

Gorazd Meško · Charles B. Fields
Branko Lobnikar · Andrej Sotlar *Editors*

Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe

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Foreword

Thirty years ago (in the early 1980s), very little information was publicly available about even the most basic features of the police in Central- and East-European countries. The police/militia were covered by the veil of secrecy. Raising questions about the police/militia and their accountability by an interested citizen could have potentially resulted in a handcuffed visit to the inside of police headquarters, and time served in a state prison. Nearly a quarter of a century ago (in 1989), the fall of the Berlin wall symbolized the end of the communist regimes in Central- and East-European countries, the beginning of the process of embracing of democratic ideas, and the initiation of a complex transition processes. Whereas the reforms had started throughout most Central and Eastern Europe at the time, the wars in the former Yugoslavia (in the 1990s) were taking a tremendous toll on the societies affected by them and, consequently, hindered the progress of the transitional reforms.

Today (in the early 2010s), the editors of this volume, Meško, Fields, Lobnikar, and Sotlar, provide us with an opportunity to obtain an extensive and detailed account of the state of police and policing in 12 Central- and East-European countries in transition (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia), an established European democracy (Austria) and an established democracy which merged with a former communist country (Germany). This task would have been virtually impossible 20 or 30 years ago. As a comparative policing scholar who has been in the profession and has contributed to the literature over the past 20 years, I draw upon my first-hand experience to state my steadfast belief that such a book is long overdue.

As the book before you elegantly demonstrates, the transitional processes are quite complex. They have affected both the conceptual and the organizational/functional aspects of policing. The police reforms in these countries have been driven by the goals of transforming the former militia, characterized with a longer history of protecting the regime and abusing citizens' human rights, into a democratic police agency. The buzz words used in the reforms included *depoliticization*, *demilitarization*, *professionalization*, *specialization*, *demystification*, *downsizing*, *decentralization*, *centralization*, and *decriminalization*.

Although the goals of the reforms across various countries do not overlap completely, there appears to be a shared set of key characteristics common to

democratic policing. In the manuscript, *Democratizing the Police Abroad*, David Bayley (2001: 76) underscored these commonalities:

During the 1990s, a consensus developed internationally about the norms of democratic policing. Few people would disagree with accountability, protection of human rights, and transparency, and most would accept the importance of developing a service orientation. The elements of democratic police reform are no longer problematic.

Lifting the veil of secrecy is one of the key requirements for the establishment of police accountability in a democratic society (Greenwood & Huisman, 2006); there could be no accountability to the public and other external bodies if no information is available on what the police are doing and how they are doing it. Greenwood and Huisman (2006: 5) described transparency as:

... the idea that (metaphorically speaking) there is, or should be, a glazed window or windows through which it is possible to see how the business of government is being carried on in a state, region, municipality (or, indeed, in any public organization). 'Seeing' here implies both a willingness on the part of the authorities (or 'insiders') to show what they are doing *and* the ability of elected representatives, the media and society-at-large (or 'outsiders') to view what is going on.

Democratic police agencies should have a duty to make their business transparent and the external bodies should have the right to know and thus be able to hold the police accountable (Greenwood & Huisman, 2006). As the former communist countries embarked on the transition, the expectation has been that the veil should be lifted and police activities should become transparent. As the contributions demonstrate, this indeed seems to be a common pattern across the countries in transition. Kešetović (Serbia) vividly illustrates the change in the relationship between the police and the media in Serbia before and after the end of Milošević's authoritarian regime. The police maintained the relationship only with journalists from the official media outlets and excluded the opposition journalists from any media events, labeled them as enemies, kept them under surveillance, banned them, seized their equipment, and even imprisoned them. The post-democratic revolution resulted in substantially more freedom for the media. Keković and Kentera (Montenegro) argue that, despite the changes in the legislature and the significant progress achieved so far, the police officers still need "to overcome the legacy of secrecy and understand that transparency helps them build connections with the community," and the citizens have an uphill battle if they seek to obtain information from the police. Keković and Kentera stipulate that, "[t]here remains a mind-set that the public has to justify their right to information rather than the Ministry of the Interior or the Police Administration having to justify that certain information is classified." The establishment of the public relations office or spokesperson (e.g., Kovčo & Borovec; Muharremi & Mehmeti) further contributes toward the lifting of the veil of secrecy.

The militia in the communist societies tended to protect the regime and serve the leadership of the communist party. The conceptual shift required for democratization implies that "police must be accountable to law rather than to government" (Bayley, 2005: 19). Marenin and Caparini (2005: 225) discuss the same concept as "semi-autonomy" and argue that "semi-autonomy"

means that the police should have the right (and are expected) to exercise their professional judgments relatively free from direct societal or state directives. Sergevnin and Kovalyov (Russia) present the case of a slowly changing police system in Russia in which the appointments at the higher level of the hierarchy “are [still] highly political and require loyalty rather than professionalism and competence.” By imposing another layer of the federal government, the 2010 legal reform sought to eliminate potential influence of the local politicians on the local police, but the majority of the surveyed citizens in an opinion poll thought that the changes were “merely decorative.” However, as Muharremi and Mehmeti (Kosovo) point out, it may be really difficult for the police to achieve political independence and operational independence, particularly in a highly corrupt country. Similarly, Leyrer (Hungary) wrote that it is difficult to find the right balance between needed political support and unwanted political influence; “[p]olice work of course should be free from political influence, but at the same time it is true that the duties cannot be carried out successfully without the support of the respective political parties.”

The theoretical idea of accountability/semi-autonomy should be accompanied by the appropriate legislative changes and the establishment of the actual mechanisms of accountability. Indeed, many contributors also describe the nature of various internal and external controls of the police. Šikman and Lalić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) focus on the establishment of internal mechanisms of accountability in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which cover hiring, work performance, promotion, rewards, as well as discipline and dismissal from the service. Kešetović (Serbia) describes the administrative investigation initiated with the submission of a complaint. Keković and Kentera (Montenegro) also list the internal control department as the key method of internal accountability. Foltin, Rohál, and Šikolová (Czech Republic) analyze the role of the General Inspection of Security Forces, whose Director is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and argue that they are the only office entrusted with the task of investigating police officers’ misconduct; there are no external control mechanisms, such as an ombudsman or a citizen review, devoted to the control of police misconduct. It is by no means surprising that the current reform of the police determines the creation of effective mechanisms of control, both internal and external, as one of the ten fundamental building blocks of the reform.

While the internal control seems to be prevalent in some countries, a few other countries include a combination of internal and external mechanisms of control, both domestic (e.g., ombudsman, constitutional court, parliament) and international (e.g., European Court of Human Rights, European Committee for the Prevention of Torture). Reitšpís et al. (Slovak Republic) emphasize the oversight role performed by the National Council and Government of the Slovak Republic. Kešetović (Serbia) also lists the parliamentary oversight (“the Committee for Defense and Security”) as the main form of external control of the police, with NGOs, the media, and the Ombudsman sharing the role. Keković and Kentera (Montenegro) list the Parliamentary Committee, the Council for Citizens’ Control of Police Work, the Ombudsman, NGOs, and the media as external mechanisms of control

used in Montenegro. They argued that, while the NGOs are capable of engaging in the control of the police, Montenegro's media is unable to do so. On the other hand, Feltes, Marquardt, and Schwarz (Germany) emphasize the critical role of the press in the control of German police as a "democratic organ of control."

Mirčeva and Rajkovčevski (Macedonia) start by describing the internal mechanisms of control (e.g., the *Unit for Internal Control and Professional Standards*, Bureau for Public Security) in Macedonia and continue by describing the external system of control, involving Parliamentary committees, the Ombudsman, and NGOs. Meško et al. (Slovenia) discuss one of the most complex systems of external control, involving both domestic and international actors. They describe the parliamentary oversight of security and intelligence, the Constitutional Court, the Ombudsman, and the prosecutors as the domestic external control mechanisms and the European Court and the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture as the international external mechanisms of control. Reitšpís et al. (Slovak Republic) bring another interesting point as they accentuate the citizens' role; "[p]olice officers are considered and evaluated from the point of view of their professional roles, in the form of demands, expectations, and suggestions about how a police officer should behave and act."

The police in a democracy are expected not only to abide by the rule of law in general, but also to actively protect the citizens' human rights, from the right to freedom of speech and association to freedom from arbitrary arrest and search (see Bayley, 2005). Indeed, the contributions in the book demonstrate the evolution of the cultures of protection of human rights, from laying the foundation by declaring what these protected rights are in the constitution (e.g., Meško et al.; Kešetović; Foltin, Rohál, & Šikolová; Mirčeva & Rajkovčevski; Leyrer) and enacting the laws that limit police powers (e.g., Meško et al.; Kovčo & Borovec; Keković & Kentera; Foltin, Rohál, & Šikolová; Muharremi & Mehmeti; Leyrer; Tabur; Sergevnin & Kovalyov) to establishing the mechanisms of control and disciplining or punishing the police for violations of these rules (e.g., Kovčo & Borovec; Meško et al.; Reitšpís et al.; Mirčeva & Rajkovčevski).

The stories of Serbia and Slovenia which, until 20 years ago, were both part of the former Yugoslavia, are quite illustrative. Serbia (Kešetović) has long tolerated using the police to protect the regime; democratization did not start until after the democratic revolution of 2000. For more than a decade, the police role was to protect the Milošević regime and suppress any democratic movements. The police were ineffective in dealing with crime; they protected organized crime and even actively engaged in it; they regularly violated the anti-regime protesters' rights, and harassed the journalists. In the process, the police avoided any accountability expected of the democratic police, be it established by internal or external mechanisms of control. From 2001, the Serbian police have engaged in a reform, guided by the international community. However, Kešetović emphasizes that, although police officials generated positive reviews of the reform, independent scholars, NGOs, and foreign experts remain unimpressed with it. Indeed, the results of a public opinion survey conducted in 2008 show that the majority of the

respondents perceive that the police are (still) “an instrument to protect the interests of the Government.”

On the other hand, as Meško et al. describe, the groundwork of the accountability of the police and the protection of citizens’ rights in Slovenia has been set very early, immediately after the accession from the former Yugoslavia. Indeed, the Slovenian police are now subject to both international external control by the European Court of Human Rights and the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and the domestic external control by the Constitutional Court, the Ombudsman, and the prosecutors (Meško et al.). Numerous rulings, recommendations, and changes helped improve the situation in Slovenia dramatically, but it presently by no means is perfect (Meško et al.).

Lastly, the top priority of the police should be to service the needs of the community (Bayley, 2005). For the countries in transition, used to the legacy of the communist militia, the transition should include a substantial shift in how priorities are determined, from the idea that the police should protect the regime and serve the needs of the powerful leaders in the communist party to the view of the police as public servants. Muharremi and Mehmeti (Kosovo) chronicle the status of the police during a totalitarian regime (1990–1999): “... the totalitarian regime used the police organization as a tool to achieve their own goals, and this use of police force did not respect the existing laws and rules. Misuse of police powers was not reported, the population ignored cooperation with the police, and corruption was open. Expressions like ‘Community policing’ or ‘Serving the people’ were not known at all.” Similarly, Leyrer (Hungary) describes that the Hungarian police “suddenly had to be transformed into an institution that serves and protects.” In fact, to emphasize the importance of the changes in the late 1990s, Tabur (Estonia) made the shift from the police force into the police service a part of his contribution title.

Changes in the legislature or the police reform packages require a crucial shift for the police in the Central- and East-European countries in transition. Mirčeva and Rajkovčevski (Macedonia) mention that, as part of the 2001 police reforms, the police force has been made into the public service. The law in Serbia (Kešetović) defines the police as a public service. Similarly, Meško et al. (Slovenia) point out that the current police slogan, “to protect and serve,” vividly demonstrates the new vision of the police functions.

The contributions demonstrate the shift in the perceptions of what police functions should be from what they used to be 20 or 30 years ago. Today, the police are expected to perform a variety of heterogeneous and often complex tasks, from the more traditional ones, such as the protection of life and property, prevention and detection of crime, the arrests of offenders, and regulation of traffic, to the more unique ones, such as the protection of state borders, control of movement of foreigners, protection of state dignitaries, and protection of diplomatic missions. In a manner characteristic of democratic societies, none of these tasks require the police to serve the regime.

The contributions in the book clearly show that the reforms of the police in these countries are directly affected by the events in the societies at large. A number of these countries have already become members of the European

Union (e.g., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia) or slated to become members soon (e.g., Croatia), and thus needed to adjust their legislation in line with the European Union requirements. Other countries (e.g., Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia) face multiple challenges ahead of them before they will be in this position. Some countries (e.g., Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia) experienced wars, which interfered with the transition and depleted their resources. Other countries (e.g., Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Russia) faced strong totalitarian regimes, coupled with high corruption, nepotism, and organized crime, which severely hampered the start of the democratization process. Yet, a few countries (Germany, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Slovenia) experienced relatively smooth sailing in their transition. While the key ideas associated with the transition from the old communist militia toward a democratic police agency might initially have been similar across these countries, the challenges, obstacles, and solutions to the transitional dilemmas were as unique as the countries themselves. The contributions in this book make for a striking reading that unequivocally shows how diverse the challenges that the countries could face in pursuit of the same or very similar key ideas.

East Lansing, MI, USA

Sanja Kutnjak Ivković

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Introduction to Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe

Gorazd Meško, Charles B. Fields, Branko Lobnikar,
and Andrej Sotlar

In the mid-1990s, the College of Police and Security studies in Ljubljana, Slovenia, began organizing a biennial international conference on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe which became a traditional police studies event which grew beyond its primary boundaries and became a conference on Criminal Justice and Security in Central and Eastern Europe in 2012.¹

We introduced the idea of the *Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe* to potential authors in 2008 when we contacted scholars from

Central and Eastern Europe and invited them to contribute to this comparative policing publication. We subsequently met with the authors on several occasions. The most fruitful discussions on policing in Central and Eastern Europe and the need for an international publication on the topic emerged from the 2008 to 2010 biennial conferences on policing in Central and Eastern Europe, and further developed at the first European conference on criminalistics/criminal investigation (2011) organized by the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security in Ljubljana, Slovenia. After the 2008 conference in Ljubljana, a special issue on policing in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond (Meško & Fields, 2009) was published in *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. Another important publication was published two years later and dealt with comparative criminology, criminal justice, and policing issues in the region of Central and Eastern Europe (Meško, Sotlar, & Winterdyk, 2011).

This *Handbook* consists of two introductory reflections and 14 chapters written by scholars and police professionals who had conducted a variety of research projects on policing and development of police organizations in the region. The editors of the volume, Gorazd Meško, Charles Fields, Branko Lobnikar, and Andrej Sotlar, have been colleagues for more than a decade and have a variety of experience in comparative criminology, criminal justice, and policing research. Gorazd Meško has recently conducted several comparative studies, especially on the development of criminology in South Eastern Europe (Meško,

¹For more information, see web pages of the conferences on Criminal Justice and Security in Central and Eastern Europe (previously Policing in Central and Eastern Europe, 1996–2010): www.fvv.uni-mb.si/conf2012; www.fvv.uni-mb.si/conf2010; www.fvv.uni-mb.si/conf2008; www.fvv.uni-mb.si/conf2006.

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Fields, & Eskridge, 2008), private security (policing) (Meško, Cockcroft, & Hope, 2009), crime prevention and fear of crime (Meško, Kury, Bren, & Vošnjak, 2012), policing (Meško & Dobovšek, 2007; Meško & Fields, 2009; Meško & Furman, 2013; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007), and fear of crime (Meško et al., 2012). Charles Fields has edited textbooks (Fields & Moore, 1996, 2005) on comparative criminal justice and participated in numerous comparative projects. Joint research projects of Gorazd Meško, Chuck Fields and partners include criminology in Southeastern Europe (Meško, Fields & Eskridge, 2008), policing in the developing democracies (Meško & Fields, 2009), and prisons (Meško, Fields, & Smole, 2011). Lobnikar and Meško (2010) and Sotlar (2009) (Meško, Sotlar, & Winterdyk, 2011) have recently contributed publications on comparative criminology, security, and policing issues. In addition to criminology, criminal justice, and policing research, we teach comparative criminology, criminal justice, and policing at the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia, and at the College of Justice and Safety, Eastern Kentucky University, USA.

“Central and Eastern Europe” has a variety of meanings. It mostly denotes a political and geographical entity, but political definitions of Central and Eastern Europe are quite contradictory and ambiguous. Therefore, we decided to include the countries within the borders of Germany to the West, Russia to the East, the Baltic states to the North, and Macedonia (FYROM) to the South.

Editing such a volume on comparative perspectives is an intellectual challenge with many traps, and comparing often means judging. Therefore, we are aware of the developments and cultural contexts of formal social control in the studied countries. The intent of this publication is not to benchmark these countries according to their developments in policing, but to gain insight on the development of police organization, policing history, and social control practices in the past 20 years from different national perspectives and scholarly disciplines. Police studies in Central and Eastern Europe are conducted by anthropologists, conduct disorder scholars, criminologists, criminal justice and defense scholars, economists,

lawyers, political scientists, psychologists, retired police officers, security scholars, sociologists, and others. A variety of perspectives depend on the educational and research background of scholars contributing their papers to this ambitious volume dealing with rapid societal changes after the 1990s, characterized by the breakdown of communism in Central and Eastern Europe and new challenges of emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. The quality of the available information on policing and the police is also related to a particular tradition of research on police and policing in the countries covered in the volume: in some, police studies are a part of social scientific research, while in others, police and policing are still a matter of internal research within the ministries of the interior or justice. Police scientists may be the police officers who conduct studies on the police and policing, or (other) researchers. In addition, it is necessary to point to the relationships between the police and those researchers that include insiders, outsiders, trustworthy colleagues, etc. Writing about and researching the police has political implications and implies governance and the governmental ability of control of numerous security threats. These issues are also related to the police and policing research.

We hope that the *Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe* provides the reader with a comprehensive overview of police forces and policing in contemporary Central and Eastern Europe. It presents up-to-date information on the police and policing in this region, rather specific from its developmental perspective, in the context of many socioeconomic and historical factors spanning national and international military conflicts, wealth, political regime, legal tradition, transformations of policing and police organization, police professional culture, transfer of ideas, joining the European Union, Schengen border, and the role of civil society, research and researchers in policing, criminal justice and criminology, underlying specific perspectives of the authors presenting policing in their respective countries.

Several years of writing, peer-reviewing, and editing have finally resulted in this volume encompassing contributions from Austria, Croatia, the

Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia (FYROM), Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Republic of Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina). It is necessary to emphasize that the entire project was based on good will, dedication, and mutual support of the editors and authors, as no extra funding was provided for this joint intellectual venture. Editing of this *Handbook* began with papers written by authors using a template aimed at providing an approximate framework for outlining the development of policing and police organizations in their respective countries in the past two decades. The template consisted of a set of questions to be addressed and discussed in the papers: “What are the main features of police organizational structure and functions? What are crime, disorder, and social control trends in the past two decades? What are the main characteristics of police training and police educational systems? What changes have been related to the police and policing in the last two decades? What are the main trends in contemporary policing? What are the relationships between the police and the media? What is the relationship between the police and researchers, and what are the prospects for the future of policing in the region?”

The majority of the authors submitted drafts of their chapters in 2011. After the editors’ review, the authors finalized their contributions and, subsequently, the editors assured at least one peer-review from the region of Central and Eastern Europe and/or another from English speaking countries. In addition, we must emphasize that none of the authors are native English speakers. For this reason, researching and writing on the development of policing in a foreign language was an additional challenge, and English was a kind of a “linguistic common denominator.” The authors, peer reviewers, and editors invested enormous efforts in making the contributions comprehensible to native English and other international readers.

The chapters are organized in alphabetic order. Maximillian Edelbacher and Norden Gilbert present the development of policing in Austria, and Irma Kovčo Vukadin, Krunoslav Borovec, and Tajana Ljubin Golubin Croatia. Pavel Foltin,

Andrej Rohál, and Mária Šikolová discuss the Czech perspectives on policing. Lauri Tabur depicts the characteristics of policing in Estonia. Thomas Feltes, Uwe Marquardt, and Stefan Schwarz write about the police in Germany. Richard Leyrer presents an overview of the police and policing in Hungary. Driton Muharremi and Samedin Mehmeti address the police in Kosovo and Stojanka Mirčeva and Rade Rajkočevski from the Macedonia (FYROM) discuss development and new challenges for policing in their country. Zoran Keković and Savo Kentera present recent developments of policing in Montenegro. Policing in Russia is presented and discussed by Vladimir Sergevnik and Oleg Kovalyov. Želimir M. Kešetović presents a chapter on the Serbian police and policing. Josef Reitšpís, Libor Gašpírek, Kamil Boc, and Miroslav Felcan contribute a chapter on policing in the Slovak Republic. Gorazd Meško, Branko Lobnikar, Andrej Sotlar, and Maja Jere write about the development of the police organization and policing in Slovenia, focusing on police research and its impact on policy making in the last two decades. Mile Šikman and Velibor Lalić discuss the characteristics and the development of policing in Republika Srpska, the Serbian entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Finally, we would like to thank all the authors, all non-native English speakers, who put their best efforts to write these chapters. In addition, special thanks go to the peer reviewers of separate chapters who have helped us improve the quality of this publication. Special thanks go also to Sanja Kutnjak Ivković, a criminologist and police scholar, a native of Croatia, working at the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, USA, and to Paul Ponsaers of Gent University, Belgium, for their introductory reflections about the *Handbook*. Finally, our sincere thanks go to Maja Jere, a PhD student and junior research fellow, and Nataša Knap, a head librarian at the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor who have helped us with administrative assistance throughout the entire process of editing the *Handbook on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe*. We hope the readers will enjoy reading these contributions and we welcome their feedback.

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Policing in Central and Eastern Europe as an Epiphenomenon of Geopolitical Events

Paul Ponsaers

The Disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was a constitutional monarchic union between the crowns of the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary in Central Europe, which operated from 1867 through October 1918, following the end of World War I. The union was a result of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, under which the House of Habsburg agreed to share power with the separate Hungarian government, dividing the territory of the former Austrian Empire between them. The realm comprised the actual states of Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, large parts of Serbia and Romania, and smaller parts of Italy, Montenegro, Poland, and Ukraine (Cornwall, 2002). The organizational beginnings of the police in the region under study in this book can be traced back to the period of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when the Gendarmerie was founded, as a legacy of Napoleon.

In **Austria**, the police today is still organized predominantly nationally, as *Maximilian Edelbacher* and *Gilbert Norden* in their chapter on Austria illustrate. The Federal Police is the

main law enforcement agency of the country, and includes since 2005 the former Gendarmerie (which operated in rural areas), the former Security Guards (which operated in the cities), and the former Criminal Investigation Corps. The new organization has Provincial Directorates for Public Security, and next in the hierarchy there are District Police Commands and Federal Police Directorates in most of the larger cities of Austria. The local police forces are subordinated to the mayor of the municipalities.

In **Hungary**, after World War I and the nationalization of the local police forces, the Royal Hungarian State Police was founded in 1919–1920. After the World War II, the National Police Force was founded, erasing the historical heritage of Napoleon of the Gendarmerie, as *Richard Leyrer* points out in his chapter. After the Revolution, the police system was again reorganized and it kept its form until the political changes in 1989. In 1989, following the declaration of the Hungarian Republic, a new National Police was founded. Police departments operated in Budapest and in 19 counties. Since 1994, the police organization is regulated by a separate act which was accepted by the Parliament. The Police organization includes a central unit, county (metropolitan) police headquarters, police stations, and border police stations.

The Kingdom of Bohemia was gradually integrated into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as one of its three principal parts, alongside Austria and Hungary. In the nineteenth century the Czech lands became the industrial powerhouse of the

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monarchy and the core of the Republic of Czechoslovakia which was formed in 1918, following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I. After 1933, the country remained the only democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (Skilling, 1976). After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and the consequent disillusion with the Western response, the Communist Party won the majority in the 1946 elections. Czechoslovakia became a communist-ruled state.

In 1968, the increasing dissatisfaction culminated in attempts to reform the communist regime. The Prague Spring of 1968, ended with an invasion by the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries. The troops remained in the country until the Velvet Revolution in 1989, when the communist regime collapsed. Until 1989, policing was carried out by the National Police Forces of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. On 1 January 1993, Czechoslovakia peacefully dissolved into its constituent states, on the one hand, the Czech Republic, and on the other the Slovak Republic (Cabada & Waisova, 2012).

From 1 January 1993 on, police tasks in the new **Czech Republic** have been performed by the National Police of the Czech Republic. The authors, *Pavel Foltin, Andrej Rohál, and Mária Šikolová*, in their chapter point to the fact that the main activities of the police were managed without serious problems. Municipal police bodies came into existence, local security forces, voluntarily established by municipalities. In the meantime, the Czech Republic is considered having the highest human development in Central and Eastern Europe (Klugman, 2009). It is also ranked as the third most peaceful country in Europe and most democratic in the region. It is a pluralist multiparty parliamentary representative democracy, a member of the EU, of NATO, the OECD, the OSCE, and the Council of Europe.

Initially, the new **Slovak Republic**, on the other hand, experienced more difficulty than the Czech Republic in developing a modern market economy. Slovakia joined NATO and the EU in 2004. It is a member of the Schengen area and part of the European Monetary Union. *Retšpís Josef, Gašpíerik Libor, Boc Kamil, and Felcan*

Miroslav stress in their chapter the fact that the Police is subordinated to the minister of interior, and determines the content of their activities and the internal structure. The Police force is divided into different units: a criminal police, financial police, riot police, traffic police, objects protection, immigration police, customs police, special units, protection of particular people, and inspection services.

From the Russian Empire to the Russian Federation

The Russian Empire of the tsars stretched from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the Pacific Ocean and was to a large extent separated from much of the rest of Europe. As *Vladimir Sergevnik* and *Oleg Kovalev* point out, the first police agency in Russia was already established in Saint Petersburg in 1718 by decree of Peter the Great. Russian feudal serfdom was abolished in 1861, but its abolition increased revolutionary pressures. In 1722 the Governing Senate established the Moscow Police. The first Investigative Department was founded in 1866, operating under the Police Department of the Ministry of Interior, and by 1907 similar departments were created in other major cities of the Russian Empire. Between the abolition of serfdom and the beginning of World War I in 1914, notable changes were introduced to the economy and politics of Russia, but the tsars were still not willing to share power.

The Russian Revolution in 1917, triggered by discontent with the autocratic system, brought a coalition of liberals and moderate socialists to power. Their policies were considered as a failure, which led to seizure of power by the Communist Bolsheviks. The Police of the Russian Empire was dissolved on 10 March 1917, and on April 17 the Provisional Government established the People's Militia as a new law enforcement body. The Bolsheviks (and later the Communists) imposed a violent, centrally planned police system in Russia. The so-called Workers-Peasants Militia was established immediately after the October Revolution in 1917 for the protection of the new Soviet order.

From September 1918, the militia participated in the Red Terror, resulting in millions of victims. The police became one of the most powerful tools of the Communist party and the Soviet state. Between 1922 and 1991, the history of Russia is essentially the history of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev's perestroika and the general weakening of the social and political controls were marked with widespread corruption. An anticorruption campaign was introduced, where by thousands of militiamen were fired or resigned.

The history of the **Russian Federation** starts in January 1992. The Federation was internationally recognized as the legal successor to the Soviet Union. However, Russia had lost its superpower status as it faced serious challenges in its efforts to forge a new post-Soviet system. Russia attempted to build an economy based on market capitalism, sometimes with painful results.

Since the end of the Soviet Union, the Russian government has been unsuccessful in its attempts to reform the militia by imitating change and implementing international police experience. After several serious incidents with high ranking police officials and widespread cases of corruption a new attempt was made to reform the police in 2009. The police force is part of a centralized system of federal executive authority, exercising its powers within the government. The 2011 police reform changed the financing of the police, excluding the involvement of local administration in law enforcement. The police force has several vertical levels of management and is today still highly centralized.

Estonia was part of the former Russian Empire. In the aftermath of World War I and the Russian revolutions, the Estonian Declaration of Independence was issued in February 1918. The Estonian War of Independence resulted in the Tartu Peace Treaty, recognizing Estonian independence. In 1939–1940, Estonia was occupied and annexed by the Soviet Union. During World War II, Estonia was occupied by Nazi Germany in 1941, then reoccupied by the Soviet Union in 1944. The country regained independence in 1991 after the collapse of the USSR and joined the European Union in 2004. *Lauri Tabur* explains in his chapter clearly that the Estonian police

structures were reformed significantly from the Soviet militia, cutting the number of police management regions from 17 to 4 and merging police, border guard, and migration services in 2010 into one single institution.

From the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Independent States

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, situated in the western part of the Balkans, was established in 1918 by the union of the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs and the Kingdom of Serbia (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007). The Kingdom of Montenegro was annexed shortly after (Benson, 2001). The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was invaded by German,¹ Italian and Hungarian troops in 1941, and was abolished in 1943 and 1945. The Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia was proclaimed in 1943 by the resistance movement during World War II (Allock, 2000). It was renamed to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946, when a communist government was established. The country distanced itself from the Soviets and started to build its own way to socialism. Between 1945 and 1991 the Yugoslav police force was nevertheless called militia.

In 1963, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was again renamed to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and came under the strong political leadership of Josip Broz Tito (Martin, 1946). It was constituted in six Socialist Republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Serbia) and two Socialist Autonomous Provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo). Initially a centralized police force, the Yugoslav police became gradually more decentralized, transferring a lot of responsibilities to the individual republics (Hoptner, 1963).

Though the 1974 Constitution reduced the power of the federal government, Tito's authority

¹Also the first organized police forces in **Germany** date back to the early nineteenth century, when the idea of Napoleon, to establish a *gendarmérie nationale* in France, has been adopted by some German Kingdoms, the authors in this book, *Thomas Feltes*, *Uwe Marquardt*, and *Stefan Schwarz*, remind us.

substituted for this weakness until his death in 1980. After Tito's death in May 1980, ethnic tensions grew in Yugoslavia. The constitutional crisis that followed resulted in a rise of nationalism in all republics: Slovenia and Croatia made demands for looser ties within the Federation; the Albanian majority in Kosovo demanded the status of a republic, Serbia, led by Slobodan Milošević, sought absolute dominion over Yugoslavia (Sell, 2002). Added to this, the Croat quest for independence led to large Serb communities within Croatia, rebelling and trying to secede from the Croat republic. These tensions led to the dissolving of the Yugoslav Communist party in 1990 and multiparty elections in all republics were organized. In Slovenia and Croatia elected governments oriented towards greater autonomy of the republics, since it became clear that Serbian domination and different levels of democratic standards were becoming increasingly incompatible. Starting in 1991, Yugoslavia disintegrated in the "Yugoslav Wars" (Benson, 2001).

The war broke out when the new regimes tried to replace Yugoslav civilian and military forces with secessionist forces. When in August 1990 Croatia attempted to replace police in the Serb populated Croat Krajina by force, the civilians organized armed resistance. These armed conflicts between the Croatian armed forces, called police, and civilians mark the beginning of the Yugoslav war that inflamed the region. A similar attempt in Bosnia and Herzegovina led to a war that lasted more than 3 years. This resulted in the almost complete emigration of the Serbs from all the regions, massive displacement of the populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the establishment of new independent states. The separation of Macedonia was rather peaceful (Magas, 1993).

In March 1991, demonstrations were held against Milošević in Belgrade, but the police and the military were deployed in the streets to restore order. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), whose superior officers were mainly of Serbian ethnicity, maintained an impression of being neutral, but as time went by, they got more and more involved in state politics.

In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia became the first republics to declare independence from

Yugoslavia. This gave rise to serious armed conflicts and bombings, eventually resulting in a ceasefire. The international community pressured Slovenia and Croatia to place a 3-month moratorium on their independence. During these 3 months, the Yugoslav Army completed its pull-out from Slovenia (Wingfield & Bucur, 2006).

After the declaration of independence of **Slovenia** from Yugoslavia in 1991 and the 10-day Slovenian Independence War, peace was consolidated by an agreement and the JNA retired out of Slovenia. Belgrade decided to try to focus on the power centers in the other parts of Yugoslavia. After some years, Slovenia became economically stable again and joined the EU in 2004. Slovenia adopted a constitution and the broad international recognition of the country is today the reality. Slovenia, in the meanwhile, became a member of the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and also joined other major international political, security, and economic organizations, e.g., the Council of Europe, the European Union, NATO, and the OECD.

Under the socialist system, the Slovenian police organization was quite decentralized, as *Gorazd Meško, Branko Lobnikar, Maja Jere, and Andrej Sotlar* in their chapter remind us. As a consequence of that, they stress that the uniformed and criminal police were not associated with political oppression before 1991. The police force today is organized into state, regional, and local levels. A landmark institutional reform of the police occurred in 1998 with the adoption of the new Police Act, which created a General Police Directorate as an autonomous body within the Ministry of Interior. Institutional reforms are closely linked to the process of centralization of the police. This is probably the result of state-building after an extremely difficult transition period. Concerning the actual police, the authors claim reasonable optimism and characterize the Slovenian police as a relatively modern and professional law enforcement service far closer to its western counterparts than to the former "militia." Community policing is the foundation of its declared strategy. Two decades ago, police officers still perceived COP as a foreign concept

(Brogden, 2005). Recent studies conclude that police officers and police chiefs increasingly perceive COP as the leading model of police work in local communities, which is followed by various organizational measures.

While in Slovenia, the moratorium on the independence had as a consequence that the Yugoslav Army left the country, in **Croatia** a bloody war broke out in the autumn of 1991 (Allock, 2000). Ethnic Serbs, who had created their own state Republic of Serbian Krajina (in heavily Serb-populated regions) resisted the police forces of the Republic of Croatia, who were trying to bring that breakaway region back under Croatian jurisdiction. Since Croatia did not have an army of its own, the Croatian police force played an important role in the military defense of the country.

According to *Irma Kovčo Vukadin, Krunoslav Borovec, and Tajana Ljubin Golub*, Croatia is in the process of transition from a communist country to a multiparty, democratic society and a market economy. Police reform is directed towards the development of democratic principles and of strengthening the rule of law. Some reform ideas have remained at the level of political rhetoric, but also many have been implemented. The Croatian police force is a national force and a centralized organization, headed by the Police Headquarters, with the exception of the City of Zagreb. Today, Croatia officially completed negotiations with the European Union and will become member of the EU in 2013. In 1990, Croatia began a process of democratic change, with the first democratic elections, and underwent a war of defense against the aggression initiated by the Yugoslav Army (Wingfield & Bucur, 2006).

In September 1991, the Republic of **Macedonia** also declared its independence, without too much resistance from the Belgrade-based Yugoslav authorities. The US soldiers were deployed under the UN banner to monitor Macedonia's northern borders with the Republic of Serbia. As a result of the conflict, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a UN Security Council Resolution in 1991, which paved the way to the establishment of peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia. The country is strongly committed

to the Euro-Atlantic integration processes. Macedonia achieved all the criteria necessary for entry into NATO in 2008 and since 2005 obtained country-candidate status for the EU.

The fundamentals of Macedonian police organization are rooted in the policing model of former Yugoslavia. Since the independence in 1991, numerous transformation processes have taken place. Scholars *Stojanka Mirčeva* and *Rade Rajkovčevski* point out that the most distinct point during the transitional processes of the police organization, as well as in the society as a whole, was 2001, when an ethnic conflict resulted in an armed conflict. The most important novelty is the concept of -again- COP (Brogden, 2005). The Police Reform Project started in 2002, with the support by the European Commission of Justice and Home Affairs. The Strategy for Police Reform in Macedonia was adapted in 2003, led by the German police in 2005. In 2008, a new 2-year police reform project began, which was led by the French police. Currently, the operative functions of the National Police, including the Border Police, are implemented through the Central Police Services, the four Regional Border-control centers, and the territorial police.

In **Bosnia and Herzegovina** in November 1991, the Bosnian Serbs held a referendum which resulted in an overwhelming vote in favor of a common state with Serbia and Montenegro. The referendum was proclaimed unconstitutional and invalid by the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in February–March 1992, the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina held a national referendum on Bosnian independence from Yugoslavia. That referendum was in turn declared contrary to the Federal constitution by the federal Constitution court in Belgrade (Aitchison, 2007). The republic's government of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence on 5 April, and the Serbs immediately declared the independence of Republika Srpska. The war in Bosnia followed shortly thereafter.

International recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina increased diplomatic pressure on the JNA to withdraw from the republic's territory, which they officially did. However, the Bosnian Serb members of JNA changed insignia, formed

the Army of Republika Srpska, and continued fighting. Armed and equipped from JNA stockpiles in Bosnia, supported by volunteers and various paramilitary forces from Serbia, and receiving extensive support from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Republika Srpska's offensives in 1992 managed to place much of the country under its control.

Initially, the Serb forces attacked the non-Serb civilian population in Eastern Bosnia (Bayerl, 2001). Once towns and villages were securely in their hands, the Serb forces—the military and the police, the paramilitaries and, sometimes, even Serb villagers—applied the same pattern: Bosniak houses and apartments were systematically burned, Bosniak civilians captured, and sometimes beaten or killed. 2.2 million refugees were displaced by the end of the war. Men and women were separated, with many of the men detained in camps. The women and indeed some children were kept in various detention centers where they had to live in bad conditions, where they were mistreated in many ways. Serb soldiers or policemen would come to these detention centers and raped women.

By 1993, when an armed conflict erupted between the predominantly Bosniak government in Sarajevo and the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, about 70 % of the country was controlled by Republika Srpska. Ethnic cleansing and civil rights violations against non-Serbs were rampant in these areas. One single most prominent example is the Srebrenica Massacre, ruled genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Many Bosnians were killed by the Serbian political authorities. In March 1994, the signing of the Washington Accords between the leaders of the republican government and Herzegovina-Bosnia led to the creation of a joint Bosniak-Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which absorbed the territory of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and that held by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Following the Srebrenica massacre, a NATO bombing campaign began in August 1995 against the Army of Republika Srpska. Meanwhile, a ground offensive by the allied forces of Croatia

and Bosnia, based on the treaty in Split, pushed the Serbs away from territories held in western Bosnia which paved the way to negotiations. In December 1995, the signing of the Dayton Agreement in Dayton, Ohio by the presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia brought a halt to the fighting, roughly establishing the basic structure of the present-day state. A NATO-led peacekeeping force was immediately dispatched to Bosnia to enforce the agreement (Aitchison, 2007).

At the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the Bosnian government charged Serbia with complicity in genocide in Bosnia during the war. The ICJ ruling of 26 February 2007 determined the war's nature to be international, though exonerating Serbia of direct responsibility for the genocide committed by Serb forces. The ICJ concluded, however, that Serbia failed to prevent genocide committed by Serb forces and failed to punish those who carried out the genocide and bring them to justice.

In November 2012, the UN Security Council has extended the peacekeeping mandate for the International Police Task Force of the EU- and NATO-mission in Bosnia with 1 year. According to the council, the situation in the region stays a threat for security in the world. Today, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a territorially and politically complex entity, has a complex police structure, according to *Mile Šikman* and *Velibor Lalić*, the authors of this chapter. At the state level, the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina disposes of police agencies that perform police tasks. To a large extent, it is the task of the government to restructure the postcommunist and post-paramilitary police force; to reform the police training and selection; and to democratize the police forces by establishing a depoliticized, impartial, accountable, multiethnic police force, according to the principles of community policing. Apart from agencies at the state level, there are Ministries of the Interior in the different entities. In Republika Srpska, there is a Ministry of the Interior, and in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina there is a Ministry of the Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of police tasks and authorities

in the security area are conducted by cantonal Ministries of the Interior.

As the Yugoslav Wars raged through Croatia and Bosnia (Gagnon, 2004), the republics of **Serbia** and Montenegro, which remained relatively untouched by the war, formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992, aspiring to be the legal successor of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The UN denied its request to automatically continue the membership of the state. Eventually, after the removal of Milošević from power as president of the federation in 2000, the country rescinded those aspirations and accepted the opinion of Badinter Arbitration Committee about shared succession, and gained UN membership. From 1992 to 2000, some countries, including the USA, referred to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as “Serbia and Montenegro” (Bayerl, 2001). The state was officially renamed Serbia and Montenegro in 2003.

Under the new Constitutional Charter, most federal functions and authorities devolved to the republic level. On 12 March 2003, Serbian Prime Minister was assassinated. The newly formed union government of Serbia and Montenegro reacted swiftly by calling a state of emergency and undertaking an unprecedented crackdown on organized crime which led to the arrest of more than 4,000 people. Parliamentary elections were held in the republic on 28 December 2003. Serbia had been in a state of political crisis since the overthrow of the postcommunist ruler, Milošević in 2001.

Želimir M. Kešetović, the author of this chapter, sketches that the police force was the pillar of the regime, whose main task was not to serve and protect the people, but instead the political regime. A number of high ranked police officers were involved in, or very close to, organized criminal groups. The police acted in a repressive way against political opponents of the regime, and the police model became highly centralized and militarized. After democratic changes, it became apparent that a complete revision of the security concept was a high priority and that immediate and substantive change in all the organizational and functional sections of the Ministry of Interior had to correct the serious shortcomings.

Cornerstone challenges of this reform were flagged as the four “D’s”: depoliticization, decentralization, decriminalization and demilitarization. The reform process has been greatly helped by the international community. The years 2001 and 2002 represented a radical break with the past. A new organizational structure of the Ministry was set up. The reform of Serbian police turned out to be a very difficult task.

During the early-to-mid 1990s, Montenegro gave considerable support to Milošević’s war-effort. Montenegrin reservists fought on the Dubrovnik frontline. In April 1992, Montenegro decided to join Serbia in forming the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During the Bosnian and Croatian wars, Montenegro participated with its police and military forces in the attacks on Dubrovnik (Croatia) and Bosnian towns along with Serbian troops, aggressive acts aimed at acquiring more territories by force, characterized by a consistent pattern of systematic violations of human rights. In the strategic orientation of Montenegro to become a part of the Euro-Atlantic integration, the Montenegrin police has been rapidly transformed into a modern police organization adapted to the collective security of NATO and the EU. A new referendum was announced in Montenegro to decide the future of the republic. The referendum resulted in a vote for independence, just above the 55 % borderline, set by the EU. Montenegro declared independence in 2006. The reform process of the Montenegrin police has remained strong after the declaration of independence, as *Zoran Keković* and *Savo Kentera* comment. It is a complex process because it has opened the issue of stable functioning of security institutions, with the simultaneous need to transform the police force in a complex multiethnic and multireligious environment.

On 17 February 2008, the **Kosovo** parliament unilaterally proclaimed independence from Serbia. The declaration was officially recognized by the USA, Austria, Great Britain, Germany, France, Turkey, and a dozen other countries. Serbia, Russia, China, and other countries opposed this declaration and considered it illegal. In July 2010, the United Nations International Court of Justice judged the separation of Kosovo

legal (Warrander & Knaus, 2008). The new state of Kosovo has managed to build a police force that is based on democratic principles: equality, honor, transparency, and nondiscrimination (Bellamy, 2002). Kosovo Police acts according to the law on police and is organized in the central and local level, offering security services in the entire territory of Kosovo. The Kosovo Police Service was established in 1999 as an immediate need to provide security for the people of Kosovo. In this growth and development, the advice, support, and substantial assistance of the international community was very important, according to *Driton Muharremi* and *Samedin Mehmeti*, the authors of this chapter.

