railways - Provide counter-terrorism forces (GSG 9) - Serve as air (or sky) marshals - Participation on international projects and cooperation - Surveillance and search measures involving very serious crime (Mobile Surveillance, MEK)
<u>The Federal Criminal Police Office</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Official relations of the police forces of state and federal levels with foreign police and justice authorities - Assistance to federal and state police forces to prevent and prosecute criminal offences of inter-regional and international importance - Tasks of police related to criminal prosecution - Protection of members of constitutional organs - Protection of witnesses and their families or close associates

The Federal Criminal Police Office works on the basis of a clear legal mandate, defined in the German Constitution and the "BKA Law" (Bundeskriminalamtgesetz) and acts as a central clearinghouse, collecting, exchanging and analyzing information for the state criminal offices. It only undertakes investigation when called upon by the states or the federal interior to do so.

The core tasks of the Federal Criminal Police Office are described by the following five functions: function as a central agency, investigative functions, international functions, protection tasks and prevention and administrative functions.

Chart no. 3: Number of police officers of state and federal police services in 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007

Year	Federal states' police services - number of public police officers	Federal police services - number of public police officers
2001	225,138	33,749
2003	224,721	34,775
2005	222,578	35,470
2007	219,582	35,718

Source: Own chart following Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: pp. 107-109

Chart no. 3 illustrates that police powers are mostly vested to the federal states, because most of Germany's police officers are members of the federal states' police staff. The total number of police officers at federal level has increased from 2001 to 2007. Compared with the decreasing number on the federal states' level this may be interpreted as an indicator for the increasing relevance of the federal police services.

Responsibilities of German police services - Implications for management reforms

We identify German police services as part of the executive administration which is characterized by interventions into citizen's right (Wolff et al., 1994: p. 43). The intervention imposes restrictions on citizens affecting their liberty and property as obligations and charges are entailed on them (Dose and Voigt, 1998: p. 95). The intervention is not the essence of the police service in the context of executive administration but the target to reach specified goals based upon administrative law (Lenk, 1998: p. 161), e.g. the sustainment of public order. Moreover the ability of German police services to interfere when needed and commanded is essential as police services rapidly have to adapt to changing situations and circumstances.

Measuring outcome or performance are common indicators of business enterprises to measure their achievements and are an essential part of management concepts. The outlined "duties" and "responsibilities" based upon administrative law of German po-

lice forces imply the difficulty to “measure” their work. Because police forces use multiple inputs to create multiple outputs, it is not possible to develop production functions describing their activities as it is possible for most business enterprises. Moreover the known measures such as “outcome” or “performance” of police services - especially by means of preventive safety measure - are hard to define (Lenk, 1998: p. 176), and therefore “effects” of applied steering instruments are hardly measurable (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 109).

This means that management concepts require other adequate means to measure the work of police services and the fulfilment of their responsibilities, e.g. prevention of upcoming dangerous situations. It needs precise consideration whether management reforms are comparable with the basic mechanisms and assumptions of the German democratic welfare state (demokratischer Rechts- und Sozialstaat) such as democratic control, rule of law, legality, accountability and equity (Jann, 2001: p. 93; König, 2001: pp. 218-219). Kickert states that without denying importance of effectiveness and efficiency in the public sector, other norms and values play a role as well (Kickert, 2001: p. 32-33) which need to be defined and have to find consideration within management reforms.

Furthermore management reforms often aim at improving service delivery for clients and citizens. Taking into account the variety of expectations of citizens towards police work depicts that the interrelation of cause-and-effect is based on subjective safety measures and that therefore the orientation just on clients’ demands can not be applicable for management reforms of police organisations (Lange and Schenck, 2004: pp. 110-114).

Challenges and future prospects

One could argue that Globalisation, Europeanisation, and particularly the fight against international terrorism have been identified as recent trends, which enhance complexity in the policy area of internal security.

