

Policing and Muslim Communities in Germany Structures, Workplace Cultures and the Threat of Islamophobia

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In recognizing that today most organizations in modern societies have been confronted with the necessity of engaging with the processes of an intercultural interaction, this paper focuses on the police and the role police officers play in shaping the interaction between majority and minority ethnic populations in multi-ethnic societies. Empirical data of 727 serving police officers have been analysed emphasising interactions and contact with as well as attitudes towards Muslim members of society. Also police officers experience of their own role in managing policing is examined; and, in taking into account earlier empirical research the relationship between German police officers' job satisfaction and their attitudes toward Muslim members of the population have been looked at to explore the role of professional identity and workplace cultures in shaping police officers responses to the challenge of policing a multi-ethnic society.

1. Introduction

This paper starts from a recognition of the significant role police officers play in shaping the interaction between majority and minority ethnic populations in multi-ethnic societies. It links empirical data derived from a substantial sample of serving police officers to a nuanced understanding of police work-place cultures, and policing in multi-ethnic Germany. In particular it explores the nature of police officers contact with members of the Muslim communities, their perception of Muslims in Germany and their experience of their role in managing policing. Building upon earlier empirical research which linked German police officers' job satisfaction with their attitudes toward Muslim members of the population (Dollase and Koch, 2007; Mescher, 2008) this paper explores the role of professional identity and workplace

Charles Husband (ed.) 2012

Social Cohesion, Securitization and Counter-terrorism

COLLEGIUM

Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 11.
Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies. 100–135.

cultures in shaping police officers responses to the challenge of policing a multi-ethnic society.¹

A key variable in the analysis developed below will be the extent and nature of contact between police officers and Muslim members of the public; and their relation to the development of police-Muslim relations. In engaging with the issue of contact, which has an extensive research literature associated with ‘the contact hypothesis’ (Pettigrew, 1998), this analysis will explore the quantity and quality of police-Muslim encounters, police officers evaluation of Muslims, social distance towards members of the Muslim population, perceived similarities and differences between Muslims and the majority population; and experiences of Xenophobic sentiments as part of police officers social milieu. Data on these variables will lead to an exploration of the role of contact in mediating police-Muslim interactions.

A second major variable to be explored will be police officers’ workplace experience; and its relation to their sense of job satisfaction. Following the earlier empirical research, job satisfaction is seen to be significantly related to the development of police-Muslim relations. The elements of the workplace experience which shape job satisfaction will be explored.

As a necessary step in placing this analysis in context; an initial brief overview of the historical and current context of the development of responses of the German police service to serving a multi-ethnic population will be outlined. Following the analysis of the data the paper will conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for future initiatives in developing transcultural sensitivity within police forces.

2. Context I – Islam and German Ethnic Diversity

In Germany, as in other European countries, continuing demographic changes are producing distinct challenges to the police service in relation to their engaging with the needs of multi-ethnic communities. At the same time heightened concern about the implications of significant Muslim populations within European cities, (Maussen, 2007; Fetzer and Soper, 2005; Modood, Tryadifillidou and Zapata-Barrero, 2006) is echoed in Germany where the large Turkish population represents an established and significant, predominantly Muslim, population (Schiffauer, 2006). There is then

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to Prof. Rainer Dollase for permission to draw on the data collected while she was a member of the research team working within the project *Disintegration Processes – Strengthening the Integration Potentials of Modern Society* under the direction of Professor Wilhelm Heitmeyer funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (June 2002–May 2005).

a tension between the role of the police service in developing the competences to meet with a diverse citizenship and their role in guaranteeing national security with its current implicit demonization of Muslim communities as the potential source of Islamist terrorists.

In Germany, where the great majority of the police force are members of the majority ethnic population the presence of minority ethnic communities has been observed to confront the police with new demands as they seek to negotiate their unique role in managing the interface between the majority society and minority ethnic communities. In addressing this task the German police are necessarily operating within the distinct historically rooted context of popular understandings of German nationality and the post-War German experience of ethnic diversity. Despite the fact that between 1988 and 1992 more than 4 million people moved into the Federal Republic of Germany (Geddes, 2003); in formal terms Germany considered itself a non-immigration country. The German state's resistance to addressing the empirical fact of its changing ethnic demography has provided a policy environment in which initiatives to address the needs of minority ethnic populations have not enjoyed a supportive political culture. Kraus and Schönwälder (2006: 203) have for example argued that: "Multiculturalism emerged late in West German debates, and it was and remains mostly a slogan rather than a precise policy". However, they also indicate that in the 1990's, in the absence of a clear Federal multicultural policy, at the local and regional level initiatives to recognise the cultural and political rights of ethnic minorities have been developing. At the same time in October 2010 the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, claimed that multiculturalism in Germany had "failed utterly" (MiGAZIN, 2010). Thus whilst there has been a reluctance to recognize and promote ethnic plurality at the level of national policy and political discourse we must recognize that within this context German police forces have engaged in efforts to develop their corporate and personal capacity to engage with German Muslim populations (see the discussion below).

Additionally, within this ambivalent policy context the Muslim populations in Germany have in recent years been the object of official state, and populist anxiety regarding their unassimilable difference, and their threat to normative German values and interests (Schiffauer, 2006, and most recently made explicitly evident by the political crisis around the recent publication of Thilo Sarrazin (2010)). Contemporary attitudes towards assimilation have been monitored by the "Allensbach-Analysis" (2008) which indicates that although the topic of immigration itself lost its pre-eminence in German popular concerns, the German populace recently has increased its demands that foreigners should assimilate more fully to German cultural standards (the Allensbach-Analyse is carried out by a public opinion survey based on 21.000 individual interviews). Additionally Goldberg and Sauer (2004) have reported significant levels of perceived discrimination during the

period 1999 – 2003 by people of Turkish origin living in Germany. Salentin (2007) in a study of discrimination in Germany reported that persons of Turkish background report significantly more incidents of discrimination than *Aussiedler* (ethnic German immigrants from prior German territories in Europe) and persons of Greek origin. Thus we have reasons to believe that within contemporary German ethnic relations the situation of persons of Muslim background is particularly problematic.

Prior to developing our argument below it is essential that we recognize the significant intra-group diversity that exists within the German-Turkish population. We are aware that in popular and policy discourse Turkish ethnicity and Muslim religious identification are frequently conflated. Such essentialism is misplaced since the Muslim population of Germany is not identical with the German-Turkish communities (Pedziwiatr, 2007); and as we have noted the Turkish population itself has significant intra-group differences. However, the popular attribution of Muslim identity to specific urban communities is a recognizable element in the contemporary social imaginary in Germany (Taylor, 2004) and is reflective of the salience of Islam in media and political debates around diversity and security. The word “community” has a long history of being conceptually and empirically problematic (Baumann, 2000) but its use in this argument is intended to signal that Muslim individuals experience of contact with the German police do not result in purely individual responses. For both “Muslims” and “the police” individual experiences are collectively shared and feed into, and off, shared intergroup perceptions. The shift from interpersonal to intergroup postures is central to the dynamics of ethnic relations, where strong social psychological processes of inter-group comparison may contribute to in-group defensiveness and out-group exclusion (Capozza and Brown, 2000, Brewer and Hewstone, 2004).

3. Context II – Policing and Muslim ‘Communities’ in Germany

After having opened up the background against which contemporary policing has to be carried out, and before moving on to briefly presenting findings on different group’s view of the German police force – namely the majority population and people of Turkish descent – it is important to recognize the police force in its unique and threefold role:

- as being a **state agent** influenced by a current political milieu and an historically embedded conception of citizenship,
- as being **part of the majority population** (in Germany the proportion of police staff being from a minority group is still very low),
- and as being **facilitators of integration** following the new demands placed upon them, and laid down e.g. by the world’s largest regional security

organization, the OSCE, in their Recommendations on Policing in Multi-Ethnic Societies.

How difficult the negotiation of these potentially contradictory aspects of policing in multi-ethnic societies may be, was indicated by Erez et al. (2003):

“...the arrival of new groups often provokes questions about the appropriateness of practicing what those groups consider ‘normal’ domestic or familial relations, duties, or privileges. Thus, an increase in the number of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic communities and racial groups can give rise to conflicts about legitimacy of legal and communal standards and definition, and hence present an enormous challenge to law enforcement and order maintenance activities”(Erez, Finckenauer and Ibarra, 2003: 6)

Ironically although many police officers describe their work as highly unsatisfactory, inefficient, highly wasteful and bureaucratic (e.g. Feltes, 2002; Loveday, 1999), the public view is much more positive. Feltes (2002) reports that in Germany the police regularly come out on top of public rankings of public opinion. For example in late 1997 a survey conducted by EMNID (an international Custom Market Research specialist) and the magazine “Der Spiegel” found that more than 50 per cent of respondents regarded the police (rather than schools, politicians, the church or the family) as the upholders of core (national) values (EMNID, 1997). Feltes (2002: 3) argues, “that police officers themselves, however, have a very different self-conception: they presume that the public distrusts the police and depreciates their performance on the job”.

Comparable research with German migrants from a Turkish background produces a more ambivalent picture of this communities’ perception of the police force (Polizei-Newsletter, 2006). While half of the participating migrants with Turkish roots in a study conducted in North-Rhine Westphalia indicated their trust in the German police force, the other half assumes the police demand assimilation of their life-style, and that they believe in a high crime rate amongst Turkish migrants. They also imply that the police act in a discriminatory way. Turkish community perceptions of policing are also apparently shaped by the nature of the communities in which they live. Migrants living in areas of concentrated Turkish settlement are more suspicious of the police than migrants living in mixed neighbourhoods. Contact, not only as a suspect or being involved in stop-and-search actions, but also merely being a witness or victim of a crime or accident, has a negative impact on migrants attitudes towards the police (Polizei-Newsletter, 2006).