Conclusion

The police forces, resulting from described armed political transitions in Central and Eastern Europe are part of this history, and were even active actors in these processes, sometimes trespassing the borderlines between the functions of police forces and armies. Sometimes misused by regimes, sometimes voluntary organizations with own political targets (Baker, 2009). It is not a pure hazard that a military police force as the gendarmerie has functioned as the mould of police systems in different countries in earlier days. The history which can be derived from this book during a transversal reading shows an image of state-building, in which police forces are considered as important key-players.

The actual situation in most of the countries included in this book has become normalized, and also the position of the police organizations is to a large extent becoming more stable. The history shows that important international efforts have contributed to this evolution (Chesterman, 2004). It is clear that the central concept of Community Policing in this evolution is an important guideline, replacing servitude to political regimes with servitude to the populations of the countries described.

Most police systems in Central and Eastern Europe can still be characterized by strong central national or federal forces, as state police.

Sometimes they dispose of explicit local branches in municipalities. Nevertheless, this proximity to the population in a local setting is an important accent in a matured COP vision, whether or not included in a unified police organization. From this point of view, there is still a long road to go in the region under study. But all this work starts with a comprehensive insight in the actual situation. This book contributes to a large extent this endeavor and serves this purpose.

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Policing in Austria: Development over the Past 20 Years—Present State and Future Challenges

Maximilian Edelbacher and Gilbert Norden

Introduction

Austria and Its History

Since its inception as “Ostarrichi” in 996, Austria has experienced several basic changes in its territorial and legal identity: Under the Babenbergs (976–1246), it had become a duchy in 1156. And as the *House of Austria*, the Habsburg dynasty (1282–1918) grew to a dominant power in European history, acquiring kingdoms, duchies, and counties through the centuries. The multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire was divided at the end of World War I in 1918. Among the “succession states” was the First Republic of Austria, which became part of the German Third Reich in 1938. The Second Republic of Austria began at the end of World War II in 1945, initially under the control of the Allies. In 1955, Austria became an independent neutral state which joined the European Union (EU) in 1995 and with the political-cultural heritage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire has a significant historical asset (Vocelka, 2005).

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Population

According to the latest statistics, Austria has a resident population of 8.4 million. About one-fifth of the population lives in Vienna, the capital city of Austria, which is the only Austrian city with a population of over one million.

The population in Vienna and Austria has increased during the last 20 years mainly as a consequence of migration. As compared with many other EU countries the percentage of migrants in the population is high. Currently, of the total population living legally in Austria, 11 % are foreign nationals (Münz, 2011: 193). In Vienna, the proportion of foreign nationals among the population is 20 %. An additional 11 % of the Viennese population are foreign-born persons who have been naturalized and an additional 13 % are Austrian-born nationals with at least one parent foreign-born. Thus, a total of 44 % of the population living legally in Vienna have migration background (Europaforum Wien, 2010: 6). The largest share of immigrants comes from Germany followed by immigrants from the area of former Yugoslavia and from Turkey (Münz, 2011: 193). The latter represent a large part of the Austrian Muslim population which totals at present 6.2 % of the whole population.

While many of the immigrants are part of an “ethnic underclass,” a sizeable proportion of Vienna’s foreign community (about 15 %) can be characterized as an international “overclass” (Lichtenberger, 2000: 115). This “overclass”

includes the members (and their families) of over 120 embassies and the staff of United Nations organizations (e.g., Office on Drugs and Crime, International Money Laundering Information Network), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), and the International Anti-Corruption Academy (IACA) in Vienna. The employees of these organizations come from several countries.

Besides its diverse migrant population, Austria also has six officially recognized autochthonous ethnic groups, for which special schemes are in place to promote their cultural identities. This special legal status has been granted to the following ethnic groups: In the south of Austria the Slovenes and in the east the Croats, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks as well as Roma and Sinti.

Political System and Administrative Structure

Austria is a federal and democratic republic. The head of state (the Federal President), the lawmaking bodies of the Federal Republic and of the Federal Provinces, as well as the representative bodies in the municipalities are elected by the people. At the federal level the legislative body is the Parliament, which consists of two houses: The National Council of 183 representatives, elected every 5 years and the Federal Council of 62 members representing the Federal Provinces. The Federal Provinces are Vorarlberg, Tyrol, Carinthia, Salzburg, Styria, Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Burgenland, and Vienna. Each province has a diet as the lawmaking body and is administered by its own government. The Provincial Governments nominate the District Governors, who act for the provincial administration as well as the Federal Government. The Federal Government is the supreme executive authority of the Federal Republic. The members of the Federal Government are appointed by the

Federal President, who apart from that has mainly ceremonial functions. The most powerful position in Austrian politics is the Federal Chancellor, the head of the Federal Government.

Political decisions in Austria are based to a large extent on negotiations between the so-called social partners, i.e., representatives of employers' associations and workers' associations. Thanks to a traditional search for a consensus—described by observers as a “class struggle on the negotiating table” (Taus, 1998: 535)—Austria has benefited from short strikes in the past.

Economy and Social Security

With a gross national product (GNP) per capita about 24 % above the EU average, Austria is the fourth richest country in the EU. Unemployment, although rising, is still relatively low compared with many other EU countries. As to the various economic branches, tourism forms an important part of Austria's economy accounting for almost 9 % of the Austrian GNP. Austria also has an agricultural sector with a high number of mountain farms. Approximately 16 % of all Austrian farms are organic farms, a higher share than in any other EU country. The dominant feature of Austria's industrial sector is the high proportion of small- and medium-sized enterprises.

Austria is a social and welfare state, faced with the challenge to maintain its high level of social spending in times of demographic and economic changes. Of the federal budget, about one-third is allocated to “social affairs.” In comparison the share of the federal budget devoted to the police is rather small: It amounts to about 3 % (Bundesarbeitskammer, 2010: 5, 29).

Police Organization, Structure and Function

Police Organization and Structure

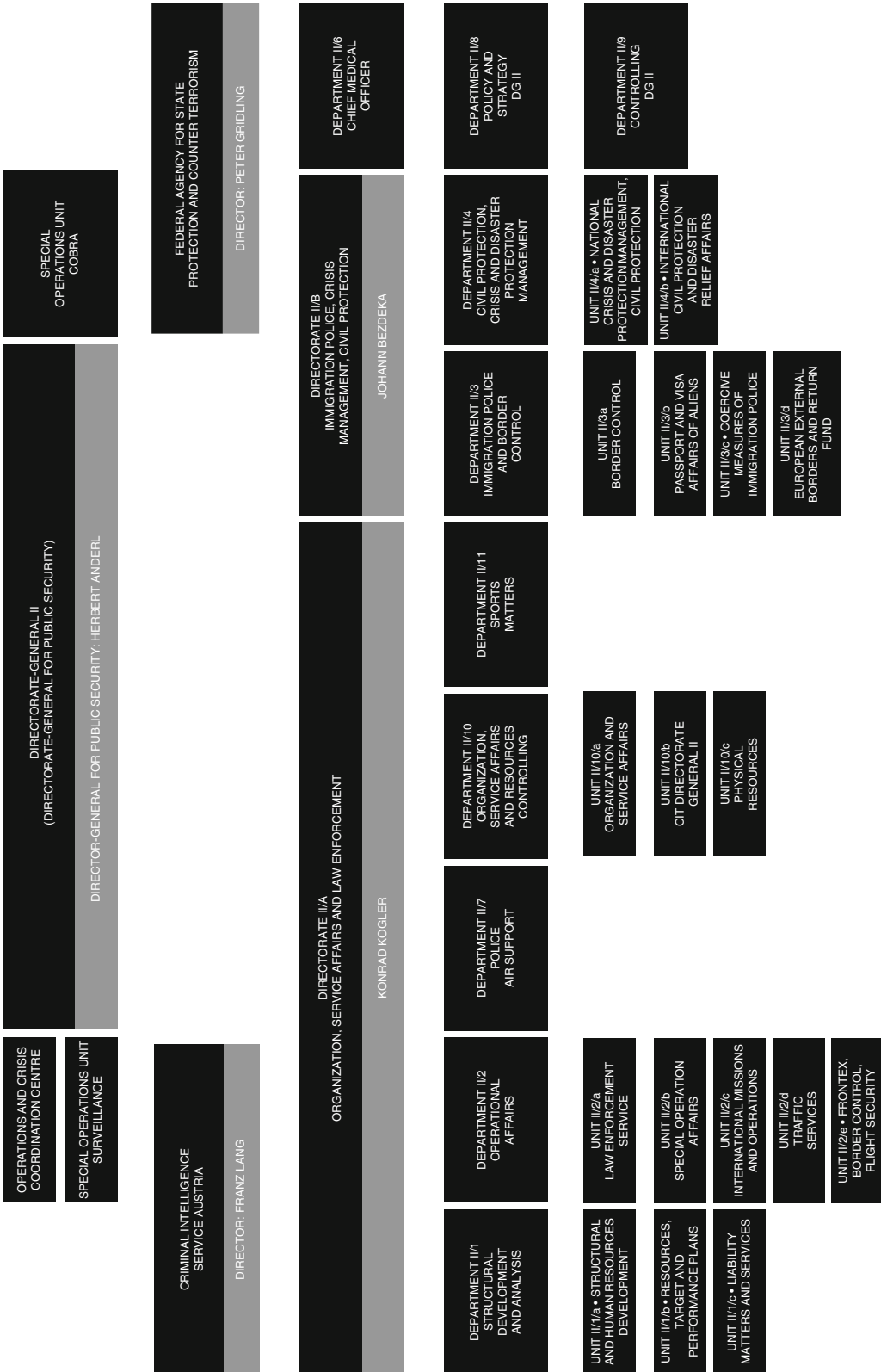
In Austria, the police are organized predominantly nationally. The national police is the main law enforcement agency of the country. This agency

was reorganized in 2005, consolidating the former law enforcement bodies the Security Guard (which had operated in the cities), the Gendarmerie (which had operated in rural areas), and the Criminal Investigation Corps into a single unit called Federal Police. The Federal Police is under the command of the Federal Minister of the Interior who is the head of the corresponding Ministry. The Federal Ministry of the Interior (*Bundesministerium für Inneres*, BM.I) is subdivided into four Directorates-General, namely I Presidium, II Directorate-General for Public Security, III Legal Affairs, and IV Services and Supervision. The head of the second, the Directorate-General for Public Security, has after the Federal Minister of the Interior the greatest responsibility for internal security and law enforcement in the whole of Austria. His Directorate-General consists of two main departments, the Organization, Service Affairs and Law Enforcement and the Immigration Police, Crisis Management, Civil Protection, and 11 subdepartments (Fig. 1).

Under the Directorate-General for Public Security, in the Federal Provinces, Provincial Directorates for Public Security are established, whose heads—as the Director-General for Public Security—are appointed by the Federal Minister of the Interior, but must be acceptable to the respective Chief of the Provincial Government. Subordinated to the Provincial Directors for Public Security are the Provincial Police Commands. Next in the hierarchy are 83 District Police Commands, corresponding to District Administrative Authorities, and the Federal Police Directorates in 14 of the larger cities of Austria namely Schwechat, St. Pölten, Wiener Neustadt (all Lower Austria), Linz, Steyr, Wels (all Upper Austria), Graz, Leoben (both Styria), Klagenfurt, Villach (both Carinthia), Salzburg (provincial capital), Innsbruck (Tyrol), Eisenstadt (Burgenland), and Vienna. The Federal Police in each of these cities are headed by a Chief; the Chief of the Viennese Federal Police is at the same time Provincial Director for Public Security, because Vienna is capital city and Federal Province as well. The Directorates for Public Security in the provinces except Vienna, the Federal Police Directorates and the Provincial

Police Commands will be concentrated to nine Provincial Police Directorates at the end of 2012—that is to say, 31 top commands will be reduced to only nine top commands in order to create more efficient leading structures (Brenner, 2012). Leaders at the lowest level (Fig. 2) are the commanders of the 1,013 Federal Police Inspectorates (Police stations) in Austria, including 60 Border Police Inspectorates and 35 Highway Patrol Inspectorates. The Inspectorates are the Federal Police organizations at the local level. Besides these Inspectorates there are in 37 of the altogether 2,357 municipalities in Austria local police agencies separate from the Federal Police. The greatest local police force is in the Lower Austrian city of Baden, minor ones are in some other municipalities in Lower Austria, in some municipalities in Upper Austria, Styria, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg. In the Federal Province of Salzburg there are local police only in the city of Hallein. The local police forces are subordinated to the mayor of the respective municipality. Some of them have a long historical tradition, and all are now partners of the Federal Police (Wenda, 2011a, 2011b).

As for combating crime the Federal Criminal Police Office (Criminal Intelligence Service Austria, *Bundeskriminalamt*, BK) has been modeled in 2002 on the office of the same name in Wiesbaden (*Bundeskriminalamt Wiesbaden*) in Germany. It deals with all types of crime in Austria and all types of crime from foreign countries confronting Austria. The Federal Criminal Police Office consists of seven departments (Fig. 3) and is—as well as the Federal Agency for State Protection and Counter Terrorism—subordinated to the Directorate-General for Public Security at the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Fig. 1). Directly under the command of the Director-General for Public Security is, when operating, the Cobra Special Operations Unit (*Einsatzkommando Cobra*, EKO). This is Austria's elite policing unit, dealing not only with combating terrorism, but also with situations which require special training and equipment. The unit is stationed in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt (headquarter, ca. 50 km south of Vienna), Graz, Linz, and Innsbruck, with branch offices in



FEDERAL MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR • DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR PUBLIC SECURITY • JANUARY 2011

Fig. 1 Organization chart of the Directorate-General for Public Security (source: BM.I., 2012a)

FEDERAL MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR	
four sections of FEDERAL MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, among them, section II: Directorate-General for Public Security	
Provincial Directorates for Public Security	
Provincial Police Commands	
District Police Commands	Federal Police Directorates in the larger cities
Federal Police Inspectorates (Police stations)	

Fig. 2 Hierarchic structure of the Federal Police (February 2012) (source: BM.I., 2012b)

Krumpendorf (Carinthia), Feldkirch-Gisingen (Vorarlberg), and Salzburg city. It consists of 450 officers (BM.I., 2011a). About the same number of officers are members of the Alpine Police units operating in the Austrian mountains (BM.I., 2010: 9).

Altogether the Austrian Federal Police comprises approximately 27,000 officers.¹ Among them men still dominate, although the share of women has increased from about 5 % of all officers at the end of the 1990s to about 13 % today. In Vienna, 16 % of the officers are women (Sabitzer, 2011: 9). Not only women, but also migrants are underrepresented, although special recruitment measures have been taken since 2007. At present, the share of migrants among Viennese Police officers is about 2 % (Riegler, 2012: 60), according to another statistics with a wider definition of migrants already 7 % (Brenner, 2011: 61).

All officers except the criminal investigators are wearing dark blue uniforms since 2008. For the officers on duty, 4,500 utility vehicles and 38 mountain bikes are available. On lakes and rivers, the Federal Police has over 50 boats and other craft to act as the Water Police. There are also 17 helicopters to act as Air Police.

Outside the structures of the Federal Police outlined above there is an autonomous agency called the Federal Bureau for Internal Affairs (*Büro für interne Angelegenheiten*, BIA). It is an independent organizational unit which conducts criminal police investigations in cases of suspected corruption or malpractice by officers. In such cases, the

Bureau cooperates directly with the competent public prosecutor’s offices and courts.

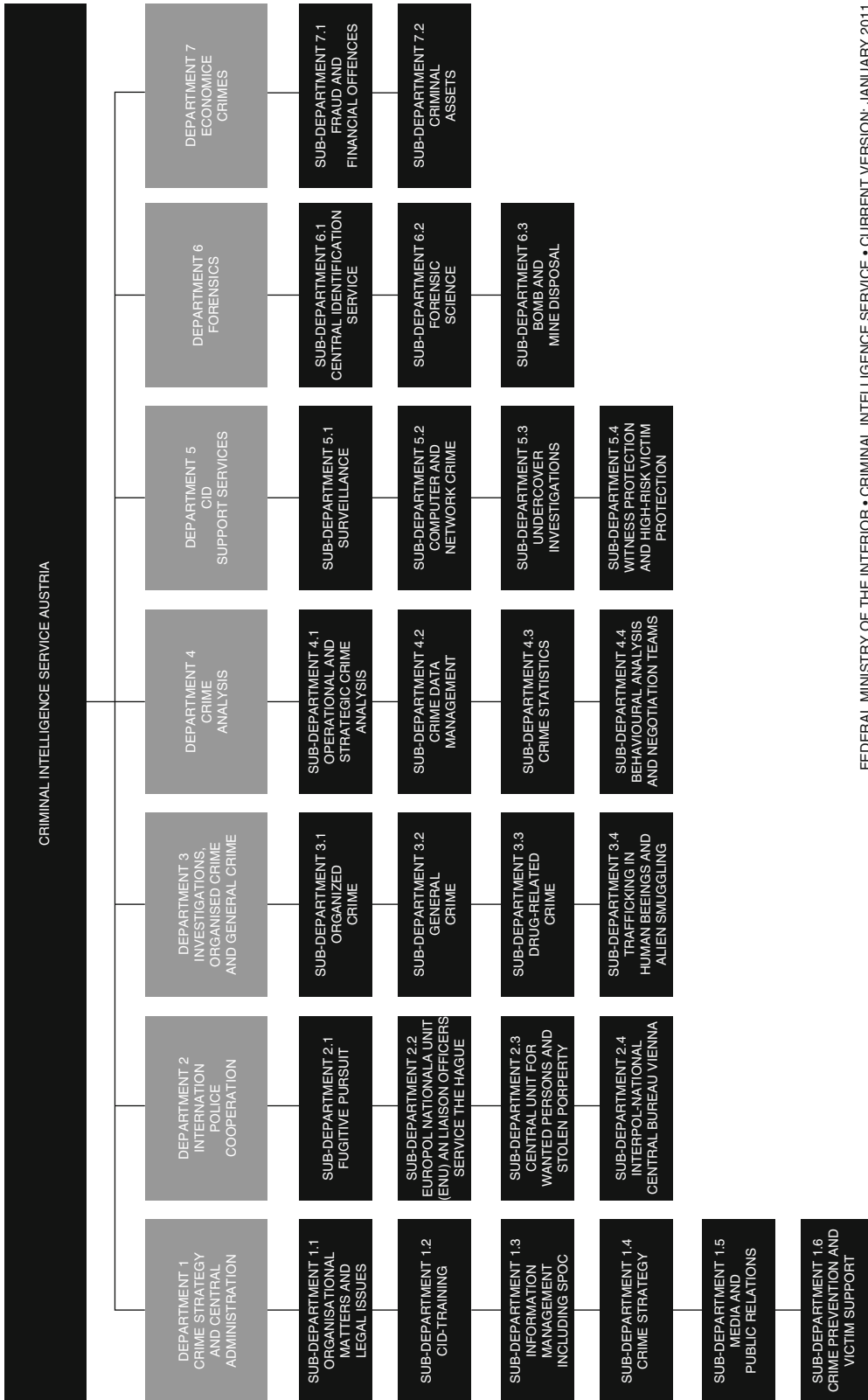
Police Function

The Austrian Federal Police force is divided into Security Police and Administrative Police. The Administrative Police are responsible for the protection of specific matters of administrative law and for ensuring compliance with legal regulations pertaining to specific areas of administrative authority. Violations of these regulations result in the imposition of administrative fines by the Police authority that has jurisdiction over the activity or subject matter in question, such as buildings, industry and trade, foodstuffs, traffic, aliens, firearms and explosives, clubs, associations and assemblies, newspapers and related matters. The Security Police deal with administrative aspects of criminal justice, which are defined in the Code of Criminal Procedure (Strafprozessordnung, StPO; Fabricy, 2011), and are also responsible for the security of the state and for the maintenance of public peace and order. They also have the general duty of mediating conflicts and giving assistance.

Related to these tasks and duties are responsibilities for warding off dangers, crime prevention, and “special” protection as stated in the Security Police Act 1991 (Sicherheitspolizeigesetz, SPG; Thanner & Vogl, 2010) which came into force on 1 May 1993:

- (a) Special protection includes protection of helpless people, of national government institutions, and of public places.
- (b) Prevention of probable and dangerous assaults against life, health, freedom, morals,

¹In comparison, the local police forces numbered 323 officers in 2011 (Wenda, 2011a: 10).



FEDERAL MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR • CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE • CURRENT VERSION: JANUARY 2011

Fig. 3 Organization chart of the Federal Criminal Police Office (Criminal Intelligence Service Austria, “Bundeskriminalamt”) (source: BM.I., 2012c)

property, or environment. This refers to cases for which there is clear reason to believe that a criminal offense is about to take place.

- (c) Prevention of further dangerous assaults after a hazardous attack has already occurred. The operation of the security-executive forces is focused on “re-securing measures” after an executed attack.
- (d) Protection against an impending dangerous attack that threatens life, health, freedom, and property. If it is possible, Security Police authorities must inform the relevant population about the threat.

When fulfilling their tasks, the Security Police can only interfere with the rights of persons if such a measure is provided for in the law, if no other means are suitable to fulfill the task, and if the relationship between cause and expected success is maintained—in other words: “sparrows must not be shot at with cannon balls, and tanks must not be attacked with catapults.” These regulations are rather demanding for police officers—many of whom find them too elaborate for practical police work—and as a result—one can hypothesize—the street personnel are not adhering to them strictly.

More practicable may be the following task priorities which have been formulated by a consultancy firm (Team Consult Austria, 1994):

- (a) Assistance and conflict mediation as well as intelligent presence (in order to warden off danger and to prevent it)
- (b) Roadworthiness
- (c) To fight crime and to care for the victims
- (d) The cooperation and networking with other institutions

In order to improve cooperation with civil society and in order to be more in keeping with the Police logo “To protect and help,” the project “Police.Power.Humans.Rights” (*Polizei.Macht.Menschen.Rechte*) has been started by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Ambitious aim of this project is a “cultural change” in the organization, which should make of the Federal Police the “greatest human rights organization in Austria” (G., 2011: 45; B.M.I., 2009a: 33; Brenner, 2011). For this purpose, the project team initiated special training for officers and formulated and

now propagates 24 pertinent guidelines. The effectiveness of this propaganda and training should become visible in the reports of the Human Rights Advisory Board (HRAB), which has been established and enshrined in an amendment of the Security Police Act (SPG) in 1999. The HRAB monitors and observes with regard to the protection of human rights all activities of the Police. The members of this board are fully independent and act on an honorary basis. They visit, e.g., Police stations and Police detention centers without announcement and have the right, to get all files and all information they require.

As a result of their work, proposals for improvement are issued to the Federal Minister of the Interior. These proposals target particular aspects of the security services’ duties as well as their organizational framework. Such proposals and recommendations for the Federal Minister of the Interior are published in special reports and in an annual activity report. The recommendations are also included in the annual Security Report by the Federal Government to the Austrian Parliament (the last: B.M.I., 2012d: 304–309). The most recent recommendation purported the creation of an independent office for investigation of complaints about Police misconduct. It was the last recommendation of the HRAB before its incorporation in the Austrian Ombudsman Board in July 2012.

Crime Trends in the Last 20 Years

When observing the development of the number of criminal offenses registered by the Police during the last 20 years, it can be seen that they increased moderately in the early 1990s and then again and largely in the early 2000s, when the number peaked (Fig. 4). In these peak years, the number of foreign alleged offenders increased considerably and then remained on a high level. Foreigners are overrepresented among alleged offenders in Austria. This overrepresentation is considered in public discussions as a particular cause of concern. In these discussions, it is often overlooked that reporting behavior concerning foreigners may be more rigorous, and that the life

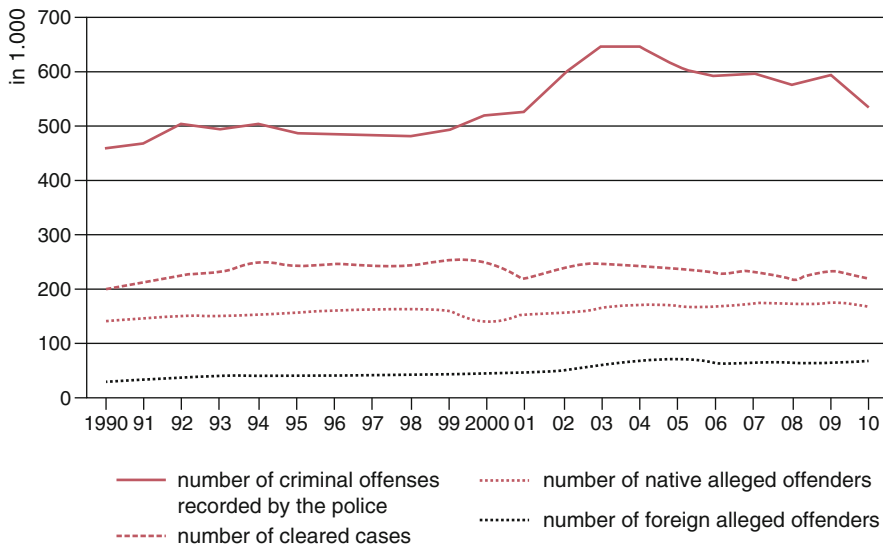


Fig. 4 Number of criminal offenses, of cleared cases and of alleged offenders (native and foreign) in Austria 1990–2010 (source: Statistik Austria, 2011)

situation of many foreigners is in various aspects deprived in comparison with that of Austrians and therefore criminal activities are more probable. Criminal activities of foreigners are usually robbery, burglary and theft, and some of the criminals are organized in mafia-like organizations. They often come from Eastern Europe and only visit Austria in order to commit the criminal actions and then leave the country again. Due to this so-called “crime-tourism,” the chances of clearing up are obviously reduced. Correspondingly, the overall clearance rate for total criminal offenses in Austria has only been about 40 % during the last years (BM.I., 2012d: 38; Statistik Austria, 2011).

Police Training and Police Educational System

The requirements for joining the Federal Police are Austrian citizenship, no criminal record, no administrative record (drunken driving, etc.), driving license, good health, men only after military or community service, and minimum age 18 years. Maximum age 30 years and minimum height (men 168 cm, women 163 cm) are not

required anymore in order to get more applicants. Applicants have to pass an entrance examination which consists of a written test in spelling and grammar, intelligence and personality tests, fitness tests (medical test of coordination skills, press-ups, running 3,000 m, swimming 100 m), and an intake interview. In 2011, 6,392 persons applied to become Police officers. Of these 33 % did not fulfill the requirements, 25 % did not pass the written test, 4 % did not pass the intake interview, and 2 % did not pass the fitness test. For the 36 % who passed the entrance examination, basic training is provided at the ten education centers of the Federal Police. The basic education and training last altogether 24 months. Of these are:

- Twelve months theoretical education. Subjects including the following are taught: Law, psychology, criminology, ethics, tactics, first aid, self-defense, shooting, electronic data processing, rhetoric, English, sports.
- Two months practical training at a Police station.
- Seven months further theoretical education and analyses and discussion of the practical experiences in preparation for the final test.
- The last 3 months are practical training at a Police station (BM.I., 2009b: 9).

The trained officer finishes as an Inspector and starts to work at employment group E 2b level in one of the Federal Police Inspectorates. After 3 years, the officer may continue training which is offered according to the needs and requirements of the service as well as to educate more specialized officers. Training for officers who want to become Criminal Investigators is currently being revised (B.M.I., 2009b: 16). Training for becoming noncommissioned officers (NCOs, employment group E 2a) is available for officers after passing an entrance examination which consists of multiple choice test, fitness test, and a hearing. The training takes 6 months and ends with a final written and oral test (B.M.I.: 14). Training for becoming a member of Cobra Special Operations Unit is available for officers who are screened successfully for medical, psychological, and physical prerequisites. If these tests are successfully completed, a 6-month basic training follows on topics including tactics, marksmanship, sports, driving skills, hand-to-hand combat, psychology, and languages. After this basic training, Cobra members have the option to undertake further special training, such as parachuting, scuba diving, and sharpshooting.

The training of commissioned officers (employment group E 1 which comprises about 3 % of all positions; Brenner, 2009: 49) is open only to officers who are not older than 42 years and have worked at the level of employment group E 2a at least 1 year in the case of officers with general qualification for university entrance or 3 years in the case of officers without such qualification. Candidates have to meet special working requirements and pass an entrance examination (Multiple choice tests, a fitness test, selection by the assessment center, and intake interview). For those accepted, the training lasts for six semesters and is carried out at the Academy for Security Affairs (*Sicherheitsakademie*, SIAK) of the Federal Ministry of the Interior in Traiskirchen and at the University of Applied Science Wiener Neustadt (*Fachhochschule Wiener Neustadt*) (both Lower Austria). Studies include law, management, economics, simulation games, social sciences, empirical research, and English. Successful completion of the studies

depends on writing two bachelor works and passing the final examination. Those successful receive the academic degree “Bachelor of Arts in Police Leadership” (B.M.I., 2009b: 17).

Since 2009 and 2010 a master course in Strategic Security-Management has been established at the University of Applied Science Wiener Neustadt. Those bachelor graduates interested must write two exposés dealing with questions concerning security and management. After that candidates have to pass intake interviews. For those accepted the course lasts four semesters. Main themes are strategies, security, management, personality, and scientific competence. After successful completion trainees receive the academic degree “Master of Arts in Security-Management” (M.A.) (B.M.I., 2009b: 29). It is thought that officers with such qualification have good opportunities for promotion to top positions in the Federal Police. For a long time, such positions were occupied by Police Jurists, lawyer-officers who normally do not have the training of a Police officer but do have additional training to their university studies in jurisprudence. Their employment was a special feature of the Austrian police system.

In addition to the courses mentioned above there are other special courses available: For instance, at the University of Applied Science Wiener Neustadt the course “Teaching at the Police,” which lasts two semesters and is offered to officers who want to become teachers at the education centers of the Federal Police; or courses in intercultural conflict management, which are organized by the Academy for Security Affairs (SIAK) in cooperation with the Austrian Integration Fund. From 2011 to 2013, in accordance with the project *Police.Power.Humans.Rights* discussed above, special emphasis is and will be laid on educating officers in human rights (courses organized by the Academy for Security Affairs in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League, ADL).

At the European level, Austria is involved in the Association of European Police Colleges (AEPC), in the Collège Européen de Police (CEPOL) and in the Middle European Police Academy (MEPA), which has been established

upon an Austrian initiative and has its central bureau in Vienna. The MEPA arranges, among others, every year a so-called “Main Course” for police officers of the member states.

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years and Current Trends

Europeanization

As border-crossing crime increased and Police officers were confronted more and more with non-Austrian criminals speaking other languages than German, Austria began implementing international strategies for inner security. Thus, the police cooperation with other European countries has been intensified. Milestones in this development have been the implementation of the Schengen Agreement in Austria in 1997, the foundation of the Middle European Security Partnership (or Salzburg Group named for the city where it was founded) together with then non-EU member countries in 2000, and the signing of the *Prüm Convention* in 2005 (BM.I., 2011a: 34). The convention named for the German town where it was signed and sometimes known as Schengen III Agreement contains provisions, e.g., for exchanging data (fingerprints, vehicle registration, etc.), development of armed sky marshals on flights between signatory states, entry of (armed) police forces into the territory of another state for prevention of immediate danger (hot pursuit), and joint police patrols (BM.I.). Correspondingly, during the UEFA EURO 2008, in Innsbruck and Klagenfurt, e.g., 585 police officers from Bavaria were on duty together with Austrian officers in order to prevent hooliganism. And during the last Formula One Grand Prix in Budapest several Austrian officers were on duty together with their Hungarian colleagues. Since 2009, Austrian Police officers take part in the Police-Co-operation-Center Dolga vas in Slovenia (70 km away from the Austrian border) and Austrian and Czech Police officers are cooperating in “Microteams” meeting monthly in order to better combat border-crossing crime (Lemmerer, 2012; L., 2011). In 2011, 155 Federal

Police officers were working or prepared to work as Frontex² officers in foreign countries along the Schengen Border, 49 officers participated in EU peacekeeping operations and 23 Austrian Police attachès were acting as liaison officers in foreign countries.

Expansion of Enforcement Powers, Centralization and Its Consequence

In the first half of the 2000s, a government formed by the conservative Austrian People’s Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei*, ÖVP) and the right-wing populist Freedom Party of Austria (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*, FPÖ) reformed the Police. One aim of the reform was—due to budgetary restrictions—a reduction of costs and personnel. One way to achieve this was centralization. Thus, in Vienna, for example, 23 uniformed Police Districts and the same number of Criminal Police Districts were reduced to 14 and 5 districts, respectively. In rural areas many Gendarmerie stations were closed. As a result and also as a consequence of the above mentioned integration of the Gendarmerie into one Police organization, the close communication network, which has always existed between the Gendarmerie and the people, became weaker. Contacts were lost as a result of structuring the new Police with emphasis on specialized units working in the different fields of crime, but not any more responsible for special areas.

Besides to the organizational changes, the enforcement powers of the Police and the possibilities for situational prevention of crime were expanded. An example for the latter is the possibility to create safe areas around schools and public places from which the Police can order the removal of suspected drug addicts and dealers. In 2006, undercover investigations and video and audio recording were permitted even in the absence of concrete suspicion. In 2011,

²Frontex is an EU agency which was created with the task to coordinate the operational cooperation between member states in the field of border security.

another example, under a social democratic and conservative coalition government and according to the guidelines of the EU, the preservation of data from mobile and fixed-line telephones, emails, and Internet activity was allowed to increase the effectiveness of criminal investigations (Kolb, 2011).

Privatization

While many enforcement powers have been expanded, on the other side security services have been outsourced by the Police. Outsourcing began in the early 1990s, when the then Federal Minister of the Interior declared that all security issues could not be covered anymore by the Police. In 1994, the security checks at the Vienna International Airport were privatized. Thus, according to the then Federal Minister of the Interior, 40 Police posts have been axed, because the security checks by private firms are financed through a passenger fee. Since 1998, security checks at the airports Linz, Graz, Klagenfurt, Innsbruck, and Salzburg have been outsourced to private companies. In addition, e.g., the security checks at justice courts and at the conferences of the OSCE at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna have been privatized. Not only security checks have been outsourced. The air emergency was conferred on the Austrian Automobile, Motorcycle, and Touring Club (*Österreichischer Automobil, Motorrad und Touring Club*, ÖAMTC). Other public services are now offered by private security firms, for example: Surveillance of public spaces ordered by communities, namely in Tulln, Krems, and Perchtoldsdorf (all Lower Austria); protection of embassies; car-registration; and regulation of traffic in road construction areas. As a result of the expansion and diversification of activities of private security firms, the sales figure and number of employees in security businesses and industries have doubled since 2000 (Löff, 2010: 84). In contrast—for budgetary reasons as already mentioned—the number of Police officers was reduced in the early 2000s (through early retirements and not filling free positions). Thus, the

percentage of employees in security businesses and industries among all persons working in the public and private security has increased from 16 % in the year 2000 to about 38 % today.

Technization

Policing has become more sophisticated and technique and science based. This can be illustrated by the example of Police activities based on the results of electronic operational crime analysis. Since 2004, all crime that is officially registered in Austria is reported in the so-called Safety-Monitor (*Sicherheitsmonitor*, SIMO). SIMO-data are analyzed in connection with a geographical information system. Thereby areas where crimes are committed can be mapped and hot spots of criminality identified. In order to identify emerging crime problems more quickly, threshold evaluations of data are automatically conducted and send via Emails to commanding officers as an early warning and first demand for starting special security activities in the respective areas (Edelbacher, 2011: 49).

Current Trends in Policing

The Federal Minister of the Interior declared the combat against cybercrime as focal point in 2012. For that purpose a so-called Cybercrime-Competence-Center (C4) has been established recently and about 300 so-called “Cyber-Cops” are available for holding lectures to pupils at schools on the dangers of use of social media. Special emphasis is laid also on combating economic crimes for which a special department in the Federal Criminal Police Office (BK) has been established 2 years ago (Fig. 3).

Thus, departments and units specialized in combating special crimes are created while, in Vienna, a new Police unit called “Stand-by duty” will be established. This unit will consist of 100 officers who will be flexibly deployed for combating any crimes, for fulfilling any tasks, everywhere they are needed (Weber, 2012).

Police, the Media and Public Opinion on Police

Police and Media

The Federal Ministry of the Interior edits a magazine called *Public Security: The Magazine of the Ministry of the Interior* (*Öffentliche Sicherheit. Das Magazin des Innenministeriums*). Apart from that, professional press officers provide the media with necessary information. Two such officers are assigned to the Federal Minister of the Interior personally. The Ministry itself and the Federal Criminal Police Office (BK) have one press officer each. The latter office uses, among others, the internet platform *Facebook* for information and prevention work. Besides that, there are two special departments at the Federal Ministry of the Interior called Competence-Center Communication and Protocol and Event Management, respectively, which work on the relationship between the Police and the public (M., 2012).

Public Opinion on Police

For Austrian citizens the Federal Police are an important “unspecific remedy-agent” (aid-institution), a service organization which is competent for the solving of all kinds of disturbances, conflicts, and abnormalities. An analysis of emergency calls illustrates this: Of the 1,478,903 emergency calls in Vienna in 2010, e.g., only a minority is caused by suspected or actual crime. The most frequent reasons to dial the emergency number are, as shown already by a study conducted 20 years ago (Hanak, 1991), the request for help or services (for helpless, drunk people, etc.), conflicts (neighborhood conflicts, disturbance of the peace, private quarrels, molesting among others) as well as traffic problems (accidents, etc.). Traffic and assistance in emergency and conflict situations as well as in cases of disturbances of the daily life are the main fields of

contact between Police and citizens. The results of a recent survey among citizens in Austria regarding these contacts show that more than half of the respondents had such contacts during the last 2 years. Eighty percent of them judged the conduct of the officers in these contact situations favorably (Kirchner, 2009). Furthermore, 60 % of all respondents are very or quite satisfied with the work of the Police in general; only 2 % are very unsatisfied. Asked about confidence in the Police, 70 % of the respondents said that they have great confidence (Kirchner). In comparison with other institutions, occupation groups and services the Police enjoy a relatively high degree of confidence. Thus, according to the results of a survey by GfK (2007), the Police rank second after the fire service in the hierarchy of nine organizations and occupation groups according to the extent of confidence given by the Austrian population. Likewise, in the confidence hierarchy of eight institutions and officeholders, the Police rank second after the Federal President—according to the results of a survey by Sozialwissenschaftliche Studiengesellschaft (2012: 45). According to the results of a survey by market in 2012 ranking 18 institutions, services and brands regarding public confidence, the Police rank third after the family and the partnership (market, 2012). And, according to the results of a survey by Österreichisches Gallup-Institut (2010), in the confidence hierarchy of nine organizations, occupation groups and officeholders the Police rank fourth after the respective family doctor and the respective bank and insurance company of which the respondents are steady costumers. As for criticism against the Police, results of a survey recently conducted in Vienna showed, that one of the most frequently mentioned points of criticism is “insufficient presence in the streets” (N., 2011). The frequency, with which this and other points of criticism are uttered, varies between different groups of the population. In general immigrants are more critical and do not have as much confidence in the Police as Austrian nationals without migrant background have (EthnoOpinion, 2010).

Recent Trends in Research on Policing and Specificities of Research on Police and Policing

Every 3 years since 2005, by order of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, an overview of studies on policing in Austria is conducted. Results of the last overview showed that although in Salzburg city in 2009 the first Austrian Congress on Police Psychology and Police Science has been held, the number of such studies has decreased from 2008 to 2010 when compared to the previous 3 years (Hanak & Klinger, 2011: 10). Research in the period 2008–2010 addressed the following:

- (a) Police activities in connection with the UEFA EURO 2008 in Austria, which have been the greatest of their kind in the history of the Second Republic (Sicherheitsakademie, 2009: 8, 131)
- (b) Crime prevention activities of the Police
- (c) Interactions between citizens and the Police

Research on such themes is funded for the most part by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The most important research institution outside the Ministry is the Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology (*Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie*, IRKS) in Vienna. It was founded in 1973 and edits among others since 2006 a monograph series Writings on Sociology of Law and Crime (*Schriften zur Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie*), of which one book title reads *Policing in Context* (Kreissl, Barthel, & Ostermeier, 2008). The IRKS is organized as a research institution outside the universities. Inside the Vienna University Department of Law and Criminology, a research institute called Austrian Center for Law Enforcement Sciences (ALES) has been founded recently. The first studies of ALES will be about the legal definition of organized crime in Austria and its consequences for police and justice and about the current Federal Police reform.

Besides these research institutes, the Joanneum Research in Graz has to be mentioned because of its cooperation with the Department of Crime Analysis, Federal Criminal Police Office (BK),

in the field of operational crime analysis. Methods for analyzing the SIMO—(Safety-Monitor) data, methods for analyzing the structure of criminal gangs on the basis of data gathered by wire tapping of calls between gang members as well as models for forecasting crime activities have been developed with support of the Joanneum Research Graz (Edelbacher, 2011: 51).

In addition to its crime-analysis capacities, the Federal Ministry of the Interior has a research institution of its own: The Institute for Science and Research (*Institut für Wissenschaft und Forschung*) at the Academy for Security Affairs (SIAK) at Traiskirchen, established in 2000 by the Ministry. This Institute edits, since 2004, a journal called *SIAK-Journal. Journal for Police Science and Police Practice (Zeitschrift für Polizeiwissenschaft und polizeiliche Praxis)*, which is the only journal of police science in Austria. In 2010, the Institute started editing also a book series namely Security and Society (*Sicherheit und Gesellschaft*). From the research work, which has been conducted most recently at the Institute, studies on “Burn-Out” among Austrian Police officers (Polndorfer & Jimenez, 2011), on the club activities and involvement of officers in voluntary work (B.M.I., 2011b) and on Police operations abroad (Hubegger, Kühhas, Muigg, Sikl, & Schmidl, 2011) must be mentioned.

Future Developments in Policing

In Vienna in 2010, a workshop, The Future of Criminal Investigation Service has been organized (Kripo.at, 2010: 87–116). The central question was: What are the future challenges of policing? The answer was:

- (a) Dealing with different cultures
- (b) Dealing with different languages
- (c) New technologies

In other words, we will need police officers who understand the different cultures in the society and who speak languages other than German. And the police have to invest in more capacity to follow up with new trends in technology and crime.

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Policing in Croatia: The Main Challenges on the Path to Democratic Policing

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Introduction

Croatia (*Republika Hrvatska*) is both a Central European and Mediterranean country, with a territory of 56,594 km² (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). On 25 June 1991, Croatia declared independence from socialist Yugoslavia and on 15 January 1992 became an internationally recognized independent country. Croatia is a parliamentary democracy, with three separate branches of government (legislative, executive, and judicial). Administratively, it is divided into 21 territorial-administrative units (counties), including the City of Zagreb, the capital and the largest city. According to the 2011 Census, Croatia's population numbers 4,290,612 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a). The overwhelming majority are Croats (90 %), while Serbs, at 4.5 %, constitute the largest minority. The dominant religion (88 % of the population) is Roman Catholic (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2011b). The official language is Croatian. In June 2011,

Croatia officially completed negotiations with the European Union and will become the 28th member of the EU on 1 July 2013.