A frequently cited occurrence is that police services apply cooperation strategies to cope with complex situations. In the case of Germany’s police services, there are numerous instances of such strategic cooperation, e.g. the approach of community policing has a great influence. Another example at the national level is the Joint Analysis and Strategy Center on Illegal Migration (Ge-

meinsame Analyse und Strategiezentrum illegale Migration - GASIM), a cooperative effort of the Federal Criminal Police Office, the Federal Police, the Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge), and the Finance Ministry's Board of Control for Illegal Work (Finanzkontrolle Schwarzarbeit).

Europeanisation - especially the increasing integration of the EU - and Globalisation have substantial impact on the work of the police (Frevel, 2006) and have strengthened cooperation in this policy area, too, and particularly among European Union member states. An appropriate example is the Prüm Treaty which was concluded on May 27, 2005, and later on June 23, 2008. The European Union Council formally agreed to integrate key parts of the Prüm Treaty into the EU legal framework with the result that 27 EU member states can benefit from this form of cooperation, which streamlined and regulated cross-border cooperation of the police services. One goal of the treaty was to better combat international terrorism, cross-border crime, and illegal migration. Another goal was to facilitate the exchange of information among the signatory countries for the purpose of preventing crime and pursuing criminal suspects.

Globalisation and Europeanisation - Implications for management reforms

Consequently NPM reform concepts should implicate the processes of managing whole sets of organisations rather than focusing single organisations. This implies the increasing relevance of strategies of cooperation e.g. in terms of contracts, networks or multilateral agreements. We highlight the particular need for the adequate consideration of the macro dimension within NPM reforms (following Metcalfe, 1993).

3 Selected Key Factors facilitating and restraining the development of NPM reforms

Referring to Pollitt's and Bouckaert's model of public management reform (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004: pp. 24-38) we present three selected broad forces that have influenced the process of NPM reforms undertaken in the police in Germany. Pollitt and

Bouckaert's model identifies three large groups of elements affecting the elite decision making of the public management reform in political-administrative systems:

- (1) Socio-economic forces (global economic forces and socio-demographic change as background pressures are reflected in foreground socio-economic policies)
- (2) Political systems (party political ideas internally generated and derived from a specifically political agenda or from outside "pressure from citizens" or "new management ideas" from the world of business or academia)
- (3) Change events e.g. scandals and disasters

Socio-economic forces - global economic forces

During the last years Germany, too, has faced financial challenges in the federal and federal states budgets. The estimated national debts faced by the Federal Republic of Germany accumulated up to 1,600 billion Euros by 2009 (Bund der Steuerzahler Deutschland, 2009). Recent estimations according to the study undertaken by the Berenberg Bank and the Hamburg Institute of International Economics point out that the fiscal deficit is likely to increase. A decline of cash flow within the economic system, a decline in prices and therefore lower tax revenue will strongly affect national budget and spending (Bräuninger et al., 2009). Faced with restraints on public spending governments attempt to make overall savings and to streamline processes (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004: p. 107).

Against this background it is remarkable that the budget spending for maintaining internal security has constantly increased during the late 90's. As outlined in chart no. 4, 32,392 billion Euros were spent in 2004 to maintain internal safety and to protect citizens from harm. The interior safety is defined as: Public security (federal and federal states' polices, public order, fire-protection, and emergency management), defence and justice (constitutional court, prosecution, administration court, labour court, finance court, prisons, and other defence and penal system tasks). For purposes of the federal states' and federal police services, public authorities allocated 12, 0 billion Euros in 2004 (Schulze-Steikow, 2007: p. 501), and the budget spending for

maintaining internal (domestic) security has constantly increased during the late 90's.

Chart no. 4: Spending of public households for interior safety

Year	Interior safety (million €)
1992	22,997
1996	27,444
2000	29,959
2004	32,392

Source: Own chart following Schulze-Steikow, 2007: pp. 501

Budget constraints lead to the need of increasing efficiency and to the cost structures of policing in Germany being on the agenda (Promberger et al., 2005: p. 218), especially in police services at the federal states' level that already face massive cut-backs in human resources.