The impact of the “War on Terror” rhetoric and policies, and particularly its specific expression in the growth of Islamophobia across specific states (EUMC, 2006), has created a strong feeling of mistrust towards and stereotyping of, Muslim communities in Western societies (Ghaffur, 2006; Samad and Sen, 2005). Thus in a variety of European contexts Muslim members of society have become a particular

focus of political anxiety and surveillance. Muslim members of society themselves have come to have reasons to feel particularly subject to the intrusive powers of policing (Choudary et al., 2006; OSCE, 2006) causing amongst them raised levels of distrust against the police as described earlier (Polizei-Newsletter, 2006). It is for this reciprocal scepticism, that trust and dialogue, as required by the concept of community policing, are in some communities difficult to achieve.

4. Context III – Developing Policies for Policing in Multiethnic Germany

In Germany the issue of policing a multi-ethnic society had been taken into account from the mid-nineties on when increasing indications of a deteriorating climate of relationships between the police force and different groups of immigrants became obvious (Leenen, 2005). Although no study stands out as proving that there is a substantially high level of xenophobic attitudes amongst German police officers (e.g. Jaschke, 1998), the police created a decidedly poor image for themselves through a large number of proven cases of discrimination (Amnesty International, 1997). From that time, a variety of initiatives have been developed to enable the German police force to engage more appropriately with a multi-ethnic population. Furthermore police training significantly adjusted to the new demands of policing diverse neighbourhoods. In reviewing the current approaches regarding diversity, the modification of police training will be discussed first.

As Feltes (1995) argues policing in Germany is both difficult and different. This is because Germany is divided into 16 different states, with each state having its own police force and training systems complemented by the federal border police and customs. It is the “closed circuit” system of police training that makes policing difficult as the training itself is organized by the state ministries of interior and takes place only in internal police institutions monitored by the relevant ministry of interior (Feltes, 1995). Nevertheless, the need for police officers to be given professional support in understanding and responding appropriately to the sensitivities of minorities and to enable them to perform in ways which promote harmony and reduce tension is widely recognized (see also Leiprecht, 2002; Sauerbaum, 2005 for Baden-Württemberg, Zwink, Loffje and Klier, 2004; Leenen, Groß and Grosch, 2002; Leenen, 2002).

Although there is no officially required schedule regulating intercultural competence training on a cross-states level in Germany, the core subjects covered by most educational approaches are: (1) culture sensitive communication skills, (2) knowledge about general cultural differences and their significance and (3) the psychology of prejudice and stereotyping. However, Leiprecht (2002) and others (Sauerbaum, 2005 for Baden-Württemberg; Zwink, Loffje and Klier, 2004) point

towards the fact, that current training programmes mainly focus on the cognitive transfer of knowledge concerning the aliens law, the history of migration and information about migrants countries of origin. Leenen (2002) is critical of the mere passing on and accumulation of knowledge as culture specific facts. Leenen, Groß and Grosch (2002) claim, that intercultural competence rather requires a learning-strategy that - based on self-reflection - enables a reorganization of pre-existing orientations. Thus they argue (Leenen, Groß and Grosch, 2002: 111) that: "...it is not so much 'understanding' but much rather 'acceptance of multi-perspectivity' which has to be the learning objective". Despite the fact that there is a growing understanding of intercultural competence being more than expert knowledge about different cultures, the development of a broadened approach remains theoretical and finds limited expression in current curricula for police training. Most police officers, as Sauerbaum (2005: 31) could show, indicate an emphasis on legal issues concerning encounters with migrants; because they believe that: "legal certainty creates certainty of action". Moreover they state (Sauerbaum, 2005: 31) that becoming a "cop" is a process of practically gathering experience by working in the field; and this, they argue, is true for all areas not only those concerned with minority populations.

Developing police competence in operating in multi-ethnic contexts has not focused solely on targeted training inputs, but has also addressed the nature of policing per se. The central proposition of The High Commissioner on National Minorities (OSCE, 2006: 3) is, "that good policing in multi-ethnic societies is dependent on the establishment of a relationship of trust and confidence, built on regular communication and practical co-operation, between the police and the minorities." Thus Germany, as well as other countries worldwide, has recognized the importance of this statement in which trust between majority and minority populations is acknowledged as a major factor determining the performance and efficiency of policing. To address this matter community oriented policing has been introduced not only to tackle police-minority relations but also as a general crime prevention strategy (Skogan, 1995; Greene and Mastrofski, 1988; Sadd and Grinc, 1996). In Germany, due to the fact that the country is split into different states, the regional governments have different policing philosophies and there is no uniform professional self-understanding amongst police managers and officers through the ranks (Jäger, 1993). Nor is there any coherence in the practical implementation of the concept of community policing as it is a matter for each state; and moreover, as Gramckow and Jacoby (1993: 23) put it: "The forms and strategies community oriented policing uses will always vary among the different jurisdictions because community policing is not a single program but a policing philosophy that guides the whole department, that shapes the agency's organization, management, and works with the community and its 'clients'."

In the German context Feltes (2002) argues that in order to enable police officers to perform community oriented policing vocational training should provide them with communication and conflict solution abilities, as well as with tools and knowledge to “break the circle of bureaucracies”, which is necessary to initiate change in police philosophy and culture. Again, to change a distinct and historically established culture like the police culture, Feltes (2002: 10-11) claims that officers “should learn to distinguish between the individual culture of the members of the institution, established over time between peers, and the ‘official’ culture of the institution.” He argues that: “‘Cop Culture’ and ‘Police Culture’ are not necessarily the same” (Feltes, 2002:10-11), and consequently changes in ‘Police Culture’ (like community policing) may be ineffective if ‘Cop Culture’ stays the same or even contradicts the new practice. With good reason he asserts the necessity of checking “mission and objectives against daily realities, routines, and socio-economic changes in the society the institution is supposed to serve” (Feltes, 2002: 10-11).

Another widely recognized approach to stimulate police – Muslim relations and trust between majority and minority populations originated in the pilot scheme “Police and mosque associations” and was carried out in three large cities of Germany. The project led to a policy on how to foster trust and cooperation between the police and mosque associations. Police organisations in this project aimed at the incorporation of Mosques’ into crime prevention work and local networks such as schools, and youth welfare services (for more details see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005).

Whereas in other countries police minority officers and staff make a significant contribution to policing multi-ethnic societies (e.g. Ghaffur, 2006) in Germany only the states Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen and very few larger cities are achieving the one percent benchmark for the employment of minority officers. Although more than half of the German states do have initiatives to promote the recruitment of young people with a migrant background (especially with Turkish roots), there is no generic policy of “Managing Diversity” across the whole range of policing activities. It has been argued that a fear of positive discrimination, and a concern that less qualified applicants may be recruited, has inhibited a change in the current strict employment policies and pre-employment testing-regulations in place in Germany (Blom, 2005).

Additionally in his study of the personnel policies of the 16 ministries of interior, Blom (2005) found, that the focus of recruiting police minority staff was instrumentally directed towards operative police action rather than on the generic necessity of integrating minority police officers into the organization as a necessary precondition for a new interaction with the multi-ethnic society itself.

Thus whilst there have been initiatives within the German police services to address the challenge of policing a multi-ethnic population, it would be reasonable to say that at present they have not had a major impact upon policing practice. At the same time the experience of Muslim populations in Germany has made them increasingly sensitive, and vulnerable, in reaction to their exposure as a particular visible minority ethnic population.

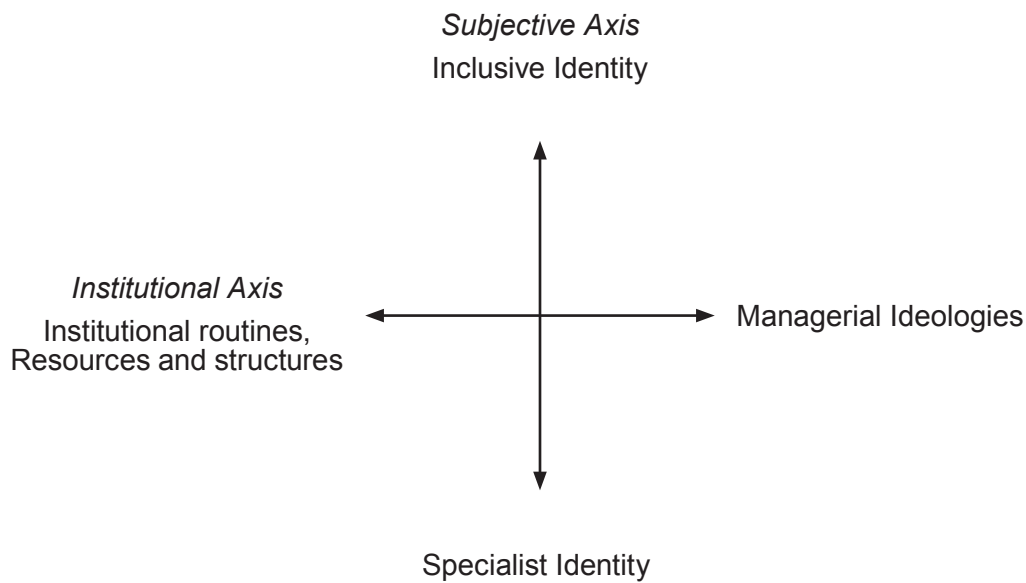
5. Conceptualising the Police Milieu – Communities of Practice

There is an extensive literature which has sought to reveal the dynamics which shape policing practice. Some have developed analyses of the political and managerial forces that determine the institutional context of policing (Chan, 1997). Others have taken a more ethnographic approach to reveal the social construction of 'cop-culture' and its impact upon the pragmatics of delivering policing 'at the coal face' (Hüttermann, 2003). Both approaches are relevant to framing the empirically driven data at the heart of this analysis. The concept of communities of practice, developed by Lave and Wenger (Lave and Wenger, 1991; see also Wenger, 1998), points to the importance of recognizing the organisational context within which police structures, professional identities, and management practices impact upon the framing of individual police officers experience of policing.