The Croatian police force is a national police force with 20,697 officers. It is a centralized organization, headed by the Police Headquarters which consists of 20 Police Administrations (according to the administrative division of the country, with the exception of the City of Zagreb, which falls under the jurisdiction of the Police Administration of Zagreb, along with Zagreb County—this is the largest Police Administration in Croatia), responsible for approximately 140 general police stations (besides specialized police stations, traffic police stations, border police stations, maritime police stations, and airport police stations). The Croatian Police is a well-recognized and respected member of and partner in various international police organizations. Since 1992, it has been a member of INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization) and in 2006 became a member of Europol (European Law Enforcement Agency) by signing a treaty. It also plays a significant role in regional police organizations such as SELEC (Southeast European Law Enforcement Centre) and SEPCA (Southeast Europe Police Chiefs Association).

Croatia previously was one of the six socialist republics of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, created after World War II. In 1990, Croatia began a process of democratic change, with the first democratic elections, and underwent a war of defense against the aggression initiated by the Yugoslav Army. At the same time,

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Croatia was in the processes of transition from a Communist political system to a multiparty, democratic society, and of transformation to a market economy. Since Croatia did not have an army of its own, the Croatian police force played an important role in the defense of the country. The Ministry of the Interior (MoI) was the only legitimate, organized entity empowered to carry out defense of the country. In April 1991, the Croatian Parliament adopted an amendment to the Act on Internal Affairs, creating legal grounds for the establishment of the National Guard Corps (NGC)—an organizational section of the Ministry of the Interior, consisting of special police units, who carried out defensive military duties. In legal terms, the NGC formed an integral part of the MoI, but in reality, it was the beginning of the Croatian Army (in September 1991, when Croatia passed the Defense Act, the NGC became a constituent part of the Croatian Army) (Mori, 1994). At the same time, the police force had to carry out its regular policing role; a task made harder by a shortage of personnel, since many police officers of Serb ethnicity (which had been over-represented in the police force, especially in leading positions) had abandoned their posts in Croatia. Professionalism was another problem; civilians who wanted to help the police in the defense of their country joined the police ranks, receiving only the most basic training. Some of them transferred to the Croatian Army, but many chose to stay with the police. In order to achieve the appropriate level of knowledge and skills for professional policing, they participated in numerous in-service training courses.

The process of reform from Communist to democratic policing began in 1990, but it was soon halted by the Homeland War, and only resumed in 1992. The ideal of the Croatian police officer was illustrated in a speech given in 1990 by the first Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, at the passing-out parade of the first generation of Croatian police officers (Nazor, 2011: 20):

You must guard the safe sleep of our citizens, be the keepers of their treasures, but also keep the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia. A vast, responsible task lies ahead of you. You must acquire not only the knowledge and

skills of your profession, but also be true representatives of the new democratic and sovereign government of the Republic of Croatia and gain its people's trust. You must do your job well, but also earn the trust of our people, every child, woman, and man—the whole nation. You must be determined and bold, uncompromising, yet courteous and civilized. Everyone should think of you as his guardian, but also as his representative. So, I beg you and command you to be present on the streets, in villages and cities, and do what your minister and the supreme Croatian authorities ask of you—to be the real guarantors of peace and order in the Republic of Croatia.

When Croatian police activities ceased to be defensive, professionalization and depoliticization became the main challenges on the path to democratic policing.

Police Organization, Structure and Function

The General Police Directorate is structured within the Ministry of the Interior as an administrative organization for carrying out police affairs. The Croatian police force is centralized and hierarchically organized at three levels (Zakon o policiji, 2011): (1) General Police Directorate, (2) Police Administrations, and (3) Police Stations.

The tasks and activities of the Croatian Police are managed by the General Police Director, who reports to the Minister of the Interior. The office of the General Police Director is a professional function, which contributes further to the depoliticization and professionalization of the police. Police Administrations are managed by the Head of the Police Administration, who is accountable to the General Police Director and the Minister, while Police Stations are managed by the Head of Police Stations, who is accountable to the Head of the Police Administration.

Police work is regulated by the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 2011) and the Act on Police Activities and Rights (Zakon o policijskim poslovima i ovlastima, 2009). Both acts regulate the organization of the police and the official rights and duties of police officers, as well as

establishing the rights and responsibilities of the police.

Police tasks determined by the duties and powers enacted in the Police Act are as follows (Zakon o policijskim poslovima i ovlastima, 2009):

- (a) Protection of the life, rights, safety, and inviolability of the individual
- (b) Protection of public order and property
- (c) Prevention and detection of criminal acts, misdemeanors and offences
- (d) Detection of perpetrators of criminal acts, misdemeanors and offences, and handing them over to the competent authorities
- (e) Detecting property benefits acquired through criminal activity
- (f) Control and regulation of road traffic
- (g) Protection from incendiary devices
- (h) Tasks regarding the movement and residence of aliens
- (i) Controlling and securing the state border
- (j) Air traffic task, regulated by a separate act
- (k) Security and protection of people, objects, and places
- (l) Handling detained and arrested persons

These tasks are performed by police officers of the Ministry, at headquarters, and in regional and local organizational units.

The General Police Directorate consists of the following organizational units (General Police Directorate, 2012):

The Office of the General Police Director performs professional and administrative tasks for the General Police Director, especially the supervision of the work of the organizational units of the General Police Directorate. More specifically, it performs the supervision of police officers' work. It coordinates and supervises crime prevention tasks and international police cooperation, and deals with issues concerning the improvement and development of police work, as well as the equipping of the police force. The office also analyses police personnel needs and participates in the drafting of laws and regulations within the scope of the police.

The Criminal Police Directorate monitors and analyses the incidence and trends of overall

crime, and cooperates with other organizational units in terms of organization, prevention, and crime control. It undertakes directly the most serious and complex criminal investigations at the national level, determines priorities in the suppression of and fight against crime, and supervises the work of police administrations in this field and in criminal investigation, for which it provides them with professional help and assistance. It also determines and develops methodologies for the suppression of crime and the development of the criminal police. Finally, it cooperates with other ministries and state institutions, and with the criminal police forces of other countries.

The Police Directorate monitors and coordinates the implementation of measures and solutions in basic police duties, the maintenance of public order, the prevention of criminal offences and violations, security tasks and the management of road traffic, along with police tasks in the area of bomb disposal, and the management of riot police units.

The Border Police Directorate monitors, coordinates, and organizes the implementation of measures and solutions in police tasks at state borders, airports, and seaports open to international traffic, territorial and inland waters, and inland waterways. The Border Police Directorate also implements regulations on supervising and crossing the state border, and conducts activities in relation to illegal migration.

The Special Police Command commands and manages special police units when performing the following tasks: fighting all forms of terrorism, resolving hostage situations and other crises, resolving the hijacking of aircraft and others means of transportation, arresting perpetrators of the most serious criminal offences, and conducting helicopter operations, diving operations and other special assignments and operations.

The Operational Communications Centre receives notification and information on security issues throughout the territory of Croatia, gathers additional information and assesses its

significance. It coordinates, directs, and supervises the joint operational measures and actions of police administrations, supervises the work of operational/communication centers of police administrations, and improves the organization of their work. It also monitors the implementation of prescribed data protection measures, documents events, and takes action in cases of general hazards caused by natural disasters or other threats. It also receives reports from citizens pertaining to police work.

The “Ivan Vučetić” Forensic Science Centre is a unique forensic institution in Croatia, performing forensic tasks and providing expertise, and directly participates in resolving a vast number of criminal offences and identifying their perpetrators in Croatia. Through the six decades of its existence and work, the Center has expanded into a modern institution, which today can stand shoulder to shoulder with European and international forensic institutes. Since 1998, the Center has been a full member of ENFSI (European Network of Forensic Science Institutes)—an umbrella organization for European national forensic institutes, which brings together 56 members from almost all European states.

The Police Academy was established in the 1970s as an educational center. The Police Academy is a specialized institution for different forms of police education.

The Directorate for Special Security Affairs carries out the protection and security of people, buildings, and facilities. It organizes and conducts the following tasks: direct, personal physical protection, preparatory work for securing facilities and buildings visited by protected persons, and securing diplomatic missions, and consular offices. When needed, it secures other buildings of special interest.

Twenty police districts have been established to implement policing directly. They are divided into four categories, covering the territory of the Republic of Croatia according to the organization of units of local self-government. Categories of police administrations are determined according

to the size of the area, number of inhabitants, number of criminal offences and violations, characteristics of traffic routes and geographical positions, along with other security features. Police activities at the local level are performed by 185 police stations, classified into three categories, according to size (Figs. 1 and 2).

Crime and Disorder in the Last 20 Years

Crime trends in Croatia are monitored via official crime data, i.e., police data and statistical reports by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (published annually on adult and juvenile perpetrators of criminal offences and misdemeanors). The primary difference is that the police present data on reported offences, while the Croatian Bureau of Statistics present data on offenders. In his analysis of crime trends in Croatia between 1992 and 1997, Dujmović (1997) noted that the regular functioning of the MoI was seriously impeded in some parts of Croatia during the first half of 1991, due to enemy aggression against Croatia, and the subsequent war in the second half of the year. This shift from policing to defense was reflected in the crime profile and police efficiency in crime detection; there was a 42.6 % increase in crime in 1992, compared to 1991. After 1992, the number of crimes decreased annually. Between 1992 and 1997, crime against property was dominant (37 %), followed by offences against traffic safety (18 %) and offences against the Republic of Croatia (11 %). The perpetrators were mostly male (females, both adult and juvenile, represented only 7 % overall), aged between 29 and 39 (25 %). Since 1998, a new package of criminal legislation has been in force (the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedures Act, the Juvenile Courts Act, and the Act on the Protection of Persons with Mental Disorders). The official statistical data of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics are presented in Fig. 3.

The data presented in Fig. 3 show a relatively stable decrease in the number of adult crime reported following the first peak in 1993. Another sharp increase is evident from 2000 to 2005.

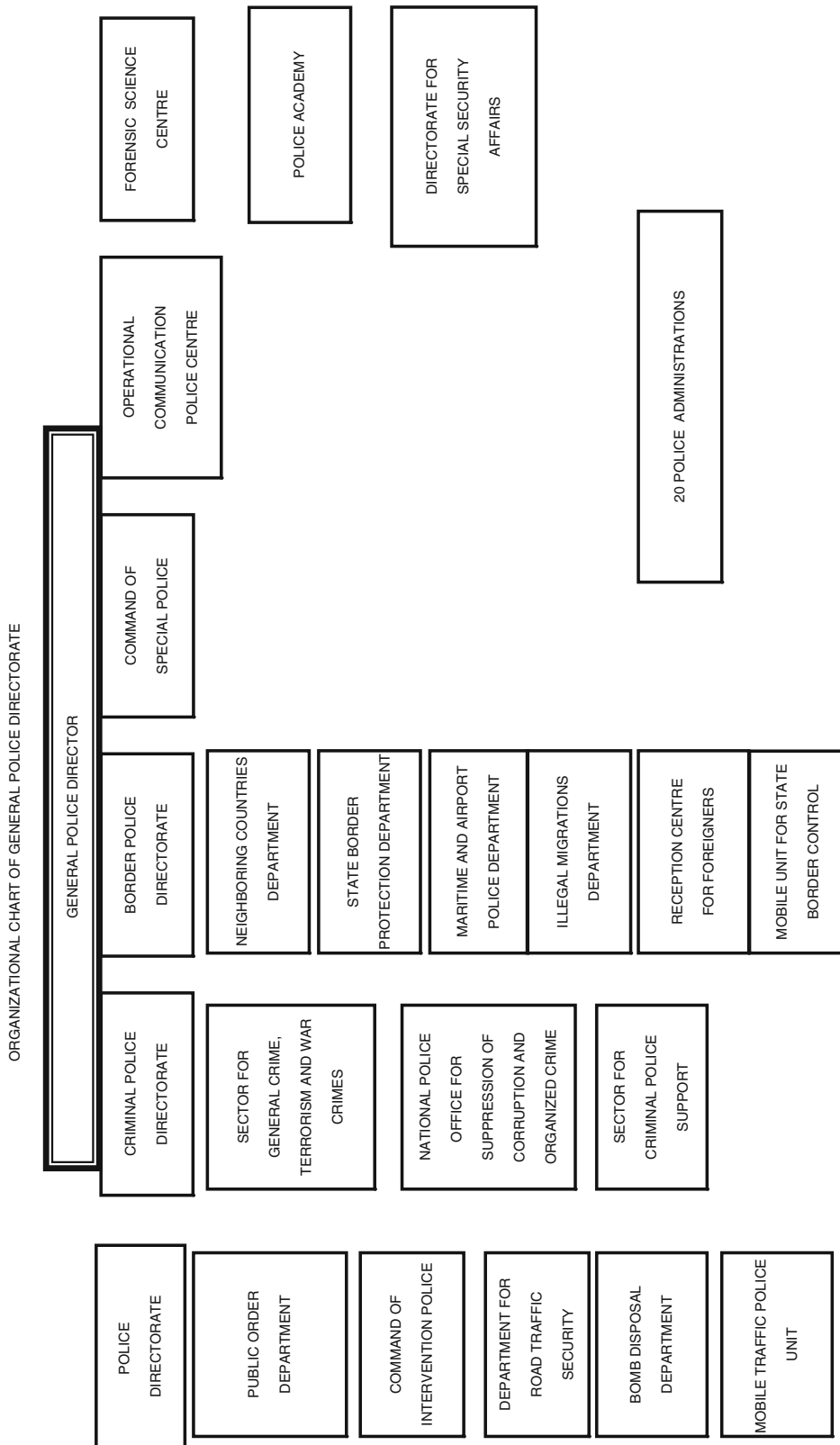


Fig. 1 Organizational chart of the General Police Directorate (Source: Criminal Police Directorate, 2011)

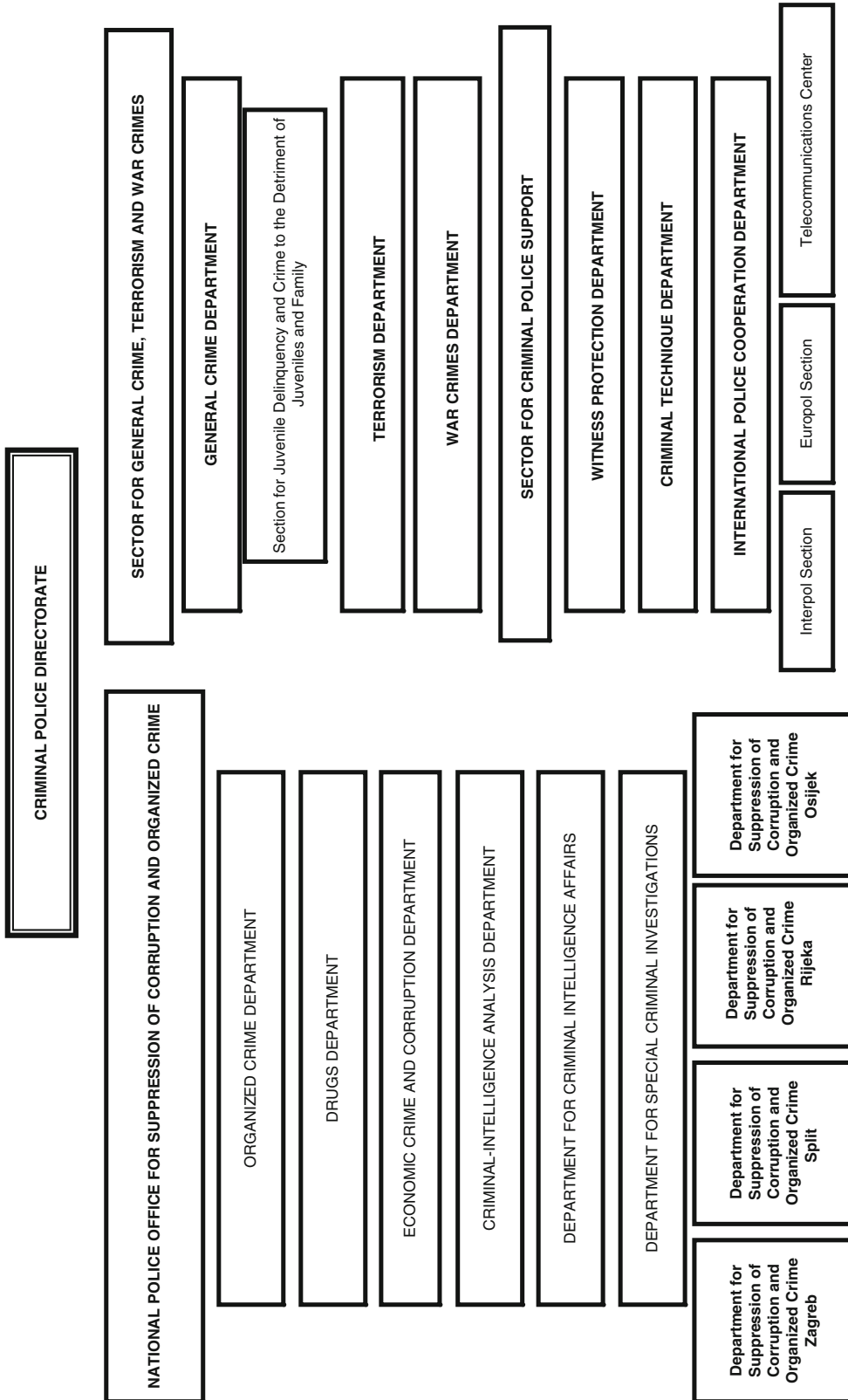


Fig. 2 Organizational chart of the Criminal Police Directorate (Criminal Police Directorate, 2011)

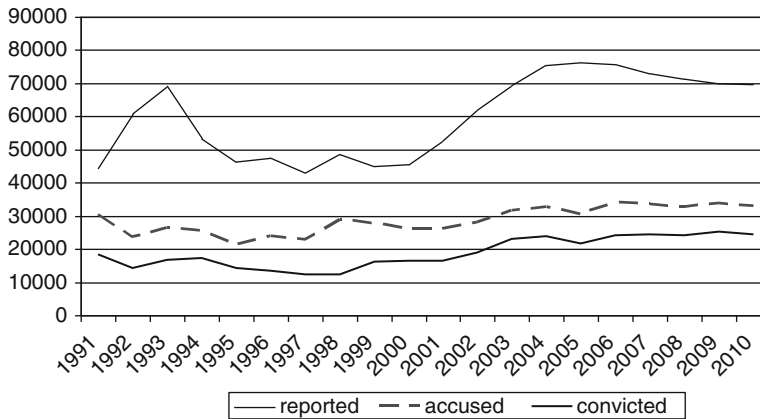


Fig. 3 Number of reported, accused, and convicted adults 1991–2010 (Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2011c)

This was a period of many public campaigns for raising awareness on topics such as domestic violence, or child abuse and neglect, and reports for these crimes (along with new acts, amendments, and policies) contributed significantly to the increase observed. The period from 2000 to 2010 introduced intensive legislative changes; the Criminal Code underwent several amendments (mostly oriented toward more severe punishment for certain criminal offences, which resulted in disproportional punishments) and was completely reformed in 2011. The Criminal Procedures Act was reformed in such a way as to represent a mixture of Anglo-American and European legal institutes. Along with these “organic acts,” many other acts were reformed or new acts enacted in probation, policing, weapon control, amnesty, the victims of crime, witness protection, money-laundering, corruption and organized crime, domestic violence, personal data protections, national security, etc.

Kovčo Vukadin (2011) analyzed crime trends and structure in Croatia between two sets of reforms in criminal legislation (1997 and 2011). Crime rates for “basic” index offences, such as homicide, rape, and robbery, in comparison with other countries in the European area (according to the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics—2003, 2006, 2010) show that Croatia is a relatively safe country. In terms of trends in adult crime, an increase in reports, charges, and convictions was observed

(except during the final-third of the period analyzed). Among young adults (18–21), an increase in convictions was detected and in juveniles (14–18), a linear increase in reports, charges, and convictions. The most common type of crimes among adults were property crime, crimes against values protected by international law (mostly abuse of narcotic drugs) and crimes against public safety; among young adults, property crimes and crimes against values protected by international law were most common, and for juveniles, property crimes, crimes against values protected by international law and crimes against life and limb. Females accounted for 14 % of adult offenders, 5.9 % of young adults and 9 % of juveniles. The most frequent criminal sanction against adults and young adults was a suspended prison sentence, and against juveniles, the imposition of an educational measure, increased care, or supervision. The author highlighted the sharp increase in the rate of re-offending, and questioned the efficacy of frequent legal changes (often making punishments more severe) as the main response to crime trends and structure.

Misdemeanors are violations of public order, social discipline, or other social values not protected by the Criminal Code or other laws that define criminal offences. The Croatia Bureau of Statistics publishes annual statistical reports on the perpetrators of misdemeanors. Data are collected from the competent misdemeanor courts and other administrative bodies (tax

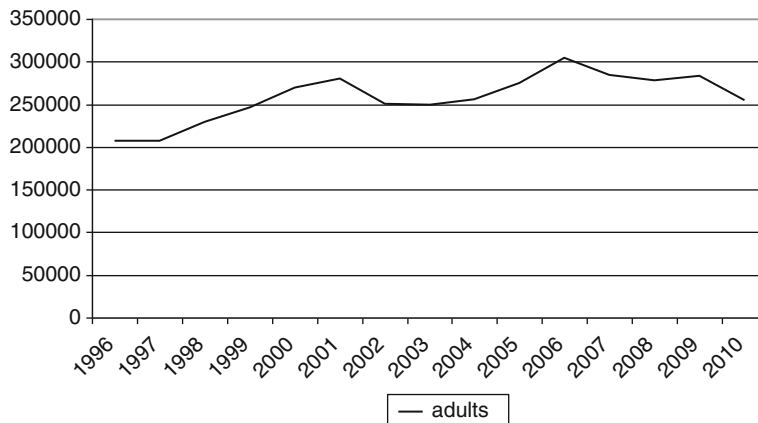


Fig. 4 Number of adults reported for misdemeanors 1996–2010 (Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2006, 2011d)

administration offices, customs offices, harbor-masters' offices, air traffic management bodies, and financial inspectorates). Figure 4 contains data on adult perpetrators.

The data show an increase in charges against adults in the period 1996–2010, with two peaks in 2001 and 2006. The predominant type of misdemeanor in the period 2001–2010 was violation of road traffic safety (51.8 %), followed by disturbing public order and peace (16.9 %) and violations against the economy (15.3 %). The data on juveniles (not presented here) show a sharp increase from 1996 (when 4,000 juveniles were charged) to 1999 (16,825) after which a stable decrease is evident (8,120 in 2010). The data for legal entities and persons in charge (of legal entities) show an increasing trend in charges, with two peaks in 2001 (up from 15,790 in 1996 to 26,345 in 2001) and in 2009 (26,796).

The data presented should be taken with some reserve, since official crime statistics are influenced by legislative changes, the readiness of victims to report victimization, organizational and human resources changes in the relevant crime detection agencies, and the varying intensity with which discretion mechanisms, from crime reporting to rendering valid court decisions, are conducted. Thus, crime statistics may be perceived as an indicator of a society's control mechanisms, rather than a real picture of crime trends and structure (Singer, Kovčo Vukadin, & Cajner Mraović, 2002).

Additional sources of crime data are still underdeveloped in that Croatia participated in only two sweeps of the International Crime Victimization Survey, in 1996 (Šeparović & Turković, 1997) and in 2001 (Turković, 2002), but the results were not widely publicized.

Police Training and the Police Education System

Formal police education in Croatia is centralized and delivered by the Police Academy, an organizational unit of the General Police Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. As one of the republics of former Yugoslavia, Croatia used to provide secondary and tertiary education for police officers. At the beginning of the Homeland War, the Police Academy served as the educational institution for the military training of police units, the NGC and the Croatian Army. After the war, the Police Academy reverted to its primary educational purpose. In the late 1990s, the Zagreb Polygraph School was established within the Police Academy.

Today, the Police Academy has three main organizational units, covering different types of police education: "Josip Jovič" Police Secondary School, the Department for Professional Development and Specialization, and the Police College. Educational materials, textbooks, and a professional journal, *Policija i sigurnost* (Police,

& Safety) are published by the Department for Publishing and the Library.

Police School

The purpose of the Police School is basic education and training for police officers. It was founded in 1972, when Croatia was one of the socialist republics of former Yugoslavia. When Croatia became independent, the Police Secondary School maintained the former 4-year residential program for basic police training. Police cadets entered the program after finishing primary school (at the age of 14 or 15) and upon completing the program, qualified for the occupation of "police officer." This program was certified by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports as a professional secondary school syllabus. In the academic year 1994/1995, a new, 2-year program was launched for cadets who had already completed 2 years of secondary school. The reasons for shortening the program were the following (Jurina, Jurković, & Pušeljić, 1999): cutting the costs of education; encouraging a higher number of cadet entries per year; registering more mature cadets; increasing classification criteria, etc. Apart from the Police Secondary School, there was a 6-month course for training police officers (for candidates with a secondary school diploma), followed by 6 months of practical work (Jurina, 1994). In 2002, another reform was carried out in basic police education (as part of an agreement between the Croatian Ministry of the Interior and the American government, through the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Programme/ICITAP/) and a new program was introduced for candidates who had completed secondary school education. The Police Secondary School was renamed the Police School. In the academic year 2003/2004, two new programs were launched (an adult education program for the vocation of police officer, accredited by the Croatian Ministry of Education), for candidates with a secondary school diploma or university degree (and for employees of the Ministry of the Interior who had not completed basic police training). The program for candi-

dates with secondary school diplomas lasted 18 months, including 6 months of practical work conducted over two periods. The program for employees of the Ministry of the Interior (with university degrees) who had not completed basic police training lasted 6 months (Veić & Cajner Mraović, 2004). The rights and obligations of the trainees and the Ministry of the Interior were regulated by the Contract on Training and after successfully completing the program; trainees were given full-time jobs at the Ministry of the Interior, with an obligatory probation period. This program (with some adjustments to its length) continued until the academic year 2011/2012, when a 2-year program was reintroduced for cadets who had completed 2 years of secondary school education. In 2008, the Police School was renamed the Department for Police Training and in October 2011, it was renamed the Josip Jović Police School.¹

Department for Professional Development and Specialization

The Department for Professional Development and Specialization develops, delivers, and supervises courses and seminars within three types of educational programs: specialization, professional development, and vocational training. All programs adhere to the standards for adult education and lifelong learning (data obtained from the Ministry of the Interior official website: <http://www.mup.hr>).

Specialization programs enable participants to perform police tasks in different policing branches. There are three main branches: police (uniformed, traffic, intervention, and police communication center), border police (border police, illegal migrations, and asylum), and criminal investigation police. Specialization programs (at the moment, there are more than 20) are primarily centralized (at the level of the Ministry of the Interior, delivered at the Police Academy).

¹ Josip Jović was the first police officer victim of the war against Croatia.

Professional development programs aim to improve knowledge and the skills levels needed for performing different policing tasks. These programs are delivered both centralized (at the level of the Ministry of the Interior) and decentralized (at the level of police administrations). Centralized programs include seminars for professional development at the level of the Ministry of the Interior, international seminars in cooperation with foreign expert and agencies, and professional development through European projects. Decentralized programs include additional professional development of police officers at the level of police administrations (in-service training) and police training (physical education, martial arts, firearms handling, etc.).

Police College

Higher education for police officers in Croatia has existed for more than 40 years. In 1969, there was an initiative to found the Higher School of Internal Affairs as a higher education facility for the needs of internal affairs bodies in the Republic of Croatia (as part of former Yugoslavia). The school started in 1970/1971 and provided educational qualification level VI² (four semesters), while its graduates gained the qualification of “lawyer-criminalist” (Vignjević, 1973). In the mid-1980s, after failing to create a police college at the federal level, the Republic’s Secretary of Internal Affairs initiated the launch of higher police education at level VII for police officers in Croatia. The main idea was to create a complete, vertically connected police education system (from police secondary school, through college diploma to university degree). Studies in Internal Affairs were developed and delivered by the Higher School for Internal Affairs and Law School of the University in Zagreb and started in

the academic year 1986/1987. Upon completion (the program lasted four semesters) students were awarded the professional title of “graduate criminalist” (Suknaić, 1991). In 1990, legal criteria were met for the founding of the Faculty of Criminalistics, which ran two study programs: Studies in Internal Affairs and the Higher School for Internal Affairs. Those programs were created mainly for police officers and employees of the Ministry of the Interior, but there were students from other ministries, and some civilians. In 1996, the new law on higher education institutions introduced some changes. Faculties were regarded as departments of universities, while colleges were schools of professional higher education. Since the Faculty of Criminalistics was an organizational department of the Police Academy and MoI (not a university), it was renamed the Police College. Along with undergraduate programs, the Police College organized and conducted postgraduate studies in criminalistics in the field of violent crime.

Insufficient numbers of police officers with university degrees and the need for different curricula for police officers and civilians led to the creation of a new university program in criminalistics for civilians. Interest in this study program was very high, even though there were no guarantees that students would be employed by the MoI upon graduating. This program lasted from 1999 to 2003. Since the Police College was not licensed to conduct university programs, the University of Zagreb was the formal implementer of the program.

A major reform in the Croatian higher education system occurred in 2005, when the entire system was required to transform its programs according to the principles of the Bologna Declaration. Higher education was then undertaken through university and professional studies. University studies are performed at universities (faculties, arts academies, departments, and institutes which are components of universities) while professional studies are performed at polytechnics and schools of professional higher education. Universities deliver university studies at undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate levels. Undergraduate university

²Until intensive reform of its higher education system in line with European standards in 2003, Croatia had several different levels of higher education: level VI programmes were usually professionally oriented and lasted four to six semesters (college level) while level VII (university study programmes) lasted eight semesters.

studies normally last 3–4 years and students earn 180–240 ECTS credits (with the academic qualification *Baccalaureus*), graduate university studies last 1–2 years and students earn 60–120 ECTS credits (with the academic qualification *Magister*), and postgraduate university studies normally last 3 years (with the academic title *Doctor*). Professional studies include only the first two levels—undergraduate and graduate.

The Police College currently runs undergraduate and graduate professional study programs for employees of the MoI and other ministries and government bodies (professional undergraduate and graduate studies in criminal investigation). These study programs are not open to civilians. The graduate program is delivered only as a part-time program. Besides social sciences, foreign languages and physical skills, the programs mainly focus on legal and police-related issues.

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

Each model of policing necessarily depends on the contemporary social and political context and its historical background, therefore the degree of police development depends on the extent to which the democratization of society has been achieved. The Croatian Police have inherited the historical legacy of policing in a nondemocratic social and political system, as that operating in former socialist Yugoslavia. In such a political environment, the fundamental role of the police was the protection of the state and the constitutionally established government, with the purpose of meeting the needs of government structures. This meant that the imperative was not the rule of law or the protection of human rights, so the needs of citizens were ranked low in police priorities. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the police force, alongside society as a whole, has been going through a major transition and process of transformation, from a police force with primarily military tasks and a paramilitary organizational structure, through a traditional policing model, to a community policing model. Thus, policing in

Croatia in the last two decades can be divided into three periods, according to these different priorities and the methods by which they have been practiced.

The Period from 1990 to 1995: The Establishment of the Police and the Defense of the State During the Homeland War

The Croatian Police were established after the first democratic elections in 1990, when the Republican (Croatian) Secretariat for the Internal Affairs of the former Socialist Yugoslavia was renamed the Croatian Ministry of the Interior. The process of democratization and independence of the Croatian state was “aggravated” by the fact that the majority of Serbs did not recognize the results of democratic elections and, alleging that they were threatened, launched a rebellion against the legal authorities in Croatia, the so-called “Log Revolution” (Nazor, 2011). They had the active support of some federal institutions, the Yugoslavian National Army (JNA) and the political authorities in Serbia, who shortly after began aggression against Croatia (Zmijarević, 2007).

The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and the establishment of independent Croatia resulted in overwhelming changes in the number and ethnic structure of police employees. At the beginning of the war, many Serb police officers left their posts, and rapid rehiring, necessitated by the war, resulted in a large number of Croats joining the police without adequate police training. At the time, the situation was accepted, since the main task of the police was the defense of the state and constitutionally established system. Traditional police activities were not the primary aim of the police. At the same time, during 1990 and 1991, special police units for the fight against terrorism were established (Zmijarević, 2007), but their tasks were predominantly military. During the Homeland War, the Croatian Police played a very important role, as the only institution capable of forming professional troops and organizing the defense of the state. During the

Homeland War, 755 police officers died, over 3,600 were wounded, and 31 are still missing (Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, 2011).

In the early 1990s, many changes and amendments to police-related laws were adopted, which did not essentially change the means and methodology of police work, but which to a lesser extent affected the internal structure of the Ministry. It is worth mentioning that, at that time, the police, although centralized, had three Assistant Ministers: an Assistant Minister for uniformed police, an Assistant Minister for criminal police, and an Assistant Minister for special police, who reported to the Minister of the Interior (Zmijarević, 2007).

Even before the end of the Homeland War, there had been attempts to define the role of the police force in the new, democratic environment. In 1994, the Ministry of the Interior organized a seminar on “the functions of the police in a democratic society” (see Šintić, 1994). In his opening speech, the Minister of the Interior, Ivan Jarnjak, discussed the balance between protecting the rights of individual citizens and protecting the interests of society at large. The democratization process has focused on five key concepts: depoliticization, demilitarization, professionalization, demystification, and downsizing (Kutnjak Ivković, 2000). However, the real process of democratization in the police force did not occur until the early 2000s.

The Period from 1995 to 2000: Transformation (Demilitarization and Professionalization) of the Police in the Postwar Period

Since the end of the war, or more precisely, since the establishment of the Croatian Army, the police have begun to adopt the characteristics of a traditional police organization, with priorities now shifting toward the prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, maintaining public order and peace, protecting people, places, and objects, and traffic control. The police have primarily focused on their law enforcement function and the punishment of lawbreakers, which can be classified as fitting Wilson’s *legalistic model of*

police performance (Champion & Rush, 1997). In this period, the police had a strong centralized command, served primarily to enforce the law, and their activities were almost exclusively reactive, while individual police officers had to follow a series of strict rules and orders (Cajner Mraović, Faber, & Volarević, 2003). This model, which was dominant until the late 1990s, changed little from year to year. Changes included the introduction of new specialized units and sections, while the primary characteristics of law enforcement, through the shift work of beat officers and rapid reactions to indications of criminal activity, remained the same. Prevention was performed exclusively through regular police patrols in specific areas. The work of the criminal police was also almost exclusively reactive. This model reinforced the repressive and controlling role of the police in society (Cajner Mraović et al.). In other words, the police played a “firefighting role” (Greiner, 1997), reacting only to events and the consequences of crime or violations of public order and peace, without investigating the causes.

Motivated by the desire to show effectiveness in controlling and suppressing criminal activities, the police exercised their authority extensively in respect of a large number of citizens, potentially violating fundamental human rights. Thus citizens, including those who had not broken the law, perceived the police as a repressive apparatus. Consequently, the level of trust in the police and cooperation between citizens and the police decreased.

The measures of police effectiveness during this period also indicated reliance on the traditional model for policing in Croatia. Police-generated crime statistics and other safety indicators made by the police were the only measures of effectiveness and the success of police work. Consequently police statistics become self-fulfilling and there were cases of abuse or fictional representations of statistics, aimed at highlighting the success of individual managers. There was no external validation of police work and the discrepancy between official police statistics and citizens’ subjective perceptions of safety started to widen.

Increasing problems, particularly in organized crime, demanded changes in the role of the police, especially the criminal police. The reform of

criminal legislation in 1998 introduced necessary changes in terms of police powers during criminal investigations—the police were granted the legal power to investigate a suspect in the presence of a defense attorney, and the power to conduct special inquiries (Pavišić, 2005). This led to the establishment of specialized police departments in charge of surveillance and phone-tapping, secret surveillance, undercover investigation, and other measures needed for the investigation of the most serious criminal offences (Dundović, 2009). Another act in the 1998 reforms which affected police work was the Juvenile Courts Act (*Zakon o sudovima za mladež*, 1997). This act prescribed those criminal cases involving juveniles should be conducted by specialist police officers, which resulted in the establishment of a new organizational unit and specialization course at the Police Academy. Consequently, the quality of policing in the area of juvenile delinquency and child protection has improved (Hirjan & Singer, 1998).

The Period from 2000 to the Present Day: Community-Oriented Policing

At the beginning of this century, essential structural and organizational changes were launched with the purpose of transforming the police from a traditional model to a community policing model.

In order to achieve the successful transformation of the police, from individual police officers to the organization as a whole, the process included six projects:

- 1.Reform of the uniformed police (Faber & Cajner Mraović, 2003)
- 2.Development and enhancement of crime prevention (Borovec, Balgač, & Karlović, 2011b)
- 3.Organization of prevention in local communities (Cajner Mraović, 2009a, 2009b)
- 4.Reform of public relations (Borovec, 2011)
- 5.Reform of the police education and professional development system (Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, 2004)
- 6.Internal democratization of the police (Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, 2009)

As the legal framework for these reforms, the 2000 Police Act (Veić, 2001) introduced some

changes, including the establishment of the General Police Directorate, headed by the General Police Director. This clearly expressed the professionalization of the office of the leading figure in the police force, separating it from the political leading function of the Minister of the Interior. It also enabled one person to manage the entire police force. Police investigations of organized crime and other complex forms of crime were centralized, but other police duties remained within the authority of police stations. The Act represented an innovation, because it contained provisions relating to community policing, which were new in Croatian police legislation. The new provisions encouraged cooperation between the police and the public, between the police and other stakeholders in the community, and the ability to create partnerships to achieve security. The beginnings of community policing in Croatia date back to 2003, when experts from the Ministry of the Interior developed a new strategy for police activities and launched its implementation. Organizationally, the new posts of “contact police officer” and “police officer for prevention” were introduced, representing the backbone of uniformed police reform (Faber & Cajner Mraović, 2003). Contact police officers have a permanent patrolling area, where they work in proactive, cooperative relationships with citizens and “key persons in the community”³ in order to observe and resolve problems in their area. Community policing was designed as a public service for citizens and emphasizes personal relationships between police officers and citizens. In order for citizens to feel safe, it is important for the police to respond quickly to incidents, but the knowledge that “their” police officer is nearby and knows them means a greater sense of security for citizens.

In addition, the police were given the opportunity to establish coordinating bodies, consist of representatives of both citizens and the police. Together, they identify problems in the community

³Key people in the community are primarily the principals/directors of educational institutions, owners of business facilities (stores, restaurants, bars, etc.) and responsible persons in various institutions and organizations in the area for which the contact police officer is responsible.

and highlight priorities for their resolution (Cajner Mraović, 2009a, 2009b). The first such bodies, known as Prevention Councils, were established in 2004, and since then a total of 167 have been established (Borovec et al., 2011b).

The reforms implemented during this period contributed to, among other things, the transparency and openness of the police. A clear indicator of this is the professionalization of the public relations service, its decentralization to the level of police administrations and the creation of the Public Relations Strategy (Borovec, 2011). In addition, the satisfaction of police officers with internal communications is becoming more and more important (Borovec, Balgač, & Karlović, 2011a).

Significant changes have occurred in relation to repressive and preventive policing. After a long preparation period, departments for prevention were established in 2010 at the national and the local levels, and became the main bearers of all preventive actions.

In 2001, a significant reorganization of the special police occurred, which led to the establishment of the intervention (riot) police. Twenty special police units were reduced to four, and most of the personnel were transferred to intervention police units responsible for securing large public gatherings and public order and peace, in cases of larger disturbances. It could be said that this reform completed the process of demilitarizing the police.

In August 2008, the Police National Office for the Suppression of Corruption and Organized Crime (PNUSKOK) was established, compatible with the organizational structure of the bodies of the General Attorney's Office responsible for the prosecution of corruption and organized crime (USKOK). PNUSKOK has an organizational unit at the national level, as well as four regional departments. These changes were needed, given that corruption represents a major social problem in Croatia (Šakić, Ivičić, & Franc, 2007). One of the most important advances is the adoption of the National Criminal Intelligence Model, which serves as a basis for developing the criminal intelligence system in Croatia, based on intelligence-led policing (ILP).

The Criminal Procedures Act of 2008 (*Zakon o kaznenom postupku*, 2008) introduced some changes relating to the manner and methodology of police work in the area of detecting the perpetrators of criminal offences. It introduced the function of police investigator and gave broader powers to prosecutors in managing criminal investigations (Pavišić, 2009). This Act, and the new organizational structure of the Criminal Police, enabled more efficient prosecutions of criminal offences in corruption and organized crime.

Current Trends in Policing

The picture of actual trends in the work and policing of the Croatian Police reveals a mixture of three policing models: the *Traditional Controlling Model* (Gluščić, 2011), *Community Policing Model* (Cajner Mraović et al., 2003; Cajner Mraović, 2001), and *ILP Model* (Gluščić, 2011; Brincka & Raguž, 2010). No single approach is predominant. In spite of the comprehensive reform process within the Croatian Police launched in 2003 aiming to transform the police into the Community Policing Model, features of the Traditional Police Model are still present today. Police activities and tasks are largely conducted in the traditional, authoritarian way, the police react after the event, and the number of criminal offences and misdemeanors solved is still the main criterion for police effectiveness. Police organization is centralized, and the authoritarian organizational culture is still dominant (Bakić-Tomić, 2003).

At the same time, there are many indications that the characteristics of the Community Policing Model are present in the work of the Croatian Police. This not only means the creation of new posts within the police, contact police officers, and police officers for prevention (Faber & Cajner Mraović, 2003), but many examples of specific cooperation between the police and the local community in resolving problems related to safety and the quality of life in general. All of this has contributed to the development of interactive relations, increasing the frequency of police contact with citizens in non-incident situations and

changing the ratio between reactive and proactive policing.

Proactive and preventive work by contact police officers is evident in many areas, mostly in child safety in traffic, the prevention of drug use, and the prevention of juvenile alcohol consumption. Contact police officers also initiate or participate in other areas, such as vandalism prevention, prevention of bullying and violence among juveniles, and protection of senior citizens. Various environmental protection activities should be mentioned, such as the removal of old car wrecks, lighting urban areas, and resolving the problem of stray dogs. Police officers' engagement in these kinds of activities suggests that they can recognize and resolve problems that are not traditionally under police jurisdiction, but which certainly affect the quality of life in a particular area. Also, contact police activities based on a situational crime prevention approach have not been neglected (Borovec et al., 2011b). These activities include the marking/registration of property (e.g., bicycles) to prevent theft and the installation of video surveillance in problematic neighborhoods or city areas. To improve communication with citizens, increase confidence in the police, and facilitate the collection of information from citizens in Zagreb, Rijeka, Vukovar, Novigrad, Drniš and Buje "confidential mailboxes"⁴ have been introduced as a new communication channel with citizens, allowing anonymity in reporting a problematic event, person or location.

Most projects initiated by crime prevention departments in Croatia are based on a situational crime prevention approach, for example, urban prevention projects in Zagreb (Borovec et al., 2011b) which include the relocation of newsstands to more visible, frequented areas, to prevent theft and robbery. Other situational crime prevention projects include preventing the theft of items from cars in large public car parks (Borovec et al.), and the reduction of bicycle theft by marking and registering bicycles (Naljepnicama

protiv krađe bicikala, 2011). All these projects are implemented locally, taking into account local needs and problems. In addition to situational crime prevention, prevention departments are engaged in other projects aimed at preventing drug use, juvenile violence, or domestic violence. Developmental prevention projects, addressing risks, and protecting the growth and development of children and youth, include "I know, can and will" (Borovec, 2009; Karlović, Vukosav, & Borovec, 2009), "Alcohol? No, thanks!" and others. A feature of these projects, initiated by the police, is partnership and cooperation with the local community and its administrative bodies. Thus, most projects are community based, which is another key feature of the Community Policing Strategy in Croatia.