However, it should be noted that economic pressures do not themselves translate directly into some particular type of management reform. Thus, it is risky to draw any conclusions at all about public management reform only on the basis of macroeconomic statistics of government spending, because the connections are too indirect (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004: pp. 27-28, 112).

Socio-economic forces - socio-demographic change

The German population is aging and decreasing (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2005) and the police are just as any other system strongly influenced by these socio-demographic changes (Kokoska and Vera, 2009: p. 8 ff.). The impact of these changes is already visible and will ever increase in the near future. "Over-aging" of public servants was already discussed in North Rhine-Westphalia and published in a memorandum of the home secretary in 2006 (Innenministerium NRW, 2006). According to a study undertaken by the police force in Borchen, North-Rhine Westphalia, more than 50 % of police officers will be over 50 in 2013 (Bernitzke, 2009).

This development could lead to the fact that police men and women have to work in changing shifts until they are very mature. Therefore new flexible shift management schemes are urgently needed to avoid negative impacts on health and fitness of

the workforce and to extend their capabilities to fulfill their job demands.

Obviously in a few years the pensions are going to burden particularly the state budgets. Thus, most of the states have increased the mandatory pension age for their police officers.

Since the whole population decreases the police services will face a declining number of applicants and – as a consequence – of recruits. German police services are competing with the economic and scientific system for a decreasing clientele of high potentials in schools and universities.

With a view to demographic changes, reforms in the field of human resource management have already taken place and a variety of concepts have been introduced into German polices such as implementing a “split career path” to offer applicants better financial conditions (e.g. North Rhine-Westphalia, Hesse or Lower Saxony), “Health-Care-Management Concepts” and concepts which improve the compatibility of family and work.

New management ideas – an international trend

Over the last two decades there appears to have been a wave of NPM reforms across many countries, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United States of America, and several European countries, e.g. Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and the United Kingdom etc. (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004). International bodies such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, and the United Nations have advocated NPM reforms and facilitate an observable cross border borrowing of public management ideas (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004: p. 30; Lynn, 2005: pp. 43-44). In a popular interpretation, NPM has become a standard international model for public administration reform (Schedler and Proeller, 2002: p. 163).

Growing costs of public sector policing and ongoing concerns about (or at least a perception of) growing crime and fear of crime, have in turn led to concerns about the efficiency and effectiveness of public police agencies across different countries (Palmer, 1997: p. 666). From the early 1990s on managerial orientation can be found in policing, especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries first (Vickers and Kouzmin, 2001; McLaughlin and Muncie, 1994; McLaughlin and Murji, 2001). Changes in the organization and management of police forces in different coun-

tries can be examined and to a large degree these changes are closely related to the aim of creating more “businesslike” police organizations (Terpstra and Trommel, 2009: p. 128).

Important elements of the rising process of managerialism in police services are new forms of leadership and a growing popularity of notions such as citizens being “customers” – this new understanding implies an increasing trend towards customer orientation. To assess the customer’s expectations of service quality of policing and the experienced service quality the SERVQUAL approach (Parasuraman et al., 1988) is used (Donnelly et al., 2006).

Generic approaches and techniques such as Management by Objectives (MBO) (Chatterton, 1995: p. 101), Total Quality Management (Galloway, 1994), Benchmarking (Engel, 2004), Outsourcing (Ayling et al., 2006), and Management Accounting Systems (Collier, 2001) have been discussed and widely adopted within police services in different countries.

One of the most disputed aspects of the managerialism is the introduction of performance measurement concepts. According to Terpstra and Trommel modern citizens have the right to be informed about the ways their tax money is used to produce levels of performance. Therefore the motto “value for money” unites the demands for high performance (Terpstra and Trommel, 2009: pp. 129-130) and police should be accountable for its performance targets (Terpstra and Van der Vijver, 2006: p. 94). The United Kingdom measures police performance using the “Assessments of Policing and Community Safety (APACS)” (Home Office, 2009). The Netherlands implemented so called “results-based agreements” between the regional police forces and the Minister of Internal Affairs (Van Sluis et al., 2008). In the US many police forces follow the Compstat system of the New York Police Department (Moore and Brage, 2003).