At the heart of the concept of communities of practice is the idea of individuals and groups making sense of their practice within the specific institutional, physical and ideological constraints that shape their working environment. Thus for example in each country police forces are defined by the legislation which empowers them, by the organisational structures through which activities are managed and rendered accountable, and by the professional ethos which informs their authenticity as a collectivity with a shared purpose. Police forces have national, regional and/or local organisational units that enable the management of the policing process. Within this structure individuals encounter their own working environment: the desk bound office locale of the senior managers and administrative staff, and the local street based locale of the 'beat copper' or in Hüttermann's (2003) term the "street-corner' cop". There is as it were, an *institutional dimension* to each community of practice (see figure below). This dimension includes the organisational structures, the institutional routines that choreograph daily action and the resources available which facilitate or inhibit the fulfilment of their intended functions. Additionally these structures and routines are given legitimacy and meaning through the *managerial ideology* which is developed and reproduced within each institutional setting. The language of 'efficiency', of 'doing things by the book', of 'a proper sense of priorities' and of addressing 'Government performance indicators' may all be elements in a state institution such as a police force. Such 'official' ideologies of course take

on different relevance and salience depending upon where an individual may be situated in an organization. Thus the work environment of ‘headquarters staff’ located in offices and the street based praxis of the ‘beat cop’ offer very differing contexts for negotiating their affiliation to a common police force (Reiner, 2010).

Figure 1. *Communities of Practice (Burkitt et al. 2001)*



These differing locales of praxis generate and legitimate quite distinct collective identities that constitute the subjective axis of the community of practice. If institutional factors shape the determination of specific communities of practice then so too do subjective identities. In the model outlined in figure 1 the subjective axis is presented as a dynamic tension between an inclusive (professional) identity and a more circumscribed specialist identity. The inclusive identity might be that of nurse (Burkitt et al., 2001), or journalist (Husband, 2005), or indeed police officer. This is an identity that embraces the ideal-type core values, the iconography of collective self image, and the shared ideological framework that renders authentic and legitimate the exclusive claims to professional mystique and authority. This is captured by Hüttermann (2003) in his description of the “corporative police identity”. Drawing upon Hallsson (1997; 1999) he makes a distinction between the “corporative world” and the “real world”. The actors in the former context are seen to rely on an authorizing corporative habitus and corresponding functional roles. In this corporative context there is a more or less spontaneous meshing of the ideological construction of “policing” and of the institutional means of delivering it. In the “real world” however, in Hüttermann’s words (2003: 383): “real actors meet in a world where their interactive roles and habitus are constrained through immediate interaction and are continually put to the test”.

Thus within any police force individual police officers experience a tension between the ideal type construction of their inclusive (corporative) identity and their unique identity as a senior member of divisional management, as a member of a prestigious crime squad or as a beat-copper, a “street-corner policeman”. The cumulative work on “cop-culture” reveals how these “specialist identities” develop their own distinctive sub-cultures in creative tension with the generic values and mores of the inclusive identity (Behr, 2000). The routines and structures through which a desk bound officer operates are very different to those of the “street-corner cop”. The persons to whom they are immediately accountable are different; their exposure to the public is different, and their role in maintaining the “authority” of the force is enacted in differing locales and employs different embodied and discursive practices (Giddens, 1991, Burkitt et al., 2001). The core values and professional aspirations of the inclusive police identity are in every instance realised in relation to the unique dynamic of forces related to the interplay of the institutional and subjective axis in each community of practice. This is entirely consistent with Chan’s (1996) depiction of police culture.

6. Empirical Variables – Outlined

In developing the analysis below the context of contact and workplace experience will be introduced briefly before descriptively outlining the variables that define the two areas, in order that the way in which they were operationalized may be understood. And, after the description of how the data for each variable was generated there will follow a description of the relevant findings; and an initial account of their significance for the developing analysis. Thus in a cumulative way, first the issue of contact will be discussed as a whole, and that will be followed by a presentation of the data relevant to our understanding of workplace experience.

6.1. Contact – The Nature and Perception of Contact with Muslim Communities

Following the work of Gordon Allport (1954) the contact hypothesis has had a continuing salience in the social scientific explanation of the roots of prejudice and Xenophobia. Allport (1954) saw four basic conditions as being necessary in order that contact between members of different social groups should result in positive outcomes. These were: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and institutional support. More recently Pettigrew (1998) added a fifth condition, namely, the potential for members of different groups to become friends. From the outset it is reasonable to speculate that the routine nature of police contact with members of Muslim communities fails to incorporate all of these five optimum conditions. The police occupy an ambivalent position in most societies. Valued as a necessary

expression of state power in order to protect persons and property from anti-social elements in society; they are equally resented for their capacity to intrude upon individuals' own 'flexibility' in obeying the laws of their country. Whether it be exceeding the speed limit, drinking over a statutory alcohol limit, being loud and disruptive or utilising violence within domestic relations; many individuals seem capable of finding resentments for police intrusion into their lives. Additionally in some societies the police are perceived as being the dedicated agents of specific political or class interests (Morgan, 1999). Consequently the existence of common goals and a basis for intergroup cooperation cannot be assumed in police-community interactions. As we shall see in more detail below, where the contact is between members of the police force and members of minority ethnic communities then quite specific intergroup perceptions and tensions may radically fracture the benign intergroup context outlined by Pettigrew (1998).

Additionally it is necessary to recognize that in police-citizen interaction there is routinely a framing of the interaction by the professional identity of the police officer. This contact is not a chance encounter between two fellow citizens but is routinely an engagement premised on a mutual understanding of the legal and professional status and authority of the police officer. In such a contact it is part of police culture and professional self-regard that they should manage the status differential within this encounter in such a way as to sustain the authority, and inter-personal dominance, of the police officer (Hüttermann, 2000). Maintaining perceived equal status in police-citizen contact requires a good deal of active inter-personal communicative commitment and skill on the part of both participants.

The level of institutional support for contact between police and citizens is at one level embedded in the states' construction of the social contract between the state and the citizenry. The state guarantees to protect the rights and welfare of its citizens whilst the citizenry accept a basket of obligations and duties, including curtailing their individual freedoms, in order to enable civil society to function. Within this broad context there are a range of more specific interventions which may seek to support positive contact between the police and the citizen. These may include 'community' programmes where the police go into schools and civil society organizations as part of an outreach programme (see also Skogan, 1995; Greene and Mastrofski, 1988; Sadd and Grinc, 1996). It may include a commitment to 'community policing' and getting the police 'out of their cars' and 'onto the streets'. In the German context the importance of institutional support of contact has been underlined by initiatives taken by the police authorities (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005).

Whilst contact has frequently been employed as an independent variable shaping the nature of intergroup relations, it is also apparent that the experience of contact may be shaped by prior experiences and values. Thus in this analysis the

quantity of contact between individual police officers and Muslim citizens, and the perceived quality of past contacts are variables which tap the experience of contact. In a more general sense questions addressing police officers' past difficulties in encounters with Muslim citizens further tap the accumulated experientially based beliefs and feelings that each police officer would bring to an encounter with Muslim citizens. From a more generic attitudinal level measures of police officers attitudes and values, and their predispositions towards social distance provide a further psychological input in shaping the contact process.

6.2 Workplace Experience

As we seek in our analysis below to relate the development and maintenance of positive or negative police-Muslim relations to the professional and organizational environment in which police officers operate it is appropriate that we should initially examine the background to the instruments we employ here to tap the police officers' work experience.

There is a wide literature addressing the issue of workplace experiences and their relation to stress and its correlates in interpersonal and organizational dysfunction (Lau, Au and Ho, 2003; Fox, Spector and Miles, 2001; Fox and Spector, 1999; Neumann and Baron, 1997). In the context of policing Bornwasser et al. (1996) through qualitative research linked police officers' Xenophobia to inadequate coping strategies, and hence to stresses in their working environment.

A 1996 parliamentary inquiry into the Hamburg police (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 1996) indicated that structural as well as individual factors, and their interaction, played a significant role in shaping inappropriate behaviour amongst police officers. These 1996 findings were subsequently supported by a study commissioned by the Senat of Hamburg (Backes et al., 1997) which identified stress in the daily work routine, the possibility of self-regulating, a wide scope of discretion, and prejudice towards the police held by community members as key factors in shaping police-community relations. This last study points to the possibility of an 'amplification spiral' (Cohen, 2002) as mutual distrust and misunderstanding between police and community members generates an escalation in reciprocal hostility. Additionally Mletzko and Weins (1999) survey of police officers revealed that high levels of stress in professional interethnic contacts were associated with higher levels of Xenophobia. More recently a quantitative study by Manzoni and Eisner (2006) placed the examination of stress and workload within a more complex framework. Their analysis revealed, inter alia, that high levels of stress due to workload, and the consequent lack of job satisfaction and commitment to the police organization were significantly correlated with the use of force against suspects.