In the past few years, the Public Relations Service, along with the structural changes previously mentioned (professionalization and decentralization), has demonstrated its effectiveness by conducting a series of public campaigns to promote safety in the community, for example, "Fewer weapons, fewer tragedies," "Live your life without violence," and "NENO—national register of missing persons." Internal communication has also improved with the launch of the "E-police Herald" (updated weekly). The monthly magazine "Peace, Respect and Trust" has a long tradition (until 2005, it was named "Halo 92").

It is worth noting that cooperation with the community is also accomplished through Crime Prevention Councils in local communities, in which police officers participate actively. Crime Prevention Councils are trying to revive the idea "that crime, public order and the safety of people and property are not just police issues, but issues affecting society in general, and that these issues can be resolved or reduced to an acceptable level only by engaging all the potential in the community" (Cajner Mraović et al., 2003: 78). This emphasizes not only the need to activate all the potential and resources of the police, but of society at large, by creating an adequate model for coordination and partnership between the police and other competent bodies, agencies and institutions, the media and individual citizens.

⁴"Confidential mailboxes" have been installed in visible places so that citizens can leave suggestions, complaints, or information important for police work, while remaining anonymous.

In addition to community partnerships, police work is also characterized by partnership with other police organizations in joint projects, not exclusively related to crime control. One such example is an original project launched by the Croatian Police, “A Safe Tourist Season” (started in 2006). Police officers from several European countries (Hungary, Austria, Slovakia, Czech Republic, France, Italy, Poland, Germany, Slovenia, and Serbia) come to Croatia during the summer months and patrol Croatian tourist resorts, working side-by-side with Croatian police officers. The quality of police communication with foreign tourists is ensured and exchange of data and information is improved. Foreign tourists can also count on the help of police officers from their own country. During 2010, 60 police officers from the European countries listed participated. The value of this project is recognized by INTERPOL, which is also involved in the project through its provision of operational and logistical support. This project is very important for Croatia, because tourism is one of the most significant economic sectors (every year, over ten million foreign tourists visit Croatia).

Another important segment of security in Croatia is private security. The Act on Private Protection (Dobranović & Mihaljević, 2008) emphasized that private protection activities must be primarily preventive. This means that security officers are only authorized to apply specific powers in exceptional cases, when they are unable to deflect a direct attack upon themselves or the persons or property they are protecting. In all other situations, the presence of a security officer is an indication that the protected area is under supervision, and in the primary prevention phase, reduces the motivation of potential perpetrators for any crime.

Private security is organized as a commercial activity, run by enterprises and small businesses that are mostly privately owned.⁵ Considering the great potential of private security in improving

safety, security companies should be, and in fact are, additional supports for the police. There are many examples of collaboration between the police and private security companies, most often in relation to securing public gatherings, particularly sporting events, concerts, etc. Such cooperation has been proved effective in tackling attempted bank robberies, for example, as the combination of private security and police activity, along with the physical and technical protection installed by financial institutions, particularly regarding the transportation of cash, has significantly reduced the number of bank robberies in (from 52 in 2005, to 8 in 2010), bureaux de change (from 19 in 2005, to 3 in 2010) and betting shops (from 203 in 2005 to 158 in 2010) (Buterin, 2010).

Finally, the Intelligence-Led Model has been present in the work of the Croatian police force since 2007 (Brincka & Raguž, 2010; Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova, 2007). ILP⁶ rests on two basic postulates:

- Police work is divided into three levels of operation—local, regional, and national.
- Directed information collection is the basis for ILP, resulting in strategic assessment, tactical assessment, descriptions of operatively interesting persons (profile of targets or aims), and descriptions of security features (profiles of problems).

The actual application of the ILP model in Croatia is reflected in the project model for solving crimes. Specifically, the Project plan has been prepared according to the defined priorities of criminal investigation. This plan includes all the available information on specific criminal offences, the available human, technical and operative resources, the specific allocation of tasks

⁵ According to data of Ministry of Interior’s Department for Inspections (authorized for issuing the licences) there are 281 registered private security companies and 29,411 licenced security guards.

⁶ ILP—is a business model and managerial philosophy which, by using modern IT for data analysis and crime-intelligence work, enables objective decision-making, which contributes to a reduction in crime and other problems and disorders, along with prevention through the strategic management and effective implementation of strategies that target multiple and serious offenders. ILP is directed toward education on modern policing, through raising awareness about proactive policing and the fuller implementation of the Intelligence-Led Policing Concept.

and the operational plan of measures and actions that need to be undertaken in particular criminal investigations, all with the aim of achieving the directed collection of criminal intelligence information necessary for the further prosecution of criminal offences.

It is difficult to assess to what extent each of these three policing models is represented in Croatian policing. While some branches of the police force operate on the traditional model (uniformed, border, and traffic police), others operate on the principles of the Community Policing Model (contact police officers, police officers for prevention), while the ILP Model has been implemented mostly in the work of the Criminal Police.

In the future, although these models will continue to dominate in the work of the police, their proportions will probably change. Based on the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of the Interior for 2012–2014, it should be expected that the traditional model will no longer be predominant, but that society's changing expectations will change police priorities, which will not be feasible without the cooperation and participation of the community. Building a society's public security infrastructure is not the sole responsibility of the police. Other community stakeholders, including well-meaning citizens, need to be involved. Therefore, it can be expected that community-oriented policing will assume a more important role. When it comes to crime control, as a fundamental police task, the ILP Model will become dominant and be integrated in police work at all levels.

The Police, the Media, and Public Opinion About the Police

Public opinion of the police is closely linked to the role of the police in the Homeland War. In contrast to other countries in transition, the Croatian Police enjoyed a great degree of trust, because of their defensive role (in other words, the police were perceived as providing protection from aggression). Many Croats joined the police force to participate in its defense tasks, since Croatia had no army at the time. After the war,

the Croatian Police had to deal with a significant number of police officers who participated in defensive tasks, but who had not been adequately trained for police duties in peacetime, and nonetheless wanted to continue serving as police officers. The postwar period was challenging for police managers, because the public expected a more rapid change toward democratic policing than the police force could achieve. Many police officers who were actively engaged in the Homeland War expected recognition of their service to be expressed through promotion, even though they did not possess the required knowledge and experience to perform those tasks. Media portrayals of police inefficiency were rife, citing cases of non-professionalism, corruption, abuse of power, and lack of integrity. The results of the International Survey of the Victims of Crime in former Yugoslavian countries in the early 1990s showed that the citizens of Croatia were frequently exposed to the corruption of police officials (Simeunović-Patić, 2002). Generally speaking, among the citizens of former Yugoslavia, Croats were the most satisfied with police performance, although two-thirds of victims who reported crimes expressed dissatisfaction with police reactions (Simeunović-Patić). It could be said that this was a period of mutual learning—citizens needed to learn about police powers and the police needed to learn how to perform their tasks in a democratic, accountable way.

The postwar period was characterized by the privatization of public goods and the advancement of individuals connected with the leading political structures, which resulted in negative attitudes and a lack of confidence in state institutions. "Major" criminal cases often resulted in changes in top police management circles, accompanied by political public statements on getting tough on crime and legislative changes to give the police more powers in crime control. Recently, we have seen the professionalization of police public relations, at the level of police administrations and the General Police Directorate (the appointment of spokespersons for the Ministry of the Interior and police administrations). Although other state institutions do not enjoy the trust of the general population, trust in the police is relatively

high, just behind trust in the Croatian Army, which tops the poll. The UNDP and Croatian Ministry of the Interior ordered research conducted by GfK, into citizens' perception of safety and security in the Republic of Croatia in 2009 (GfK, 2009). Along with issues regarding citizens' perception of safety and security, many questions were aimed at determining citizens' perception on policing (e.g., reporting crimes to the police, cooperation with the police, perception of police activities in their place of residence, perception of police efficiency in different areas, evaluation of police officers' conduct, sources of information about the police and policing, and level of trust in state institutions). According to the results, the perception and evaluation of the police was positive, generally speaking, Citizens think the police are most effective in preventing and exposing violence in public places, and least effective in preventing and exposing bribery and corruption. The shortage of police officers was seen as the greatest problem; more than half of the respondents said that the police inform the public objectively and regularly, and cited television as their main source of information about the police.

The Croatian media has had its own challenges in the process of democratization. The public vs. the private sector, ownership issues, competing for audiences, political pressure, or pressure exerted by media moguls; all of this has contributed to sensational journalism, especially in the areas of crime and policing. The perceived quality of the media is the central issue in terms of how far citizens trust the media. According to some expert studies (Peruško, 2006), the information media have declined in objectivity and reliability. It should be noted that the police and the media in Croatia have a common problem—how to gain citizens' trust.

Recent Trends in Research into Policing: The Specifics of Research into Police and Policing

In this section, empirical police research conducted in Croatia between 1995 and 2011 is presented. Crime statistics, police statistics (e.g., the

use of firearms), criminological research (e.g., the characteristics of criminal situations, the criminological characteristics of offenders and victims, unless the victims are police officers), the analysis of legal documents regarding police standards, case reports, and court decisions regarding individual police actions and procedures, are not included in this review.

Most notable is a body of research related to the characteristics of robbery or other crimes, and related police responses aimed at identifying perpetrators and solving crimes (e.g., Dujmović, 1998; Mikšaj-Todorović & Dujmović, 2000; Dujmović, Mikšaj-Todorović, & Buđanovac, 2002, 2003; Karas, 2004a). Based on police data on robbery ($N=345$ crimes), it was found that the rapid identification of perpetrators was related to whether the crime was committed outdoors, whether firearms were used, whether the perpetrator was masked, whether the damage exceeded HRK 5,000, whether an investigation was carried out, and whether the evidence was partial (Dujmović et al., 2002). Mikšaj-Todorović and Dujmović (2006) also identified the characteristics of larceny by coercion in the Zagreb area, as well as the length of time between the commission of the offence and police gaining knowledge of it. Karas (2004a) analyzed police and criminal investigation activities in all *in flagrante* cases within the Zagreb Police Directorate in 2003, while Gluščić (2001) published empirical data on house searches based on the Criminal Procedure Act and related police activities.

Dealing with the victims of crime, especially the victims of serious and sexual crimes, has been recognized as one of the most sensitive and important aspects of police work. Therefore, one field of research has aimed to study the different aspects of the relationship between the police and crime victims (Ljubin, 2004; Cajner Mraović, Cerjak, & Ivanušec, 2002; Pavliček, 2009; Kovčo Vukadin & Matić, 2011). Cajner Mraović et al. (2002) reported the results of a study of a convenient sample of women, on their expectations of police response in cases of victimization. They found that the majority of the women (83 %) said that they would report to the police if they were sexually assaulted, but only 44 % believed that

the police would succeed in arresting the perpetrators of sexual crimes. On the other hand, Pavliček (2009) studied a sample of male and female police detectives dealing with victims of sexual crimes ($N=75$) and found that they underestimated the probability of secondary victimization due to improper handling by the police. He also found that, in dealing with victims, police detectives displayed no differences related to their age, gender, level of education, or policing experience. He concluded that formal standards in police dealing with sexual crime victims are needed in order to improve good practice. Kovčo Vukadin and Matić (2011) also studied basic principles for dealing with victims of crime, but in a convenient sample of police officers attending victimology course, and found differences related to years of professional experience. Some gender differences were found in experimental research done by Ljubin (2004). She found that male students studying at the Police College were significantly more likely than female students to attach blame to rape victims, but there were no gender differences in terms of believing the victims.

Several studies were carried out in order to gather information for the creation of new curricula, improving the quality of police training, and strategic planning of priorities in both police cadet training and in-service training. Pavliček, Ljubin Golub, and Dundović (2009) analyzed the frequency of tasks performed by the uniformed police, based on a sample provided by the Assistant Commanders of uniformed police in all police stations in Croatia and heads of departments. The results showed that the most frequent uniformed police tasks, performed on a daily or weekly basis in Croatia include writing up documentation, verifying the identity of persons and objects, serving summons, rulings and other documents, establishing traffic offences, responding to calls related to disturbances to public order, verifying addresses of residence, securing crime scenes, inspecting means of transportation, issuing warnings and orders, interventions in line with the Act on Protection from Domestic Violence, and carrying out individual examinations. Pavliček, Ljubin Golub, and Kondor Langer

(2011) researched the characteristics of committing the criminal offences of murder and the attempted murder of police officers, placing special emphasis on the characteristics of the victims and the perpetrators, in order to identify the risk factors which lead to the commission of such crimes. They discussed their findings in the light of designing preventive measures, including the education of police officers, which could reduce the number of police officers killed and injured in the line of duty. Given the importance of firearms training for police officers, Maršić, Ljubin, and Britvec (2008) carried out an experimental study aimed at evaluating firearms training, comparing two training methods for teaching safety in handling firearms on a sample of police students. They found that the method which teaches basic rules in the first stage of learning is more effective than the comparative method of learning in terms of safety. Pleša-Bosnar, Marić, and Šerović (2002) investigated the opinions of police college students on physical training courses, in order to gain insights into the benefits and shortcomings of the curricula.

One part of the research targeted public and police perception on misconduct in Croatia, and factors related to police misconduct. An empirical study of police integrity was conducted on a representative sample of Croatia police officers and college students by Kutnjak Ivković from the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Florida State University, USA, in cooperation with Croatian researchers (Kutnjak Ivković, Cajner-Mraović, & Ivanušec, 2004; Kutnjak Ivković, Cajner-Mraović, Klockars, & Ivanušec, 2002; Kutnjak Ivković, 2010). They found that students at the University of Zagreb thought that police officers would evaluate cases of police misconduct less seriously than they (the students) would, and that police officers would be less likely to report them than they (the students) would. The students did not expect the police authorities to discipline police officers who engaged in misconduct. Similar research on deviant police behavior, using a hypothetical scenario on a sample of police cadets ($N=118$), was carried out by Ljubin and Grubišić-Ilić (2002). The authors found that people who readily accepted the values

of a police culture (e.g., hyper-masculinity, the code of silence, rejection of women police officers) were more lenient toward offenders, and this bias was more pronounced when the offender was a police officer. The acceptance of a police culture was associated positively with authoritarianism and aggression.

A body of research conducted by Karas (2004b, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011) concerning the legal aspects of police activities uses the methodology of quantitative analysis of court files, criminal record files, or secondary statistical data. In 2004 (Karas, 2004b), he analyzed the European Court of Human Rights decisions rendered between 2000 and 2002, especially regarding violations committed by internal affairs bodies. In other research (Karas, 2006), he examined cases between 1998 and mid-2004 ($N=416$) in which the lawfulness of evidence collected by police was challenged, and found that evidence collected by police was found unlawful in approximately 14 % of cases, with most violations involving illegal searches (81 %) and narcotics (64 %). He also explored the relationship between the police and investigating judge in the process of gathering evidence during pretrial proceedings (Karas, 2008a, 2011), and found that only a very small part of the crime scene investigation was carried out by the investigating judge (<1 %), and no connection was established between his presence and the effectiveness of the subsequent solving of the crime. He also researched the decisions of the Supreme Court determining the admissibility of evidence in the period from 1999 to 2005 ($N=355$), and found that 48 % of police inquiries were not excluded, while the facts they revealed were admitted in court (Karas, 2008b). Recently, he analyzed cases of mistaken eyewitness identifications in line-ups and gathered files on ten known cases, reported from police units in Croatia between 2000 and 2010 (Karas, 2011). In line with this methodology, Kokot (2009) analyzed 20 cases from court practice, in which it was not clear who the driver was at the time of an accident, in order to present descriptive statistics for the purpose of standard operating procedures in everyday work.

The perception of police efficiency and the characteristics of police officers were also inves-

tigated. A national public opinion poll on citizens' perception of safety and security was published by the Ministry of the Interior and the UNDP in 2009 (the survey was done by GfK, 2009). A representative sample of adult citizens ($N=4,500$) was interviewed, either by telephone or in their own homes. The primary goals were to determine their perception of safety, security, and police procedures in their place of residence, and to obtain information on citizen contacts with the police. Research was also carried out on smaller, more specific samples (e.g., Radetić-Paić, Ružić Baf, & Opašić, 2010) along with research into attitudes regarding police prevention (Karlović et al., 2009). While it is crucial to ascertain the public perception of the police, it is also valuable to know how the police perceive themselves. Karlović (2008) investigated the attitudes of 300 police officers in the Zagreb County Police Administration, regarding traditional and community policing styles, and found that police leaders had more positive attitudes toward "police and citizen cooperation/partnerships and police education" and more negative attitudes toward "hierarchical relationships in organization." One line of research was concerned with stress in the police force (Kozarić-Kovačić, Grubišić-Ilić, & Ljubin, 1998), while others have shown an interest in communication patterns in policing (Bakić-Tomić, 2003; Bakić-Tomić, Foy, & Plenković, 1999, 2003). Bakić-Tomić (2003) has conducted a correlation transversal study of police officers in executive positions ($N=311$) and found that communication profiles are better among those educated at the Police Academy than those educated in civilian institutions. She also found some gender and age differences in communication profiles. Borovec et al. (2011a) studied job satisfaction and internal communication patterns in a stratified sample of police officers ($N=1,325$). They found that 79 % of subjects reported that they were satisfied with their jobs, while 62 % were satisfied with internal communications. They also studied several components of internal communications and found that the subjects reported high satisfaction with internal communications between colleagues, while they were somewhat less satisfied with communication during meetings and the availability of

information on organizational changes. Similarly, Rubeša, Zidar, Pleše-Bosnar, and Ribičić (2003) produced a preliminary report on the influence of the policing profession on the officers' quality of family life.

A group of authors published a number of papers related to the physical condition and health of police officers and also proposed physical education programs for police officers (e.g., Rubeša & Zidar, 1998; Rubeša, Zidar, & Vukosav, 1999, 2000; Rubeša, Zidar, & Ribičić, 2003).

Forensic police research has been conducted into the possibilities of using fingerprint powders for developing latent fingerprints on wet, nonporous smooth surfaces (Kolar-Gregorić & Ostojić, 2009). Experiments revealed that the procedure for developing fingerprints on wet surfaces by applying a fingerprint powder brush gave satisfactory results.

Overall, in the period from 1995 to 2011, there have been several lines of police research in Croatia. Studies have been conducted from different scientific viewpoints, often using an interdisciplinary approach, thus demonstrating new interest in the development of this field of research.

Concluding Remarks

This overview of the development of the Croatian police force is a clear testimony to the specific circumstances of its development, beginning with the declaration of Croatian independence. The process of transition from a Communist to a democratic regime was exacerbated by the experience of war, since the role of the Croatian Police, at the very time of its creation, was primarily defensive. The development of democratic policing went hand in hand with the pace of development of democracy in the country as a whole. As an element of the criminal justice system in a country in transition, the police could not develop any faster or slower than the other parts of the criminal justice system and the state. Although the history of the Croatian Police spans a relatively short time-frame, it shows a number of reforms directed toward the development of democratic principles and strengthening the rule of law.

Some reforms have remained at the level of political rhetoric, but many have been implemented. The main reasons for abandoning certain reform ideas or objectives can be attributed to the lack of a united vision on the part of the key stakeholders within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as political changes in the government of the country. In addition to the Strategy of Community Policing, the Strategy for Reforming the Human Resources Management System for the period 2009–2011 has been adopted. Strengthening the effectiveness and motivation of police officers was the main goal of this strategy, which was the result of an EU Twinning Project.

In 2012, another strategy was adopted: the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of the Interior and Other Institutions for Functional Protection and Rescue for the period 2012–2014. This strategy has two principal aims: (1) to reduce the risk of criminal conduct and (2) reduce the consequences of accidents and natural disasters. In terms of the first goal, the following specific objectives have been listed: (1) improving the prevention and suppression of criminal conduct, (2) enhancing crime prevention, (3) improving road traffic safety, (4) strengthening border, air traffic, and maritime security, (5) improving administrative services to citizens, and (6) enhancing cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior in the area of international security.

There is no doubt that reforms will be an ongoing topic in the Croatian police force. Some phrases that have been repeatedly emphasized as the key objectives of these reforms—depoliticization, professionalism, transparency, integrity, and accountability, continue to represent constant challenges for the Croatian Police.

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Policing in the Czech Republic: Evolution and Trends

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Introduction

The Czech Republic (further CR) is a landlocked country situated in Central Europe. From a geographic point of view, the CR's neighboring countries are Poland in the north, Germany in the west, Austria in the south, and Slovakia in the East. All neighboring countries are members of the European Union (further EU) and part of the Schengen Area. They are also members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (further NATO), except the neutral Austria which is involved in the Partnership for Peace Program. The Czech Republic is a pluralist multiparty parliamentary representative democracy, with the Prime Minister as the head of government. The Parliament is bicameral, with the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. In 2000, the CR was divided into 13 regions and the Capital of Prague. The CR population is 10.5 million inhabitants.

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The development in the Czech Republic from 1990 to 2011 can be described as rich in essential social changes. Since the fall of the communist regime in 1989, substantial changes have impacted political, economic, and social arrangement of the Czech society. These changes have also fundamentally affected the organizational structure of the Police of the Czech Republic (further PCR), its position in society, its mission and the spectrum of the tasks it fulfils. The following chapter will briefly outline the principal changes characterizing the period of the last 20 years, as well as the way how they influenced the current PCR. Moreover, possible trends of future development will be drafted.

Main Events in the Czech Republic in the Last 20 Years Which Have Influenced Policing

The development of the Police Forces and the range of the policing carried out in the CR during the last 20 years have been affected by social changes taking place in this period of time. The first and the most significant event was the fall of the communist regime in 1989. The following events have substantially marked the current form of the PCR, the policing and the overall security situation (climate, atmosphere) in Czechoslovakia, later on in CR and in the Slovak Republic. On 29 March 1990, the name of the country was changed from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (further CSSR) into the Czechoslovak Federal

Republic (further CSFR). On 23 April 1990, the Republic was renamed again the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The federal state consisting of two republics was peacefully split at the end of the year 1992. On 1 January 1993, two new independent states, CR and SR, started to exist. After splitting the former Czechoslovakia, new era of stable environment commenced in which both states started to independently modify their own Police Forces.

Another milestone in the modern history of the CR was its gradual integration into international organizations, including the security ones. This process culminated by the admission of CR into the NATO on 12 March 1999. Joining NATO newly defined the security of CR and, at the same time, the membership itself resulted in international commitments which, however, primarily concerned the mission and tasks of the Czech Armed Forces. As a result of the Slovak Republic joining NATO on 21 November 2002, CR is surrounded by neighboring countries that are NATO member states and Austria which, in spite of its neutrality, is integrated into the Partnership for Peace NATO Program.

As far as the direct impact on PCR is concerned, another event was of high significance—joining the structures of the European Union (further EU). Joining EU resulted in gradual enlargement of international cooperation with other police authorities of EU member states. Another landmark was the full integration of CR into the Schengen Cooperation on 21 December 2007, when border checks of the countries integrated into this cooperation ceased to be carried out. Geographically, the CR borders with the countries which are included in this cooperation. Since 2007, it has been possible to enter the CR from the non-Schengen Area only at the following airports: Prague-Ruzyně, Brno-Tuřany, Ostrava-Mošnov, Pardubice, and Karlovy Vary.

Police of the Czech Republic

By the year 1989, policing was carried out by the Public Security which was a part of the National Police Forces of the CSSR. These Forces were a

part of the Federal Ministry of Interior of the CSSR and further they were organizationally incorporated into the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Socialist Republic. After the events of 1989, a structural change took place in 1991 when the Federal Police Forces were established with powers on the whole territory of the former Federal Republic. The previous tasks of the National Police Forces were taken over by the components of PCR and the Police of the Slovak Republic.

After dividing CSFR into two independent states—CR and SR—the Federal Ministry of Interior was dissolved. Its tasks were handed over to PCR and the Police of SR. From 1 January 1993 on, police tasks in CR have been performed by PCR. It is worth mentioning that within the process of splitting the former CSFR, the main activities of the Police Forces were managed without serious problems, which significantly helped keep interior stability of both newly established states.

From the viewpoint of territorial division, a new opportunity to establish municipal police bodies came into existence in 1991. These are local security bodies which are being voluntarily established by municipality (community or city). By 30 November 2008, 349 municipal police bodies had been established, in which approximately 8,800 police officers were serving (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2009). The powers of these police officers are built on the local basis and they provide additional security services on the territory of the land registry of the municipality that has established them. The powers of municipal, or more precisely metropolitan police, are considerably limited in comparison with PCR. They primarily consist in coordination and cooperation.

Key Legislative Issues

Changes in the Constitution of CSFR and consequently in the Constitution of CR can be considered as key legislative changes. Constitutional changes in the period of time between 1990 and

1992 mirrored the social development of that time, the recognition of private property, the transition to the market mechanism of economy and more active integration into international relations. These changes resulted in a significant transformation of PCR and other armed forces in CR. In 1993, the position and role of PCR was defined in the Constitution of CR. What is typical for the newly established CR is its constitutional law and significant and real permanence. From this, legislatively stable conditions for the activities of PCR ensue. Another decisive milestone for the policing of PCR was the split of the former CSFR. Immediately after it, the current Constitution of CR started to be valid. Since 1993, it has been gradually amended as follows:

- In 1997: establishing higher local self-governing units of CR (Zákon č. 273/2008 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008)
- In 1999: joining the NATO¹
- In 2001: integration of the Czech National Bank into the system of European Economic Area²
- In 2004: joining the European Union³

In accordance with the current legislative definition, PCR is the security institution of CR whose main task is to protect the security of individuals, and property and to enforce public order, prevent criminal acts, and to protect human rights and freedom. PCR was founded according to

¹Amendment of the Constitution of CR by Constitutional Law No. 300/2000, The Czech Republic joined NATO in the so-called “first wave of the NATO enlargement,” together with Hungary and Poland. The amendment was related to legislative handling of the process of sending the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic outside the territory of CR, to the residence of Allied Forces on the territory of CR and to CR participation in defense systems of international organizations. It was also connected with the distribution of competences between the Government of CR and the Parliament of CR concerning sending and receiving armed forces on the territory of CR.

²Amendment of the Constitution of CR by Law No. 448/2001, stating more precisely the conditions of stability of prices in connection with the activity of the Czech National Bank, within the European Community and the activity of European system of central banks.

³Amendment of the Constitution of CR by the so-called Euro-Amendment, from October 2003, adjusting CR joining EU.

Law No. 283/1991 Sb., *on the Police of the Czech Republic* (Zákon č. 283/1991 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008). The main tasks of the PCR at that time were in particular tasks related to the protection of personal security, property, and public order (in case of breaking it to take measures to restore it). Other main tasks of PCR were to detect criminal acts, to protect state borders and to protect constitutional officials and buildings of special importance. Also since 1991, anti-terrorist concept has been enforced.

The current position of the PCR is defined by Law No. 273/2008, concerning *the Police of the Czech Republic* (Zákon č. 273/2008 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008) which came into force on 1 January 2009. The existing version also specifies the PCR primary tasks as follows: to safeguard security of individuals and property and to maintain public order. In comparison with the original version of the Law on PCR from 1991 (Zákon č. 283/1991 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008), a high degree of the alignment with other laws concerning security of individuals, property, and public is apparent. The Law also defines the rights of a detained person, cooperation of PCR with the elements of rescue system, and other subjects of the security system of the CR. The Law on PCR is aligned with the following laws:

- Law No. 361/2003, concerning *Employment Relationship of Security Force Members*, as amended by Law No. 341/2011, from 6 November 2011
- Law No. 99/1963, *Civic Legal Code*, as amended by Law No. 218/2011, from 1 September 2011
- Law No. 40/2009, *Penal Code*, as amended by Law No. 357/2011, from 1 January 2012
- Law No. 200/1990, concerning *Offences*, as amended by Law No. 199/2010, from 1 January 2011
- Law No. 326/1999, concerning *Residence of Foreigners on the Territory of CR*, as amended by Law No. 379/2007, from 5 December 2007
- Law No. 500/2004, *Administrative Code*, as amended by Law No. 413/2005, from 1 July 2009
- Law No. 361/2000, concerning *the Traffic on Ground Communications*, as amended by Law No. 341/2011, from 6 November 2011

As far as the PCR activity and territorial structure is concerned, key definition is given in Law No. 347/1997, about *establishing higher local self-governing units*. According to this law, changes in territorial division of CR were carried out with effect from 1 January 2000 (Zákon č. 347/1997 Sb., o vytvoření vyšších územních samosprávných celcích, 2011). Eight regions were established that from the territorial point of view correspond to individual territorial regions. The Capital Prague is considered to be a separate region. The new division of territorial structure of the CR required corresponding changes in PCR structure, i.e., in the number of regional directorates. This territorial arrangement is further specified by Law No. 192/2003, about *courts and judges* (Zákon č. 192/2003 Sb., kterým se mění zákon č. 6/2002 Sb., o soudech, soudcích, přísedících a státní správě soudů a o změně některých dalších zákonů (zákon o soudech a soudcích), ve znění pozdějších předpisů, zákon č. 283/1993 Sb., o státním zastupitelství, ve znění pozdějších předpisů, a některé další zákony, 2008). In line with this law, the competences of individual courts are defined. Based on the new organizational structure, 14 district directorates identical with territorial areas of higher local self-governing units have been founded in total since 1 January 2010.

Organization and Functions of the Police of the Czech Republic

The Police of CR is a homogeneous armed security force set up according to the Law of the Czech National Council from 21 June 1991. It serves to the public and its task is to protect the security of

individuals and property, to enforce public order, and to prevent criminal acts. It also fulfils tasks according to the Penal Code and other tasks in the area of internal order and security defined by laws and regulations of the European Communities and international agreements which are parts of legal law of the CR. In accordance with valid legislation, it is possible for PCR to perform tasks also outside the territory of CR. The structure and organization of PCR is adjusted to the type of activities they perform.

Structure and Organization of the Police of the Czech Republic

The PCR is an armed force subordinated to the Ministry of Interior of CR. To perform police tasks, PCR is organizationally divided into formations/units and elements with regional competence and units and institutions with the republic-wide competence. Organizational structure is shown in Fig. 1.

Police Presidium

Governing body of PCR is the Police Presidium headed by the Police President who is appointed to the office by the Ministry of Interior. The Police President is responsible for policing to the Minister. However, the Minister has not the competences for his potential appeal. Organizational structure of the Police Presidium is shown in Fig. 2.

Activities of the PCR are governed by the Police Presidium headed by the Police President. Units with republic-wide competence and regional police directorates are subordinated to the Police Presidium. Units with republic-wide competence are established by the Minister of

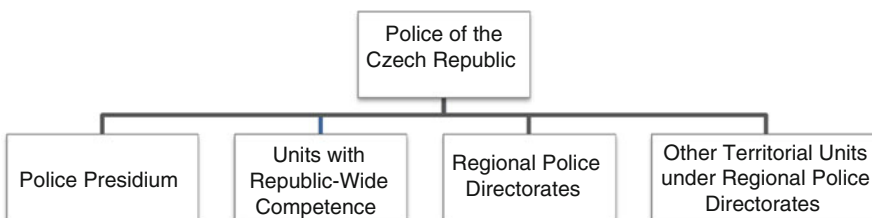


Fig. 1 Organizational structure of the Police of the Czech Republic source (Source: Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2012)

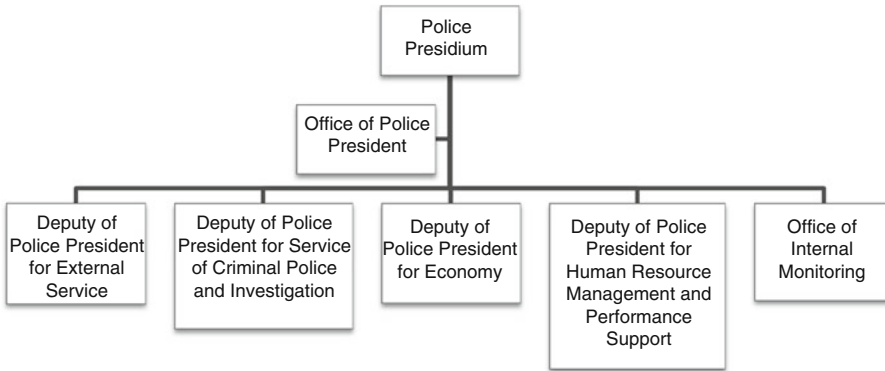


Fig. 2 Organizational structure of the Police Presidium (Source: Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010f)

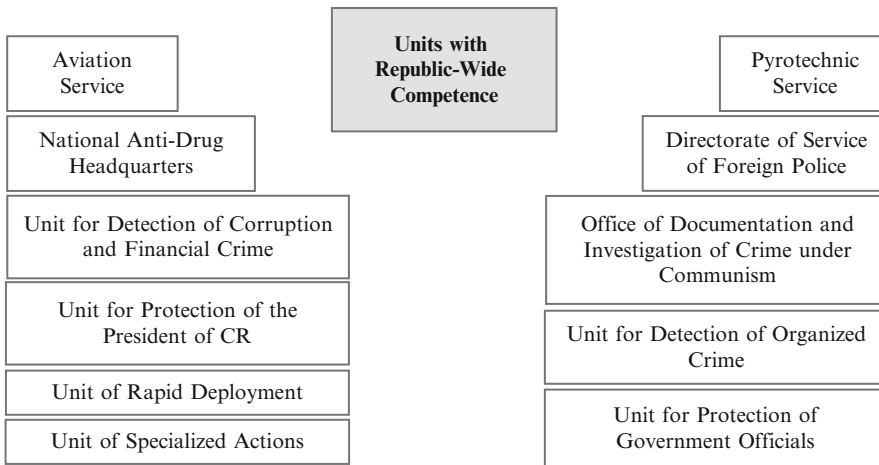


Fig. 3 Organizational structure of the units with republic-wide competence of the Police of the Czech Republic (Source: Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010f)

Interior following the proposal of the Police President. The Police Presidium defines the goals of police development, designs the concept of its organization and management and specifies the tasks for individual services of the PCR. The Police Presidium also analyzes and inspects policing, creates conditions to police units for performing their tasks, and coordinates their activities when they fulfil the tasks which go beyond their territorial or factual competence.

Units with Republic-Wide Competence

The following services operate within the PCR: Service of Riot Police/Law Enforcement Police,

Service of Traffic Police, Service of Foreign/Alien Police, Aviation Service, Pyrotechnic Service, Protection Service, Service of Criminal Police and Investigation, and other specialized services. Units with republic-wide competence perform specific tasks on the whole territory of state. Some of them provide a special service to other police units, others are specialized for instance for the detection of organized crime, corruption, or serious financial crime. They also combat drug-related crime or ensure protection of the President of the Republic or other Government officials. Organizational structure of the units with republic-wide competence is shown in Fig. 3.

Regional Police Directorates

Both the structure and organization of PCR are divided into units with republic-wide competence, regional directorates, and units established within regional directorates. On the regional level, the structure of PCR corresponds with territorial division, i.e., there are 14 regional directorates and territorial districts are identical with territorial districts of higher local self-governing units (Zákon č. 273/2008 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008).

Regional directorates are units with territorially defined competence. They serve the public on certain territory and they represent independent state organizational units. The police independently manage the state budget funds for performing the tasks. It is possible to establish other territorial units operating within the regional directorates that are subordinated to them. Such units are established by the Police President following the proposal submitted by the Regional Director. They exist in the capital Prague and in other cities.

General Inspection of Security Forces

The task of the Inspection of PCR, directly subordinated to the Ministry of Interior of the CR, was to search, estimate, and verify facts suggesting criminal acts within the Ministry of Interior. This Inspection was canceled on 1 January 2012, when Law No. 341/2011 (Zákon č. 341/2011 Sb., o Generální inspekci bezpečnostních sborů a o změně souvisejících zákonů, 2011), on the *General Inspection of Security Forces and Amending Related Laws* came into force. Thus, by this law the only body responsible for searching, detecting, and screening of potential criminal acts of a PCR member or employee, customs officer, member of CR Prison Service, or a member of the inspection was established. Neither military nor civilian employees of the Czech Armed Forces are included into the competences of the General Inspection Security Forces.

From the viewpoint of the classification of its position, the General Inspection of Security Forces is a CR Security Force. It is headed by the Inspection Director who is appointed and

dismissed by the Prime Minister, based on the proposal of the Government and factual discussion of the relevant committee of the Chamber of Deputies. Within its activities, the General Inspection cooperates with all CR armed and security forces, along with other public authorities and private sphere.

Numbers of Police Force

There have been significant personnel changes in both security and armed forces after 1989. The changes have also affected the number of Police Force members and civilian employees, together with numbers of firemen, within the Ministry of Interior CR. Since the 90s of the previous century, the number of Police Force has been gradually decreased. The PCR number was approximately on the same level from 2000 to 2007. Since 2008, the number has been decreasing; at the beginning of 2011, there were 41 thousands of members in service and 9.4 thousands of civil staff in PCR. In terms of percentage representation, the ration of firemen and police officers is constantly balanced, see Fig. 4.

It is assumed that the gradually declining trend will continue also in the year 2012. Since 1 January 2012, PCR should have less than 39 thousands of police officers. What can be considered as certain disadvantage of this decreasing trend is that no recruitment is conducted simultaneously with the reductions. The reason is obvious—it is necessary to keep the fund limit for wages (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010a).

Development of Crime Rate During the Last 20 Years

The development of the crime rate has undergone substantial changes since 1989. Up to 1989, it was compulsory to be employed. This was considered as one of the decisive factors contributing to minimizing the crime rate. In 1989 the regime was changed and since this year, the crime rate has grown significantly. The increasing crime

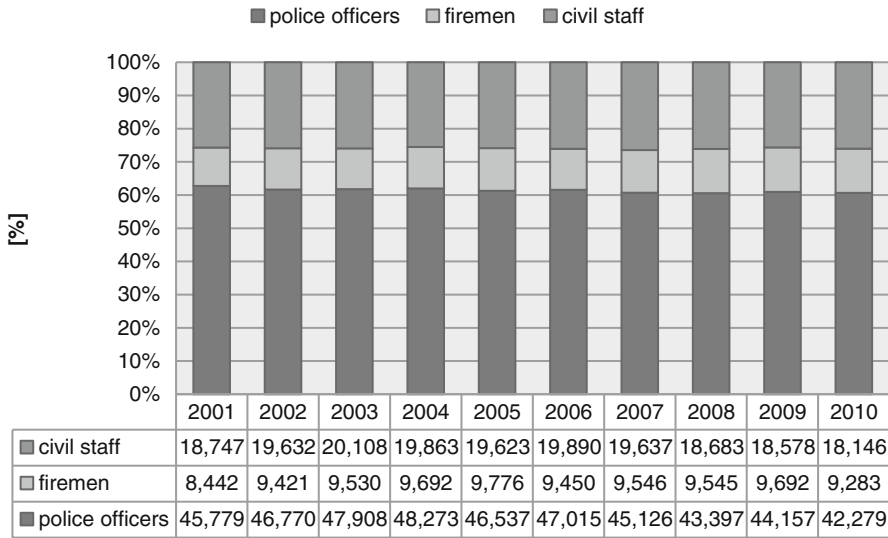


Fig. 4 Personnel numbers of the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (police officers, firemen and civil staff) (Source: Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, Personnel Department, 2012). Note: All numbers are valid to 31 December of every year

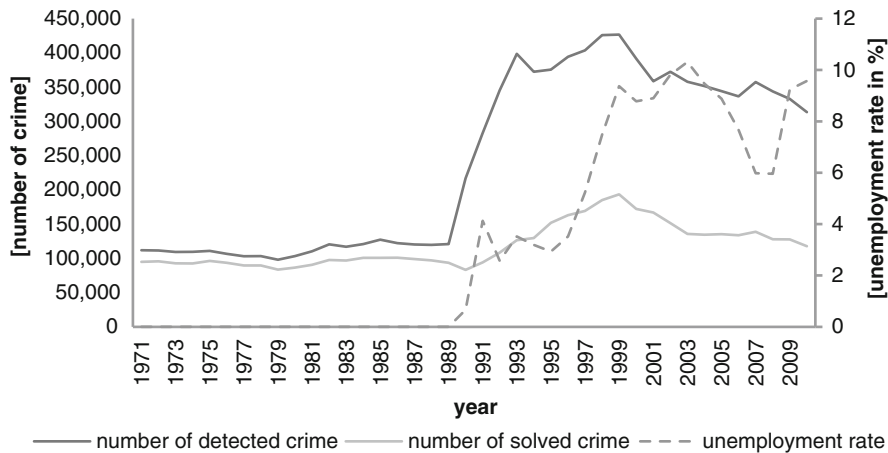


Fig. 5 Development of the number of detected and solved crimes and unemployment rate in Czech Republic from 1971 to 2010 (Source: Czech Statistical Office, 2012; Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2012)

rate got stable from 1998 to 1999. Since the year 2000, the crime rate has been gradually decreasing. What can be perceived positively is the increasing of overall detection of cases which accompanied the period of robust growth of crime. The development of crime and detection from the period of time between 1971 and 2012 is illustrated in Fig. 5.

Generally, the tendency of crime development is similar to the tendency within EU. As far as the number of homicides for 100,000 inhabitants is

concerned, CR occupies the fifth position in EU (Eurostat, 2012).

Training and Educational System of the Police of the Czech Republic

Both training and education can be considered as one of the priorities of Human Resources within the Ministry of Interior. This fact can be illustrated on the overall development of changes in

the educational system of the Ministry of Interior. In spite of gradual decrease in the number of training and educational facilities, the general ability in this area is usually maintained.

The training and educational system is currently managed by the Department of Security Research and Police Education in close cooperation with the Department of Education of the Police Presidium of the CR. The target group is about 40,000 police officers.

Changes in Educational System

When PCR was established, the Ministry of Interior possessed the Educational Institute in Veltrusy, in addition to secondary vocational schools of the Corps of National Security in Prague, Brno, Pardubice, and Jihlava. After the formation of PCR, they were transformed into secondary police schools of the Ministry of Interior in Prague, Brno, Pardubice, and Jihlava. The Federal Ministry of Interior had a Secondary School of Border Guards and the Ministry of Interior CR Forces.

After the splitting of Czechoslovakia, the federal schools on the CR territory were taken over by the Ministry of Interior of the CR. Thus the new secondary police schools were formed in Prague 6—Ruzyně and Holešov, the Ministry of Interior Language Institute⁴ and the PCR Training Centre. From 1993 to 1994 only two secondary police schools worked shortly—one of them in Prague (with a branch in Prague—Ruzyně) and the second one in Brno (with branches in Jihlava, Holešov, and Pardubice). In 1993 the PCR Training Centre was dissolved and included into the Secondary Police School in Prague—Hrdlořezy. The Educational Institute of the Ministry of Interior of the CR was closed in the same year and its tasks were taken over by the Police Academy of CR. Between 1995 and 1997, the Secondary Police School of the Ministry of Interior of the CR existed in Balková.

From 2007 to 2008, the secondary police schools were transformed into higher vocational or combined schools. The following schools were thus formed: the Higher Police School and Secondary Police School of the Ministry of Interior of the CR in Prague 9—Hrdlořezy,⁵ the Higher Police School, the Higher Police School in Jihlava, the Higher Police School in Pardubice, and the Higher Police School and Secondary Police School in Holešov. Only the school in Prague—Ruzyně was transformed into the School and Functional Facility in Prague 6—Ruzyně. For certain period of time, civil students were also allowed to enroll to the secondary police schools into 4-year courses ended by school-leaving exam. At present the schools, together with school police centers of regional police units, focus almost exclusively on the training of new members and on further education of the Ministry of Interior employees.