Bayley among others points out that managerial techniques came to dominate police administration (Bayley, 1994: pp. 124-140; Cope et al., 1997: p. 448). Within this development German police services, too, implemented generic managerial approaches as outlined in part three of this paper.

We generally state that the outlined factors characterized by a reduced financial scope, socio-demographic change and the upcoming of new management ideas have put state authorities un-

der reform pressure and affect public management reforms in German policing.

4 NPM reforms in German police services

Das Neue Steuerungsmodell: the German variant of NPM reform

The wave of the new public management reforms of the late 1980s affected Germany and led to intense discussions about new management approaches to be integrated in the public sector. The “New Steering Model” (Das neue Steuerungsmodell, NSM), developed in 1993 by the Joint Local Government Agency for the Simplification of Administrative Procedures (Kommunale Gemeinschaftsstelle für Verwaltungsvereinfachungen, KGSt), was established as a reference model for modernizing local governments (KGSt, 1993).

The NSM (KGSt) may be regarded as the “overall concept” of all following modernization concepts (Jann, 2005: pp. 74 ff.) and as the methodological framework for new public management reforms in Germany (Jann, 2001: p. 85). Hence the NSM (KGSt) can be designated as the German variant of new public management reforms.

In Germany the local governments initiated NPM reforms and were recognized as the true entrepreneurs in the field of public sector modernization. Even though some federal states (Länder) implemented NPM reforms, and occasionally a number of reform initiatives were undertaken at the federal states’ level (Klages and Löffler, 1996: p. 134). Hence the federal and federal states’ police services were affected by new public management reforms in a second wave, starting approximately in 1995.

NSM (KGSt) in Germany’s police services – Phases in a sketch

The adaption of public management reforms in Germany’s services is a complex issue and has been controversially discussed placing emphasis on various key aspects. Accordingly, a draft model can be helpful to systemize the accordance of new public management reforms and the steps undertaken by federal states’ and federal police services in Germany.

For our analysis we use special sources of information like the unpublished report “Neue Steuerungsmodelle der Polizeien der Länder und des Bundes“ by the Project Group of the Subcommit-

tee Management, Deployment and Combatting Crime, Working Group II of the Conference of Interior Ministers 1998 (Projektgruppe des Unterausschusses Führung, Einsatz und Kriminalitätsbekämpfung (UAFEK) des Arbeitskreises II der Innenministerkonferenz (IMK) des Jahres 1998), which was updated in 2001. Additional material comes from conferences having been run at the Police Leadership Academy, which has meanwhile been renamed German Police University. These latter conferences each focus on a selected theme and offer federal and state police agencies a platform for engaging in discussions on their experience with regard to various topics. Correspondingly, the conference themes nicely mirror the directions taken in introducing NPM reforms into Germany's police forces.

Accordingly we derive the following criteria from these data to differentiate phases in this process: the main perspective or goals, the reference model, the emerging or commonly used system elements, and the phenomenon characterizing the application of the system elements. In addition, we assume that the processes of public management reforms are particularly time-dependent (Politt, 2007: pp. 233-236), thus time should be considered as a substantial factor in the model. Furthermore we identify the use of NSM (KGSt) concept and terminology to emphasize its change in significance.

However, focusing on the micro-dimension highlights the instruments used and facilitates the identification of distinct and sketched phases of the NPM reform process: Pioneer Phase (1995-1998), Modification Phase (1999-2002), and Integration Phase (2002-2005).