The brief review above supports our view that the generic experience of police work, within the context of a specific legal and organizational structure (communities of practice), has relevance for any understanding of police-Muslim community relations. In the analysis below the cultural meanings and professional identities that are central to the individual's negotiation of their workplace environment will be explored through the lens of the concept of 'communities of practice'.

7. Sample and Method

The data has been collected in the context of an empirical examination of different professions' perceptions of Islam in German society (Dollase and Koch, 2007; Dollase and Koch forthcoming). The data presented below is developed from a sub-set of a larger project (see Dollase and Koch, 2007) and has a total sample size of 727 respondents. Participants completed a variety of questions that in 5 different sub-samples addressed a range of issues through 5 different questionnaires, with specific questions addressed to each cohort. Consequently, given the fact that not all analyses presented in this paper could be made for all 727 participants (indications of the exact N complete each table / figure) the argument in this study will employ a descriptive analysis that remains responsive to the source data. Thus the hopefully persuasive argument presented invites further corroborative research.

The data collection for all the sub-samples took place in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and North Rhine-Westphalia in 2004 and was supported by the relevant ministries of internal affairs. After having sent the questionnaires to the largest police authorities of the states, the heads of department were in charge of the distribution. With only 54 participants working exclusively in the office as case managers the residual participants can be categorized as beat officers. On average the 122 women and 603 men are 40 years old and based at their current department for 9 years (on average). Ninety seven per cent of the questioned police officers were born in Germany and are German citizens.

8. Analyses

In analysing the data below a descriptive approach is employed., building upon earlier inferential statistics (Mescher, 2008) that show job-satisfaction and contact to influence Islamophobic sentiments (see also 8.2 below). This article focuses on describing the facets of workplace experience and contact in more detail (for a discussion of the complete data set compare Dollase and Koch, forthcoming).

8.1 Experience of Contact and Variables Related to the Context of Contact

8.1.1 Quantity and Context of Contact

Quantity of contact was measured by asking participants: “How often did you have contact with people from different religions within the last week?” Police officers answered on a 5 point-scale from 1= daily to 5= never. The context of contact was measured by adding: “Professionally or privately?” followed by the options “mostly professionally”, “mostly privately” and “both”. Figures 2 and 3 indicate the percentages of contact for the different categories. (It should be noted that the target of “different religions” employed here is only an approximate indicator of contact with Muslims. But given the ethnic profile of the German police force and the demographic dominance and salience of Germany’s Muslim communities, relative to other religions, we may use this data as a flawed, but indicative measure of contact with Muslims. A recent report estimates that there are approximately 2.8 to 3.2 million Muslims living in Germany, approximately 3.4 to 3.9 per cent of the total population (Pedziwiatr, 2007).

Figure 2

Frequency of Contact with Muslim People (n= 727)

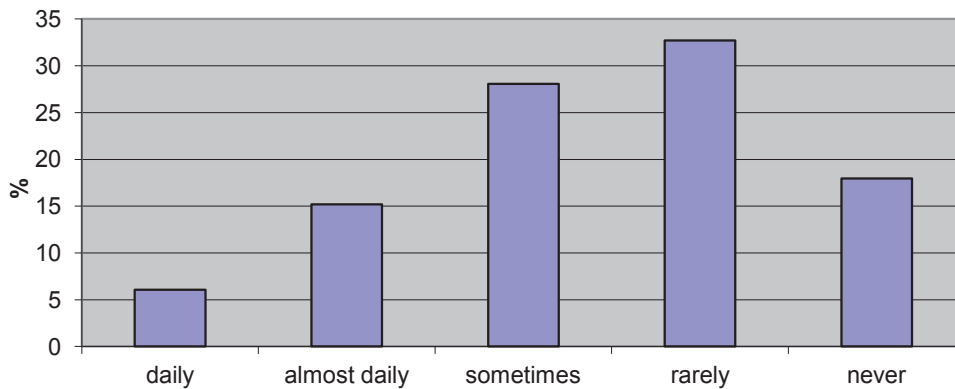


Figure 3

Contact Quality 1 - Context (n= 727)

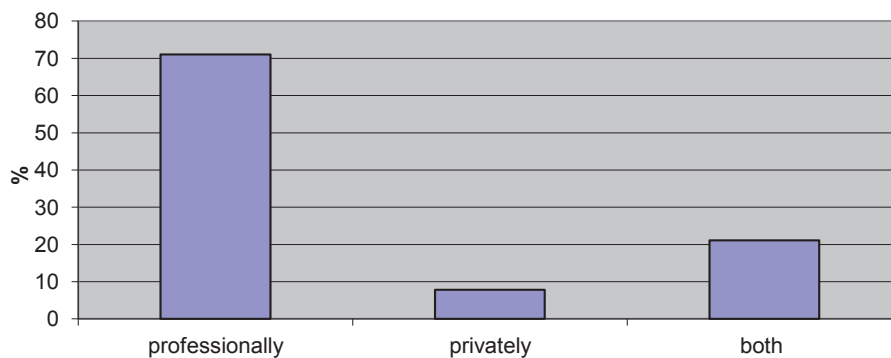
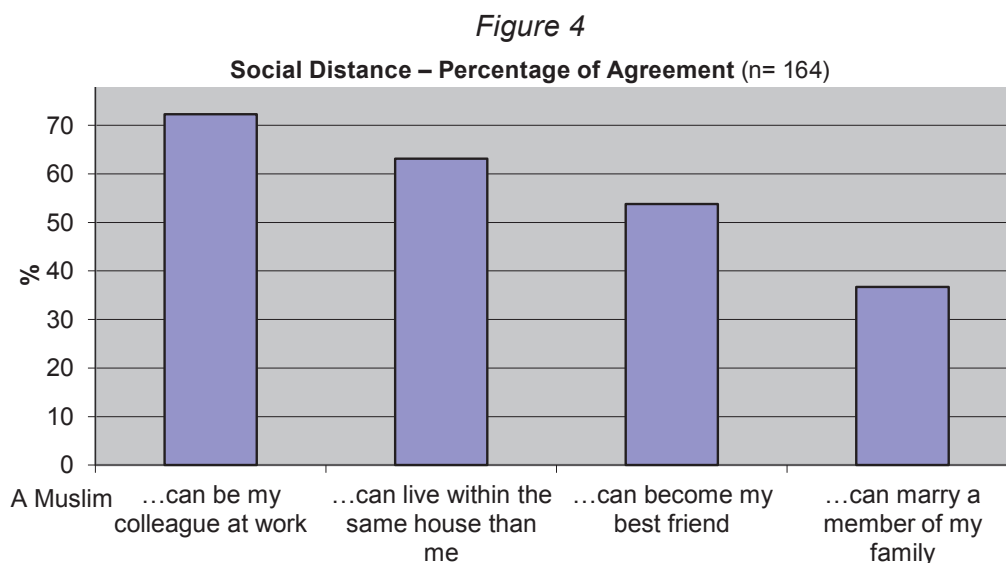


Figure 2 reveals that German police officers do not have frequent contact with their Muslim fellow countrymen. Additionally as figure 3 indicates the great majority of this contact takes place in the context of their work. As will be argued below this 'professional' context of inter-ethnic contact is likely to significantly impact upon the development and maintenance of intergroup attitudes.

8.1.2 Social Distance

The items measuring social distance were adapted from Bogardus (1933) social distance scale. Officers' willingness to participate in social contact with Muslim people (agreement or disagreement, 1= yes, 2= no) was introduced by the question: "How close to yourself would you allow the following people to become? Please mark an option." The following options were presented: "can be my colleague at work", "can live within the same house", "can become my best friend", "can marry a member of my family" with the latter indicating the greatest degree of closeness. Again, percentages of chosen categories are shown. (In this instance the named target group was - Muslims.)