The educational system of the Ministry of Interior of the CR includes also a university. However, at the time of establishing PCR within the Ministry of Interior, there was no police university, since the only police university in the history—the University of the Corps of the National Security in Prague 4—Lhotka with faculties in Prague and Bratislava (earlier also in Holešov) was canceled without compensation on 30 July 1990. The closing of the police university providing the highest levels of education was later reconsidered and on 29 May 1992, the Police Academy was formed in Prague 4—Lhotka; at that time in the competence of the Federal Ministry of Interior. Unlike the University of the Corps of National Security, it was not divided into faculties and it offered only a comprehensive undergraduate course—in current terminology this would mean the Bachelor's Study Program.

After the splitting of the CSFR, the former University of the Corps of National Security in Prague 4 was transferred and got subordinated to the Ministry of Interior CR. Its official name is the Police Academy of CR. According to the present

⁴The Language Institute of the Ministry of Interior of the CR was canceled on 1 January 1998.

⁵Since 1 October 2010 renamed Higher Police School of the Ministry of Interior of the CR in Prague.

Higher Education Act, it belongs, together with the University of Defense, to the category of state universities, alongside public and private schools. Both of these state schools offer study programs normally accredited by the Accreditation Committee of the CR. Their internal structure and organization corresponds to the requirements for other universities in CR. All their activities are in accordance with the Law No. 111/1998, about *universities*. The Police Academy of CR currently provides also Master's and Doctoral Study Programs. It consists of two faculties, the Faculty of Security and Law and the Faculty of Security Management. Since 2012 it has also had the accreditation for habilitation procedure. All police schools have always been outside force structure and subordinated directly to the Minister of Interior.

What can be perceived positively is the coherence of theory and practice. Under these conditions, the Minister of Interior has the power to summon the police to carry out the tasks not only at the Ministry of Interior but also at the Police Academy of the CR or at school or school facility which are not an organizational part of PCR (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010d).

System of Training and Education

The system of training and education is the backbone of well-functioning police. From this reason, the emphasis is put on practical preparation of newly recruited police officers. The police officers who are recruited to serve in law enforcement, railway, transport, immigration police, eventually in protection service, are required to undergo basic training. This is focused on professional knowledge and skills, as well as the abilities and attitudes of police officers. The basic training is currently divided into theoretical and practical parts (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010g).

For high school graduates with diploma, the basic training takes 9 months. For law-oriented university graduates, this basic training is shortened to 10-week training conducted in the so-called

combined form. This means in practice that the trainees combine their school attendance with their duties in the unit. The university graduates from other universities than law-oriented are trained similarly; however, the length of their training is 12 weeks. For further professional training of police officers, a system of long-life educational courses has been designed.

What is generally emphasized in the training system is communication skills, improving legal awareness, mental resistance, and improving skills in the use of force and service weapons. Every year, police officers have to undergo 120 hours of service training, along with passing the tests of firearms training, fitness training, and use of force training (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010d).

Another factor that has also to certain extent affected the system of training and education is the abolition of conscription and full professionalization of the armed forces. Since that time, certain percentage of new PCR members is recruited from people who have not undergone the conscription and thus they acquire their first experience with armed forces just with PCR.

Essential Changes in Approaches and Activities of PCR Over the Past 20 Years

Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic

Throughout its existence, the Police of CR has been subordinated to the Ministry of Interior of CR which participates in the provision of policing and sometimes it directly performs police tasks. With the formation of the PCR, the Ministry of Interior designed an entirely new concept of the departments of the Police Force. In the past, it always applied that on the highest level, the structures of the Police Forces and the structures of the Ministry of Interior were practically identical. The Law on the PCR clearly states that the Police consist of units that are not integral parts of the Ministry of Interior. Nevertheless, in contrast with smaller and more specialized security forces

(e.g., Prison Service), it was not simple within Ministry of Interior to separate policing and to transfer it exclusively to the Police, since policing has always been the main activity of the Ministry of Interior; the similar applies to the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces. A similar approach was implemented in the Slovak Police Force; though unlike in the Czech Police, lots of police tasks have been carried out up to now by the Ministry of Interior Units. On the contrary, the Federal Police Force has been hardly affected by this process.

The Ministry of Interior of the CR is led by the Minister, to whom the particular deputies are subordinated. The Ministry consists of departments whose directors are subordinated either to the Minister, or to one of his/her deputies. Since the beginning of its existence on 1 January 1969, the Czech Ministry of Interior was divided into security and civil administration sections. Apart from these sections, from 1988 there was the Main Administration of Fire Protection Corps (originally part of security section), which was transferred under the competence of the Minister for Local Economy and Fire Protection in 1991. Later on it was transferred, rather unsystematically, to civil administration section. Each Deputy of the Minister was responsible for either security or civil administration section, while, depending on concrete period of time, more deputies could have functioned in one section. Department Chiefs of Security Section were subordinated to the Minister, or to one of the deputies responsible for security section (the Chief of the Main Administration of Fire Protection Corps was also subordinated to one of the deputies by 1991). On 1 January 1991, the positions of department chiefs were substituted by positions of directors. After establishing PCR on 15 July 1991, the other positions at the Ministry were similarly renamed, with the exception of the Chief of the Main Administration of Fire Protection Corps—this name of the position was in use by the end of 1994. In connection with the premises of the Ministry, the following terms were used by 1994: the Chief of the Ministry of Interior Building and the Commander of the Ministry of Interior Building. Directors of civil administration section

departments, including the Chief of the Main Administration of Fire Protection Corps (from 1991 to 1994) and the Director of Fire and Rescue Service (from 1995) were subordinated to one of the deputies responsible for civil administration section, or to the Minister.

The existence of these two departments resulted from two completely different spheres of the competence of the Ministry of Interior. The most important area is the management of security forces. This was the task of security section, while in some periods of time, the relevant departments carried out directly the executive police tasks. Whereas for the Federal Ministry of Interior, the security area was practically the only sphere of activity (similarly as for the Federal Ministry of Defense, its only task was the management of the armed forces), the competences of republic ministries covered also the tasks concerning general state administration, and some other activities. This was in the responsibility of civil administration section. However, both sections were clearly separated in the area of management, plus in, e.g., the economic matters, collections of their own internal regulations or dislocation sites.

The division of the Ministry of Interior into security and civil administration sections was canceled on 1 January 1998. Nevertheless, over the ensuing years the organizational arrangement and division of competences among the deputies copied the structure before the reorganization on the basis of matter-of-fact relatedness.

Services of the Police of the Czech Republic

Since establishing PCR, the activities connected with the police have been gradually transferred from the Ministry of Interior CR to the police units. A traditional notion of police organization is services. Service means specific activities not necessarily connected by the organizational arrangement, but rather by the range of activities related to the factual context. The list of services was implemented by laws establishing new Police Forces in 1991, but the names of services had been commonly used long before. The new Law on the

Police of the CR, in effect since 2009, does not contain the list of services anymore; nevertheless the police included it into an internal regulation.

The list of services definitely does not cover all police activities and it generally does not even cover the most important ones. Some activities are not on the list and others have its name only over a part of the period of time of their existence. When PCR was established, the following services were on the list: the Administrative Service, the Service of Riot/Law Enforcement Police, the Service of Traffic Police, the Service of Criminal Police, the Service of Protection of Economic Interests and the Service of Protection of Constitutional Officials.

The following changes were put in effect on 1 January 1993: the Administrative Service was dissolved, the Service of Protection of Constitutional Officials was substituted by the Protective Service and two new services were founded—the Aviation Service and the Service of Immigration and Border Police. On 1 January 1994, the Service of Protection of Economic Interests was substituted by the Service of Detection of Corruption and Serious Economic Crime; two services were newly established—the Service of Rapid Deployment and the Service of Railway Police. On 1 January 1995, the Administrative Service was added to the list. On 1 January 2002 the Service of Criminal Police together with the Service of Detection of Corruption and Serious Economic Crime were substituted by the Service of Crime and Investigation Police. On 21 December 2007 the Service of Immigration and Border Police was renamed the Service of Immigration Police. The most recent changes up to now were made on 1 January 2009 when the Administrative Service was transformed into the Service for Weapons and Security Material; two services were newly established—Pyrotechnic Service and Forensic-Technical and Expert Service. Service of Railway Police was canceled.

Currently, the basic police services are as follows (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010a):

- *The Service of Riot/Law Enforcement Police* protects public order, fights crime, performs

criminal and misdemeanor proceedings, oversees road safety, ensures public order at railway stations and on trains, protects the safety of passengers and transported consignments. Apart from district and local departments, in some cities the Riot/Law Enforcement Police has also at its disposal motorized units, riot/law enforcement units and mounted police units.

- *The Service of Traffic Police* oversees the road safety, flow of traffic, takes parts in traffic management, investigates traffic accidents and checks the documents of liability insurance for damage caused by vehicles.
- *The Service of Immigration Police* is responsible for the protection of state borders outside the border crossings, checks the documents at border crossings, permits and checks entry and residence of foreigners, as well as it is in charge of granting refugee status.

Departments of the Police of the Czech Republic

In spite of all organizational changes, the structure of the departments of the PCR stays principally the same. The highest authority is the Police Directorate or the Police Presidium of CR; the organization system further consists of republic-wide departments and finally departments with locally limited competence (usually on regional or district level).

The official terminology has been changed during the last 20 years. The republic-wide departments were originally included into the category of departments with local competence; from 1 January 1994 the expression *CR-territory competence departments* was used. Since 1 January 2009, the phrase *republic-wide competence departments* have been used and it is considered to be the most appropriate one. Lower territorial departments were originally, together with republic-wide departments, included into the departments with local competence. Since 1 January 1994, they were called departments with locally limited competence. Since 2009, the expressions the *regional police directorates* and

departments established within regional police directorates have been used. From the era of the Corps of National Security, the category of the basic departments was taken and used for a short time. The basic departments lost officially its position on 24 February 1992 when they became parts of the departments they had managed before. Nevertheless, common language of police officers still uses this category anyway.

Within the departments, particular services and other activities are organized. Three different arrangements are used: methodically hierarchical, linear, and combined.

When the methodically hierarchical arrangement is applied, there are no direct hierarchical links between levels of service; only links of guidance function. For instance, the controlling level of service is a part of Police Presidium (exceptionally of republic-wide department) and lower levels of service are parts of regional and district departments (e.g., the Service of Riot/Law Enforcement, Forensic-Technical and Expert Service). If the linear management is used, the service as a whole is concentrated in a republic-wide department which, if needed, establishes its own local branches (e.g., the Service of Immigration Police). Another possibility of linear arrangement is the organization of service within the system of departments themselves (Investigation, Service of Railway Police in the 1990s). The combined arrangement contains both methodically hierarchical and linear approaches; the methodically hierarchical branch is directed from a workplace of the Police Presidium to local departments and the linear branch to republic-wide departments with possible local branches (the Service of Crime Police and Investigation).

History of Immigration and Border Protection Police

The organization of the Immigration and Border Protection Police has been significantly and relatively often changed since 1989. Until 1989, the issues of the Immigration Police were in the responsibility of Passport and Visa Divisions of CNS Regional Administration, with detached units

in particular districts. Departments of Passports Checks functioned at border crossings. Border protection was provided by the Border Guards. In 1990, the competence of the Immigration Police was transferred to the Office of Passport Service and Alien Agenda of the Federal Police Force. At the same time, the Border Police was established which was managed by departments of the Immigration Police of Regional Administrations. Departments of Passports Checks kept functioning at border crossings.

In 1991, the tasks of the Immigration Police were transformed to the offices of Immigration and Passport Service of the Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior—Immigration and Passport Service. Inside the country, the departments of the Immigration Police worked. Departments of Passports Checks kept functioning at border crossings. Protection of state borders was carried out by departments of the Border Police. Between 1991 and 1992, offices of the Immigration Police and Passport Service of the Federal Police Force were transformed and departments of the Immigration Police started to function separately inside the country. Since 1 January 1993, departments of the Immigration Police and Passport Service of PCR Regional Administration were newly established. To protect the state borders, departments of the Border Police were established. At the border crossings, departments of Immigration Police operated.

From 1994 to 2001, the immigration issue was taken over by departments of the Immigration and Border Regional Administration of the PCR. The Border Police was directly managed by district directorates. At the border crossings, departments of the Immigration Police operated. Inside the country, in individual regional and district cities/towns, departments of the Immigration Police were established. Since 1 January 2002, linear structure of this PCR Service has been in operation which has resulted in establishing regional directorates of the Immigration and Border Police. As a result, the departments of the Border Police were merged with the departments of the Immigration Police into the department of the Immigration and Border Police.

On 1 January 2008, the Service of the Immigration Police started to be essentially

reformed in relation to full accession of CR to Schengen agreements. Immigration Police Inspectorates were founded; they were managed by regional directorates of the Immigration Police. In 2011, departments of the Immigration Police of Regional Police Directorates were established which are divided into the following units: unit of residential control, search and escorts, documentation unit, unit of residential agendas, unit of documents and department of specialized activities. Inspectorates of the Immigration Police at international airports, as well as facilities for detention of foreigners in Pošorná and Bělá—Jezové are also components of the Service of the Immigration Police.

Police Cooperation with Other Security Forces of the Czech Republic

In terms of the range of performed activities, PCR represents the key body of implementation of security measures. In relation to other parts of public administration, it is also the main authority in coordination of cooperation.

The Last 20 Years

To put the activities and tasks of the PCR into the context of the work of security bodies, it is necessary to at least briefly mention other security components of the Ministry of Interior. Police tasks of the Federation had been performed, up to the date of establishing PCR, by the Corps of National Security in competence of the Federal Ministry of Interior of CSFR which was in practice carried out by means of particular Federal Ministry of Interior departments (offices, administrations, etc.). Directors (commanders, chiefs) were subordinated to the Minister or to one of his deputies. At that time, the Corps of National Security had no general territorial units.

On 27 August 1991, the Corps of National Security was transformed into the Federal Police Force; however, actual reorganization and terminology within the Federal Ministry of Interior took place on 16 September 1991. According to the law, the following services were included

into the Federal Police Force: the Service of Crime Police, the Searching/Tracing Service, the Investigation Service, the Protection Service, the Service of Protecting Buildings of Special Importance, the Aviation Service, the Service of Rapid Deployment, and the Service of the Immigration and Border Police. The Federal Police Force was managed by the Federal Ministry of Interior divided into particular departments. It was headed by the Minister who, at the beginning, had only one deputy who was at the same time the Director of the Federal Police Force. Individual directors (commanders) of the Federal Ministry of Interior departments were subordinated to the Minister or his/her deputy. No general territorial units functioned within the Federal Police Force.

In the period of Federation, i.e., till 31 December 1992, the Police Force of SR carried out similar activities in Slovakia as PCR in the Czech Republic. In fact, the Police Force of SR was established a couple of months earlier than PCR. The Police Force of SR included the following services (defined by the law): the Service of Riot/Law Enforcement Police, the Service of Building Protection, the Service of Traffic Police, the Service of Crime Police, the Service of Protection of Economic Interests and the Service of Protection of Constitutional Officials. The Police Force of the Slovak Republic belonged to the scope of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic; some police activities and managing some services were performed by the departments of the Ministry of Interior or the departments subordinated. The activities of the Force were managed by the Police Force Presidium of the Slovak Republic, headed by the president subordinated to the Minister of Interior. The Police Force was further subdivided into regional directorates, regional investigation offices, district directorates and district investigation offices.

Another component of the Ministry of Interior was the Fire Corps of CR in the competence of the Ministry of Interior (similarly, the Fire Corps of the Slovak Republic worked within the Ministry of Interior). The governing body was the Main Administration of the Fire Corps which was a department of the Ministry of Interior. It was headed by a chief subordinated to the

competent Deputy of Minister. The secondary school in Frýdek-Místek was outside the Main Administration. In the districts, district administrations and district departments were established. They were parts of district offices with dual subordination of chiefs (in Pilsen City District, Brno City District and Ostrava City District they were municipal administrations and municipal offices as parts of district offices and from 1992 on of municipalities). The Fire Corps of the Capital Prague headed by the commander was a department of the Fire Corps of CR. It was a part of Capital Prague Municipal office; since 1992 a part of Capital Prague Municipality. On 1 January 1995, this corps was reorganized into the Fire and Rescue Corps of the CR. The governing body was the directorate as the Ministry of Interior department. It was headed by the director—the chief councillor. Fire school stood outside the directorate. In the districts, there were district fire rescue corps (in Pilsen, Brno, and Ostrava) functioning as parts of district offices (municipalities), headed by directors/district (municipal) fire councillors. In Prague there was Capital Prague Fire Rescue Corps as a part of Capital Prague Municipality. On 1 January, the Corps was transformed into fully functioning security force with exclusive subordination to the Ministry of Interior. The force is governed by general directorate as a department of the Ministry of Interior, headed by general director. The fire school stands outside this structure. Regional Fire Rescue Corps (copying the system of 14 regions) and Capital Prague Fire Rescue Corps are on lower level. They are headed by directors. Between 2000 and 2006, the position of the Chief Fire Councillor, or General Director, was connected with the position of the Deputy of the Minister for Fire Protection, Integrated Rescue System and Civil Crisis (Emergency) Planning.

On 30 July 1994, the Office for Foreign Relations and Information was established within the Ministry of Interior of the CR as an independent Intelligence Service. This office had existed from 1 January 1993 when it was established by the division of the Federal Ministry of Interior Office for Foreign Affairs and Information. Since there were no legal rules related to the office, it

was under the umbrella of legal rules of PCR. The tasks of the office were carried out by the police officers until 31 of December 2006. After that, the office became already the third security corps at the Ministry of Interior of the CR. It has been headed by the director who is subordinated to the Minister. The office does not establish any local departments.

In the Interior sphere, also the armed forces functioned. In the period of time of establishing PCR, there were the Border Guards and the Ministry of Interior Army. The Border Guards were governed by the Main Administration (later the Headquarters) of the Border Guards and Border Protection of the Federal Ministry of Interior. The Ministry of Interior Army was commanded by the Army Administration within the Federal Ministry of Interior. The Border Guards were dissolved on 27 August 1991. The Ministry of Interior Army was transformed after the CSFR split under the Ministry of Interior of the CR. On 1 July 1993 it was canceled. The only organizational unit which was left after dissolving the Ministry of Interior Army was the ministry department in Frýdek-Místek which was transformed under the competence of PCR on 1 January 1994.

Current Cooperation

The range of current cooperation is defined by Law No. 273/2008 Sb., on the Police of the Czech Republic (Zákon č. 273/2008 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008), which directly specifies the scope of the cooperation with other security forces of CR and with the armed forces of CR. It further specifies the forms of cooperation with the authorities of public administration, legal and natural persons, particularly in the following areas:

- Prevention of crime and socially pathological phenomena
- Educational activities in the area of internal order and security
- Providing support, care, and assistance to crime victims
- Prevention and managing the consequences of emergencies and incidents

Role of the Police of the Czech Republic Within Integrated Rescue System

In accordance with Law No. 239/2000, on the Integrated Rescue System and amending other laws (Zákon č. 239/2000 Sb., o integrovaném záchranném systému a o změně některých zákonů, 2000), the Ministry of Interior represents the main coordinating body of the republic-wide system. It is responsible for the coordination of activities of departments of the Integrated Rescue System in preparing for emergencies and in carrying out rescue and liquidation operations. Besides PCR, the Fire Rescue Force of the CR is another key department of the Integrated Rescue System. The Police of CR takes part in carrying out rescue and liquidation operations, including Air Support of the Integrated Rescue System and Air Support in emergencies.

If the Police Forces and resources are not sufficient for maintaining order and security, the Government of CR can call for soldiers in service and members of the Prison Service of CR or the Customs Administration of CR for the necessary time. The summoned soldiers and members have the powers and duties of police officers in performing the PCR tasks; the Government of CR can limit the range of these powers.

Current Trends in the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic and Police of the Czech Republic Activities

In terms of key activities of the Ministry of Interior CR, or PCR, the primary attention is being paid to the ongoing reform, the fight against corruption, and quality management within PCR.

Reform of the Ministry of Interior and Police of the Czech Republic

At the end of the second decade of its existence, the PCR entered into the period of transformation whose purpose is to conclude its legislative, organizational, material, and technical change into a modern security force of twenty-first century.

The aim of the reform is to increase executive potential of the CR and to strengthen its position of respected force of self-confident, educated, and well-equipped police officers who are able to meet all requirements of effective public service which the society expect.

The reform is based on the available financial resources, which determine the steps and its scope. The development of financial indicators of the Ministry of Interior CR is based on the overall economic situation of CR. The originally assumed trend of gradual increase in funds has been redefined as a result of economic development. For this reason, it is possible to consider state expenditures expressed in real values spent on the budget chapter of the Ministry of Interior CR from 2006 to 2012 to be stable, see Fig. 6. From the viewpoint of the total structure of the CR state budget, there is a real decrease in the given period of time, see Fig. 7.

The reform is based on ten fundamental pillars. The new Law on PCR which came into effect on 1 January 2009 has brought legislative changes. It focuses on prevention, debureaucratization, improvement of effectiveness of policing, modernization of organizational police structure, as well as sharing responsibility for security and public order with other public and private entities. The meaning of organizational changes lies in new territorial arrangement of the police corresponding to the state division into higher local self-governing units, in setting a more effective cooperation of police departments with local self-governing bodies, e.g., by coordination agreements and more flexible management of police departments. This can be achieved by simplification of its structure and reduction of the number of managing positions. The reform also directs to personnel stabilization of police force after its generation change and to the improvement of the quality of police education in the system which flexibly responds to practical needs. The new model of economic management enables the police departments to more effectively manage the entrusted funds. The police modernize their service facilities, build open receptions, modernize their car fleet, and implement modern information technologies. To cover numerous

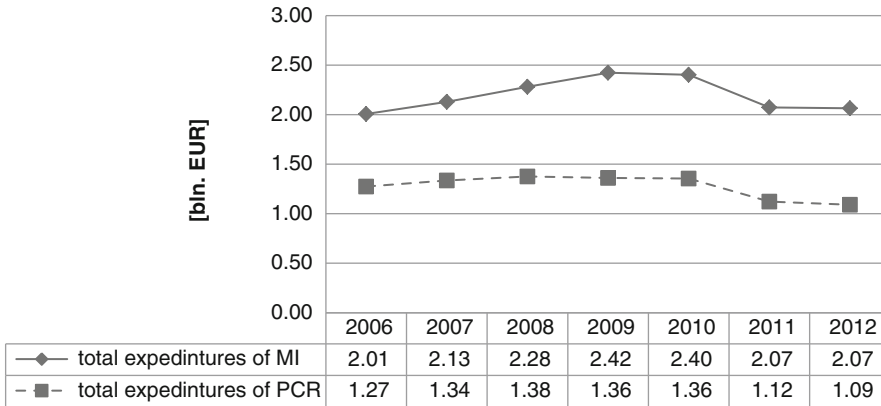


Fig. 6 Expenditures of the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic and the Police of the Czech Republic (years 2006–2012) (Source: Zákon č. 433/2011 Sb., o státním rozpočtu České republiky na rok, 2011, 2010).

Note: Year 2012 according to approved state budget 2012, the Ministry of Finance of the Czech Republic

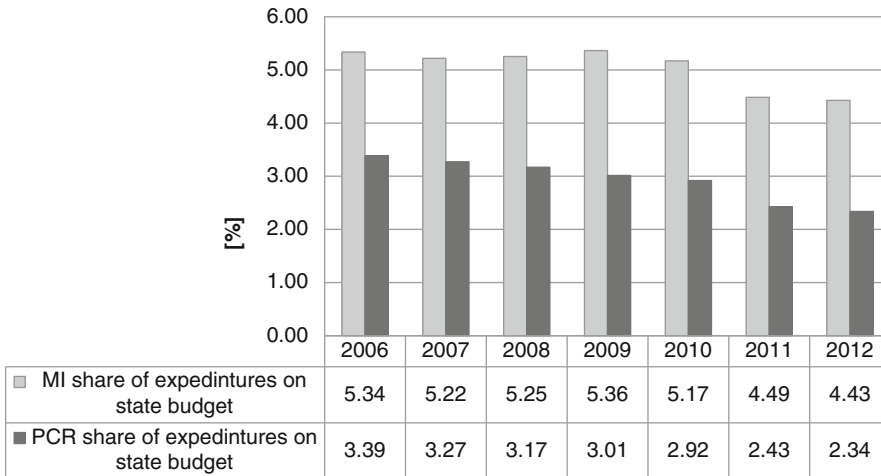


Fig. 7 Share of the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic and the Police of the Czech Republic expenditures on Czech state budget (Source: Zákon č. 433/2011 Sb., o státním rozpočtu České republiky na rok, 2011,

2010). Notes: Numbers are in blns EUR, rate 25.50 CZK per 1 EUR (28 January 2012). Year 2012 according to the approved state budget 2012, the Ministry of Finance of the Czech Republic

modernizing projects, they frequently use resources from European funds.

In accordance with reform goals of the Ministry of Interior CR, the following priorities for the year 2012 were formulated (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2011b):

1. *Fight against corruption*: The attention will be focused on stricter rules for managing the community assets. What will help to carry it out is also the computerization of public

administration agenda, more effective system of free public access to information and better system for search and seizure of proceeds of criminal activity. More attention will be paid to the protection of notifiers of corruption acts and implementation of reliability tests for wider range of officials.

2. *Safe Czech Republic*: The following activities have been scheduled within this priority: the completion of the PCR reform ensuring cyber

- security of CR, the amendment of the Law on private security services, plus the preparation of new rules for entry and residence of foreigners on the territory of the CR.
3. *eGovernment*: Here, the attention is paid to the strategy of *EU Digital Agenda for CR*, further development of functionalities of existing projects of *Smart Administration*, especially *Czech POINT* and *data box* projects. Other components of this priority are the launching of the electronic system of *the Collection of laws (e-Collection)* and electronic legislative process (*eLegislation*). In this area, the preparation of implementation of electronic ID (*eID*) and electronic elections (*e-Elections*) is going on.
 4. *Effective public administration*: In this priority, the attention will be focused on promoting the principles of professionalism, openness, and clarity; further on effective and economic functioning of public administration. An overview of process agenda modeling will be carried out.
 5. *Effective Ministry of Interior*: The Ministry of Interior of the CR wants to operate as a model office with good management and quality services. The simplification of internal processes, elimination of duplicate and unnecessary agenda, and preparation of new Electoral Code which will also implement direct president and mayor election are other goals of this priority.

The current reform of PCR is based on Law No. 273/2008 Sb., on *the Police of CR and the so-called amending Law No. 274/2008*, which is amending some laws in connection with the adoption of the Law on PCR. The ongoing reform is based on the following ten fundamental pillars (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2011a):

1. Scope and competences of PCR and other entities in ensuring internal security of the state, i.e., effort to curb nonpolice activities of the PCR and transferring them to other entities.
2. Territorial division and organizational structure, i.e., improvement of PCR relations with the public, modification of territorial division

of PCR, and cooperating authorities and their mutual cooperation.

3. New economic status of PCR; the goal is to achieve higher economic independence.
4. Internal and external monitoring, i.e., setting effective internal and external control mechanisms, including implementation of control unit outside the Ministry.
5. Education of police officers as a unified system of education responsive to the needs of practice, which will educate police experts, capable managers, and ensure transfer of the latest world knowledge to their students.
6. Service law and personnel work, i.e., streamlining and clarifying leadership positions, systemization of service, and other job positions.
7. P1000 Project focused on restoring and enhancing public confidence in PCR and modernization of police premises.
8. New structure of plainclothes PCR, i.e., establishing National Crime Office of the Police Presidium of CR, eliminating duplication in activities of various departments, computerization of criminal proceedings, and criminal PCR analytic centers.
9. Computerization of work, especially to reduce administrative work and to eliminate unnecessary time delays.
10. Debureaucratization, i.e., replacement of confusing internal regulations by a simple and clear set. Not to use statistics as an assessment criterion.

Fight Against Corruption

One of the significant trends is also the emphasis that is put on the fight against corruption. To illustrate the present state of corruption in CR, it is possible to use *Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)*, compiled by Transparency International. The index shows that the perception of corruption has been generally improving since 1998. However, based on public opinion polls, the Czech population perceives the trend of corruption as growing. The development of CPI from 1998 to 2010 is given in the following Table 1.

Table 1 Perception of corruption rate in the CR according to Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)

Year	Position of the CR	Number of reporting countries	CPI value for CR	Best outcome in the given year	Worst outcome in the given year
1998	37	85	4.8	10.0 Denmark	1.4 Cameroon
1999	39	99	4.6	10.0 Denmark	1.5 Cameroon
2000	42	90	4.3	10.0 Finland	1.2 Nigeria
2001	47–49	91	3.9	9.9 Finland	0.4 Bangladesh
2002	52–56	102	3.7	9.7 Finland	1.2 Bangladesh
2003	54–56	133	3.9	9.7 Finland	1.3 Bangladesh
2004	51–53	146	4.2	9.7 Finland	1.5 Bangladesh, Haiti
2005	47–50	159	4.3	9.7 Iceland	1.7 Bangladesh, Chad
2006	46–48	163	4.8	9.6 Finland, Iceland, New Zealand	1.8 Haiti
2007	41–42	180	5.2	9.4 Denmark, Finland, New Zealand	1.4 Somalia, Myanmar
2008	45–46	180	5.2	9.3 Denmark, New Zealand, Sweden	1.0 Somalia
2009	52–53	180	4.9	9.4 New Zealand	1.1 Somalia
2010	53	178	4.6	9.3 Denmark, New Zealand, Singapore	1.1 Somalia

Source: Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2011c)

The fight against corruption is legislatively defined in CR. The Criminal Code (Law No. 40/2009, Zákonník, 2009) sanctions corruption first of all in terms of receiving a bribe (§ 331), bribery (§ 332), and indirect bribery (§ 333). At the same time, it defines some key notions, e.g., bribe (§ 334). It is apparent that the major risk of corruption lies in the field of public administration. That is why the Criminal Code contains selected acts of official persons, such as abuse of official person's power (§ 329) and obstruction of tasks of official person by negligence (§ 330). Although the Criminal Code protects the purity of public life and impartial and objective providing the things of general interest, it also penalizes corruption in business and private property legal relationships (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010c). The development of detected and explained criminal acts connected with corruption is given in Table 2.

The fight against corruption is perceived as a long-term process which requires the cooperation of all components of public administration and it is one of the key priorities of the Czech Government based on the *Government Strategy in the Fight against Corruption for the years 2011 and 2012*. This strategy was written by the

Ministry of Interior of the CR and approved by the Government resolution on 5 January 2011. The goal of the strategy is to reduce corruption environment in the CR by gradual taking measures through a balanced ratio of prevention and repression and transparency of the process. During the creation of the strategy, drafts of *Platform for Transparent Procurements*, National Economic Government Council and Advisory Board of the Minister of Interior for the fight against corruption were used (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2011c). The strategy covers five areas that are given the highest priority in terms of the fight against corruption. The areas are as follows (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010c):

- *Public administration*: Measures in public administration on the level of central administrative offices, as well as on the level of local self-governments.
- *Procurements*: The area that is currently considered to be the most affected by corruption.
- *Police of the CR*: The focus is not only on the repression but also on comprehensive preventive non-legislative measures.
- *Public prosecution and courts*: The attention is focused on repression and prevention.

Table 2 Number of detected and explained criminal acts connected with corruption committed in the CR from 2000 to 2010

Year	Abuse of official person's power		Obstruction of tasks of official person by negligence		Acceptance of a bribe		Bribe		Indirect bribery		Bribery—total	
	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E
2000	367	350	18	18	38	37	133	131	3	3	174	171
2001	390	381	18	18	28	28	171	171	4	4	203	203
2002	376	269	33	31	48	38	116	109	7	6	171	153
2003	384	324	23	23	49	42	102	101	4	4	155	147
2004	248	202	18	18	126	123	149	147	12	11	287	281
2005	212	167	19	18	39	32	94	92	5	5	138	129
2006	160	124	16	15	43	35	89	87	6	4	138	126
2007	187	112	16	14	40	34	62	58	1	1	103	93
2008	228	132	18	14	46	29	99	88	5	4	150	121
2009	204	137	14	9	38	27	75	68	8	8	121	103
2010 (1.1.2010– 30.9.2010)	128	94	13	8	31	19	85	62	5	3	121	84

Source: Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2011c)

Note: *D* represents corruption crime detected; *E* represents corruption crime explained

- *Legislative power*: The attention concentrates on prevention and transparency in acting of legislators.

Each of the given areas contains both legislative and non-legislative measures. For each of the areas, the term for task performance is set. Each area has its own manager. Moreover, the emphasis is also put on professional training in the area of the fight against corruption. The strategy also defines government priorities of the fight against corruption while the most important one is the amendment of the Law on Public Procurement, adoption of the law on civil servants ensuring depoliticizing, and stabilization of public administration. Other priorities concern tightening the rules for dealing with property, strengthening the enforcement powers of Supreme Audit Office, computerization of agendas operating within public administration, amendment of law on criminal liability, and protection of corruption notifiers.

In September 2007, toll-free telephone line 199 was established in cooperation with Transparency International and the Ministry of Interior to eliminate corruption. Since that time it has been operated by Transparency International—CR.

Quality Management Within the Police of the Czech Republic

The high number of essential changes that has been implemented in the last two decades and the range of the tasks performed resulted in a need to improve the quality of the activities and services within PCR. That is why the Ministry of Interior decided to implement the quality management within PCR. The model of European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) was adopted as an instrument for comprehensive quality management which can be applied also in nonprofit organizations and public administration offices. The Czech Government responded to this emerging trend in both private and public sectors of European countries in May 2000 when it adopted the Program of *National Policy of Quality Support* by Resolution No. 458. Coordinating body of this Government program is the Board of CR for Quality in which all ministries are represented (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010e).

In June 2001 Project Phare CZ 98/IB/JH/02 *Complex System of HR Management for the*

Czech Police—Program of Professional Training for Policemen and Ministry of Interior Employees was completed. Within this project, the EFQM model was tested at a selected Regional Directorate of PCR (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010e). Based on overall positive feedback, a twinning project *Phare Implementation of EFQM model of quality management to PCR* was prepared, whose partner was the Dutch Police. The project was focused on the application of quality management methods in all components of PCR.

In 2004 within the Project of *Implementing Model EFQM Excellence*, action plans were formulated to promote the following five priorities (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2010b):

- Culture of the organization
- Management training
- Ownership of processes
- Communication
- Motivation

Consequently in 2005, self-assessment at all regional administrations and units with republic-wide competences was carried out. The self-assessment was then used as a base on which action plans were created for improvement in identified areas. The most important was know-how used in application of quality management. Between 2006 and 2007, the adopted action plans were carried out. At the turn of the years 2007 and 2008, the self-assessment according to EFQM model was carried out at Police Presidium in the whole PCR, i.e., at regional administrations and district directorates. Key areas were identified for both improvement with a major impact on the system of organization and for further development of measures to improve and promote quality management within the whole PCR.

Within further projects of quality management, e.g., contact and coordination centers were established, the so-called *front offices*. These centers collect and provide basic information about prevention, precautions, or elimination of emerging risks in case of emergency or calamity situations. Thus, they fully ensure the role of contact and coordination centers within direct cooperation of

the elements of integrated rescue system of the CR. The emphasis is also put on building mobile contact and coordination centers which can, in case of emergencies, provide basic information about prevention, precautions, or elimination of threatening or emerging consequences of risks to the citizens directly on the spot.

Thanks to the emphasis put on overall quality management, PCR managed to get projects supported within the European Social Funds. For instance, the operational program *Human Resources and Employment* enables to carry out projects contributing to the improvement of PCR work efficiency through systematic support of police officers and civil employees of PCR in their work with minorities, persons threatened by social exclusion and persons socially excluded. Participation in other programs of the European Social Funds is also of high significance, especially participation in operational programs *Environment* and *Cross-Border Cooperation*. Apart from these projects supported by the European Social Funds, other projects are carried out which are cofinanced from *EU Community Programs*, *EEA Financial Mechanism/Norway*, and *Program of Swiss-Czech Cooperation*. What is also worth mentioning is strong involvement in the implementation of Security Research projects whose sponsor is directly the Ministry of Interior of the CR.

Presentation of Police and Public Opinion

The Ministry of Interior of the CR priorities put emphasis on positive public perception of PCR. The importance of the PCR presentation in society is underlined in the Law on PCR in which police officers and police staff are directly tasked to “respect the rules of courtesy and observe honor, respect and dignity of persons and their own” (Zákon č. 273/2008 Sb., o Policii České republiky, 2008). The motto of the PCR *to Assist and Protect* is considered the main slogan of PCR in relation to society and it also contributes to positive attitude of the public. This motto is, e.g., on all police vehicles with the right of priority ride.

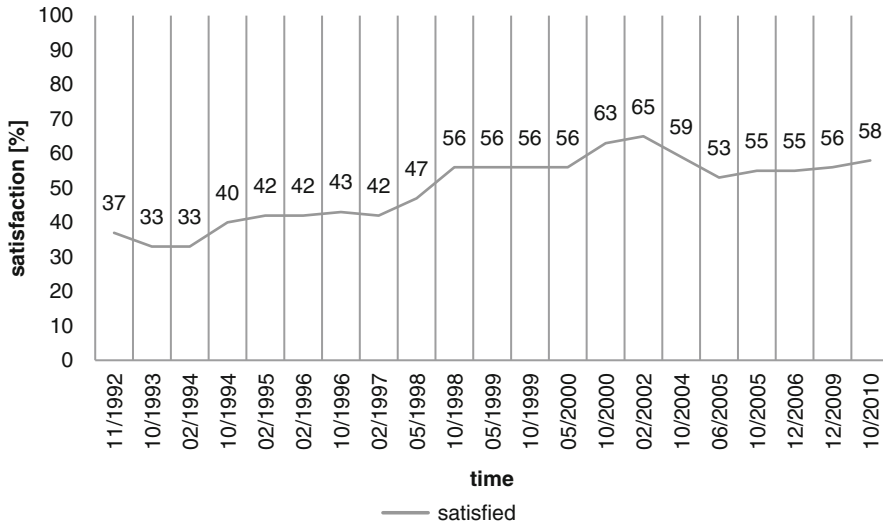


Fig. 8 Development of satisfaction with PCR activities in the place of residence (from 1992 to 2010) (Source: Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění, Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2010)

The Ethical Code of PCR can be also considered as highly positive. It emphasizes the importance of policing as a service provided to the public which is based on respect for human rights. The Ethical Code of PCR also briefly and concisely defines main goals based on the Law on PCR. The emphasis is put on fundamental values of PCR members, which are professionalism, fairness, responsibility, thoughtfulness, and integrity.

In terms of public presentation, it is possible to highly appreciate, e.g., web pages of the Ministry of Interior of the CR and PCR. Their layout is very clear and it provides citizens quick orientation and access to the required and continuously updated information. The results of the public opinion poll in 2010 are as follows (Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění, Sociologický ústav AV ČR, 2010):

- The majority of respondents feel safe in the Czech Republic (58 % rather yes and 10 % definitely yes). A quarter of the respondents do rather not feel safe and 7 % of the respondents do not feel safe at all. During the time of observation of feeling of safety, the number of people who feel either rather safe or definitely safe increases—from 45 % in 2002 to 65 % in 2006. Since that time, the results have been kept on approximately the same level.

- As far as the feeling of safety at the place of residence is concerned, the proportion of positive responses was slightly higher than as it was in the whole CR. The sum of the responses definitely yes and rather yes in this case is 77 %. In contrast, 22 % of citizens do not rather or definitely feel safe. This result has not significantly changed since 2002, however in the last survey the frequency of the category *rather safe* changed into *definitely safe*.

- Another survey dealt with the assessment of policing. The proportion of the satisfied and dissatisfied is very close to each other—46–50 %. The development since 2002 implies a reduction of the worst ratings—a part of *the very dissatisfied* was gradually transferred into the category of *the rather dissatisfied*. In the place of residence, the satisfaction with the policing is higher than the dissatisfaction (58 % of total responses were definitely satisfied or rather satisfied; 38 % of total responses were definitely dissatisfied or rather dissatisfied). In 2002, the satisfaction with the police in the place of residence reached its top. After that, it has been decreasing.

Development of satisfaction with PCR activities during the period of time from November 1992 to October 2010 is shown in Fig. 8.

Development of Security Environment and Security Research of the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic

Based on the Government Resolution No. 287/2008 concerning the draft of *the Reform of Research, Development and Innovation System*, the Ministry of Interior of the CR, specifically *the Department of Security Research and Police Training* with its two sections—the Section of Security Research and the Section of Police Training—were appointed coordinators of the Security Research (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2008). *The Council for the Program of Security Research of the Czech Republic for the years 2010–2015* was established as an advisory body of the Minister of Interior for Security Research Matters.

The goal of security research is the identification, prevention, preparation, and protection against the acts detrimental to human beings, tangible and intangible assets and infrastructure, and against natural or industrial disasters. Key priorities of security research are based on the EU security framework and national needs. Within CR, the following key priorities have been identified (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2008):

- Security of citizens
- Security of critical infrastructures
- Crisis management
- Predictions and scenarios
- Situational preparedness (awareness)
- Identification of people and resources
- Innovations
- Coordination of security research strategy and its implementation in member states and relevant institutions and organizations

To identify real needs and direction of interdepartmental security research in CR, SWOT Analysis is considered to be the key source. It is the annex No. 6 to the *National Strategy of Security Research in the Czech Republic 2010–2015*. This SWOT Analysis was based on the identification of potential natural and man-made threats which the Czech Republic may have to face. There were identified the following crisis

situations areas (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, 2008):

- Long-term inversion, major floods, and other major natural disasters such as large-scale forest fires, snow storms, wind storms, landslides, earthquakes, etc.
- Epidemics, epiphytic and epizootic—wide-spread diseases affecting human population, including public health and other regimes
- Radiation and chemical accidents and other technological disasters
- Disruption of dams of important water reservoirs and schemes with consequent special floods
- Water, air, and environment pollution caused by major accidents
- Major disruption of the state financial and foreign-exchange economy, disruption of the supply of strategic raw-material, crude oil and petroleum products
- Major disruption of energy, gas, or heat supply
- Major disruption of food supply, drinking water supply, supply of medicinal products, and medical devices
- Disruption of the transport system operability, public telecommunications systems, and information operability
- Migration waves and health emergencies besides epidemics
- Major disruption of the rule of law

Currently, not all of these threats pose real danger for CR. Though with growing globalization, it is possible to expect that the significance and potential impact of each threat will change. As a result of the SWOT Analysis, the emphasis was subsequently placed on individual areas of the implementation of security research. This research within the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior CR is supported by two ways—either by targeted funding or by institutional funding. The targeted funding means support of publicly announced programs of grants and projects when the selection is done within public competition. On the other hand, the institutional support is the funding supporting the advancement of research, development and innovation abilities through research projects, programs or specific projects. Within the Ministry of Interior CR,

the institutional financial support is provided by the Police Academy of CR and by the Department of PCR special activities.