Chart no. 5: Phases of NPM reform process

	Pioneer Phase (1995-1998)	Modification Phase (1999-2002)	Integration Phase (2002-2005)
Main Perspective/ Goals	Efficiency	Effectiveness	Organisation of the change Process
Reference Model	New Steering Model (KGSt)	Adoption of Management Concepts and Techniques	Integration of Management Functions or Selected Instruments
System Elements (Instruments)	Budgeting, Decentralized responsibility, Product orientation, Controlling, Cost accounting, Vision (Mission Statement), Performance Contracts, and Management by Objectives	Total Quality Management, Balanced Score- card, Process Management, Own develop- ments: result- oriented control- ling (EOS) -effect-oriented controlling (WPM)	Flexible Shift Management, Integrated Proc- essing, Transactions, Change Manage- ment
Phenomenon	Dogmatic: an unquestioning belief in NSM (KGSt) instru- ments	Concept-Based	Pragmatic
NSM (KGSt)- Concept	NSM (KGSt) is synonymous with moderniza- tion of police administration	Term "NSM (KGSt)" increas- ingly falls into disuse. Variations in terminology ap- pear and police agencies develop their own con- cepts and in- struments	Terminological variations domi- nate Term "NSM (KGSt)" disap- pears from the NPM-agenda around 2005

Source: Ritsert, 2005: p. 44.

Pioneer Phase (1995-1998)

The decree issued by the Interior Ministry of North Rhine-Westphalia on August 2nd, 1995 and regulating the increased flexibility in the administration of police budgets, thus decentralizing the financial autonomy could be identified as the starting point of the pioneer phase (Schmidt, 2005: pp. 47-49). It was influenced by experience made under the public management reform in local governments, went bottom-up to state authorities

and strongly relied on the NSM (KGSt) approach. Consequently, NSM (KGSt) effectively became the Pioneer Phase's exclusive reference model.

The NSM (KGSt) mainly consists of three components (Jann, 2005: pp. 75 ff.):

1. Leadership, and organisational structures resembling arrangements from the private sector (e.g. through management accounting, budgeting, performance contracts, management by objectives, etc.)
2. Activities conducted in a goal-oriented fashion, (e.g. through defining and calculating products, quality management, etc.)
3. Activation of this newly created structures and steering instruments through competition and customer orientation (e.g. through benchmarking, market testing, and outsourcing)

During the Pioneer Phase the NSM (KGSt) concept with a variety of instruments was tested by German police services (see chart no. 5: System elements/ instruments in the pioneer phase). With reference to an internal study issued by the committee of the federal and the state Ministers of the Interior we restrict our comments to widespread and extensively discussed instruments such as: budgeting and decentralised responsibility, product orientation, and performance contracts (Innenministerkonferenz 1998).

At the outset of this phase, the main emphasis rested with efficiency, as proven by the extensive introduction of instruments for decentralising responsibility in using resources and making budgets more flexible. Taken together, these two instruments effectively combined subject area expertise and financial autonomy at the same locus. Police subunits participating in pilot projects generally gained a positive experience with these instruments. The subunits benefitted from saved resources, which they then could spend according to their own priorities (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 189). However, when budgets substantially cut the savings they eliminated an important incentive to efficiently allocate remaining resources. Among further constraining efforts to achieve increased efficiency was the fact that budget flexibility applied only to title groups 5 (supplies/materiel) and 8 (investment funds), but not to title group 4 (personnel), which repre-

sented roughly 85 % of overall police spending. While the level of flexibility in title groups 5 and 8 differs somewhat from state to state, no police has decentralised personnel budgets, which is partly due to the influence of unions. Actually no use was made of either output oriented or outcome oriented budgeting, though its contribution to a more effective police work had a mostly declamatory character (Lange and Schenck, 2004: pp. 267-271).

The NSM (KGSt)'s product orientation was intensely used by several federal states' police services (e.g. North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg, and Lower Saxony) and implied product definitions as well as calculations pertaining to product costs and product performance. The goal was to link product oriented budgets with corresponding output and outcome measures. These complex requirements overburdened the concept of NSM (KGSt) product orientation. In practice, there was no satisfactory way to measure the unit cost of a number of products such as avoiding one single traffic accident or preventing one single crime from being committed. Highly nuanced differentiation of police activities led some federal states' police services to define as many as 190, and up to 350 products (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 158). Product orientation was not an appropriate tool to reflect everyday police work adequately and remained something artificial. It has turned out as unsuitable for managing the everyday police work (Lange and Schenck, 2004: pp. 188-189).