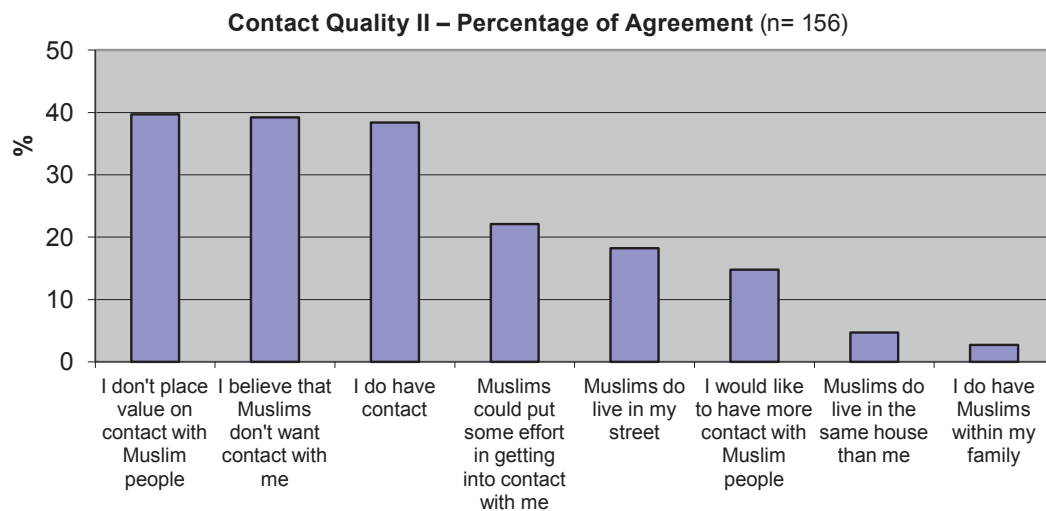
The data on social distance (figure 4) reveals a positive response in relation to police officers' anticipation of the degree of intimacy they would accept in relation to Muslims in Germany; with over 50 per cent accepting that a Muslim could become their best friend; and over 30 per cent accepting the feasibility of a Muslim marrying a member of their family. This range of responses is apparently much more positive than the general measures of Islamophobia in Germany revealed by the EUMC (2006) survey, or by Asbrock et al. (2007) comparative examination of out-group hostility in Germany; where Islamophobia is the most extensive form of

out-group prejudice. A recent comparative study of different professions attitudes towards Islam, including the sub-sample presented in this article, revealed the German police to occupy a middle position in relation to other professions in their attitudes towards Islam (Dollase and Koch forthcoming). It may be that there was scope for a significant social desirability influence in the officers' response to these hypothetical possibilities.

8.1.3 Nature of Contact and Attitudes towards Contact

This potentially positive picture is qualified by the officers' responses indicated in figure 5, where their views about the nature of contact are tapped. Notwithstanding the generally positive response presented in figure 5, given that 40 per cent of respondents do not place any value on their experience of contact with Muslim citizens, and that almost the same number believe that Muslims don't want contact with them the generalised positive response of figure 4 seems to require modification in the light of this level of scepticism regarding the perceived value of contact. The fact that only approximately 15 per cent of the respondents would like to have more contact with Muslims further underlines the need to be cautious in interpreting the police officers response to contact with Muslim individuals.

Figure 5



In the light of Pettigrew's (1998) model of the ideal conditions of contact that would be likely to improve intergroup attitudes we can see that there are good grounds for being troubled by the nature and context of police- Muslim routine contact. As we have seen above the great majority of police-Muslim contact takes place in a professional context. In this situation of citizen-police officer contact we know that there is likely to be a quite deliberate strategy by the police officer to maintain a positive, and dominant, professional status throughout the interpersonal interaction (Hüttermann, 2000). Additionally there are reasons for believing that

Muslim persons may have collective experiential grounds for caution, or suspicion, in their interaction with a police officer (Polizei-Newsletter, 2006). If additionally a significant number of police officers do not see any professional or personal value accruing from their contact with Muslim persons then we have further grounds for doubting that police–Muslim contacts will necessarily benefit intergroup attitudes.

8.1.4 Perception of Foreigners

Officers' perception of the term "foreigner" was measured by asking "What is a foreigner for you?" The different concepts participants had to indicate their agreement or disagreement with (1=yes, 2= no) are listed in table 1 arranged according to the degree (per cent) of agreement.

Table 1
Concept of "Foreigner"

	Percentage of agreement
A person that I don't know personally	78.7
Does not speak German	59.9
Is a foreigner	53.5
Has different values	36.7
Is not born in Germany	23.9
Has a different outward appearance	21.8
His/her family is from another country	20.6
Has a different faith	18.4

From the above table it would appear that faith per se is not a salient feature in the police officers construction of the generic 'foreigner'.

8.1.5 Criteria for Evaluating Others

To assess the criteria that participants base their evaluation of others on, they were asked: "If you evaluate people, what is important? Please decide between two possibilities. Which aspect is more important?" The following facets were tested against all others in a pair comparison: "religion/faith", "nationality", "profession", "education", "age", and "gender" (figure 6).

Figure 6

Evaluation of Others

	Gender	Education	Nationality	Age	Profession
Religion / Faith	62.2	92.3	68.8	75.9	87.0
Profession	23.8	78.8	18.9	25.9	
Age	38.2	87.0	47.2		
Nationality	52.8	88.7			
Education	20.8				

Percentages indicate emphasis in pair comparison. Percentages refer to variable in column, e.g. profession is more important than religion/faith.

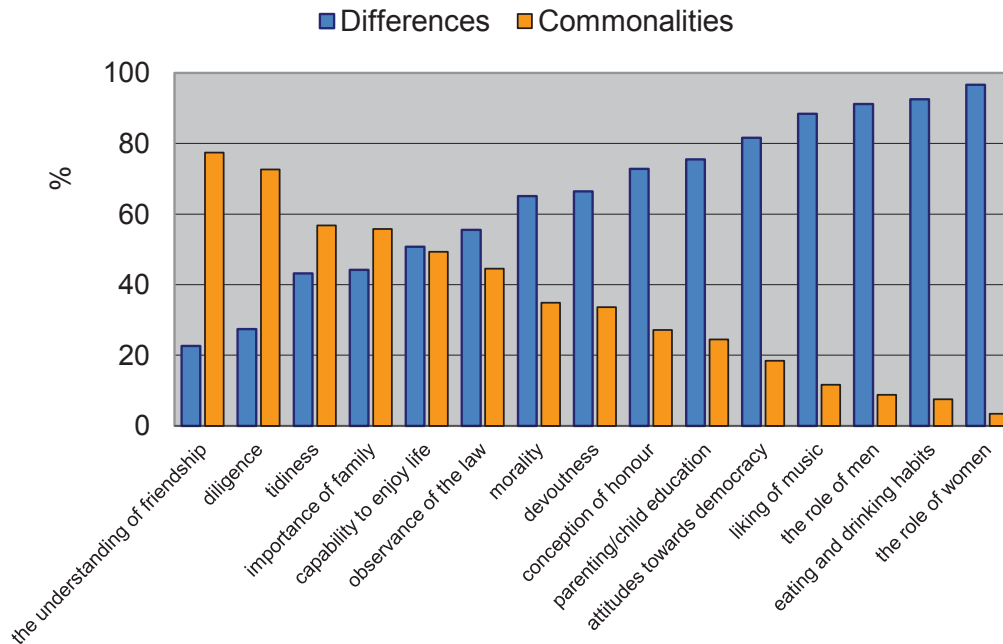
As the above figure indicates issues of profession and education emerge as much more important in how the police evaluate others. In fact religion/faith emerges as the least significant variable in shaping police officers evaluation of others, and nationality too is not given great importance. Perhaps it is that within religion, nationality, age and gender it is the education and profession of the individual that most powerfully impacts upon the negotiation of status between the police officer and the person they are dealing with. However, as we shall see below when religion is made salient by specific questions, and when made salient by the perceived identity of citizens, then police views about Islam do become relevant.

8.1.6 Perceived Similarities and Differences between Christians and Muslims

Police officers' perception of similarities and differences between Christians and Muslims were assessed by the question "Christians and Muslims that live here (Germany) do have some things in common and sometimes they are different. From your point of view, were would you see similarities between Christians and Muslims and where are differences?" Participants signalled their agreement or disagreement (1=yes, 2=no) for the items presented in figure 7

Figure 7

Commonalities and Differences between Muslims and Christians (n= 156)



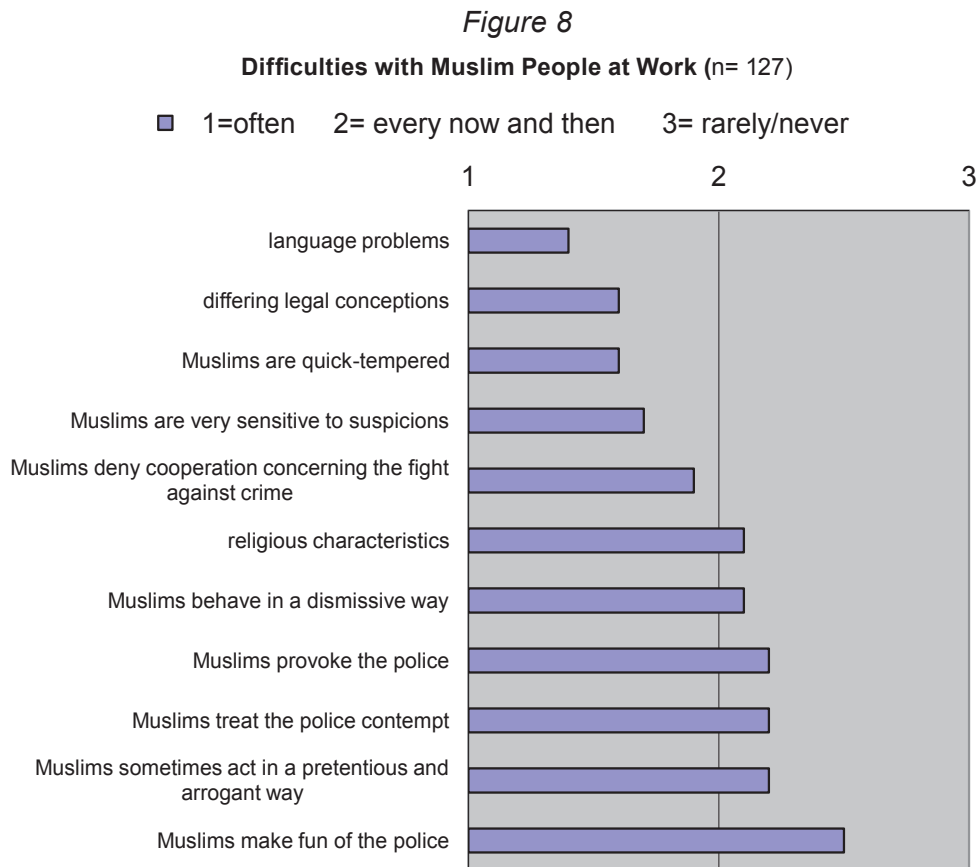
In any encounter pre-existing perceptions of the character and cultural values of the other person are likely to colour the nature of the interaction and the perception of its outcome, thus the review of perceived similarities and differences between Muslims and Christians outlined in figure 7 reveals potentially relevant anticipated differences. Over 80 per cent of the officers perceived Muslims to have different musical tastes, different eating and drinking habits, different attitudes to democracy, and to have different conceptions of the role of men and of women. These if you like are markers of a significant degree of perceived cultural difference; which may evoke strong emotional responses. Food preferences may invoke curiosity, appreciation or revulsion and disgust; but given the popularity of Turkish take away food in Germany this is not likely to be a significantly negative issue for this population of police officers. However, views on differences in the normative role of men and women in society, and of the 'modern' virtues of democracy and the outdated practices of autocracy, typically have quite strong associated connotations of superior modern civilised behaviour and out-moded 'traditional' behaviour; which in the case of Islam is typically framed by the deposits of Western Orientalist ideologies (Said, 1995), and the 'clash of civilizations' discourse (Huntington, 1996).