Conclusion

Since 1989, the Ministry of Interior of the CR as well as the PCR itself has undergone an extensive process of changes. These changes were caused by social events (e.g., division of CSFR into two independent states) and by CR integration into European and Atlantic structures. In terms of the organization itself, Ministry of Interior or PCR have undergone extensive revision of the tasks performed, with the emphasis laid on preventive actions against repressive effects. The newly revised scope of the activities falling within the competence of the Ministry of Interior of the CR can be considered very broad. It requires massive deployment of national resources and coordination of activities in the international environment. Besides the traditional tasks of ensuring security, citizens' rights, and protection of property, there are other significant tasks of everyday activity of public administration falling under the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior of the CR. In this respect, it is important to appreciate the benefits of the computerization of public administration or fight against corruption. On top of that, the Ministry of Interior of the CR plays a key role in the integration of minorities into the society, the prevention of social exclusion, and in the prevention of socially undesirable phenomena. In terms of crisis management, the Ministry of Interior of the CR represents a crucial element of crisis infrastructure of the state which in case of crisis situation coordinates the activities of all actors involved.

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Policing in Estonia: From Police Force to Police Service

Lauri Tabur

Introduction

Estonia with its 1.4 million inhabitants and 45,227 km² of territory is one of the smallest countries in the European Union. After regaining its independence from Soviet Union in 1991 the country has gone through significant political and economic reforms, changing the governing systems from the soviet paradigm to a market- and people-oriented one.

Estonia's law enforcement system has also been developed in the same manner as with overall government reforms. The very first police development plan approved by the Estonian Government stated that one of the priorities in developing the police is making its "duties and tasks understandable to people" (Eesti Politsei, 1999). Or, like one might see from the translation of the law regulating the police service, which was changed in late 1990s from police force act to police service act, reflecting the organizations new ideology.

According to the recent Police and border guard act (Politsei- japiirivalveseadus, 2010), police functions (including guarding the borders and combating illegal immigration) are carried out by the National Police which is structurally

under the Ministry of the Interior. There is only one police in the country. Some larger local municipalities (such as the capital Tallinn) have nominated local officials to carry out the supervisory tasks of the local government with no police special rights. These units are in some municipalities called Municipal Police.

One of the national security services, the Security Police, also have some police powers according to the Police and border guard act (Politsei- japiirivalveseadus, 2010), especially in cases of terrorism, explosives, public administration corruption, and violation of state secrecy regulations. In these cases, Security Police activities are regulated on the same bases as police activities.

According to the Estonian Criminal procedure act (Kriminaalmenetluse seadustik, 2003), the National Tax and Customs Service, Competition Board, Environmental Inspectorate and General Staff of the Defense Forces have police investigative powers when violations in their respected fields are concerned. To carry out these powers, coordination from the prosecutor's office is required.

Judicial institutions of law enforcement, such as the courts, prisons, and prosecution are the responsibility of the Ministry of Justice.

Being divided mostly between two main ministries—the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, law enforcement development has had obvious strong influences from the political minister in charge. While the Ministry of Justice, which coordinates the work of courts, prisons, and prosecution, has through the 20 years

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of its history been led by ministers mainly belonging to the liberal part of the political scale, then ministers of the interior have mostly been from the conservative wing of the political scale (Ministry of the Interior, 2008). Symptomatic to a small open society, the ministries as a rule do not intervene into the operational duties of the law enforcement, limiting its task to strategic and financial planning. In some instances the ministries are granted by the law with special executive powers (like the ones Ministry of Justice has over prisons).

Police Organization, Structure and Function

Police and Border Guard Board

Today there are more than 6,000 people working in the Police and Border Guard Board (PBGB), of which 3,500 are engaged in public order and criminal police functions (police—citizens ratio 270 officers per 100,000 inhabitants). Thus it is one of the biggest state agencies in Estonia, being an employer to 4 % of all public officials in Estonia (Statistics Estonia, 2012).

According to its statute, the main tasks of the PBGB are securing the external border of the European Union; the determination of citizenship and issue of documents; security and public order in the state; and the investigation and prevention of offences. These tasks are divided into four work areas: border guard, public order, criminal

police, and citizenship and migration. The first contact points for people in their home town or village are subunits of four regional prefectures—constable stations, border guard stations, or service offices of Citizenship and Migration Bureau (CMB).

In its present structure, the PBGB started its work on 1 January 2010 when the above-mentioned separate organizations were merged. On the basis of the former police prefectures, border guard territories and regional offices of CMB, four territorial prefectures, as separate legal authorities under PBGB were formed which will be also incorporated into PBGB and form one authority as of 2012 (Police and Border Guard Board, 2012) (Fig. 1).

By merging the agencies, all resources related to ensuring internal security—people, know-how, funds, and equipment were combined under one management. Thus the field of internal security is developed as a whole and the existing resources are utilized in the most effectual way. Accession to the Schengen visa space that lifted border control at internal borders of the European Union established one of the preconditions for the merging of the police and border guard, but brought along the requirement of using compensatory measures in the border territories, making it mainly the task of Public Order Police. Also incorporation of the supporting staff of the merged agencies allowed retrenchment as there was no longer a need for separate book-keeping, personnel, and other similar systems for each agency.

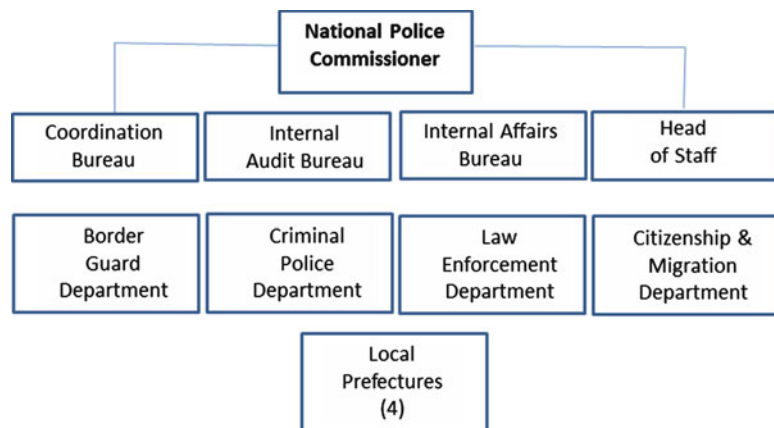
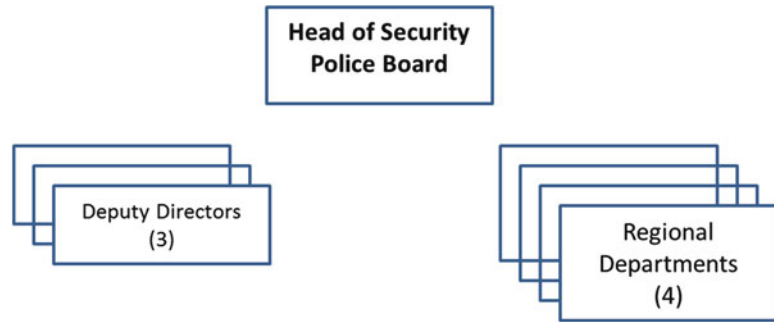


Fig. 1 Structure of the police as described in the Police and border guard act of 2010 (Source: Police and Border Guard Board, 2012)

Fig. 2 Estonian Security Police Board structure
 (Source: Kaitsepolitseiameti põhimäärus, 2012)



The PBGB is a police authority. All officers, regardless of their full title or position, whether a border guard, a traffic police officer, an investigator or a pilot, are police officers.

By its principles, the police are a servicing organization and their primary duty is to ensure that law-abiding people would feel as safe as possible in Estonia. To that end, much effort is put into cooperation with partner organizations of public authorities as well as private sector and nonprofit associations. Police core values as defined in their strategy are trustworthiness, openness, cooperation, human-centeredness, safety, professionalism, integrity, and humanity.

Security Police Board

On 1 February 1991, the Government of the Republic of Estonia issued Regulation No. 24 *Approval of the Structure of the National Police Board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Estonia*, which put bases to newly establish the countries intelligence service. On 12 February 1991 the Estonian Security Police and the Security Police Administration were established by Directive No. 42 of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Estonia.

The Estonian Security Police was formed on the basis of Department No. 6 of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Estonia and the Security Police Administration at the Estonian Police Board on the basis of Department No. 7 of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Estonia. Both of these Departments were responsible for combating serious threats

and providing police intelligence. The Security Police Administration was subordinated to the Estonian Security Police. The Estonian Security Police was headed by Director; the head of the Security Police Administration was Commissar. On 13 February 1991, the first Director of the Security Police was appointed. On 25–26 February the first 16 persons were employed by the Security Police in towns Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu, Võru, and Narva. On 1 March, the Security Police started its official duties in the status of a department of the Police Board with a total of 33 posts but without any official internal structure. Only in summer 1991 sections and units, predecessors of later departments and divisions, were formed within the Security Police.

The tasks of the Security Police, as provided by the Police act (Politsei seadus, 1991), were combating organized crime and terrorism, protecting territorial integrity and state secrets, protecting secrets related to science, technology, and business, securing the safety of national cultural heritage, state agencies, politicians, and public officials.

Pursuant to the Security authorities act (Julgeolekuasutuste seadus, 2000), which entered into force on 1 March 2001, the status of the Estonian Security Police was changed from a police authority into a security authority, keeping the main tasks of the institution unchanged (Fig. 2).

The division of Criminal Investigation tasks between the Police and Security Police is regulated in Government of the Republic Regulation No. 193 of 19 July 2007 “Investigative Jurisdiction between the Police Board inclusive of the agencies

under its administration and the Estonian Security Police,” giving the jurisdiction in a number of criminal investigations to the Security Police Board. Mostly these are cases of high level corruption, terrorism, violating state secrecy regulations, and crimes against humanity.

Prosecution

According to the Prosecutor’s office act (Prokuratuuriseadus, 2006), the Prosecutor’s Office participates in planning surveillance required for the prevention and detection of crimes; leads pretrial criminal proceedings ensuring its lawfulness and effectiveness; represents public prosecution in court; and fulfills other duties imposed on the Prosecutor’s Office by law. Supervising criminal proceedings, the prosecutor guides the preliminary investigator in collecting evidence and decides whether to bring charges against a person on the basis of the facts established.

The Prosecutor’s Office conducts criminal proceedings in cooperation with the following investigative bodies: Police and Border Guard Board, Security Police, Tax and Customs Board, Competition Board, Environmental Inspectorate and General Staff of the Defense Forces. The Prosecutor’s Office consists of two levels: the Office of the Prosecutor General as the superior prosecutor’s office and four District Prosecutor’s Offices.

The work area of the Office of the Prosecutor General covers Estonia in its entirety and the work areas of District Prosecutor’s Offices coincide with the work areas of prefectures. The Prosecutor’s Office is headed by the Prosecutor General, who is appointed to office for 5 years.

A District Prosecutor’s Office is headed by the chief prosecutor, who is also appointed to office for 5 years (Prokuratuuriseadus, 2006).

Criminal Court system

Chapter XIII of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia (Eesti Vabariigi Põhiseadus, 1992) provides the basis for court administration. The

Courts Act contains a more detailed regulation of court administration.

Estonia has a three-level court system. County courts and administrative courts adjudicate matters in the first instance. Appeals against decisions of courts of first instance shall be heard by courts of second instance. Courts of appeal are courts of second instance (sometimes also called circuit courts or district courts). The courts of appeal are situated in Tartu and Tallinn. The Supreme Court, situated in Tartu, is the court of the highest instance or last resort.

A statement of claim is filed with the court of first instance, an appeal with the court of second instance and an appeal in cassation with the court of third or the highest instance. A matter shall be heard in the Supreme Court only after all previous court instances have been passed. The filing of an appeal is governed by respective codes of court procedure (Kohtud, 2012) (Fig. 3).

Public Support to Policing in Estonia

Estonian law enforcement institutions have had for the last 6 years relatively high public support. According to the regular public opinion poll concerning the trustworthiness of state institutions conducted by Turu-uuringute Ltd, 86 % of Estonia’s population trusted the PBGB in 2010. This is the second highest (after the Rescue Board) trust rating among institutions ever and has remained at a steadily high level.

According to a 1999 crime victimization survey, attitudes towards police professionalism have also improved. In 1993, police professionalism was considered adequate enough by 17 % of people, in 1995 by 29 % and in 2000 by 51 %. The opinion concerning capability of controlling crime in his/her service area has improved through the years, but 54 % of respondents still consider that to be inadequate.

Considering the reduced and limited possibilities and resources, cooperation of law enforcement is of particular importance. It ensures improved risk identification and possibly also the primary response capability. One tool for

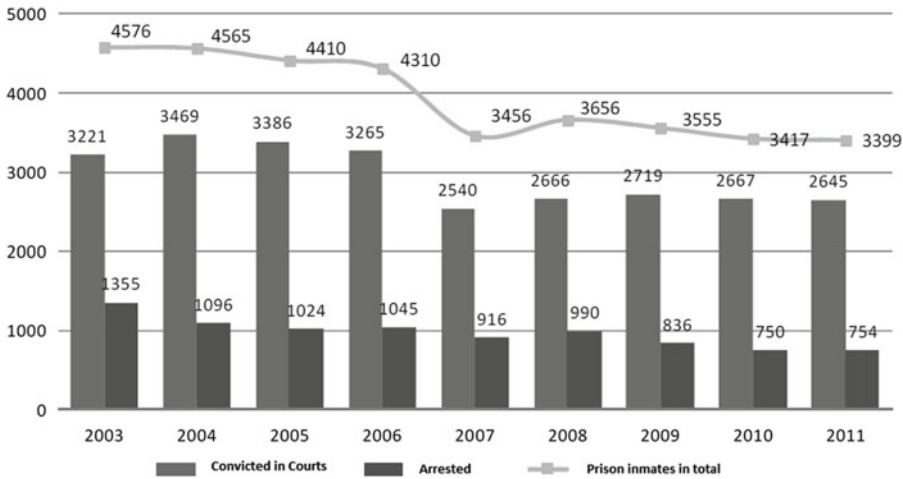


Fig. 3 Estonian Criminal Justice trends 2003–2011 (Source: Ministry of Justice, 2012)

improving the deterrence and response capability is the possibility of involving assistant police officers with independent operational competence as stipulated in the Assistant Police Officers Act passed by the Parliament in 2010. It is believed to provide the option of engaging volunteers in law enforcement in areas where the response time of the police is longer. One of the main tasks of assistant police officers with independent operational competence is to perform supervision over the code of conduct in public places. According to PBGB, there are over 1,600 civilian assistant police officers trained and deployed within Estonia.

Estonia enjoys relatively high NGO activity in keeping law and order and to support the state police activities. Biggest NGO in the field is Estonian Neighborhood Watch. The Estonian Neighborhood Watch is an association founded on 5 May 2000 as a civic initiative, goal of which is increasing of sense of security of dwellers at homes and close vicinity to homes by dweller’s own active practice in the field of neighborhood watch (NHW). It was the citizens’ reaction towards dramatic cut (10 % of all personnel) of the number of the police officers in 2000 (Ristmäe & Tabur, 2008). The first and main aim of this organization is to raise interest within dwellers of private houses as well as apartment buildings towards NHW and to inform them of the goal, principles, and possibilities of NHW.

To achieve this, the Association facilitates forming of nongovernmental associations and movements dealing with NHW and supporting their activities, introduces principles of NHW, publishes printouts and carries out trainings and develops cooperation with state and municipal governments, police, and other institutions. There are around 3,000 households already signed the agreement to participate in the work of the Association (Ristmäe & Tabur, 2008).

The task of Association according to its statute is to be an organization that unites nongovernmental associations and persons dealing with NHW, to share information and training regarding NHW with its members. The Association is a representative of its members in finding partners and in development of cooperation with them.

Development of Private Security Sector

According to the Central Commercial Register and Statistics Estonia, there were approximately 5,600 people (1.5 % of all employed in private sector) employed by seven major private security companies in Estonia in 2011. These companies mostly provide physical or technological protection of premises and persons. Private intelligence (private detective agencies) is prohibited in Estonia. From the early 1990s, when public and

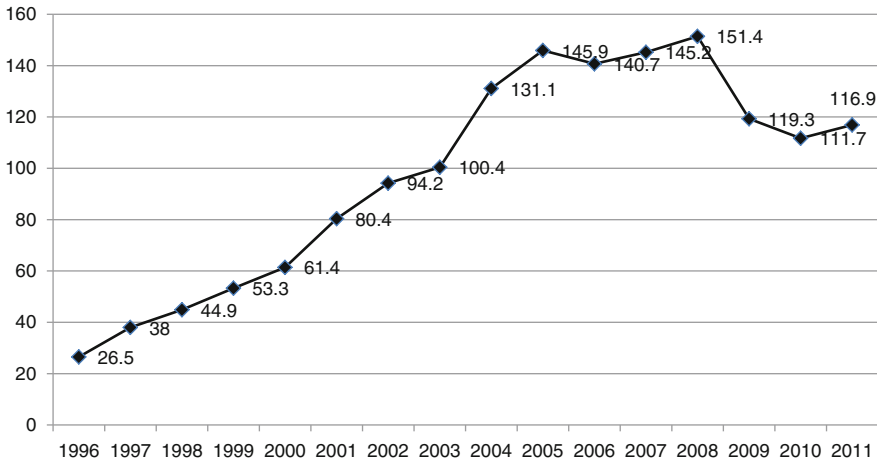


Fig. 4 Turnover dynamics of Estonian private security market 1996–2011 (Source: Statistics Estonia, 2012)

especially violent criminality was booming, the sector had grown significantly until 2008. Mainly because of the global financial crisis, the private security sector suffered drawbacks and many companies were merged or closed at all. The fall of the sector has actually not influenced the official criminality figures in Estonia as the latter is in decreasing trend as well (Fig. 4).

According to the Security authorities act (Julgeolekuasutuste seadus, 2000), the private security sector activities in Estonia are licenced. The licencing is done by PBGB. According to the Act, Director General or his deputy is entitled to issue or cancel the private security licences. The law also foresees the criteria's for private security personnel and their training.

There have been discussions in public whether the private security sector should employ a more liberal approach from the legislation point of view. In late 1990s, there was much media coverage initiated by the companies to get more powers (i.e., to use police-specific lightning and to violate speeding regulations). These discussions have not changed the overall legal approach that private security companies are to support state in its ensuring the public security. As a compromise many security company employers have been nominated as the assistant police officers according to the Assistant police officers act (Abipolitseiniku seadus, 2012). This nomination

gives a person some police-specific rights, but only when involved in policing under supervision of concrete police officer.

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

After regaining independence in 1991, crime has been regarded as one of the most serious problems among Estonian inhabitants. The number of police-recorded crimes was substantially increasing since the late 1980s, being the highest in the beginning of this century. Since the late 1940s, the homicide rate reached peak level in 1994. In the late 1990s, the homicide rate started to decrease and has decreased significantly since (Fig. 5).

All of these developments, paralleled by persistent media attention devoted to serious violent crimes, have created favorable conditions for widespread fear of crime. It is often assumed by the general public that crime situation is deteriorating continuously, and that the probability to become victimized by violent crime in Estonia is relatively higher than in Western European countries (Ahven, Tabur, & Aromaa, 2001) (Fig. 6).

In this context, it is noteworthy that the number of violent crimes (homicides, rapes, assaults,

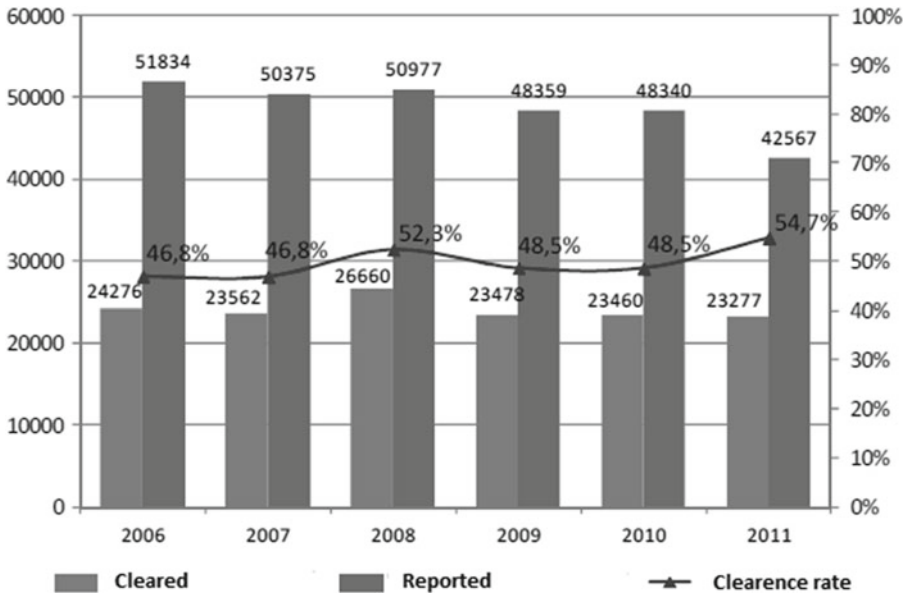


Fig. 5 Number of police-recorded total crime and clearance 2006–2011 (Source: Ministry of Justice, 2012)

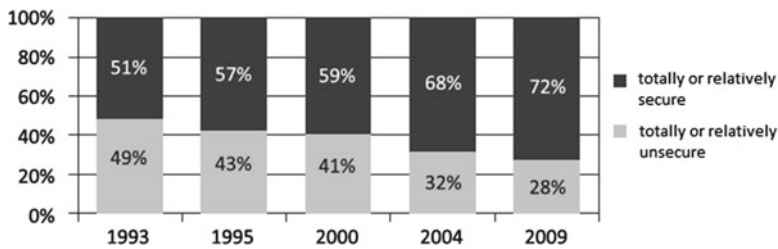


Fig. 6 How secure do you feel yourself after dark? 1993–2009 (Source: Ministry of Justice, 2012)

and robberies) began to decrease in 1995. In criminology, it is generally accepted that, rather than the total number of crimes, a better indicator of the dynamics of criminality is the number of violent crimes, especially the number of homicides. According to the Ministry of Justice crime statistics, two-thirds of violent crime have been committed in state of alcohol intoxication and the same share of homicides are related to conflicts between persons in alcohol intoxication (Fig. 7).

The official crime victimization survey very much supports the statistical trends in overall criminality. According to the latest national crime victimization survey of 2010 (Kuriteoohvriteuring 2009, 2010), fear of crime is decreasing. Seventy-two per cent of Estonian people feel

completely or quite safe walking alone on the street in their neighborhood after dark. Compared to 2000, when the Estonian people’s fear of crime was the highest in comparison with other countries, Estonia is now among the average countries. The people living in the north-eastern border area with Russia feel the least safe.

The victimization survey also revealed that the number of both crimes and crime victims has decreased in recent years. Twenty-six per cent of people were victimized by some criminal offence in 2008; in 1999, the percentage of victims was 33%. Forty-two criminal offences were committed per 100 persons interviewed; in 1999, 72 criminal offences. In International comparison the percentage of people victimized during a year exceeds the average indicator for other

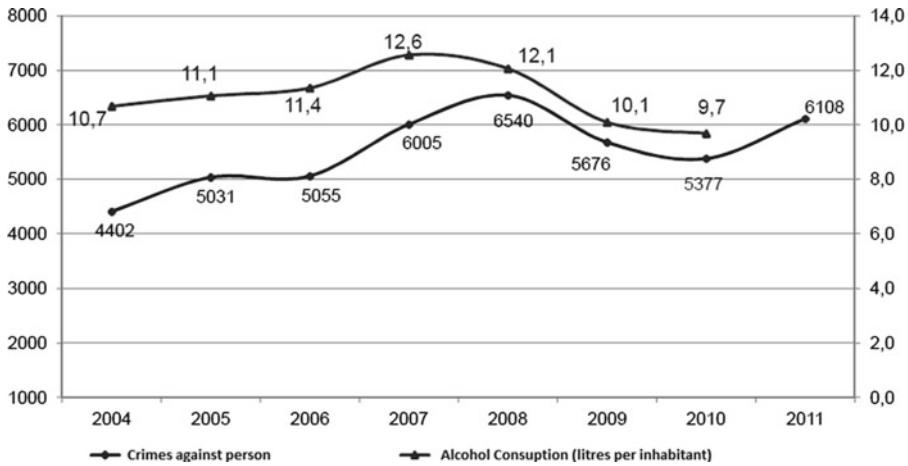


Fig. 7 Crimes against person and alcohol consumption 2004–2011 (Source: Statistics Estonia, 2012)

European countries and is similar to Denmark and Switzerland.

Fewer criminal offences are reported to the police raising the issue of latency. Altogether, 61 % of crime victims did not report to the police what had happened in 2010. Compared to the earlier surveys, the reporting decreased with respect to thefts that had been committed from cars and living quarters. People in Estonia turn to the police less frequently when compared to other countries, for example, in Austria 70 % of incidents are reported. In Estonia, those living in the mainly Russian speaking North-Eastern part of the country report crime less compared to those in other regions. In International comparison, the Estonian people's faith that the police will do something to solve crimes is also smaller. The fact anyhow has not influenced the overall high public trust towards the police as institution.

Estonia does not have a history of violent demonstrations and the events of April 2007, which made international news, when a number of demonstrators looted shops, is widely seen as a unique event, unlikely to be repeated. When demonstrations do occur, they are invariably small and peaceful.

Comparing the trends of Estonian organized crime to that in Russia (which was long time

considered to have the biggest influence on criminality in Estonia) shows the importance of a functioning state, economy, and society as the primary means of limiting the scope and extent of organized crime. In Estonia, transnational organized crime has developed from the early 1990s smuggling of precious metals during the "Estonian Metal Age," to drug production and transportation to other Baltic Sea countries. On the other hand, Estonian domestic organized criminal groups are more engaged in sophisticated economic and IT crimes. As long as the economy is demand-driven, there is a profit-based interest in providing illegal goods and reinvesting the money either into legal or illegal business.

Secondly, the Estonian case draws attention to the fact that despite the strong historical connections with Russia and the origins of Estonian organized crime being in the former Soviet Union, there is no evidence that the Russian criminal groups had colonized Estonia or even have strong influences there. On the contrary, while many foreign criminal groups, including Finnish, Swedish, and Russian, operate in the territory of Estonia, their linkages to the Estonian criminal groups are more like business connections rather than of command or subordination (Pullat, 2008).

Police Training and Police Educational Systems

At the beginning of Estonian re-independence, two police basic training centers' were created, one of which was in a Tallinn suburb in a former "militia" school. The other, a newly created (1990) center for training police officers, was near the resort town Pärnu (Paikuse). In 1997, the Tallinn Police School closed its doors and was transferred to Paikuse as well. The education provided in these schools consisted until 1992, from 6-month basic training, which after was extended to 10 months basic training.

An official degree could have been obtained from the Estonian Public Service Academy's Police College, which was founded in 1992. The first class graduated in 1996.

In 2004 the Police School was united with the Academy's Police College and there remained only one institution where the police education is given until today. In 2006 also Border Guard School was united under Public Service Academy (Angelstok, 2007).

In 2010 the Academy was renamed to Estonian Academy of Security Sciences, putting more than earlier emphasis on research work. Today the Academy deploys staff over 270 teachers and support staff and 1,060 students. Three hundred and seventy-three among them are studying on police or border guard curricula. Every year about 120 officers get their basic education diploma or degree from the Academy's Police and Border Guard College.

In the college there are police vocational training curricula and higher education curricula. Basic patrolman's preparedness is delivered through 40 weeks of vocational training. Higher education 3-year curricula delivers border guard officer, constabulary or criminal police learning outcomes. All the curricula outcomes are discussed and approved by the college council headed by the national police commissioner (Sisekaitseakadeemia põhimäärus, 2012).

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

The Estonian Police was reestablished in November of 1990, when a respective governmental regulation was approved (Liiva, 1993). The reestablishment process of the Estonian Police, like that of the Border Guard, already started during the Soviet occupation. Pursuant to the Police act (Politsei seadus, 1991) that came into force on 1 March 1991, the police replaced the Soviet Militia (Fig. 8).

In its first development period from 1991 to 2004, police organization, structure and functions in large scale remained the same, with minor changes in it. The number of police prefectures decreased during that period from 18 to 15, corresponding to the number of regional counties. Constant dialog during the years was about position of criminal police in the structure of the police (does it need to be separate from regional prefectures or part of them) and the structural location of traffic police. Even today the structure and functions of criminal police are under discussion putting more emphasis on serious organized crime issues as the latter comes from political platform of the minister.

The second development period began in 2004, when the number of local police prefectures and corresponding policing areas was cut to four prefectures. The initiative was in media also named as one of the catalysts of overall regional reform in Estonia. Following the regionalizing reform in the police, also other governmental structures (such as courts, prosecutors office etc.) started to regionalize its services into four regions.

Reforming the police has been in different forms described in the political platforms of the ruling parties since late 1990s of last century. Mainly the platforms were talking about strengthening the law enforcement. The 1999 police development plan (Eesti Politsei, 1999) adopted the political reform goal to optimize the number of police prefectures. Since then, the goal was

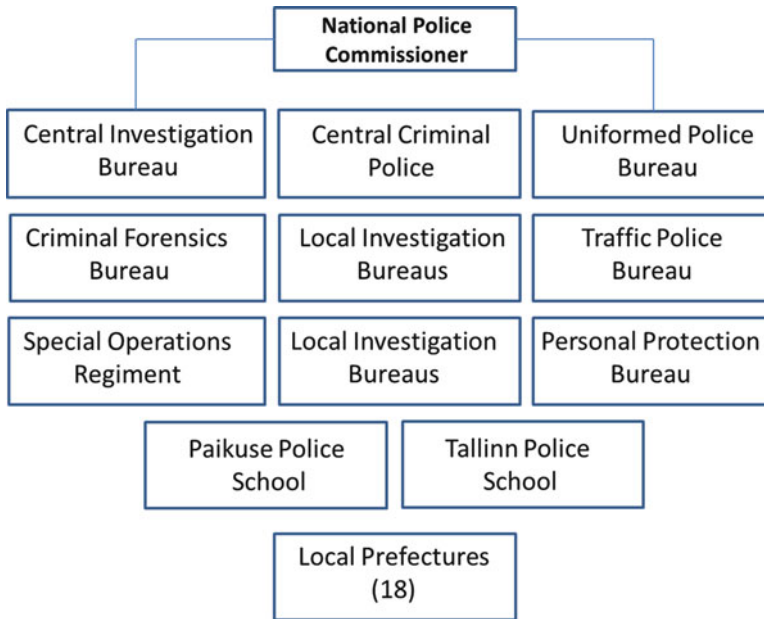


Fig. 8 Structure of the police as described in the Police act of 1991 (Source: Politsei seadus, 1991)

under dispute for years, when finally in 2006, minister of the interior Kalle Laanet initiated the most extensive yet analyses of the roles and future challenges of the police, border guard, and migration service (Lumi, Uudelepp, & Tabur, 2010). All three were different governmental institutions under the Ministry of the Interior.

The merging of the Police Board, Border Guard Board, and the Citizenship and Migration Board into a single PBGB in the year 2001, was the largest public sector reform during the time after Estonia regained its independence in 1991, both in terms of the number of employees of the merged institutions (a total of nearly 7,000 employees) and of the social significance of the organizations.

According to the planners of the reform, their estimate was that by joining the support structures of the state agencies it is possible to cut administrative costs by 5–10 %. The expenditures on internal security in the budget are approximately €136 million, thus savings in the order of €13.5 million are significant. The emergence of the effect of economies of scale is still too early to assess. This is made difficult also by the fact that the fiscal environment has changed fundamentally

during the period between planning and implementation of the reform. One can probably agree that the savings from the reform have made it possible for large budget cuts not to have resulted in suffering of the core functions of internal security (Lumi et al., 2010).

As a result of reorganization in January 2010, the Estonian Police and Border Guard Board have taken on the responsibilities formerly assumed by the Police Board, the Citizenship and Migration Board, the Border Guard Board.

Conclusion

The history of newly independent Estonian law enforcement can be described as permanent reform from force to a service. While moving towards service-oriented organization also the number of administrative units of police, prosecutors' office and courts have been significantly cut to put more resources into core activities of the institutions. The recent law enforcement reform in 2010 united previous police, border guard, and migration services into one—PBGB, making it the biggest state institution in the country. All the officers of the

new service are called the police. Twenty years of reforms have led to a relatively high trust towards police, when more than 80 % of people consider police trustworthy and more than 50 % of people assess police performance as “professional.”

Law enforcement in Estonia is fully under responsibility of state. There is only one police with some separate governmental investigative institutions making the responsibility for developments in criminality and crime fighting clear and transparent.

In recent years the police have also enjoyed high support from NGO sector. This is a result of high trust towards the police as people are open to give the police voluntary support for an example in the form of NHW movement. Presently there are more than 3,000 households joined the movement. NHW acts in Estonia as supporting organization between people, local government, and the police.

The high involvement in voluntary support to policing and high level of police trust has put a solid base for people feeling secure in their living areas. As recent crime victimization surveys have shown, more than 70 % of people feel secure or relatively secure in their respective living areas. Even though the official crime reporting rate in Estonia is according to victimization surveys one of the lowest in Europe.

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Policing in Germany: Developments in the Last 20 Years

Thomas Feltes, Uwe Marquardt, and Stefan Schwarz

Country Information Regarding Police Organization

The Federal Republic of Germany is located in the heart of Europe, linking the west with the east, the north with the south. Germany, Europe's most densely populated country, has been flanked by nine neighboring states since the reunification of the two German states in 1990. Germany covers an area of 357,022 km². For most of its history, Germany was not a unified state but a loose association of territorial states that together made up the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" and in 1871 the "German Empire" was founded. Currently, the Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic society with a constitution, granting basic democratic and freedom rights to its inhabitants. Germany, divided into 16 federal states, is characterized by the largest economy within Europe, the fourth largest by nominal GDP and the fifth largest by purchasing power parity (World Bank, 2012) and counts as one of the major political powers and technical

leaders of the European continent. The Legislation occurs at the federal as well as the state level and each state is governing its own area.

The states that exist today were established after 1945 but have in part retained their old ethnic traditions and characteristics as well as their historical boundaries. There are some 81.8 million people living in Germany currently, about 15 million people with migrant background, mainly from Turkey, but also from former USSR (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012a, 2012b). Currently around 20 % of the population own a German passport, but have a non-German background. If we look at given ages, groups, and certain areas of Germany, e.g., industrial zones and bigger cities, this percentage rises up to 50 % and above. During the transformation of Germany from an agrarian to an industrial society, many Poles migrated to the rapidly transforming areas around the Ruhr River, because the expansion of the coal mining industry required manpower which could not be supplied from the nearby regions. From the 1870s, a large migration wave of the aforementioned groups started to settle in the Ruhr area. Nowadays, about two million people with Polish background live in Germany. Later on, in the 1960s, large-scale immigration of Turkish workers occurred, due to the demand for labor in Germany and the poor living conditions in parts of Turkey. Approximately four million people with Turkish roots are living in Germany at this time.

The question, whether something like the *Urheimat* (homeland) of Germans really exists, is

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still unsolved. Profound changes in culture (and language) occurred over centuries, resulting in the fact that an indigenous population in Germany only exists in the minds of some Germans. This is a result of discussions about “foreign infiltration” during the 1990s, when Germany had high numbers of asylum seekers. Whereas Germany may be regarded as an open and tolerant society in general, a resulting xenophobia and aversion against foreigners in the population peaked in 2010, when a very controversial book with the title *Germany Abolishes Itself* (from T. Sarrazin, a politician from the German Socialist Party, former member of the Executive Board of the Federal German Bank and senator of finance for the State of Berlin) was published. It states that people with Turkish background are less intelligent than (indigenous) Germans and sparking a nationwide controversy about the costs and benefits of the ideology of multiculturalism.

Another issue is the loss of cultural identity to modernism with the younger generation, especially young people with a Turkish origin. They are now in the “third generation” after their grandparents came to Germany in the 1960s as guest workers. By law, every German citizen (indigenous and minorities included) has the unrestricted right to form (law abiding) political parties, stand for office and vote in federal, regional, and local elections. Some states also allow people with EU-citizenship to vote for local governments.

Members of migrant minorities, as well as people of Jewish religion and Roma/Gypsies, have faced considerable racist violence in Germany in recent years. One estimates, that nearly 150 people have been killed by right wing political extremists since 1990 (date of the reunification of Germany). After a series of killings by a group of right wing extremists, discovered in 2011, which had remained unsolved for years, the lack of cooperation between the German police and the federal and 16 state offices for the protection of the constitution was discussed. Three members of the so-called Zwickau cell murdered nine people of non-German background and one female police officer, despite being watched by police and intelligence agents for years. It became obvious that the authorities

had failed, but also that many fellow citizens and even neighbors might have looked away during this period of 10 years while the three perpetrators lived underground. Besides that, the German majority regards immigration as a threat to high wages, employment, the welfare state, and ethnic and religious homogeneity. Tough policies on immigration and security against terrorism have been vote-catchers in recent elections.

Police Organization, Structure, and Function

The first organized police forces in Germany date back to the early nineteenth century, when the idea of Napoleon, to establish a *gendarmérie nationale* in France, has been adopted by some German Kingdoms. After the Second World War (1939–1945), the German police were under the supervision of the military regional governments of the Allies. With the new German constitution of 1949 and the foundation of 11 states in the early 1950s in West Germany, these states got the power to establish their own police forces. In East Germany (German Democratic Republic or GDR) as a state within the Warsaw pact, one central police force was established. After the reunification of Germany, each of the 16 German states has its own police law and its own police force. Furthermore, there are the Federal Police, the Federal Criminal Police Office (*Bundeskriminalamt*—BKA), the Police of the Parliament and the Federal Customs. The uniformed (state) police and the criminal investigators (usually in plain clothes) worked together in the same force. The uniformed or patrol police establish and ensure public safety and security in general, deal with public order, patrol services, high risk operations, traffic problems and accidents, and minor crimes. The criminal investigation police are responsible for all other crimes.

The former People’s Police of the GDR was dissolved upon reunification. Those members successfully passing the vetting process have been integrated into the police force of the so-called new states. The vetting mainly aimed at checking the possible involvement of People’s

Table 1 Inhabitants (2011), Police (2012), and Crime in Germany (2010)

State	Inhabitants (in 1,000)	Police ^a	Police-pop. ratio ^b	Crimes per 100,000 ^c	Crime detection rate (%)
Baden Württemberg	10,753	23,207	1:463	5,324	59.9
Bavaria	12,542	31,573	1:397	4,958	64.6
Berlin	3,468	17,219	1:201	13,798	48.4
Brandenburg	2,500	7,437	1:337	8,135	54.0
Bremen	661	2,393	1:276	13,463	48.9
Hamburg	1,789	7,890	1:227	12,669	46.2
Hessen	6,067	13,866	1:438	6,629	58.3
Lower Saxony	7,914	18,676	1:424	7,347	62.9
Mecklenburg Western-Pom.	1,639	5,448	1:301	7,842	60.1
North-Rhine Westphalia	17,845	38,998	1:458	8,073	49.9
Rhineland-Palatinate	3,999	9,539	1:419	6,974	62.5
Saarland	1,017	2,811	1:362	7,030	55.3
Saxony	4,137	11,209	1:369	6,972	57.3
Saxony-Anhalt	2,335	7,351	1:318	8,028	58.3
Schleswig Holstein	2,833	6,689	1:424	7,822	50.0
Thuringia	2,235	6,724	1:332	6,136	65.3
Germany	81,739	211,030	1:387	7,253	56.0

Source: Lehmann and Proll (2012): 525–528

^aPolice officers (excluding officers-in-training)

^bInhabitants per police officer

^cDocumented crimes per 100,000 inhabitants

Police members in the former organization of the *Staatssicherheitsdienst* (STASI—the highly politic secret service of the GDR) have been integrated into the police force of the so-called new states. The Ministry for State Security and the STASI, which offices have been stormed in popular uprisings and whose files have been in part destroyed and the remains removed into Western custody, was dissolved.

The police are part of the executive force. This is ruled in article 20(3) of the German constitution (legislation concerning separation of power). The police laws of the 16 states deal with the prevention of crime, the preservation of public security and order, and the warding off impending danger. This is the main reason why there is no unique strategy or philosophy for policing in Germany: each state and even each local police authority is entitled to set its own priorities in the field of law enforcement and policing, such as for preventing or combating crime and whether and how to implement strategies like community policing.

The total number of police officers (States) on duty is about 211,000, resulting in one officer per

387 inhabitants. In fact, if one calculates losses due to the shift system, illness, training, administrative tasks in offices, ministries, etc., the number is more likely to be one officer available for 8,000–10,000 inhabitants at any given moment (Feltes, 1996: 583). The Police—population ratio differs from 1:201 for Berlin to 1:463 for Baden-Wuerttemberg (see Table 1). The crime detection rate ranges from 46.2 % (Hamburg) to 65.3 % (Thuringia).

The costs for Police are shown in Table 2.

The Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) assists the federal and state units as a clearing agency regarding criminals and criminal actions. Federal officers investigate certain actions, however, notably those inimical to the security of the state or criminal actions that transcend the confines of any given state.

The German Federal Police (former German Border Guard), as the BKA under the Federal Ministry of Interior, is responsible for ID-checks and policing the borders (especially at train stations, airports, and streets, crossing the border or close to the border). In recent years, this institution has increased cooperation with the state

Table 2 Police presence and costs (2012)

State	Inhabitants (in 1,000)	Police	Police-pop. ratio	Police budget (in 1,000)	Costs per citizen (in €)
Baden Württemberg	10,753	23,207	1:463	1,047,783	97.43
Bavaria	12,542	31,573	1:397	1,888,776	150.58
Berlin	3,468	17,219	1:201	1,486,926	428.64
Brandenburg	2,500	7,437	1:337	463,870	185.54
Bremen	661	2,393	1:276	182,268	275.68
Hamburg	1,789	7,890	1:227	664,215	371.28
Hessen	6,067	13,866	1:438	1,226,609	202.18
Lower Saxony	7,914	18,676	1:424	1,181,060	149.23
Mecklenburg Western-Pom.	1,639	5,448	1:301	411,858	251.29
North-Rhine Westphalia	17,845	38,998	1:458	2,500,834	140.40
Rhineland-Palatinate	3,999	9,539	1:419	632,600	158.17
Saarland	1,017	2,811	1:362	148,317	145.76
Saxony	4,137	11,209	1:369	852,388	206.00
Saxony-Anhalt	2,335	7,351	1:318	417,382	201.88
Schleswig Holstein	2,833	6,689	1:424	358,775	126.63
Thuringia	2,235	6,724	1:332	351,218	157.14
Germany	81,739	211,030	1:387	13,868,777	169.97

Source: Lehmann and Proll (2012): 528

police forces, e.g., in patrolling train stations and areas close to streets and shopping areas. What is called security partnership is in the light of the German constitution, a difficult subject because the constitution separates the state administration (and police is part of it) forces from the federal administration (and therefore the federal police forces). Usually it is not even allowed for a police officer of a given state to cross the (unmarked) border to another (German) state. He or she has to call the police of the respective state; only in a case of emergency, the officer is allowed to cross the border and to take the necessary measures or even use their firearm. An exception is allowed in case of police operations that require forces from other states or the federal police under existing administrative agreements, as for example larger Crowd or Incident management operations.

The responsibilities and powers of the BKA are regulated by law. The mandate is defined in the German Constitution and in the “BKA Law” and their headquarters is located in Wiesbaden. The BKA is subordinate to the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The BKA as the central police agency in Germany has the task of coordinating crime suppression at national and international level. All official communications between the

German police and other countries are routed through the BKA. The BKA investigates outstanding cases of international crime as defined by law either on its own initiative, or whenever a public prosecutor’s office puts it in charge of such investigations due to the significance of the criminal offence in question. The BKA is also responsible for protecting the members of the constitutional organs of the Federation. The BKA serves as the international criminal police force of the Federal Republic of Germany, which means that the BKA is responsible for investigations and searches involving a large number of cases in the field of international organized crime. In 2009, a total of 5,103 persons worked at the BKA (2009: 5).