Performance contracts specify the achievable goals in terms of quality and quantity, and were initially introduced to the police with considerable success. A challenge with these contracts is the difficulty of how to measure police performance and the outcomes of police activities. Outputs can be readily measured and analysed. In contrast, the measurement of outcomes, especially any interconnections between police activities and the implications these activities have on accident and crime statistics are complex. To measure whether police activities result in long-term changes in behaviour (impacts) is also difficult to determine because a variety of actors are involved in internal security, not just the police (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 350).

The fact that it was not incorporated into an overall management strategy posed another difficulty and the image began to suffer. For example, contracts aimed at increasing the size of police services were concluded at a time of stagnation of human

and financial resources. This clash between the operational goals of the performance contracts and the strategic realities led to acceptance problems (Ritsert, 2005: p. 47).

The police of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia could be looked upon as the benchmark police for the implementation of NSM (KGSt) reform (Promberger et al., 2005: p. 111; Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 21).

Due to these selected challenges in the implementation it was apparent that the NSM (KGSt) concept did not fulfil all police forces' requirements and had to be revised and strengthened. Despite initial successes, the dogmatic understanding and the unquestioning belief in NPM instruments prevented suitable implementation processes in both the federal states' and federal police services.

Another phenomenon in this phase was the high rate of employees' participation involving them in further training courses, numerous working and project groups, which defined hundreds of products and allocated a thousands of indicators and thus generated a large reform bureaucracy. This is a sign of the identification of paradoxes and anomalies in public management reforms, namely the "Torquevillian paradox" that NPM reforms generate more, not less regulation, monitoring, and process control as unintended side-effects (Hood, 2005: p. 22).

Police practitioners nowadays are quite critical of this phase because it was not possible to bring sweeping changes into the everyday work of the police. This phase, however, activated a critical debate about the existing organisational structure und culture, and therefore substantially facilitated the subsequent police reform steps.

Modification Phase (1999-2002)

Due to these challenges three variants of adjustments can be recognized. The first adjustment was to rely on the NSM (KGSt) concept and simultaneously broadening it with such elements as strategic management, business process re-engineering etc. to cope with the upcoming conceptual challenges. The state police of North Rhine – Westphalia was the example for this variant.

Secondly we recognize a growing interest in comprehensive management concepts borrowed from the private sector, particularly the Total Quality Management (TQM) or the Balanced Scorecard (BSC) approach.

For example Brandenburg, one of Germany's new federal states, made an attempt to introduce TQM model for the entire federal state police. With a decree issued by the Interior Ministry in 1999, this federal state's police was directed to implement TQM approach (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 163). The TQM concept, however, could not establish itself permanently and ended when a comprehensive police reform was undertaken in Brandenburg in 2002 (Backhoff, 2005: p. 68). In addition, several individual police forces in other federal states made similar efforts. These local initiatives, however, were not integrated into the overarching modernization concept of the respective entire federal state or federal police. Among those local forces were the Federal Police Academy Lübeck (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 156), Police District No. 42 Hamburg (Barthel, 2004: pp. 281-302), Polizeipräsidium Münster (Speyerer Quality Prize 2002) and Polizeidirektion Landau (Barthel, 2004: pp. 161-180). Recently there have been a few approaches implementing TQM concepts in police forces at the state of Baden-Württemberg, namely the police forces of Biberach, Konstanz, Lörrach, Offenburg, and the State Criminal Office.