When over 70 per cent of the officers believe Muslims to have a different conception of honour and nearly 60 per cent believe Muslims have a different conception of observance of the law we can observe two views which may have direct relevance for the police officers' experience and expectation of Muslim citizens. Honour in relation to Muslim communities is routinely associated in the Western press with male patriarchy and in migrant settled communities has been

linked with ‘honour killings’ of young women within some Muslim communities in Europe. This may be present also in police perceptions of Muslim communities and their views of a cultural slippage between ‘the rule of law’ and minority community values. Where, as in table 7, we can find a perception that Muslim persons have a different relation to observance of the law in a more general sense, and that they have a different sense of morality, then we may reasonably assume that police officers’ anticipate particular ‘difficulties ‘ in their dealings with members of such communities. Indeed, the police services experience of ‘communities closing ranks’ and the failure of usual routines in seeking cooperation from specific communities may have contributed to a perceived legitimacy for individual police officers holding such views. Their ‘professional’ experience of contact may well inform their ‘personal’ perception of Muslims in Germany.

8.1.7 Perceived Difficulties in Police – Muslim Interactions

To assess difficulties in police – Muslim interactions participants were asked: “Please indicate, which of the following problems with Muslims you experience in police interventions. Please mark how often the problem occurs.” Participants answered on a 3 point-scale (1= often, 2= every now and then, 3= rarely/never). The problems listed are shown in figure 8. The order of experienced problems is indicated by presenting the mean scores on each variable.



Over 40 per cent of responses in figure 8 indicate that the first 4 problems appear “often”, and over 40 per cent of participants indicate that the last 4 problems are “rarely” an issue.

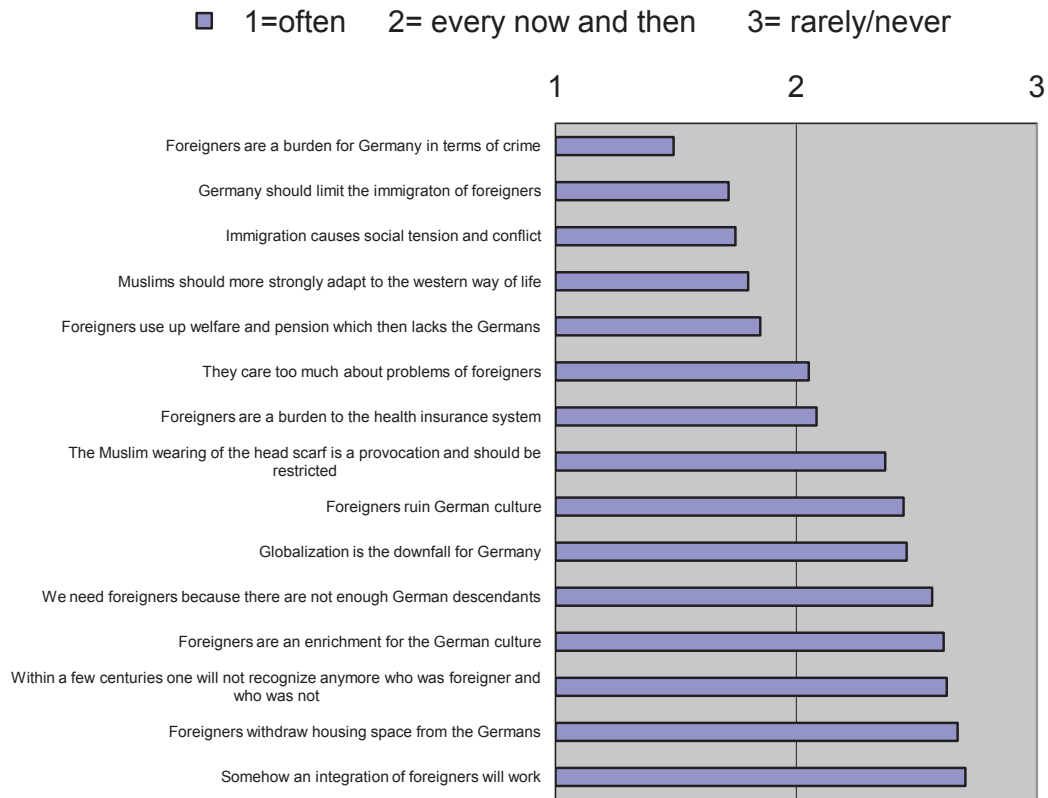
As the figure above indicates language difficulties emerge as the most significant problem in police – Muslim interactions. Particularly in situations involving the negotiation of power and the potential control of other peoples behaviour linguistic ambiguity can constitute a threat to the effective operation of the police officer’s authority, and thus be particularly professionally threatening (Hüttermann, 2003). In a comparable way the police officer’s perception of Muslim communities operating with different constructions of the law (see figure 8) challenges any assumption of a common framework for interaction and can be a potential challenge to the routine professional assumptions that normally underpin police officer – citizen interaction. Given that Muslim citizens are also perceived to be quick tempered and hyper-sensitive (see figure 8) then we may reasonably assume that there is a possibility that real misunderstandings may be amplified into perceived obstructiveness or direct challenge to the authority of the police officers. However, it is also notable that the above table indicates that the police routinely perceive Muslim citizens to behave in a respectful and appropriately responsive way: as indicated by the last five items in this table. Thus it would appear that it is more likely that it is misunderstandings and cultural stereotypes rather than actual provocative behaviour by Muslim citizens that are likely to generate a breakdown of communication between police officers and members of the Muslim community.

8.1.8 The Role of Officer’s Social Milieu

To illustrate possibly influential effects by police officers social milieu participants were asked: “A few questions on your circle of acquaintances: How often do you hear the following statements from your acquaintances?” Participants rated the statements presented in figure 9 on a 3 point-scale (1= often, 2= every now and then, 3= rarely/never). Again, the order of statements circulating is specified by presenting mean scores.

Figure 9

Social Milieu (n= 156)



Up to item 8 (included) the percentage of people whose acquaintances would mention those statements “often” and “every now and then” prevails. From item 9 on the category “rarely/never” is predominant (but notice that the direction of questioning/statements for these items changes: making the implication of the statements become positive).

Reflecting the professional concerns of police officers figure 9 above indicates that it is the role of foreigners in relation to crime which most often figures in the social milieu of police officers’. This may reflect the frequently observed reality that police officers social life is heavily populated by other members of police services and related state organizations. It is also apparent that within this milieu immigration is itself regarded as highly problematic. In relation to Muslims specifically there is evidence that Muslims are seen as failing to seek to adapt to German culture and ways with appropriate commitment. This is consistent with a widespread political discourse regarding the ‘self-segregation’ and ‘parallel cultures’ of Muslim communities within European states (Anhut and Heitmeyer, 2000; Finney and Simpson, 2009). At the same time the issue of Muslim women and their attire does not attract a high level of hostility, as might have been expected had there been a high level of Islamophobia present in this milieu. It is, however, noticeable that there is little support for belief in a positive contribution of minority communities to

German life or that German multiculturalism will be successful. This echoes the observation in table 4 that a large number of police officers do not believe that members of Muslim communities wish to make contact with them.

8.2 Significance of Workplace Experience

As to variables that are shaping police officers' workplace experience the question of job satisfaction emerges in a prior analysis (Mescher, 2008) as a major determinant of police officers propensity for Islamophobic sentiments. Analysing the relationship between *job satisfaction* and the dependent variables *evaluation of Muslim people*, *Islamophobia*, *distancing behaviour*, and *contact quality*, the data showed *job satisfaction* to have a significant predictive function. Moreover an analysis introducing contact quality as mediator (DV= *job satisfaction*, IV= *evaluation of Muslim people*, *Islamophobia*, *distancing behaviour*) revealed that job satisfaction impacts upon the perceived quality of contact; thus underlining the subjective construction of contact experience. The likelihood of a negative interpretation of an event is increased by negative personal work related sentiments brought into the encounter with Muslim citizens. The perceived quality of contact then impacts upon the probability of the officers holding Islamophobic attitudes. The salience of job satisfaction in particular, as well as variables like recognition and individual responsibility (see Mescher, 2008 for details), suggests a powerful inter-section of job related experiences, beliefs, and values as individual officers seek to sustain meaning and worth in their professional lives. It seems evident that the psychological dynamics released in this process may find negative expression in out-group hostility. It is because of the apparently significant relationship between job satisfaction and job related experiences that we now engage in depth with these variables.