The exact assignment of responsibilities depends on the respective federal state: in some states, the uniformed police deals with more than 70 % of all crimes, in other states the percentage is less than 30 %. An important part of the work of the uniformed police is often district policing. These officers are seen to have a positive impact on the relationship between police and citizens, by being present and establishing trusted contacts. It is the German version of community policing and suggested that their actions improve

the acceptance of policing and enhance the overall feeling of safety. In some cities and communities this has led to the specific so-called security partnerships between police and representatives of citizen organizations, businesses, and of private and state institutions. These security partnerships deal with social problems in the respective city. In some way this work can be regarded as community policing, but the work of the district police is often seen more in terms of “good to have around.” Their deployment and handling differs by city.

All state police forces are subordinate to the respective State Ministers of the Interior. The internal structures of these police forces differ somewhat (which makes standards subject to local variation). Usually directly subordinate to the ministries of the interior are the regional police headquarters (called *Präsidium*). These direct operations over a wide area or in a big city and have administrative and supervisory functions. The *Präsidium* often has direct control of the force’s specialist units such as highway patrol, mounted police detachments, and canine units. Under the regional headquarters, usually there are several district police headquarters (*Direktionen*) serving communities of 200,000 up to 600,000 citizens. Subordinate to each *Direktion*, there are several local stations (*Inspektion*) or precincts (*Revier*) that are manned on a 24-h basis, conduct day-to-day policing, and serve as points of contact for local citizens. Below this level, the Police post (*Polizeiposten* as it is named in some states) is a small police office manned by one or two officers, normally only during office hours.

The uniformed Police wear the respective federal or state patch on their uniform sleeve and sometimes metal city badges are worn at the right breast pocket indicating which police department they work for. Nameplates have been discussed over the last years, and some state police has introduced them, mainly on a voluntary basis. Police officers can be transferred anywhere within their state.

The criminal justice code applies to the whole Federal Republic. The authorities and officials of the police force must investigate crimes and take all measures necessary to prevent a crime from

being overlooked. This principle of legality is the most unique regulation: The police, neither as an institution nor the police officer, himself/herself is allowed to dismiss a case. This is only possible by the office of the public prosecutor (attorney of the state), where every case has to be reported. According to the criminal justice code, the police are assistant public officials to the state attorney’s office. The public prosecutor is solely responsible for prosecution of crimes. However, individual measures (arrests, searches, impoundments) can be authorized by the police if there is no time to contact a public prosecutor or a judge. The attorney of state also may give orders to the police. But in most investigations (especially concerning minor and medium crime) the necessary measures are taken without the cooperation of the state attorney, the case is merely sent to the prosecutor’s office, once the police investigation is completed. The state attorney takes the decision on whether or not to prosecute the case and following the completion of investigations, the office of the public prosecutor decides whether the proceedings should be terminated or prosecution instigated. About 70 % of all cases, brought to the prosecutor’s office by the police, are not processed by the court or through a written order, but dismissed by the prosecutor (the proceedings have been closed by the prosecutor). The police are solely responsible for the prevention of imminent dangers and in such cases not inferior to the prosecution service.

The use of firearms by police officers is only permitted if the general requirements for the use of immediate coercion have been met and using bodily force, devices aiding bodily force, or batons carried along have been applied without success or it is obvious that their application will prove unsuccessful. Firearms may only be used against persons if the success of police measures cannot be achieved by using them against objects. A firearm may not be used if there is a high probability of endangering innocent people. If using a firearm is the only means to avert a direct threat to life, this does not apply. Firearms may only be used against an individual person:

- (a) To prevent or to interrupt the commission of an offence which according to the circumstances

Table 3 Use of a gun by German Police Officers (2006)

Use of gun (total)	6,038
Under these	
Against people	90
People killed	6
People hurt	15
Shootings at dangerous or hurt animals or things	5,948
To help other people	44
To avoid committing of a serious crime	2
To avoid offender from escaping	41

Source: Lorei (2012)

appears to be a crime punishable by law with at least a year imprisonment, an offence that is to be committed or that is being committed by using or carrying along a firearm or explosives

- (b) To apprehend a person trying to escape arrest or having his identity checked if this person is caught committing an act, which according to the circumstances appears to be a crime or an offence which is committed using or carrying along a firearm
- (c) To prevent escape or to recapture a person that is being or was being detained as a result of being sentenced for committing a crime, in protective custody, because the person is suspected of having committed a crime, due to a judicial decision or because he is suspected of having committed a crime, if indications are that this person will use a firearm or explosives

Consequently, the use of a gun by a police officer is a very rare event in Germany (see Table 3).

Up to 8 police officers (usually 1 or 2) are killed every year in the line of duty, mostly as a result of a firearm, discharged against a police officer or other weapons used. Officers killed in traffic or other accidents are not included (Lorei, 2012).

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

Nearly, but not all unlawful (criminal) acts dealt with by the police, including attempts subject to punishment, are recorded in the Police Crime

Statistics. Drug offences handled by the customs authorities are also included. Breaches of regulations and road traffic offences are not covered. In addition, offences committed outside the Federal Republic of Germany and offences against the criminal laws of the individual German states are not included. Offences by children who cannot be held responsible under criminal law due to their age, and by mentally ill persons who also cannot be held responsible under criminal law, are included as well. The statistics are prepared by the BKA. The Police Crime Statistics Yearbooks since 1997 and the corresponding tables of time-series data starting in 1987 are published on the BKA homepage. The data provided by the 16 State Criminal Police Offices are presented in the form of tables and graphics along with commentaries. In 2010, 5,933,278 cases were recorded in the Federal Republic of Germany. The offence rate (number of cases per 100,000 inhabitants) is 7,253. Although the number of theft cases has decreased continuously during the last years, theft still dominates the overall crime statistics with a total number of 2,301,786 cases and a share of 30 %. The chart shows the number of crimes, registered by the police, cases solved, and offenders.

On average, about half of all crimes are solved, but the clear-up rate varies substantially between individual areas of crime. The clearance rate for theft from cars is 12.5 %, for murder and manslaughter, however, 95.4 %. Figure 1 shows the rate of offenders per 100,000 of the respective age groups for men (left) and women (right).

The informational value of the Police Crime Statistics is limited in particular by the fact that the police do not learn about all the criminal offences that are committed. The extent to which crime goes unreported depends on the type of offence, and this can vary over the course of time in response to a variety of factors (e.g., public willingness to report offences, the intensity of crime detection efforts). Thus the Police Crime Statistics do not provide an exact reflection of crime, but rather one that is more or less accurate depending on the specific type of offence. There exists no nationwide, yearly victim survey in Germany.

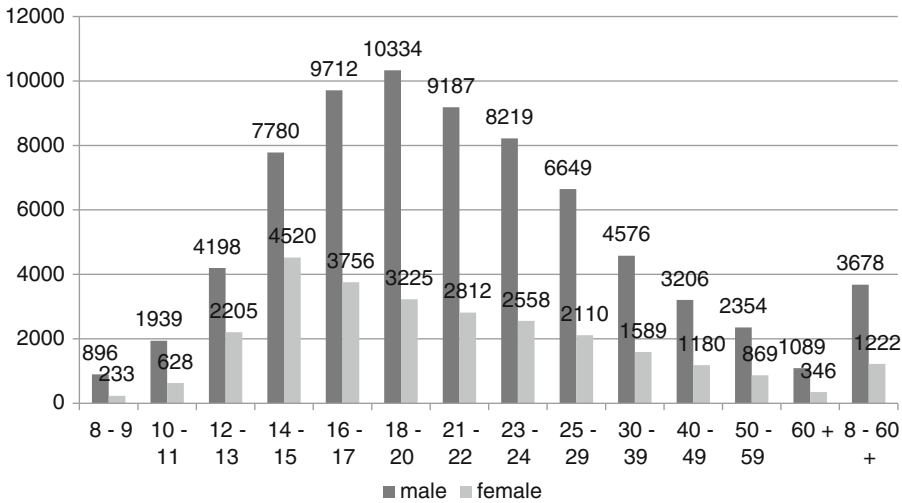


Fig. 1 Offenders per 100,000, German inhabitants by age groups (Source: BKA, 2010: 85; chart created by the authors)

Police Training and Education Systems

The recruitment of police officers is organized by the respective state police and federal police authorities, in some states the recruitment advertising and organization of information campaigns is separated from the recruitment (selection process) itself. The kind and duration of the selection process vary. It may be conducted by internal assessors or supported by external experts (e.g., psychologists, social scientists, human resources experts), it may consist of oral examinations, work sample, exercises in writing, intelligence tests, typical assessment centers, or other kind of exercises. The maximum age for deployment as a police officer is dependent on the respective state or federal provisions and goes up to a maximum age of 36 years. Other criteria have to be fulfilled as well (minimum height, maximum weight, body-mass-factor, fitness- and medical-checks, etc.).

Altogether there are different ranks on three levels (middle, high, and higher) (see “salary”). Approximately 50 % of all police officers belong to the middle ranks, 45 % to high ranks, and less than 5 % to higher ranks. In a state of national emergency the federal government may commandeer the services of various state police units, together with the standby police reserve that is trained and

equipped by each state for action during civil emergencies. This standby police reserve is also used as a riot police in each state. Usually police recruits have to join this police force for between 1 and 3 years after their initial training and before they are submitted to a local police force.

The three different careers within the police service are generally strictly separated from each other which means that a promotion from the last step of a career (e.g., middle ranks) to the first step of the superior career (e.g., the higher intermediate ranks) is not possible. Entering the middle ranks after two and a half years of education (constable and above; the so-called green ranks, currently mostly blue ranks due to the color of the uniform and the badges of rank); another examination and selection process is required to enter the silver ranks (police Inspector and above); and then again to enter the golden ranks (superintendent and above). The possibilities for promotions within the respective career depend on the performance appraisal, the legal provisions (e.g., certain minimum time of service to the next promotion), the budget, and other criteria (gender, number of years in the service, special qualification, etc.).

The training for the middle ranks (constable) consists of theoretical as well as practical

components (dual system). The recruits gain knowledge and skills in law subjects (e.g., law on police, criminal code, criminal procedure code, constitutional law, traffic law), operational doctrine, criminalistics, intervention training, psychology, political science, sport-self defense and shooting training as well as behavioral training (theoretical framework of conflict management as well as role plays).

To change from the middle ranks to the higher intermediate ranks a further 3 years of study at a police university or college (University of Applied Sciences for Public Administration) is required. Once the police student (who gets paid during the study program, approximately 1,000€/month net) has successfully completed his studies, he will be qualified for the higher intermediate ranks and will obtain the grade and diploma of a bachelor of arts in public administration and police and is promoted to the rank of an inspector.

To proceed to the higher ranks, a further 2-year study program at the Police University in Münster (the only one in Germany) is required. This former so-called Police Leadership Academy (PFA) was converted into a formal Police University in 2006 and conducts the master study program "Public administration—Police management." After finishing the study program, the respective police officer will obtain a master degree and will be promoted to the rank of superintendent.

The police university in Münster is the central police institution for higher education for the 18 police services. Furthermore it offers training courses for all senior staff, is engaged in police research and serves as focal point for international education and training activities. Based on the master study program, a PhD program is currently planned to be implemented. Since 2007, the German Police University has a chair in police science, the second one beside the chair of criminology and police science at the Ruhr-University in Bochum established in 2003.

The Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) runs its own recruitment and education system. Officer candidates receive their education during a 3-year study program at the Federal University of Public Administration. After successfully completing the study program, the students obtain

(like those who have been trained at the state police universities of applied sciences) the title "Bachelor of Arts." The BKA also provides training for civil servants at state and federal level to qualify them as experts in the fields of forensic science and fingerprinting. Numerous special police training courses, advanced training in scientific and technical fields, foreign language courses, and task-oriented operational training complete the educational program.

Any applicant for one of the police services has to fulfill the respective requirements which may vary between the 16 states, the federal police and the BKA. Generally the applicant must be an EU-citizen (in former times only native Germans were entitled to enter the police service) but in certain cases ("for operational requirements") a non-EU-citizen may be admitted as well. In recent times the police services, driven by political will, try to increase the percentage of applicants coming from non-German countries ("quota for migration"). In particular the urban police departments are interested in recruiting officers from ethnic minorities to reduce language and cultural barriers. However, minorities still make up less than 1 % of the entire police staff. The state police service had employed female officers since the services were reconstituted after World War II. Initially female officers were only assigned to cases involving juveniles and women but in the mid-1970s they were entitled to become patrol officers. Against the background that 40–50 % of police trainees are currently female, it can be foreseen that the proportion of women in the police service of currently roughly 20 % will considerably increase.

To enter the before mentioned higher immediate career, 12 or 13 years of school and a university-entrance diploma (A-level) is mandatory. For the applicants for the middle ranks (only in some states), an O-level (10 years of school) is sufficient. The two and a half year education comprises both theoretical and practical subjects such as legal studies, law enforcement, psychology, sociology, political science, criminology, criminalistics, self-defense, shooting, and crowd/riot control. After finishing their education, the young officers may be assigned in praxis, be it on patrol

or within formed police units. With few exceptions, recruits must go through the street patrol experience for at least a couple of years.

After gaining some practical experience, the constables are entitled to apply for the higher intermediate career and after being selected, may undergo 2 or 3 more years of education at a Police University of Applied Sciences to become either criminal investigators or middle-management supervisors (e.g., shift leaders). They will obtain a university diploma in public administration or a bachelor degree (“bachelor of arts in public administration and police”). Due to the Bologna process, most of the states (and the BKA) offer a certified 180 ECTS Bachelor study program.

In some states new recruits are entitled to enter this higher immediate education directly (without practical experience) and to start their career as inspector candidates. The recruits are usually living at home or in private apartments and are only called into barracks for special training purposes (such as crowd and riot control). Some states provide student housing for police students.

Police education and training is organized in special schools, colleges, training centers or universities, separate from other universities and under the supervision of the federal or state ministries of interior. Openness and reform of training is difficult because of this “closed circuit” system in which training is organized from the beginning until the end in and by internal police training institutions, under the responsibility and supervision of the state ministries of interior.

Only a few police officers or civil servants within the police service (e.g., experts for chemical analysis, DNA-tests, lawyers, psychologists) are employed with a degree from a “free” university being entitled to enter the high career directly. After graduating and being appointed as a life-long civil servant, the officer has to work until the statutory retirement age which varies between 60 and 65 years. An early retirement is only possible in cases of disability and even then a redeployment to an administrative post is likely. Apart from a few options within the private security system, the typical police career doesn’t allow any other occupational engagement outside the police service.

Changes in Policing Over the Last 20 Years

Like other services, the police service in Germany had to adjust its security strategy to the political, social, and economic development during the last decades. The fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification in 1989/1990 led to a new political situation and challenged the then German Border Guard (later renamed to Federal Police) in many ways. The inner German border did not exist anymore; the security of the new east border had to be established and enhanced embedded in the evolving Schengen area. Combating illegal immigration (by asylum seekers and others) and the (organized) trafficking of human beings became one of the core tasks developing within the so-called integrated border management.

New developments in the 1990s such as the Internet created new crime phenomena, and the field of cyber crime developed rapidly. Well-known forms of crimes could be committed easier (e.g., fraud and child pornography) and the Internet as information and communication means created new possibilities in the field of economic and organized crime as well as in the field of crime against national security. Since combating organized crime (trafficking of human beings, narcotics, and corporate crime) was a major challenge in the 1990s, new legal and tactical instruments like financial investigations were implemented both for the prosecutors and the police. It became a new approach to sentence perpetrators not only by a penalty (monetary, imprisonment) but also to seize and confiscate, beside the instrumentalities, any kind of unlawful profit be it high-value vehicles, hard cash, bank assets, personal property, or real property. This kind of deprivation developed to an appropriate and successful instrument in combating serious crime.

In the mid 1990s, the importance of international police cooperation and collaboration within a common European space of security started to develop and does still. The political, financial, and legal framework of the respective multinational and international entities (e.g., Europol, Eurojust,

Interpol, OLAF, Frontex) was established and enhanced following the political process of “Europeanization.”

The German police also became involved in the large field of peacekeeping activities in the mid 1990s when federal and state police officers were deployed with the EU and later with the UN on the Balkans. While the total number of police officers involved in UN missions worldwide was 35 in 1988, the figure increased to 17,500 in 2011. Since 1990, roughly 6,000 German police officers have been deployed in international peacekeeping missions worldwide (see Feltes, 2008, 2009). They had to play a very difficult role, because the people, living in such countries in transition, do not only expect better economic situation as a consequence of separation, civil war, or other reasons for transition; they especially ask for safety and security. Theoretically, the idea that security is a public good has been developed since the end of the 1990s by Clifford Shearing and others (Ayling & Shearing, 2008). Security is a constitutive ingredient of the good society, and the democratic state has a necessary and virtuous role to play in the production of this good (Loader & Walker, 2007). In “weak” or “failed” states, often the government lacks the capacity to act as a security-enhancing political authority. This increase in crime in nearly all of these countries was one of the unintended, but unavoidable consequences of the opening and “democratization” of societies in nearly all former socialist countries (starting with the former GDR in 1989). These countries will follow the “western” ones in a world where neoliberalism and the order of egoism rule and rise. Those with the greatest supply of economic and social capital capture policing and security resources, leading to an inverse relation of risk against needs (Loader & Walker, 2007).

In the 1990s in Germany, the concept of victim protection became popular within the police. Following a legal, political, and social discussion, the police developed new approaches regarding the victim’s role. Victims of burglary, rape, or robbery were not only treated as witnesses or even means of evidence anymore (during the ongoing investigations as well as in the

course of the main trial), but became regarded as human beings with own interests and fears to be protected and supported in the line of a criminal offence as well as prevention of crime. Another example for this paradigm change is the legal and operative concept in cases of domestic violence. Since the early 2000s, the police play an essential part when assisting mostly women to escape from a violent relationship, e.g., by banning the perpetrator from the victim’s home. Banning orders, first established in Austria, have been introduced since then in all German states.

The terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 triggered a discussion about the appropriate security architecture in general and the role of the police services, the armed forces, and the intelligence services (federal and state offices for the protection of the constitution) in particular. New legal instruments were implemented and the collaboration and information flow between the different actors in the field of internal and external security were strengthened. The counter-terrorism police units had to get familiar to a new field of political crime—beside the well-known left- and right-wing terrorism—the Islamist terrorism which is still on the agenda of the German police.

German legislation that came in the wake of 9/11 emerged along several lines (see Albrecht, 2006 for strategies in Germany between 1970 and 2000 and after 9/11). Legislation, pre-designed for the control of transnational crime, money laundering, and illegal immigration as mentioned above, represents the core of antiterrorist legislation after September 11. The label of antiterrorism legislation was assigned to laws without any rational assessment or even evaluation, whether these laws really have any impact on terrorism (see Albrecht: 44). For example, the attempt to get hold of information collected by private telecommunication providers, in the creation of obligations on the private sector (individuals or companies) to actively support criminal law-based strategies of prevention and repression. These developments become visible in the further deployment and extension of new investigative methods that have been initiated since the

1980s within the context of control of organized crime or transaction crime as well as in the systematic and widespread use of conventional precarious investigative methods such as use of private informants or crown witnesses.

All state police forces carried out large-scale “fishing net expeditions” on the basis of police laws (partially amended immediately after 9/11 to include data mining investigation) and on the basis of various data sources (including university information systems). Police laws allow for “data mining” or launching “fishing net expeditions” when grave risk for the Federal Republic of Germany (or a state) or immediate dangers for life and limb of individuals require such investigative techniques in order to counter such risks (see Albrecht, 2006: 52). Systematic evaluation of the fishing net expeditions launched after 9/11 was not carried out. Scattered information allow for the conclusion that this approach did not generate relevant information. “ Sleeper cells” have not been identified. Search criteria applied (e.g. in Bavaria) concerned: male, 18–40 years old, Islamic religion, student or former student, legal immigration status, not dependent on social security and coming from selected (Islamic) countries), but suspicious cases have not been identified. The then Minister of Finance earmarked three billion marks for this counterterrorism package. The funds were collected from the tobacco tax (Albrecht: 52).

At the same time, a general trend towards increased punitiveness in Germany can be observed. Sentencing in Germany became harsher during the last 25 years, especially the sentencing of sex offenders. Sentences of 5 years or more in prison for rape and sexual assault have tripled between 1980 and 2004. The punishment for sexual abuse of children as the harshest sanctioning category has even multiplied by six (Oberfell, 2008: 305). Over the years, the portion of longer sentences has increased in Germany, although suspended sentences for probation have increased too. Nowadays offenders have a higher chance of receiving a longer prison sentence than 20 years before, but their probability of being incarcerated has decreased (Oberfell: 316).

Police, the Media, and Public Opinion on Police

Surveys show that for a number of years the citizens hold the police in high esteem. Nonetheless the police estimate their own position as far inferior. This contradiction is typical of the present situation inside the police. The latest surveys show that citizens hold the police in higher esteem than important organs of the constitutional democratic state, for instance the federal government and federal parliament. Latest results available from different independent institutes that have held surveys rank the police only second to the federal constitutional court. Irrespective of this general widespread acceptance of the police as an institution, police often find themselves being criticized by the public, mainly by the press. Reasons for this can be found mainly in mistakes made in spectacular criminal cases or in the interaction between the police and citizens. In this respect the press views itself as a democratic organ of control, the so-called fourth power of the state. Empirical surveys which assess how pleased the citizens are with the way the police act in general show a positive trend, and the police always occupy top positions in public rankings. In 1997, more than 50 % of all people surveyed found that the police (and not schools, politicians, churches, or families) should teach or bring “values” to the people. Usually, community surveys show a high degree of general satisfaction with the police service. Surveys rank police just after citizen groups, environmentalists, human rights activists, and courts.

According to surveys, in 2008, 11 % of the German population felt unsafe, compared to 47 % in 2001 (after 9/11) (Bulmahn et al., 2009: 129), but as we could show some years ago, fear of crime differs quite a lot between different regions and cities, although we do not have a clear explanation for that (Feltes, 1998).

Such feelings can have a certain influence on individuals and a population. Whereas some degree of fear can be healthy and help to solve problems; such feelings can erode public health, wellbeing, and trust into the neighborhood and

government. They may very well change the habitual way of life. Main factors that are influential are the psychology of risk perception, constant reminders of the risk of victimization (mainly through mass media) and public perceptions of neighborhood stability or instability. Fear of crime has increased slowly but steadily across the EU as a whole between 1996 and 2002. The only Member State where there has been a continuous decline since 1996 in the feeling of insecurity is Germany. Across the EU, women and the elderly are the demographic groups who are most likely to feel insecure. The level of fear of crime in large towns is in almost every country higher than in rural villages and country specific effects also explain different levels of crime fear. Crime-feared people have a higher punitivity level and are less satisfied with public safety.

Criminology in Germany has become increasingly aware of the fact that the fear of crime concept transcends the area of crime as crime fear is a sort of code or a symbol representing social anxieties in a more general sense. Hope and Sparks (2000: 5) consider that “sometimes the question of fear seems chronically enmeshed with the dynamics of detraditionalization and an accompanying sense of disruption of formerly settled moral and customary orders.” As in other countries, the fear of crime has become an important part of criminological discussion in Germany, in particular in the field of criminal policy (see Kury & Obergfell-Fuchs, 2008). This trend has been accentuated by the political events at the end of the 1980s with the German unification, the opening of the borders and the ensuing population migration. “Based on survey results, the actual or putative fear of citizens of becoming a victim of crime is often used, particularly on the political front, as an argument for a tougher stance on crime. With the rise of victim studies in the second half of the sixties, next to questions concerning the actual victimization, the fear of crime and other crime related aspects often became part of the inquiry, yet only a restricted number of questions could be asked for each of these secondary topics in order to avoid lengthy and thus impracticable research instruments” (Kury & Obergfell-Fuchs: 53).

Our knowledge about fear of crime is limited. Yet the results from surveys concerning the fear of crime are eagerly picked up by the media. The public tends to assume that the fear of crime is a consequence of high levels of crime.

Trends in Policing

Since the late 1980s the cost pressure on the public service in general and the police in particular led to the implementation of private economy proved instruments within the police service. The new public management idea was regarded as a concept to cope with the need to downsize personnel while the police tasks were still increasing in quantity and quality. Steering by output/outcome (instead of input in former times), client orientation, decentralization of responsibility for resources and employee satisfaction became key objectives in the line of policing. In the 2000s, this development was followed by concepts of staff development and organizational development. Since the personal expenses make up more than 70 % of the overall police budget, the optimization of organizational aspects and career development (“The right person to the right position”) were considered as indispensable to maintain public order and security even in times of cost pressure.

On the other side, the market and demand for private security has increased in Germany since the 1980s. Nowadays there are some 3,000 enterprises with some 173,000 employees. Compared to 121,000 employees in 1997, there was an increase of more than 40 % during the last 15 years. Their main tasks are securing buildings (private property), transporting money, and security services in relation to mass events like football games or concerts. Most of the private security guards are not armed: they are also not trained very well. The German law demands 4 weeks of training only. More and more, public police are cooperating with private police, e.g., in train stations or during mass events. The results of the World Football Championship in 2006, where 20,000 private security personnel were involved showed that this cooperation was successful.

But such police private partnerships are still resisted by the police unions and by most politicians. Nevertheless, more cities outsource security tasks to private companies, mainly in connection with the protection of buildings, but the topic of cooperation between state and private police forces is still heavily debated, especially by police unions.

In order to perform its original task (to assure the security of its citizens while maintaining an open society), the contemporary state no longer makes use of its own institutions like the police and the municipal departments for public order. Commercial security services, groups, and associations organized by the general public, nongovernmental organizations, and semigovernmental players all now collaborate with public security forces for the purpose of dealing with hazardous situations. While some of these organizations partly work autonomously, there is also extensive cooperation between organizations in the construction of private and public order. Such cooperation, to which various legal competences have been given and are organized differently, increasingly characterize the structure of security in European societies. According to the particular national state they are embedded in, this mix of different security providers has developed its own security structures and security cultures.

The situation within Germany (as within the EU) in relation to this new surveillance arrangement is exceedingly heterogeneous. Thus, there are no agreements or EU guidelines which, for instance, regulate uniform training standards for the police and private security forces as well as the competences these organizations have. Like social and educational systems, surveillance systems differ from one another considerably. In the same ways in which social and educational systems cause variable results concerning social standards and the level of provision in relation to different educational quality and participation in education, different surveillance regimes generate various levels of citizens' security from organized and everyday crime as well as from terrorism and politically motivated crime. It is also possible to achieve similar results in terms of security but by using very different methods.

In establishing and sustaining public security, certain tendencies towards extensive and new forms of regulation can be denoted. As in many other policy fields of modern services of general interest like social and economic policy, in the area of public security a transition has occurred from hierarchical control mode to a cooperative network mode in which the state concentrates on administrative functions (currently of various intensity). Political control occurs augmented by delegating assignments to networks of actors. Divisional boundaries and hierarchies in security institutions loose importance. Policing is still associated with the activities carried out by the public or state police, but on closer inspection policing is a much more integrated task in that various organizations, groups, and individuals participate. "Today, it is more accurate to suggest that policing is carried out by a network of public police and private security that is often overlapping, complementary and mutually supportive. Within this context, it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between public and private responsibilities" (Law Commission of Canada, 2006: XIII).

At the same time a multifaceted and new form of presence of the state can be observed. Regarding the change from an interventionist state to a cooperative state policy, this can no longer be regarded as a decision of a single actor but, as the concept of governance emphasizes, has to be designed by the interaction of many actors. Within public administration, "philosophical themes of governance are increasingly replacing traditional concepts of bureaucratic governmental structures, behaviors and models" (Jones, 2009: 338).

This is also the case for the field of public security operations. In the course of versatile and partially overlapping processes of delegation, expansion, and cooperation, an expanded network among those involved in public security has developed in the last few years (Stegmaier & Feltes, 2007; Terpstra, 2008). This has led to a *mixed economy* of policing (Crawford, Lister, Blackburn, & Burnett, 2005: 4) and to *hybrid policing institutions* (Law Commission of Canada, 2006: 26). The role of the police in particular within the field of public security is changing. Although remaining a central player in the

networks, “the police are only one node in a network of auspices and providers of nodes that work to govern security both alone and in conjunction with each other” (Shearing, 2005: 58).

Another term introduced by Shearing is *multilateralization*. This suggests that it is not only the privatization of public security which is at issue but also the many different actors involved in the creation, delivery, and guarantee of public security. Promising (often only short-term) improvement in efficiency and cost saving by widely establishing *Public Private Partnerships* will entail changes which will lead to a novel social form of public order transcending the concept of Public Private Partnership and opening into a dominant form of preventative security order (Bailey & Shearing, 2001). The concept of network is fast becoming omnipresent. In Germany, as in many countries, the global transformation of the national monopoly of violence described as “multilateralization of governances” can be regarded as a network of national-public, commercial and communitarian institutions. Concepts such as network-policing and plural policing are currently discussed in Germany, although not with the same intensiveness as, e.g., in Great Britain or the USA.

In many organizations, founded with the advancement of community crime prevention, these tendencies are obvious. But there is still a lack of research on the consequences of acceptance and success of cooperation with regard to the actors’ self-perception and perception of others. The cooperation between the actors (e.g., private security and public police) has been monitored rarely, and mainly in context of bigger sport events like the 2006 soccer championship in Germany (Bach, 2008). Most notably, possible advantages and disadvantages interplay and effects of synergy on their action are not investigated systematically. Studies that examine, for example, the importance of the prevailing political culture for the initiative, the formal principle and the successful outcome of security strategies in a comparative way (Schulze & van den Brink, 2006) are sparse. Legislation has an increasingly “tentative” character in order to react quickly to changing circumstances as the above mentioned

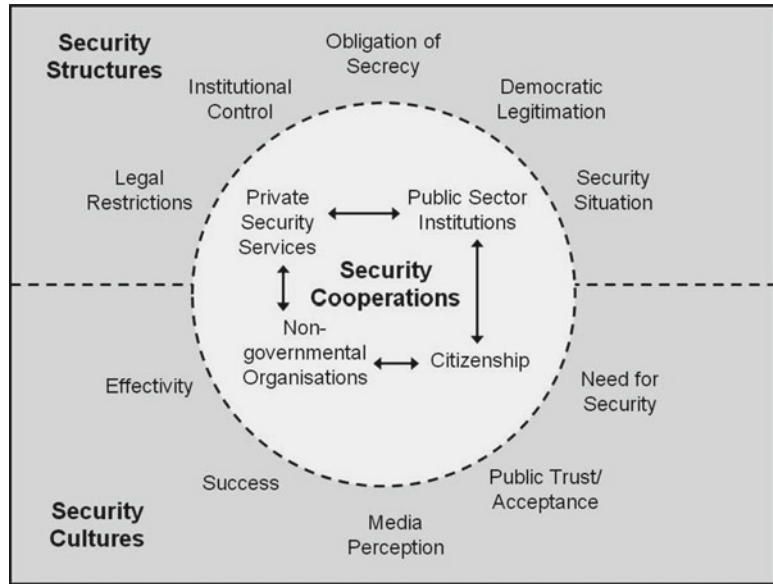
criminal acts of the so-called Zwickau cell, the growing violence against police officers and the yearlong reaction on stalking cases show. How this affects security and the sense of security has not yet been investigated. “The gradual ‘pluralization’ of policing provision has been noted in many countries during the last 20 years or so, but little has been written about how policing might be effectively governed and held accountable in the public interest in such an environment of plural provision” (Stenning, 2009: 22).

The interdependencies are shown in Fig. 2, referring to the interdependencies between security structures and security cultures as well as between the different subdivisions within the security structures on the one hand and security cultures on the other.

In contrary to theoretical and political discussion on police and police function and to numerous studies in foreign countries, empirical police research was rare in Germany until the beginning of this century. Police in Germany is—like in other countries—an unspecified agency, used by citizens for various purposes which exceed by far the much specified duties named in the German Law.

Unlike other Police Forces, German police don’t have (as already mentioned) any discretionary power in criminal cases. Nevertheless, in neighborhood disputes, family conflicts, and minor offences, police officers have possibilities of discretionary decisions in everyday conflicts. They use techniques like immediate conflict solution, and take immediate actions to help people in everyday conflicts. Further on, police play an important role in the settlement of conflicts and in the redress of various molestations (disturbances, brawls). In these areas their work is relatively effective and efficient. But these services have only partly to do with their legal task. In regard to prosecution, however, police work is rather ineffective. Citizens call the police to solve very different problems more often than in earlier times. Victims call the police in order to find an institution and people who are able to help them and to support them emotionally (mostly) and (sometimes) financially. Just to put a few more police officers on the street has no impact on both

Fig. 2 Security structures and cultures



the crime rate and the clearance rate, which is determined by a lot of different factors, not to be influenced by the police itself. The police are less able to cope with the different and difficult tasks of policing a modern, complex society. Community policing as a solution for the problems mentioned and as a reaction to the increase of registered crimes in the 1970s and 1980s was discussed in Germany since the beginning of the 1990s (Dölling & Feltes, 1993). Since then, more and more communities have implemented some kind of community policing, although there is no nationwide understanding of what that really means and whether community policing is a new strategy, philosophy, or just new wine in old barrels (Feltes, 1995b). Community policing in Germany is largely an outgrowth of a community concept of crime prevention. German concepts of community policing emerged from the new crime prevention philosophy, both social and situational. German states have tried out various policing theories or working philosophies over the past two decades, including what can be called “citizen-friendly policing,” which evolved into today’s Community Crime Prevention. Thus, community policing in Germany is not a single organizational feature of German police forces,

but rather an applied philosophy that can be used in specific neighborhoods, in specific instances, and for achieving clearly defined results. In most states, police either take the initiative in organizing Community Policing boards or councils in their town or city, or cooperate with the mayor or city council by participating on a local Crime Prevention Council (Jones & Wiseman, 2006; Pütter, 1999).

Community policing in Germany is also known as district policing, aiming to gratify the citizens’ needs for a visible police that is openly present at their surrounding and among the people living there. The officer should talk to the people, be a direct partner for their requests, and have knowledge of their concerns and emergencies. The district police officers should provide close and trustful contacts. In doing so, they should increase the overall feeling of security, enhance the understanding of police actions and influence the relation of police and citizens in a positive way. In particular, the officers shall initiate and keep up contacts in their district. This applies to businesspersons, institutions, and organizations but specifically contacts with citizens are volitional. The district police officers’ scope of duties is vast. They deal with aspects of traffic, crime

prevention, and tracking. The officers' specific knowledge of a place and its people can further add to crime investigation.

Officers responsible for the city center usually work on their own responsibility; however, often cooperations are built with persons or organizations. The district officer generally is on foot patrol and sometimes he uses public transport. Police cars are only used in exceptional cases. Usually the officer is on early shift, starting in the early morning. Regularly, however, late shifts have to be carried out. For financial reasons, the number of district officers is being reduced in many cities. Naturally, district policing should be without any operational specifications so that the officers can merely concentrate on their district; de facto, however, each officer has to fulfill a number of orders every day. The tasks summarized under the term "foot patrol" are: making contact with the citizens and business people; keeping people informed about the happenings, areas of problems and conflict; taking youngsters to court, to the youth welfare office or prison; investigating wanted persons for other services (other police services or the office of public prosecutor); supporting victims after break-ins, robberies, and thefts; giving statements for requests; cooperating with the crime prevention unit; working with kindergartens and primary schools (e.g., information, pedestrian training, bicycle training, checking child safety seats of parents who take their children to school by car, etc.); investigating motorists with radar photos; check of persons in regard to the law on firearms; small investigations supporting the emergency patrol unit; research on false alarms caused by private systems; and everything else that occurs on the spot or what the officers observe.

While on duty, the district officer is connected to the overall radio traffic of the main police station and is able to react when he or she is close to an incident. Direct orders from the radio communicator to the district officers are rare, and only occur when all patrols are engaged elsewhere. The district officers have the same information technology and databases at their display as their colleagues from the emergency patrol. Other cooperation concerns municipal and public organizations. An official partnership between police and the city government, for example considers regular joint patrols of district officers and officials from the municipal department for public order. These are occasionally accompanied by the security service of the public transport company, who are responsible for safety and order around the central station and the bus and tram stops. Information exchange between these parties is regularly initiated.

Most police forces have some kind of Community Beat Patrol (CBP). In a study, we observed incidents in which two cities with their patrol police and CBPs were involved (Tables 4 and 5). A police officer deals with 1.3 and his/her district colleague with 2.1 incidents per hour. Calls per hour were 0.8 for emergency patrol and 0.2 for community policing. However, these numbers do not include incidents that involved answering questions from the public or chatting with citizens, which accounted for high numbers of incidents, see below. With regard to the total numbers, traffic seems to be an issue of emergency patrol rather than community policing. For the total observations, the highest numbers related to "maintaining the law." The percentage of community police work in one of the cities differs

Table 4 Patrol work subdivided into main categories (%)

	<i>N</i>	Maintaining the law	Maintaining public order	Giving assistance	Networking	Internal job	Other
Emergency patrol							
A	129	47.3	3.9	38.8**	1.6	1.6	7.0
B	167	61.1	8.4	22.2	3.0	0.6	4.8
Community beat patrol							
A	162	34.0	9.3	17.3	22.2	14.2	3.1
B	196	21.9**	4.6	32.7**	31.6*	1.5**	7.7

* $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.001$

Table 5 Patrol work subdivided into subjects (%)

	Law			Order/assistance			Other						
	Collision	Violence	Check	Serious crime	Other	Social problem	Questions from public	Troublesome youth	Public order	Other	Networking	Internal job	Else
Emergency patrol													
A	17.8**	25.6	5.4	10.1	3.1	13.2	3.1	0.0	0.8	10.1	1.6	1.6	5.4
B	12.0*	28.1	13.2	14.4	3.6	4.2	1.2	0.6	4.2	7.8	3.0	0.6	3.0
Community beat policing													
A	0.6	15.4	9.9**	5.6	1.2	1.9	13.0	0.6	6.8	3.7	22.2	14.2	0.0
B	1.5	15.8	3.6	1.0**	0.5	2.0	27.6**	0.0	4.6	4.1	31.6**	1.5**	2.6

* $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.001$ (with respect to total PSE)

substantially from the other: 21.9 % compared to 34.0 %. Accordingly, very few incidents relating to serious crimes were observed by district police. Also internal tasks seem to play a relatively minor role for community policing. The district police work is largely concerned with “networking” and “giving assistance,” particularly answering questions from the public. As Tables 4 and 5 show, there are significant differences between the two cities, which make clear that local and regional decisions vary and result in a kind of “local police culture,” equivalent to the already described local legal culture (Church, 1985). In one city, figures for “Giving assistance” differ significantly from the average with regard to the work of the emergency patrol. Officers here were for the most part engaged in recording accident data, assisting persons requiring help (see example below) or helping out during riots, e.g., at psychiatric departments. Particularly during night shifts, the officers assisted in cases of disturbance of the peace.

Incidents involving marginalized persons, such as alcoholics, drug addicts, or homeless people are more likely to occur in non-traffic situations. Of these, most incidents are dealt with by the officers working on CBPs. The district officer seemed to have a very good knowledge of the marginalized persons in his district. When patrolling, he/she proactively approached and talked to marginalized groups or individuals. The encounters were always friendly, even when the officer had to ask them to leave certain places. He/she knew the people by name and was known to them and accepted by them, as his orders were generally complied with. The outcomes of incidents have been measured in terms of measures taken by the officers divided into warnings, summons or tickets issued to citizens, and arrests. Considering the overall numbers, German emergency policing looks rather repressive, as many summonses are issued (Table 6).

Besides that, special Community Policing projects focus mainly on crime prevention: local or regional councils with representatives from social institutions, churches, public administration, business, etc., analyze the local situation (usually by using victim surveys) and develop

Table 6 Proportion of incidents in which officers took oppressive measures—all incidents (%)

	<i>N</i>	Warning	Summons	Arrest	One of these
Emergency patrol					
A	129	22.5	20.9**	3.1	46.5
B	167	21.6	22.8**	4.8	49.1**
Community beat patrol					
A	162	6.2**	1.9	0.6	8.6**
B	196	18.4	1.5	1.0	20.9

* $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.001$

strategies for prevention (Dölling, Feltes, Heinz, & Kury, 2003; Feltes, 1995a). Very few of these activities are evaluated. Community policing is rather a philosophy than a new strategy. As a consequence, the training and the management of police needs to be adjusted to this new approach (Feltes, 2002). The cooperation of the various actors in the field of community crime prevention is the most crucial point. Local crime prevention through community policing needs a cross-departmental collaboration and networking to the particular agencies and those who have the local expertise and the environment knowledge within police, law enforcement, social services, and other stakeholders in the community. They have to exchange and compare their individual and institutional resources and expertise and need to concentrate on bureaucratic obstacles in the control and prevention of crime. This happens for example in community prevention bodies, where communication has a key role in coordination and cooperation between the actors. The question, whether the programs implemented have in fact the desired effects in the local situation is difficult to decide, because too many variables influence the result (changes over time and space). The prevention discourse sometime gets (too) close to “law and order” concepts (such as broken windows or zero tolerance, see Dreher & Feltes, 1998); sometimes tries to implement solutions that really focus on the local roles of crimes. It very often also misses the necessary broader public impact, especially due to the fact, that the crime rate in Germany is decreasing since the late 1990s. Nationwide, one estimates that 2,000 municipal bodies do at least some kind of prevention work, but very few are evaluated in a sense that the

situation before the starting of such a project is compared with the situation afterwards.

Community policing is based upon the idea that the activities of the police have to be extended in the communities to become an institution that cares and coordinates efforts to improve social cohesion (Weitekamp, Kerner, & Meier, 2003). But in Germany, crime control in general and the idea that fighting crime is the core task of police is still prevalent. As community policing has its main focus on keeping the public peaceful, mediating conflicts, coordinating efforts to improve the whole quality of life in the community, and on crime prevention (Feltes & Gramckow, 1994), it still lives a quiet life within the German police and tended to be sidelined. Community policing in Germany is mainly regarded as district policing or as a tool for prevention, working with joint crime prevention bodies in cities. The evaluation of such activities is very rare, and because of the decreasing crime rate, most activities are volatilizing.

Future Developments in Policing: Concluding Remarks

The changes and current developments described above will continue to influence the work of the German police and lead the path to future challenges. Whereas Police in Germany cope with limited human and financial resources and a constantly aging staff, criminals are crossing open borders within the EU and transnational crime is on the increase. Cyberspace is a rapidly growing field for new forms of crime and offers a vulnerable spot for governments, economic systems, and the society as a whole against perpetrators. Just recently, the Police of North Rhine-Westphalia and other states had to close their web sites and online services as these proved much too open for hacker attacks. Therefore, the use of modern and secure (information) technologies, communication, information sharing, and mutual cooperation between the German police services and external law enforcement services have become increasingly important. In this respect, the federal system with 16 states plus the border

police and the federal police is somehow of a handicap. It took for example more than 10 years to find a common solution for new digital radio systems in the police, and even in 2012, not all Police Forces in Germany are equipped with such radios. The exchange of information and the cooperation between Police on one side and the other (intelligence) institutions, which are or might be responsible for fighting political crimes or hate crimes (like the office for the protection of the constitution was challenged in connection with the “Zwickauer Trio”—see above). At least some state agencies did not share relevant information with others.