In addition, the Balanced Scorecard concept has also had an impact on the development of the police services (Promberger et al., 2005: pp. 86-90). In 2000, the Ministry of the Interior Baden-Württemberg piloted the use of this instrument under the headline "Police Operational Concept 2000" (Einsatzkonzeption 2000) in ten police services (Dettweiler, 2005: pp. 170-180). Meanwhile, the balanced scorecard concept was introduced for the entire federal state police of Baden-Württemberg in 2008.¹

Thirdly, we identify broad concepts developed by the police forces themselves which, however, clearly rely on examples taken from the private sector. The Bremen Police, which had been an early actor in the process of public management reforms, decided to take a different way. It sought to modify their NSM (KGSt) approach by introducing controlling instruments and activity based management based on balanced scorecard methodology. This outcome-oriented controlling (Ergebnisorientierten Steuerung) aimed at "steering" police work in the direction of goals and effects (Promberger et al., 2005: pp. 84-92). In addition Lower Saxony's state police started a comparable effort in Sep-

¹ Decree: Innenministerium Baden-Württemberg, Aktenzeichen 03-0460.0, April 2, 2008.

tember 2002 with a project introducing effect-oriented Police Management (Wirkungsorientiertes Polizeimanagements) (Lange and Schenck, 2004: p. 175).

As a result, the NSM (KGSt) loses its status as the unique reference model for public management reform in the federal states' and federal polices services. Beside North Rhine-Westphalia other federal states' police services take the opportunity to implement new reform concepts or instruments into their police work, so public management reforms become more widespread.

Various major methodological problems, however, remained unsolved at the end of the modification phase. The goal of successfully implementing the NPM concept on a statewide level was often too ambitious. Furthermore a growing resistance from affected employees and elected officials was noticed. Nevertheless positive developments with the aim of specific adaptation and adjustment of private sector management concepts to the special needs of Germany's police services could be achieved from the modification phase.

Integration Phase (2002-2005)

While discussing necessary conceptual adjustments to the needs of the police, critical factors determining a successful change process became increasingly significant. We assume to identify a new shift in the development of NPM reforms, the emergence of the emphasis on the social science perspective, especially the organizational-sociological and organizational-psychological dimensions of change management.

Former experiences illustrate that the euphoric assumption NPM advocates had made about a police service being able to change its organizational model at will proved unrealistic. Furthermore there appears to be a gap between the NPM-model's basic assumptions such as autonomy, performance measurement, individual success, managers' decision making, egalitarian, and team work and existing administrative culture vs. avoidance of uncertainty, conformity, hierarchical structures etc. (Bouckaert, 2007: pp. 29-64) based on the bureaucratic model, which prevents a smooth introduction of the reforms (Schedler and Proeller, 2007).

In this context, the question of how to best structure change processes increasingly determines the practical aspects of organizational development. This emphasis on pragmatism has led to a

sustainable optimization of work processes in the police forces. Centralization of internal administrative tasks such as procurement is one example.

Another adequate example is the shift work management. Prior to the NPM reforms, police forces almost exclusively scheduled work on a five- or three-shift system, so that approximately the same number of police staff were available at any given time. Yet obviously the need for police services on a Sunday morning generally is smaller than on Friday and Saturday nights. A survey conducted at the Lingen police force, Lower Saxony, revealed that private motivations rather than service needs had the biggest impact on work scheduling. These motives included: the possibility of using a car pool, a preference for back-to-back shifts to reduce commuting time, and maximization of incentive pay by seeking as many late and weekend shifts as possible. The most frequently mentioned reason relating to citizens' needs for services only ranked sixth.

At present, most police forces performing patrol duties use flexible working shift systems e.g. the shift work management systems used by Lower Saxony's police service, "need-oriented shift work management" (Bedarfsorientiertes Schichtdienstmanagement), by North Rhine-Westphalia's police service, "decentralised shift work management" (Dezentrales Schichtdienstmanagement, DSM), by Saxony-Anhalt's police service, "need-oriented shift management" (Bedarforientiertes Schichtmanagement), by the Federal Police forces serving at airports, or Baden-Württemberg and Lower Saxony which have an high impact on police every day work.

At present, we face several police structural reforms (e.g. police reforms at the federal police service in 2006, at the North Rhine-Westphalian police service in 2007, the Schleswig Holstein police service in 2005, the Bavarian police service in 2005 and the Lower Saxonian police service in 2004) phasing out intermediate administrative bodies in the state-wide police structural system. Those flattened management approaches partially permit more leadership to be applied and more staff being put „back on the beat“. On the other hand the need for coordination and control increases substantially. One example from North Rhine-Westphalia: Two midlevel public authorities (Landesoberbehörde), which are subordinate to this federal state's Ministry of the Interior, supervise 47 police forces, the staff of which range

between 200 and over 4,000 police officers. This shapes a new demand for special concepts from the management tool kit.