8.2.1 Job Satisfaction

In order to tap police officers' experiences of job satisfaction we asked participants "How satisfied are you with different aspects of your job as a police officer?" Scaling ranged from 1= very satisfied to 6= not satisfied at all. The eleven variables addressing job satisfaction, indicated by their means, can be seen in figure 10.

Figure 10



Over 55 per cent of participants indicated their job satisfaction to range between point 1 and 2 on the scale for items 1-3. For these items you can see a clear gap between the satisfied and not-satisfied. All other items show more mixed results with participants most frequently choosing point 3 on the scale.

As might be expected from the literature of “cop-culture” it is *contact with colleagues* that most clearly is central for police officers’ experiencing positive job satisfaction and this is complemented by the importance of the *quality of their work* and *contact with immediate superiors*. These three variables speak strongly of a coherent and specific workplace culture in which supportive interpersonal relations with a network of familiar colleagues provides a substantial basis for sustaining job satisfaction. The importance of quality of work again only makes sense in relation to a shared understanding of a corpus of professional values that give meaning to the daily routine of policing. Thus it is interesting that the sources of most negative features of job satisfaction relate to the fracturing of this work-place coherence of practice and ideology. Thus issues of quality management, which presumably are of key importance to the managerial echelon of police services (the corporative culture) constitute a disruptive influence in the working routines of the street-cop. Similarly the perceived lack of support by superiors in the police force suggests a further fracturing of work-place identities between police management and those whose task it is to “do the job”. At a more concrete level the absence of appropriate equipment to support the police officers’ in carrying out their duties is an additional significant source of grievance. Here again it is reasonable to assume that it is the street level officers who feel best qualified to determine which equipment they need and it is their perception that it is their superiors who fail to guarantee them the resources they require. To a lesser extent this tension is revealed in the presence

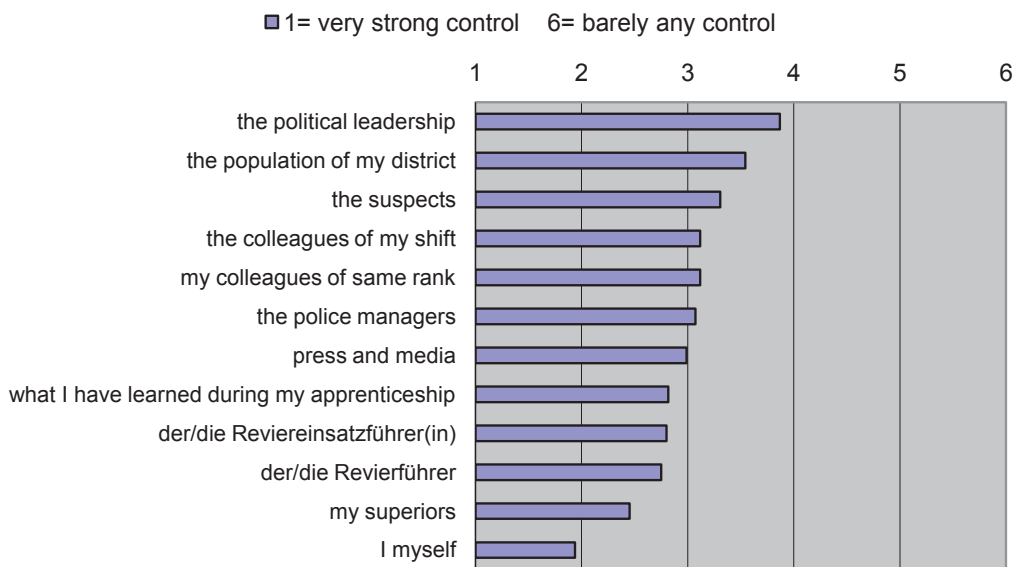
of workload as a source of dissatisfaction where the street-cops feel that they are disproportionately bearing the burden of providing adequate policing. Interestingly the demands of street work are not seen as particularly onerous, perhaps because it is exactly this engagement at street level which is most relevant to the street-cops sense of their professional competence. It is where they exercise control and inhabit their specialist identity most fully.

8.2.2 Control of Work Quality

As to variables that are shaping police officers' workplace experience the question of control of work quality was raised by asking: "Within each profession there is a control of work: an apprentice baker for example is controlled in his work by his master and the customers – if the bread is poor quality he will be critiqued by his master – or the customers won't buy anymore. In the following we'd like you to indicate how much you think the quality of your work is controlled by the listed groups and instances." Figure 11 presents the instances of control that police officers were asked to rate on a 5 point-scale ranging from 1= very strong control to 5= barely any control.

Figure 11

Control of Work Quality (n= 727)



In figure 11 above control of work quality is strongly shaped by "I myself" (76.2per cent answers on scale point 1-2), "my superior" (49.0 per cent answers on 1-2), "the superior leading the district" (53.4" answers on 1-2) and "the superior leading a distinct operation" (49.6 per cent answers on 1-2).

Significantly the police officers see themselves as being most strongly responsible for the control of their work quality. That this should be so suggests

that the individual within their immediate working environment feels that there is sufficient room for manoeuvre for the individual to manipulate the many sources of pressure that impact upon them. Again we see a sliding scale of salience from the more proximal superior through the station inspector to the officer in charge of operations where it is the potential for frequent and routine contact in the working environment that makes response to external control more positive. We may anticipate that the immediate supervisor has a closer understanding of the routine pressures faced by their subordinates and greater sympathy for their work-place culture. In this context it is perhaps understandable that reflecting the findings above police managers are seen as having a lesser impact on the control of work since their capacity to formulate policy is not necessarily matched by their ability to control performance on the beat.

It may appear paradoxical that colleagues of the same rank as the respondents on a shift should be reported as having a lesser impact on the control of individual officers' work. However it is arguable that it is exactly these colleagues who can be assumed to share work-place values and practices and whose support can be relied upon. Colleagues at the same rank do not have hierarchical authority over each other and must more carefully negotiate interpersonal dynamics in order to sustain a viable working environment. Consequently it may be that colleagues at the same rank are not seen to impact upon routine performance since there is a shared set of values and practices.

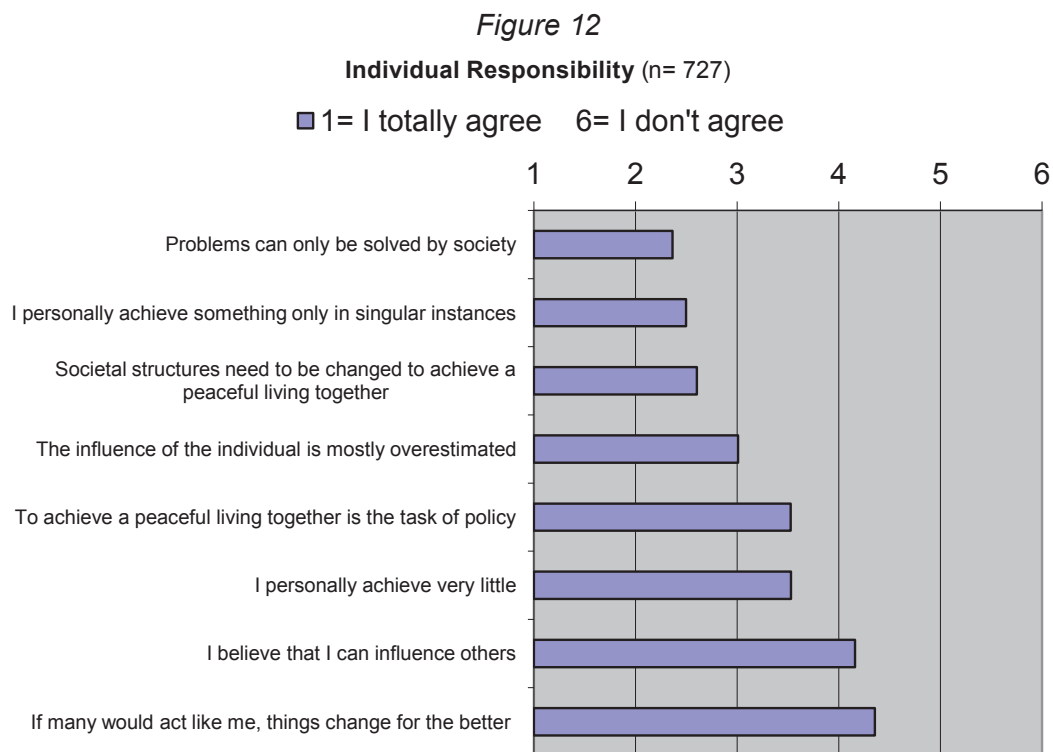
In terms of the impact of influences outside of police structures it is perhaps not surprising that the press and the media should be perceived as having relevance to control of police work. Crime is built into the news industries both through its significance as a news value and through the institutional existence of crime reporters whose job it is to find news in criminal behaviour. Additionally the relationship between crime reporters and police professionals can in instances be close and symbiotic. The eruption of moral panics (Cricher, 2006) around specific criminal events can also disproportionately bring policing into the public gaze, with impacts in different ways upon both senior managers and street-cops as the police hierarchy move to be seen to respond to external pressure. In this regard it is interesting that political leadership is seen as the least relevant to the control of the quality of police work. This may be partly a reflection of the fact that their most visible impact is achieved through manipulation of the mass media. Additionally the long term impact of political innovation will have filtered through multiple layers of state and police bureaucracy before it is felt directly by police at street level.