In summary, differences between police culture and NPM model's basic assumption become obvious causing severe implementation problems. Consequently, a declining interest in comprehensive NPM reforms was observable. NPM reform concept seems to be incompatible to the existing administrative culture or neglected cultural sensitivity. Thus the reforms will likely to be repulsed or adopted only partially in a pragmatic way.

5 Concluding remarks

The main points can be straightforwardly summarized:

1. Germany has got eighteen police forces imbedded in seventeen different political-administrative systems at the federal and state level with e.g. varying governing party or coalitions. Police services also have been especially sensitive to partisan influences on NPM's implementation. In this regard the termination of all NSM (KGSt) activities, namely the project "*Steuerung und Führung der Polizei NRW*" by the newly formed, CDU/FDP governing coalition in North Rhine-Westphalia in 2005 is a suitable example. Also the historical context of the political-administrative matters, the later beginning of NPM reforms in some police services of the new federal states is a phenomenon.

Thus the introduction of NPM reforms implies a comprehensive consideration of the political and historical context of the respective political-administrative system. The varying contexts of Germany's seventeen political-administrative systems explicate why there exists no single NPM reform model, but rather a heterogeneous set of concepts and practices.

2. Secondly we identify police responsibilities as part of executive administration which is characterized by intervention into citizen's right to assure or restore legal order. This emphasizes the outstanding importance of the political-democratic control of the police services in democratic societies. NPM established a political control over outputs presuming a clearly defined set of objectives precisely measured by means of indicators. Certainly such NPM instruments are able to enhance transparency but are not sufficient for a democratic surveillance of the police forces, because democratic requirements are hard to define by objectives

and hardly measurable by outputs. In addition the NPM assumption of political control as a predictable, longterm planning policy with rational decision-making in political-administrative systems appears disputable (Lange and Schenck, 2004: pp. 68-70).

3. Thirdly we present a model which systemizes NPM reforms and experiences of the police services in Germany. It differentiates the phases through various criteria such as goals, reference models, and system elements identifying three phases: (1) a pioneer phase (1995-1999), (2) a modification phase (1999-2002), and (3) an integration phase (2002-2005) to facilitate analysis of NPM reforms.

In all phases we recognized that the application of NPM instruments on the micro-organizational dimension can lead to a number of positive approaches such as the better use of financial and personnel resources through e.g. decentralized budgeting, performance contracts, or shift work management.

In contrast there is limited appropriateness of NPM on the macro-organizational dimension focusing the processes of managing whole sets of organizations rather than single organizations. Metcalfe outlines that the innovative task of public management as a macro process is to develop new and quite distinctive macro-organizational capacities to deal with structural change at the inter-organizational level (Metcalfe, 1993). Correspondingly extensions of the NPM reform model have been discussed. Some concepts are still borrowed from the private sector such as the marketing approach (Schedler, 2006). In addition other advocates label a post-NPM approach (Brunetto and Farr-Wharton, 2005) originate from "joint-up government" or "whole-of-government". In Particular "joint up government" deal with horizontal and vertical coordination to eliminate that different policies undermine each other, to assure better use of resources, to create synergies by bringing different stakeholders together in particular policy areas (Pollitt, 2003). But at present this post-NPM approaches have little impact on the German discussion about NPM reforms in police services.

Consequently, the NPM reforms did not constitute a holistic model for police administration and could therefore not completely replace the traditional bureaucratic model. In contrast there have been some successful approaches to implement "NPM-tool-kit" in a pragmatic way. NPM becomes only partially institutionalized and affect polices' organizational structure and

culture leading to a hybrid type of traditional administrative culture with sedimentations of certain NPM elements.

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