For those who are advocates for community policing and of building a strong civic bond between the police and the communities they serve it will be distressing to see that the local population are seen as having less impact upon policing than the suspects the police deal with. It is consistent with the nature of policing that the

more intimate face to face contact with suspects should make them a significant presence in the lives of police officers. At one level the suspects constitute the immediate focus of police activity and their successful identification and arrest constitute a major performance indicator of police efficiency. On the other hand in the context of the multiple ways in which police performance is now subject to external scrutiny in relation to equal opportunities and due process the police have reason to be cautious of the ability of suspects to, with reason or maliciously, make formal complaints against them.

8.2.3 Perception of Individual Agency

Perceptions of individual agency were measured by assessing police officer's appraisal of their individual capacity to reduce tension and conflict. Participants were asked: "How much could you as a police officer contribute to a decline of tension and conflict between people of different religion, nationality, or complexion?" The statements to be rated are shown in figure 12 by indicating means. Scaling ranged from 1= I totally agree (low individual responsibility) to 6= I don't agree (high individual responsibility).



In figure 12 above over 45 per cent of participants placed their response between 1-2 on the 5 point-scale for the items 1-3, as indicated by the mean scores in this figure. This result is supported by over 40 per cent placing their answers

between points 4-5 for the last two items, which again is indicative of low individual responsibility.

Whilst we have seen above that these officers believe that they have a strong personal control over the quality of their work in a more general sense the figure above indicates significant pessimism regarding the ability of individuals to make a significant impact on the world. We can speculate that the strong collective ethos of policing could contribute to the sense of limited individual agency in relation to wider issues in society. Particularly as we said above the police experience of their own work in detecting and arresting criminals being undone by public prosecuting officers and the wider legal system more generally may have bred a practiced scepticism about individuals ability to control outcomes.

8.2.4 Job Commitment

Participants commitment to their job was measured by asking them to agree or disagree (1= yes, 2= no) with the statement listed in table 2 below.

Table 2

Job-Commitment (n= 727)

	percentage of agreement
I enjoy my job	88.5
I fulfill my duty - nothing more	9.4
My job is a burden	1.9
If I could, I would do things differently	14.8
My job is more important than payment	19.2

The image of police officers' relationship to their job provided in table 2 suggests a high level of satisfaction. The very high level of agreement with the statement "I enjoy my job" and the near total rejection of the statement "My job is a burden" suggest, that police officers' are far from alienated from their work. Additionally the high level of rejection of the statement "I fulfil my duty - nothing more" indicates a sense of ownership of the policing function and some professional pride in bringing a personal engagement to the job-description. The low level of agreement with the statement "If I could, I would do things differently" is perhaps more ambiguous. We have already seen, that police officers are resistant to seeing their function expanded to include social engineering and hence it can be seen that there is no perceived

need to elaborate their current role. Additionally whilst in figure 10 it is apparent that police officers do have critiques of the resource base and management of their role they nonetheless indicate a significant degree of satisfaction with their control of the work environment. It is perhaps therefore the case that at the operational level of the street cop they can feel that they have sufficient control of their working environment that they feel no need to change it. Given the above it is perhaps surprising that so few police officers should agree with the statement "My job is more important than payment". This could be seen as an indication of a lack of professional esprit and a merely functional approach to policing. However, given the overall picture presented by the data throughout the argument above it may be reasonable to see this statement as a pragmatic assertion that police officers deserve to be paid appropriately. It is a challenging task which whilst providing a strong collective identity nonetheless requires recognition through the levels of state funding for salaries.

9. Discussion

The data on the nature of contact with Muslim communities presented above suggest that the pattern of contact with Muslim citizens in the context of police communities of practice is far removed from the optimum conditions outlined by Pettigrew (1998). The frequency of contact with Muslims (figure 2), is relatively low and predominately takes place in a professional context (figure 3), where the power relation between the actors is likely to distort the balance and nature of the interaction. Additionally (figure 5), a significant proportion of the police officers have some scepticism regarding the value of contact with Muslim citizens; and harbour doubts about Muslim interactional intentions toward the police. There is then, on the basis of the data presented here good grounds for addressing the complex nature of police-Muslim relations. This, however, is not an unproblematic issue. For as was revealed in Mescher (2008) contact is not a uni-directional variable with contact determining attitudes. On the contrary contact was itself seen to be mediated by pre-existing attitudes and experiences. Consequently, it is significant, that as figure 8 revealed there is a strong sense of significant cultural differences between Muslims and Christians; which may reasonably be seen as containing a contemporary expression of an East-West dichotomy with the undercurrent of 'Orientalist' sentiments that may be a necessary, but not sufficient, basis for the development of Islamophobic sentiments. This is given a particular salience in figure 9 where police officers' perception that Muslim communities operate with a different conception of the law suggests the absence of a shared understanding of the legal framework within which the police operate. This makes a generic 'alienness' more immediately relevant to police self-regard, as it suggests that there may not be common ground for accepting the legitimacy of police actions. This is a proposition which is supported by the perception (figure 9) that Muslims do not

cooperate in the fight against crime. Thus Muslims are perceived as not merely different, but as potentially specifically difficult in their relation to policing: not just an ambiguous 'stranger' (Bauman, 1990) but rather a professionally problematic challenge. Such perceptions are hardly likely to be challenged from within police officers' social milieu, where (figure 10) they have a high level of exposure to the view that 'Muslims should more strongly adapt to the Western way of life'.

In reviewing the shaping and relevance of workplace experience it became apparent above that a specific, and proximal, range of colleagues are the key determinants of job satisfaction and control of one's working environment. As figure 11 indicated contact with colleagues and contact with immediate superiors were closely linked to achieving positive job satisfaction. And again in figure 12 it is immediate superiors and the more operationally close superiors who are credited with having an impact on the quality of work; which itself is one of the key determinants of job satisfaction (figure 11). Thus the bonds of professional interdependence within a specific community of practice emerge as central to the regulation of a police officers' working environment, and their job satisfaction. Tellingly it is the disruption of this working environment by initiatives of 'quality-management implementations' which are most negatively linked with job satisfaction.

In this data set there is the basis of well grounded guidance that might frame initiatives to promote ethnically sensitive policing. It suggests a profound resistance to 'top-down' initiatives that are linked to new managerial performance targets for quality management, which may be perceived as managerial 'political correctness' with all the resentments that come with employing that term (Hewitt, 2005). Given what we have seen above, regarding this police cohorts' perceptions of Muslims, it is reasonable to suggest that there is a basis for such spontaneous resistance to 'top-down multicultural initiatives', a response made all the more likely by the weak political commitment to multiculturalism in the wider German political environment.

Considering the resistance to the police being used as instruments of social engineering that is implicit in figure 12, and the guarded optimism about the social efficacy of individual officers in addressing intergroup conflict, selling the political responsibility to address ethnic conflict in society to police officers will require sensitivity. In this data, and more explicitly in Mescher (2008), we have seen evidence of positive social values, and an absence of endemic prejudice in the German police service, that provide a positive platform upon which a concern with developing culturally sensitive competence might be built. But initiatives must be developed from within a sensitive appreciation of the communities of practice that shape the experience of policing.

Insights that may be derived from the literature on the contact hypothesis do not present any easy options. Routine contact with Muslim citizens is heavily over-

determined by the logics of routine policing. Recruiting more Muslim individuals into the police force would change the dynamics of the interaction to one shaped by in-group sensibilities. But the experience of other professions and other institutions suggests that these individuals are likely to pay a heavy price in their attempt to acquire unqualified in-group status (Campion, 2005). This is a long-term strategy that will require political will and clear leadership.

Community policing with deliberate strategies of outreach may promote both greater levels of contact and improved quality of contact; over time. But here the managerial challenges multiply. Can officers be kept in one locale sufficiently long to acquire a solid social network? Will well intentioned efforts to build positive relationships with Muslim communities be confounded by police surveillance of the same communities, as part of their anti-terrorism functions? (Husband and Alam, 2011). Is there, as in other professions, a fear of officers 'going – native'; namely building a bond with a local community that might compromise their 'professional' judgement?

The insights derived from the data above regarding the relationship of workplace experience with Islamophobic sentiments offer some guidance on potential innovative strategies. Since as Mescher (2008) indicated there is a relationship between job satisfaction and Islamophobia, generic initiatives aimed at improving the workplace environment are likely in themselves to be beneficial. Control of the immediate working environment did not appear to be the major issue. Rather questions relating to support by superiors and line management from above emerge as critical issues. Consequently the channels of communication between senior management and street-cops are themselves worth addressing. Additionally the equipment and working materials available to police officers are a further source of grievance which might usefully be pursued. Existing forms of educational training are not highly rated by serving police officers and consequently future training initiatives as Leenen (2002) and Leenen, Groß and Grosch (2002) pointed out need to be developed with a clear sensitivity to the values and priorities operating within police officers communities of practice. Given Chan's (1997) cautionary warnings about the difficulties of changing police culture new initiatives incorporating the opportunity for self-reflexive learning will be best developed in close partnership with police officers themselves.

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