With less personal communication and contacts between neighbors and a fading social cohesion in society, conflicts are handed over for solution to the police. The police are more often in a situation to “iron out” problems, originally caused by politicians. Citizens are unhappy with their personal and financial situation resulting in more tension between Germans who feel to be left behind the overall development (especially those with migrant background) and others, who get constantly richer, can be expected. Situations of social unrest might occur, and hate crimes or right wing extremism may increase.

With the breakdown of certain North African governments in 2011, the so-called arab spring, Germany is also affected by refugee movements as a result of poverty, civil unrest, and civil wars. This and the ongoing “war on terror” against an invisible enemy have made aware of the need for a joint civil crisis management on European level. The police are also important actors in international crisis prevention and risk and crisis management and together with justice as one part of civil administration, will become even more important when it comes to help to build up or reinvent inner security in the so-called failed states or those that are on the verge to fall into chaos. Here, the trend goes more towards monitoring, mentoring, and advising the local inner security mechanisms instead of delivering law enforcement as this has been done with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) from 1999 on. To stop transnational

and globalized (organized) crime and terrorism, a multifaceted and multilayered approach is needed from the police and other security services. Such “Networks of Security” may be the only way to counter criminal networks. In contrast, this also leads even deeper into the conflict between safety and security on one side and freedom rights on the other.

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Finding the Right Path of Policing in Hungary

Richard Leyrer

Brief Country Profile of the Police Organization

Hungary became a Christian kingdom in A.D. 1000 and for many centuries served as a bulwark against Ottoman Turkish expansion in Europe. The kingdom eventually became part of the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire, which collapsed during World War I, and the country fell under Communist rule following World War II. In 1956, a revolt and an announced withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact were met with massive military intervention by the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Janos KADAR in 1968, Hungary began liberalizing its economy, introducing the so-called Goulash Communism. Hungary held its first multiparty elections in 1990 and initiated a free market economy. It joined NATO in 1999 and the EU 5 years later, and in 2011, Hungary assumed the 6-month rotating presidency of the EU for the first time (Central Intelligence Agency, 2010).

The history of the Hungarian Police can be traced back 300 years; however, a fully organized police force has only been in existence since the end of the nineteenth century, when the act unifying Hungary's capital Budapest had provisions also for the establishment of a Budapest State Police. In the countryside an act about the townships

(in 1866) tasked the local governments with the responsibility of securing public order. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the civic movement and urbanization increased, hence the organization of the State Police also began to quickly develop. Historically, there was a need for a modern police force because urbanization had a considerable international element as well. During this time, public security in rural areas was controlled by the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie. Following World War I, the previous law enforcement authorities were reinstated, and after the nationalization of the local governmental police forces, the Royal Hungarian State Police was founded in 1919–1920. Between the two World Wars, the Hungarian State Police developed enormously both in organization and in technical means; however, the devastation done by World War II had no mercy on this organization either. After the war through a long series of reorganization efforts (e.g., introduction of new uniforms), the new Budapest Police, later the National Police Force was founded, and at the same time they phased out the Gendarmerie. During the Revolution and fight for freedom in 1956, law enforcement duties were carried out by the National Guard which was made up of military officers and representatives of the armed revolutionaries. After the Revolution, the police system was reorganized again and kept its form until the political changes in 1989 (Szikinger, 1996).

On 23 October 1989, following the declaration of the Hungarian Republic a new National

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Police Headquarters was founded—independent of politics by nature—which at the beginning of the new millennium operated police departments in Budapest and in 19 counties. In addition to these 153 police stations, 3 water police branches, 21 border stations, 250 local police offices, and 1,395 local area police officers carry out the daily law enforcement duties. Some city mobile police stations also began their operations on an experimental basis, at the first stage primarily in the capital. Since 1994, the police organization is regulated by a separate act which was accepted by the Parliament with 2/3 majority. Today there are a total of 41,000 employees working for the police (Boda, 2010).

The frequently cited cliché states that “crime doesn’t respect borders.” Successfully coping with the challenges to security requires closer cooperation between the various institutions of law enforcement and the modernization of their respective structures. In the framework of the ongoing reform of the Hungarian Police, detection and prevention of organized crime, and crimes related to drugs, arms trade, international terrorism, and money laundering in particular, as well as action against cyber crime, must be enhanced by making use of the potential of international cooperation. Cooperation between national security services and law enforcement authorities, as well as the armed forces, if necessary, and the improvement of coordination between these bodies and other authorities entitled to supervisory activities, constitute a significant reserve of the country’s national security (Ozeren, Sever, & Basıbuyuk, 2011).

To achieve the above, the Hungarian National Police formed the International Law Enforcement Cooperation Centre and made it responsible for international cooperation in criminal investigation matters (e.g., use of international channels such as Interpol, Europol). This directorate operates on the basis of the so-called one-stop-shop principal, which means a national focal point in international police information exchange. Other business in the field of international cooperation (e.g., organizing conferences, study-visits, contact with police attachés and liaison officers in general matters, etc.) lies within the responsibility

of the police unit involved and the International Relations Unit of the Cabinet of Head of National Police, which at the same time is responsible for the professional management of the international cooperation activities of the whole police service (Leyrer, 2005).

Prior to 2008, law enforcement in Hungary was divided among the Police and Border Guards, and the Customs and Excise Authority. In 2006, the Police were placed in the structure of the Ministry of Justice, while at this time the Ministry of Interior dealt only with Municipalities and Regional Development. Due to Hungary’s accession to the Schengen Treaty, the Police and Border Guards were merged into a single national institution; the merger took place in January 2008. The Customs and Excise Authority remained subject to the Ministry of Finance, but also merged into one hybrid institution, the National Tax and Customs Authority (embracing law enforcement and non-law enforcement fields). The national police headquarters is located in Budapest, in the 13th district, and is nicknamed the Police Palace, because of its relative modernity and grandiosity in size and style (Budapest Police, Pest County and National Police staff are concentrated in one headquarters that is covered fully with modern shiny blue glass). The police organization in Hungary is the Hungarian National Police with nationwide competence in criminal investigation, crime prevention, public order and public security enforcement, traffic enforcement, border management, and other tasks assigned to it by legislation (Act XXXIV of 1994 on the Police). The organizational chart (see below Fig. 1) reflects the structure of the integrated police service as of December 2011, including the major change: integration of National Police and National Border Guards.

Police Organization, Structure, and Function

Fundamental strategic objectives and tasks of the Police of the Republic of Hungary are to establish and maintain an acceptable, livable future guaranteeing nationwide security. In order to achieve this, the Police oversee the maintenance of

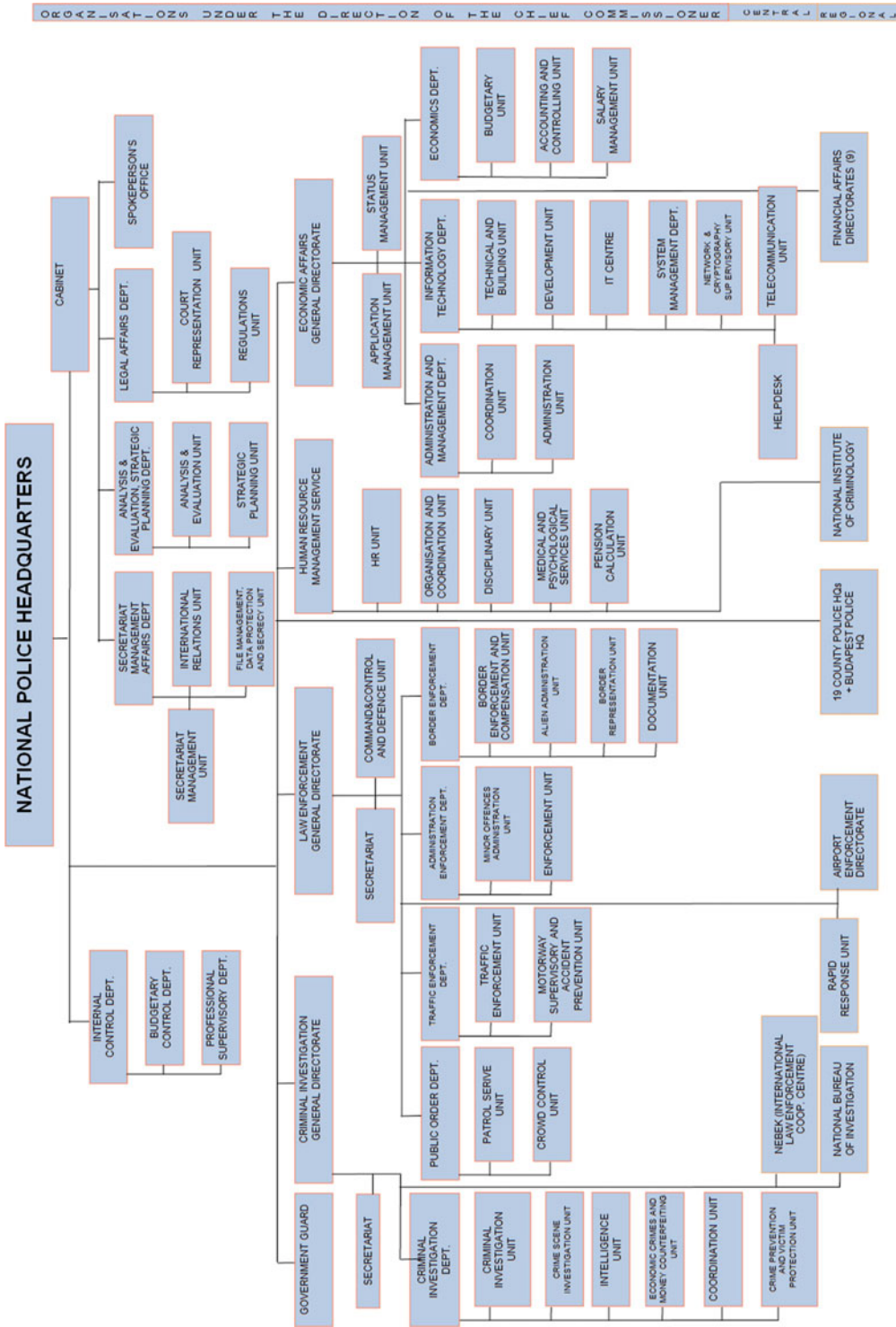


Fig. 1 Organogram of the Hungarian police (Police, 2012)

public order, takes definitive measures to prevent accidents and appropriately strict actions against perpetrators. By administering informative, helpful, and support functions, it strengthens the actual service providing character to the organization. The Police comprise a central unit, county (metropolitan) police headquarters, police stations, and border police stations. Organizational units established to deal with specific priority tasks are the Rapid Response Police Unit, the Hungarian Institute for Forensic Sciences, and the Airport Police Directorate. The National Police Headquarters (ORFK—Országos Rendőr-főkapitányság) is the central unit of the Police, which has nationwide jurisdiction and competence, and is considered an independent legal entity with separate functional units. County (metropolitan) police headquarters with separate jurisdiction and competence are under the direct supervision of the ORFK. Within their framework, the local units of the Police (police stations and border police stations) operate separately. Additional important elements of the organization include the police precincts that are under the supervision of police stations and police headquarters. These do not have separate jurisdiction and competence.

The task of the Budapest Police Headquarters is to ensure the safety of the population of several million living or working in, or traveling to or through Budapest, and to prevent and eliminate crimes in the capital. The primary objective of the organization established in 1881 as the “Budapest Royal Hungarian State Police” is to meet both the public safety requirements of the citizens and the requirements of the profession. Seven thousand five hundred police officers of the 22 district police stations and 1 water police station seek to ensure safety to the inhabitants of the capital and to guests visiting the city (EU Presidency, 2011).

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

Crime rates in the 70s stagnated with low modifications, but in the 80s rapid increase was experienced in the crime statistics. In 1981, the

number of reported crimes was approximately 130,000, which was only 6 % higher than in the year 1971, but at the end of the decade, by 1989, the number jumped to 225,000. Particularly large increases occurred in the evolution of crimes against property, which by the end of the 1980s approximately doubled. There was almost a catastrophic increase in the number of burglaries almost tripling during that time, and has surpassed 43,000. By the end of the decade, the number of crimes in which the perpetrator is unknown has reached a level heretofore unknown (Katona, 2000).

Table 1 presents police staff data from 2008 for comparison with other countries’ figures (the increasing number of staff members seemingly stabilized):

The population of Hungary in 2008 was approximately 10,040,000. Based on the above, this means that the number of police officers is roughly 4 per 1,000 inhabitants. When examining criminality, the statistical data show (see Table 2) the main factors upon which police work is usually judged:

The most currently available statistics from 2011 shows on Fig. 2 that the number of registered crimes per 100,000 inhabitants is approximately

Table 1 Number of total police staff in year 2008 (ORFK, 2008a)

Number of total staff (central, regional, and local level)	44,118
Of this police staff	34,673
Of this civilian and public servant staff	9,445
Number of Budapest Police staff	7,885
Of this police staff	5,873
Of this civilian and public servant staff	2,012
Number of County Police staff	28,392
Of this police staff	24,075
Of this civilian and public servant staff	4,317
Number of National Bureau of Investigation staff	3,905
Of this police staff	1,478
Of this civilian and public servant staff	2,427
Number of Riot Police staff	1,834
Of this police staff	1,550
Of this civilian and public servant staff	284
Number of Republican Guard staff	1,405
Of this police staff	1,120
Of this civilian and public servant staff	285

Table 2 Number of registered criminal offenses in year 2008 (ORFK, 2008b)

Number of registered criminal offenses	408,407
Number of crimes committed in public places	
Of this willful damage	10,511
Of this driving under the influence	11,513
Of this theft	61,687
Of this other	36,989
Number of violent and rowdy crimes	
Of this robbery	3,128
Of this bodily harm	12,791
Of this ruffianism	10,786
Of this other	6,290
Proportion of main crime categories	
Of this crimes against property	65.1 %
Of this crimes against the person	5.1 %
Of this traffic crimes	4.8 %
Of this crimes against marriage, family	1.8 %
Of this crimes against public administration	1.6 %
Of this crimes against public order	17.8 %
Of this economic crimes	3.9 %
Number of crimes against property	265,755
Of this number of thefts	127,125
Number of car thefts	5,809
Number of unauthorized takings of vehicles	2,110
Number of burglaries	43,002
Number of breaking-and-enterings	19,239
Number of robberies	3,128
Of this robberies committed by a weapon or a replica	141
Of this bank robberies	22
Number of economic crimes	
Of this infringement of accounting discipline	3,124
Of this abuse of other means of payment	4,955
Of this forgery of money	1,767
Of this tax fraud	1,951
Of this other	4,073
Number of traffic crimes	
Of this drunk driving	11,523
Of this causing road traffic accident	3,718
Of this other	4,209
Number of crimes against the person	20,880
Number of registered perpetrators	116,584
Of which foreign perpetrators	4,046
Number of registered (natural person) victims	211,455
Of which foreign victims	7,390

the same as it was in 2008, with only a slight increase. The county mean is 4,302 registered crimes.

Figure 3 shows that the number of registered perpetrators per 100,000 inhabitants is approximately the same as it was in 2008, with only a slight decrease (from 116,584 to 109,400). The county mean is 1,152 registered offenders.

Figure 4 provides a detailed overview registered crimes against persons per 100,000 inhabitants in 2011. This figure in 2008 was 20,880, in 2011 38,600, indicating a significant increase. The county mean is 386 crimes against persons.

Figure 5 reveals the number of registered crimes against property per 100,000 inhabitants in 2011. The numbers show a slow decrease from 265,755 to 251,600. The county mean is 2,169 crimes against property.

The number of police personnel is increasing slightly over the last 10 years, the budget indicates a more steep increase, the number of the offenders also increasing, but not as much as the number of crimes, suggesting that a more sophisticated, professionalized type of crime perpetration is the problem to be handled by the police (see Fig. 6).

The number of police personnel is increasing, but not as quickly as other factors, easily pushing our opinion in the direction where no exact connection is manifested between the criminal situation and police manpower. Before leading us to this conclusion and interiorizing this result as a crystal clear truth, the quantity and the quality of manpower count equally when talking about the effectiveness of police work and must be taken into account. It is interesting to note that the increased budget did not decrease the number of registered crimes; one interpretation of this phenomenon might be that police work is more and more expensive, and the technical revolution with more sophisticated crime perpetration methods requires more sources to be channeled into law enforcement budgets, to be able to keep this rate on a certain level (Kr mer, 2010).

The crime boom in the mid 80s was difficult to combat, and this tendency lasted with increasing intensity until 1995. In Hungary, the homicide (and suicide) rates have always been high in

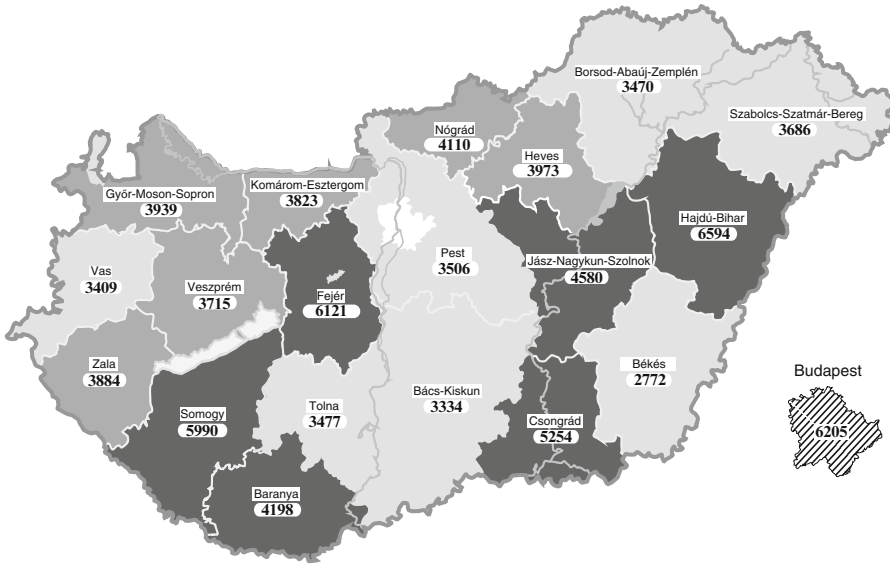


Fig. 2 Registered crimes per 100,000 inhabitants in year 2011 (ORFK, 2012a)

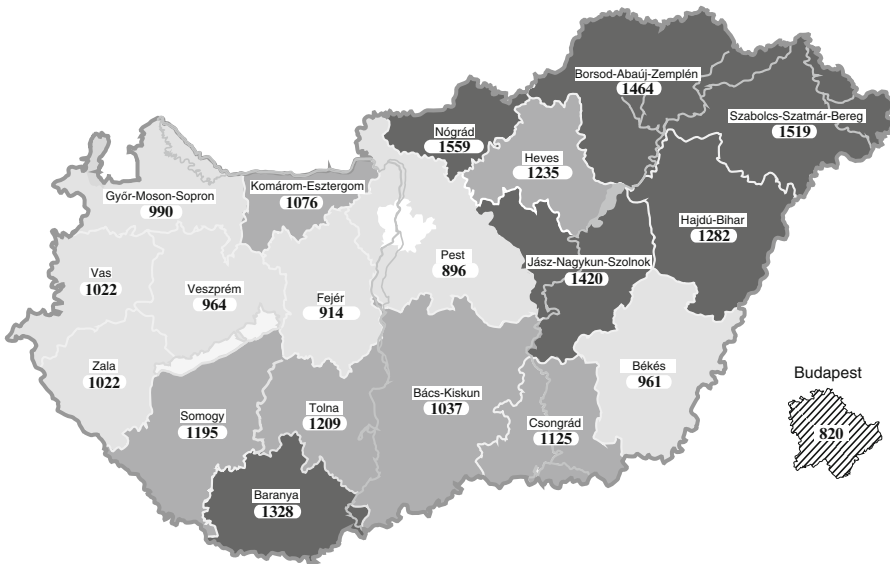


Fig. 3 Registered perpetrators per 100,000 inhabitants in year 2011 (ORFK, 2012b)

relation to the European context; however, over the past 5 years this has doubled. The key feature of the last decade’s crime picture is the extremely high number of crimes against property, which has basically determined the overall crime trends. The rapid economic transformation was followed by a lag in economic and financial law, the related

institutional systems, and the necessary changes in the criminal law. In addition, unemployment started to rise and there appeared a new group of people heretofore unknown—the homeless. Those released from prison, the evicted, the abandoned elderly, the bad marriage refugees, and utterly corrupted alcoholics were on the streets in

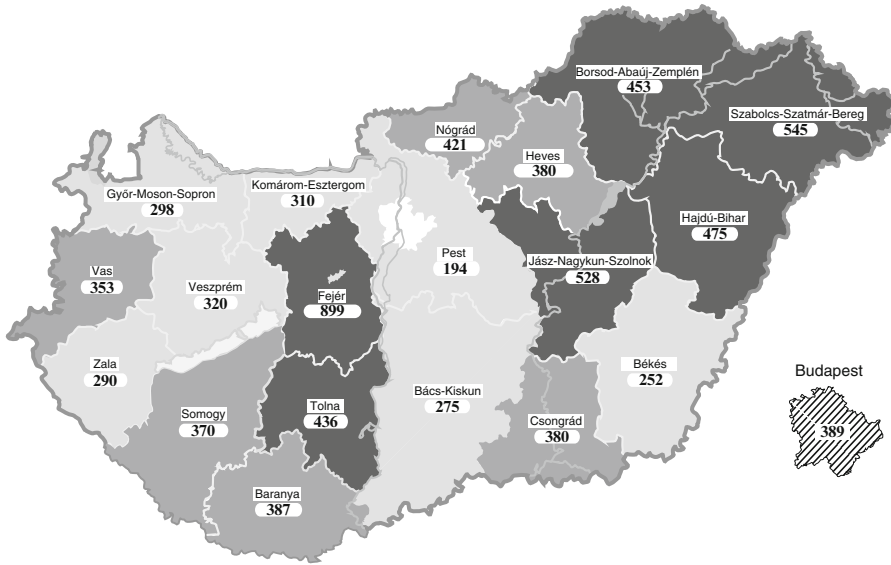


Fig. 4 Registered crimes against persons per 100,000 inhabitants in year 2011 (ORFK, 2012c)

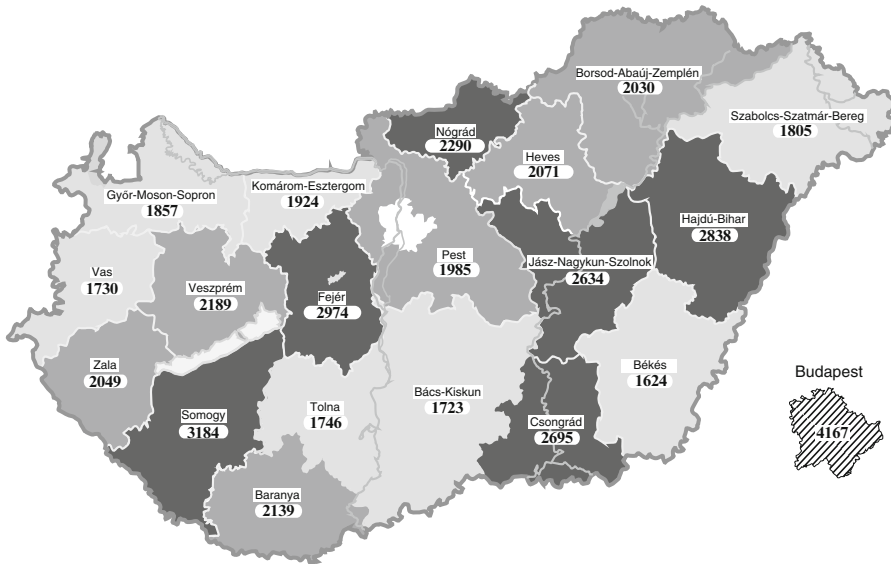


Fig. 5 Registered crimes against property per 100,000 inhabitants in year 2011 (ORFK, 2012d)

massive numbers ready to be victims or hopeless perpetrators of serious crimes (Kacziba, 2005).

The 1990–1995 price fixing scheme regarding domestic heating oil (DHO) was a policy “disaster,” aimed at increasing welfare for an increasingly poor section of Hungarian society. The result finally contributed to the strengthening of organized crime and opening the area of oil-re-

lated criminality, because criminal groups could import DHO at a low price and remove the added element easily through a chemical process, so they could sell it for additional profit. Criminal gangs were able to exploit legal loopholes in much of the government legislation to find new sources of illegal income. Using the deferred customs tariff, for example, these organized crime

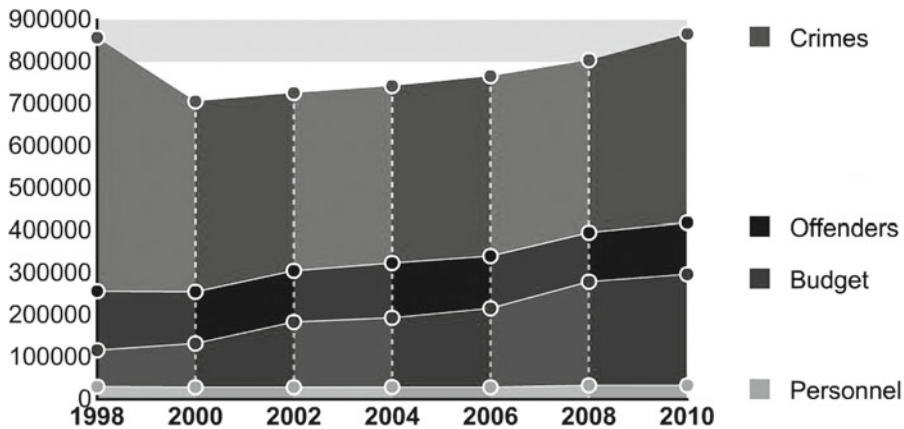


Fig. 6 Personnel, budget, offenders, and crimes (Office of the Prosecutor General, 2011)

groups created a problem so serious that the phenomenon and the attached corruption chains exceeded the boundaries of criminality, and became a wider social and political problem. The economic transformation strengthened the profit gaining potential of organized crime activities to a level never before seen, and with the opening of the borders, the domestic criminal organizations came in contact with foreign criminal groups, which finally led to armed showdowns and bloody conflicts (Fazekas, 2011).

The phenomena discussed above are the developed market economies criminological experience, but the newly rejoined countries were not ready to handle the irrational, inhuman, sometimes explicitly neo-fascist ideologies showing up. For example, football hooliganism, drug use on massive scale, and later the hyper speed evolution of cyber criminality.

Police Training and Educational Systems

In Hungary, the general police education system is two tiered: represented by the secondary school (locations: Adyliget, Miskolc, Körmend, and Szeged) and the police academy. With the establishment of the National Institute of Public Sciences, three formerly independent faculties joined their educational and scientific resources: the Faculty of Military Science and Army Officer

Training, the Faculty of Administrative Sciences, and the Faculty of Police Science. The objective is to prepare experts for careers in public administration, to meet the ever-growing expectations of society and to improve the quality of the public service in general. Educating the young people for careers in modern policing will provide them a career model on which they can build a future. Most of the police top management leaders hold a master's degree in law, because in most cases when aspiring to higher level posts in the police system, it is obligatory to have a university diploma, so the national institute is a good place to begin a career in policing.

The Institute of Law Enforcement and Crime Prevention (Rendészeti és Bűnmegelőzési Intézet), the Training Center in Dunakeszi and Csepak (OKI Dunakesziés Csepaki Oktatási Központ), and the Law Enforcement Training Center (Rendészeti Szervek Kiképző Központja) are also important institutions. In addition to the normal elements, some new and trendy innovations show up regularly, e-learning modules, webinars, and others which emphasize for example introducing young gypsies to law enforcement as well. Based on the training and education strategy of the police, the core business of the relevant organs are the following:

- Updating and implementing the police education and training strategy.
- Assessing the training needs in short and medium-term of the police workforce.

- Organizing courses, language trainings for police personnel.
- Handle study contracts, commitments of the police to the personnel.
- Gypsy students for management careers in law enforcement assistance programs.

In addition to the national education system, there are some international and regional training and education systems located in Hungary, among them, the International Training Centre (ITC), the International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA), and the Middle European Police Academy (MEPA); let's have a look at them.

A unique organ in the education and training system of the Hungarian Police is the ITC founded in 1999. Its primary goal is to provide logistic and personnel support to the ILEA, and the MEPA. Since Hungary joined the European Union in 2001, supporting tasks have also been expanded to include the European Police College (CEPOL). The core mandate of the ITC is to recruit candidates for peacekeeping and civilian crisis management missions. Closely cooperating with partner institutions, the ITC is responsible to prepare and conduct pre-deployment training programs for the European Union (EU), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), United Nations (UN), and Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) missions. General trainers, subject matter experts, experienced peacekeepers, and psychologists deliver the content, which help to generate competent, institutionally knowledgeable, and ethically aware peacekeepers capable of serving in dangerous and complex peacekeeping environments (International Training and Civilian Crisis Management Center, 2012).

The ILEA began operations in 1999, and is based on a governmental Decree signed between the Government of the Republic of Hungary and the Government of the United States of America. The academy programs comprise 8-week courses and shorter (1- to 2-week) seminars. The Law Enforcement Executive Development (LEED) course program is 8 weeks in duration and is administered five times a year for mid-level law enforcement officers of the former socialist countries.

The MEPA is the regional cooperation forum (1992) for Central European countries with the

same historical, sociological, cultural, and religious development. Its member states are Austria, Hungary (also as founding states), the Czech Republic, Germany, Slovenia, Slovakia, Poland, and Switzerland. The MEPA's primary objective is the promotion of practical cooperation in the field of fighting organized and cross-border crime.

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

Overestimating the role of the police in society and the fear of possible socialist/communist restitution hassled to a separate chapter on police in the Constitution of Hungary. Before the political changes, the police was an organ with the power to instruct, that suddenly had to be transformed into an institution that serves and protects. The motto is taken from overseas the Los Angeles Police Department, who in February 1955 conducted a contest for a motto for the police academy. The winning entry was the motto: "to protect and to serve" submitted by Officer Joseph S. Dorobek. In Hungary, it is used in reverse word order: "we serve and protect," and the imaginary, invisible second part ("the society we are taken from") is forgotten. Kertész was right when he said that under the surface of uncertain police measures lies the fact that police are not able to distinguish between rigor and cruelty, humanism and permissiveness (Kertész, 1990).

The Act XXXIV of 1994 on the Police (1994) visualized a strong police, and set up the structure of a centralized, paramilitary force that is part of public administration as a unique organ. In this system, the police leader is an unquestionable entity; this servant–master relationship is not conducive to the intensification of a problem-solving attitude, and holds the subordinates on a command executing level. Much police activity does not tolerate creative thinking (elimination of mass protests, securing major sport events, etc.), but in the age where social movements and technical advancements happen with hyper speed, the adaptability of the police needs an open-minded leadership, one that can never mean destructive indiscipline (Christián, 2011).

In 2004, the National Bureau of Investigation was founded as part of the national police, dealing with serious criminal cases and investigations. Frequently cited in the press as the Hungarian FBI, it was operational for 8 years, and the ongoing restructuring process of the police forces gave another role to this bureau, that of investigating serious organized crime which remains the main task. But in the structure of the Riot Police (*Készletléri Rendőrség*), so as of 1 September, 2011 the National Bureau of Investigation was merged into this police organ. With this change, the strong field law enforcement profile of the recipient police force gained a countrywide operating criminal police profile, strengthening the Riot Police at the county level. This stronger role is mirrored in the new deputy police chief title as head of the Riot Police. The National Bureau of Investigation could become a Hungarian FBI if in the framework of police and judicial reforms, the creation of a criminal investigation branch of the police subordinated to the prosecutor's office could be realized. This organ's tasks would include gathering information and executing coercive measures, while at the same time duly acknowledging the leading role of the prosecutor in the investigation process.

After joining the EU and the Schengen Zone (at the end of 2007), the border enforcement tasks went through significant changes. The border control checks were abolished at the "Schengen internal" borders, and at the same time, the protection of the public and national security required more strict control at the "Schengen external" borders. The external borders are shorter than the frontier of Hungary, so a new system was necessary, which resulted in the integration of the Border Guard with the Hungarian Police (border enforcement becoming one of the divisions of the police service). The main goal was to establish a cost-effective, EU-compatible organization, reduce central management, decrease the number of leaders, eliminate parallel activities, establish a new kind of policing, and fulfill the requirements set by the Schengen convention.

Current Trends in Policing

The idea of the transition to the municipal police model never ceased; it reappears and is a recurrent theme among the representatives of the police sciences. As this theory was never tested under real conditions, it is usually presented as a perfect solution to all the problems Hungarian law enforcement faces in this decade.

The Hungarian Civil Guard is entirely a civilian organization, and includes uniformed and unarmed operatives who take part in police work in various fields, such as neighborhood watch and regular patrolling with civil marked cars. They are allowed to detain criminals at the scene of the crime until the arrival of police. The force is currently made up of 80,000 volunteer members. The act on Civil Guard allows its members to carry police-issued pepper spray, as well as to direct traffic at traffic collision sites and pedestrian crossings at kindergartens and primary schools. The organization covers the full territory of the country; it has an annual budget of 2.5 million €.

A new institution, the Counterterrorism Center (*Terrorrelhárítási Központ [TEK]*), was instituted on September 2010 by governmental decree. This new police organ exists outside the normal command structure of the police, and the interior minister can issue orders to this center directly. The TEK was set up as an anti-terror police unit. Their first serious probe started in January 2011, when Hungary held the rotating presidency of the European Union. The TEK can engage in secret surveillance as an official police agency, and can secretly enter, search homes, engage in secret wiretapping, make audio and video recordings of people without their knowledge, secretly search mail and packages, and open electronic data and emails. The TEK can address requests to financial companies, banks and brokerage firms, insurance companies, communications companies, and operate not just as a police agency but as a national security agency as well. So in summary, the TEK holds all the necessary powers to act effectively and dismantle all the modern age

criminal groups threatening the public safety of the state and the people. Some say these are Orwellian powers, making it possible to operate as a virtually unlimited power-holder and private police organ. These opinions reopen the old question in this field: where is the balance between the dichotomy of security and freedom, data protection, privacy, and effective police work?

The national police hold the executive powers in Hungary in maintaining community safety, but they have neither the necessary staff nor the technical equipment to provide security to large-scale events, which gives space to private security and civil guard initiatives. Too many tasks and duties in the public space cannot be outsourced, and the appropriate legal regulation in the field is still lacking. The most common areas of security where private security service providers act are the event insurance, cash and valuables transportation, shipment tracking, and value preservation.

Interestingly, while the EU average is 237 security guards per 100,000 people, Hungary averages 791 according to the data of CoESS (Confederation of European Security Services). Probably the highest level of privatization in the region led to the presence of foreign companies in large numbers in the country, and their security needs generate high demand, especially in high-quality, value-added services. There is a controversy between the need for private safeguarding companies, and the fact that not everybody can afford to pay for them. This results in an interesting situation. Despite the fact that the wealthy ones are at greater risk, they are not the typical victims of property crime because they spend more time safeguarding their values.

Police, the Media, and Public Opinion on Police

Wise men say the relationship between the police and society cannot be that wrong if police jokes are circulating among the people; in Budapest you can hear many of these. The typical image of the police is changing slowly. The pictures of the “jerk, sausage smelling, and mustache

wearing patrol officer speaking in funny dialect” is slow transitioning to an image of a young, cultured, professional. Social acceptance of the police has increased, and people recognize the efforts made by the police to combat crime. Of course, an institution made up of 40,000 persons can provide interesting figures. Police leaders used to say that the society has its own police and not the police its own society, meaning the same values and peccabilities are mirrored in the police that are found every day in the society.

Regarding communication of the police, we can divide it into two different parts, internal and external communication. The press belongs to the external, which I would like to review from a social media point of view, but prior to that examine the environment where this external police communication exists.

We live in the age of information explosions with huge amounts of data produced by and about us every minute. Credit cards, phones, Internet usage, surveillance cameras, and so forth, generate important clues about much of who we are and what we do. The social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) usage shows that the relation to personal information has radically changed. We refer to the generation today as the C (content) generation, whose natural experience is the sharing of their information on the Internet. In this situation, the authorities and individuals can easily reach each other, and reducing the distance between the actors may increase the willingness to cooperate with the authorities. Unfortunately, the Hungarian Police did not take advantage of the potential of social media, the available opportunities are not in use, the old channels and the outdated difficult communication systems are typical. It is disappointing to see, for example, that the Budapest Police has only 238 followers (out of the 2,000,000 population of the capital) on Twitter, which is the level of the activity of a medium intensity private user on this platform. Another factor is that the website of the Hungarian Police is the last in Europe to have no other language option.

The police cannot be the citizens’ friend in all circumstances, but platforms like these can help

to transmit direct, firsthand information about the law enforcement actors to the public, or can be an effective tool in recruitment of new officers. Forming the image of the police was never easier, but these tools have to be used if we expect positive results in police–society communication.

The public judges things based on what has happened, rather than of what might have happened, sometimes making it difficult to measure the real efforts of the police. Public opinion on the police remained consistently positive over the past 20 years. Since 2003, the people trusted police more than the other armed services. The tragic events in October, 2006 (police attacks unarmed masses of protesting people) significantly decreased the confidence in the police. Public opinion reflected in the Medián survey (1,200 people interviewed about 17 political, economic, social, and legal institutions) shows that trust in police fell back dramatically, while the other institutions maintained or increased their social support. Despite the fact that the chance of becoming a victim is relatively low, the sense of security in Hungary is not any higher than the average in the EU. Only the people in Greece and Estonia are more dissatisfied in the way the police handled their announcements. Hungarian Police effectiveness is judged close to the European average: 70 % of the people are satisfied with it according to the data of European Safety Observatory. The police survey carried out in February, 2012 by the national police (ORFK), in which all of the country's 3,176 municipalities were questioned, and the findings can be summarized as follows: municipalities explicitly considered having a good relationship with the police, the police hold a high level of social appreciation, and people trust the police. The overall relationship between the people and the police shifted in the positive direction, and the subjective perception of security of citizens has been improved.

Recent Trends in Research on Policing

The relationship between the police and police science was never a strong one. Finszter (2001) stated rightly several times that the police tend

not to let their nature and structure be scrutinized with scientific rigor. Krémer (2010) experienced two coexistent worlds: the world of police leaders and the world of analyzing police science, naming it *duplex veritas*. These two worlds have the same subject, but in most cases different opinions about actual police issues. Police science fought for civilian control above police activity for a very long time, but relevant questions were rarely answered.

Police science has its diverse organizational system in Hungary, with the largest achievement unquestionably the admission of police studies as police science by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The Scientific Council operates in the Ministry of Interior and in the National police, under which numerous scientific conferences are organized (e.g., in September, 2012: “Changing environment—changing security”—international scientific and professional conference focusing on different aspects of IT terrorism and the steps considered to be necessary to combat this phenomenon and their expected consequences through a continuous scientific and professional discourse), scientific written applications are available, and international relations in police science are multifaceted, but the thought of Finszter “depoliticizing, decentralizing, and demilitarizing the police” has not been realized.

Future Developments in Policing (Concluding Remarks)

The past 20 years of police have seen successes in the institutional and legal foundation of law enforcement activity in Hungary, but unresolved problems remain. The police could keep crime under control, they seemingly stop the dramatic increase in crime rates, but the technical developments (computer databases, automatization, for example) are lagging behind the available technological possibilities. International relationships with Hungary are constantly developing, and the Hungarian Police colleagues are honored, well-educated colleagues and reliable partners for police forces in neighboring countries and elsewhere in the world.

The structure of the police does not reflect the differences between police tasks, and there are no long-term development plans; no government in the last 20 years was able or found it important to compose a concise public safety strategy. The entire policing system at present is characterized (by its members as well) as a system with very low levels of efficiency. In the last 20 years, politicians and law enforcement experts were unable to provide the needed balance between political support and political influence. Police work of course should be free from political influence, but at the same time it is true that the duties cannot be carried out successfully without the support of the respective political parties.

The Police of the future can only be successful by building on knowledge, performance, quality, constant risk analysis and other analyses, evaluation, creativity, and opportunities. It must respond to the needs of citizens, by being exemplary, cooperating with others interested in ensuring safety, keeping and enforcing the law, by creating followable values, and building on public trust. In the future, the scientific thesis stating that public safety is a collective societal product shall prevail: it is a product of the cooperation of people, communities, NGOs, appropriate laws, national institutions (including the Police), and politics. Therefore, it can only materialize if the organization operates as a legally, organizationally, and financially independent entity, without concern or doubt, in a transparent and controllable way and when everyone will be able to note the actual service providing character thereof.

Following the model of reactive and problem-oriented policing, new methods show up in the police sciences; for example the so-called intelligence-led policing, that through EU legislation, can deeply determine the future of policing in Hungary. It is more than urgent to get acquainted with these new methods and find their place in our law enforcement culture and everyday operation. It is not an easy task, the first road block occurred when the regionalization process of the Budapest police failed. Despite the initial failures, it is an obligation of police leaders and ministry of interior officials to reform and adapt the police structure to the ever changing domestic, European, and world environment.

The proposal to broaden the powers of bodies involved in the maintenance of public order with the creation of a common regulation is before the Parliament. This would significantly broaden the rights of these individual organizations to intervene in actions threatening private life. These actors (conservation guards, public space surveillance service, field guards, forest protection service, nature protection of the municipal police, professional hunters, etc.) could execute luggage and vehicle searches, and the proposal would allow a person acting on behalf of all the above, the use of handcuffs and the use of a service dog (for purpose of self-defense). These additional permissions aim to stabilization of public order and help focus police forces to major crime cases.

Nothing points out the ever changing nature of police work than the article from the news: the integration of the National Bureau of Investigation into the Special Police Force is under progress as planned. As a result of an assessment of performance ordered by the Minister of the Interior, the national chief commissioner of Police announced to the commanding officers concerned that the entire body of staff of two divisions of the National Bureau of Investigation (the Service Against Organized Crime and the Department of Economic Protection), is to be dismissed with immediate effect. Time will tell whether these changes deliver the desired results.

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Policing in the Republic of Kosovo: Changes Along with Political and Social Developments

Driton Muharremi and Samedin Mehmeti

Introduction

Kosovo is located in the heart of South East Europe and is situated between the 42° and 44° parallels of the northern hemisphere and between the 20° and 22° meridians. Positioned in the center of the Balkan Peninsula, Kosovo's area is 10,908 km² and is populated by over two million people. The ethnic population is highly varied as a result of its turbulent history; Albanians make up 90 %, Serbs 7.5 % and 2.5 % others.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo was approved in 2008 and it guarantees the rights for minorities in accordance with the highest international standards. The official language is Albanian and Serbian, while Turkish, Bosnian, and Roma languages have the status of official languages at the municipal level or will be in official use at all levels as provided by law. The Republic of Kosovo is a secular state and is neutral in matters of religious beliefs. The main religion is Muslim the faith of most of the Albanian. Other religious include Christian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, among others (Parlamentii Kosoves [Parliament of Kosovo], 2008).

In period 1945–1990, Kosovo was a constitutive part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia with all the rights and responsibilities of any other constitutive unit within the Federation, as well as part of the Republic of Serbia. In 1990 the Republic of Serbia suspended autonomy of the province and on 2 July 1990, the Kosovo parliament declared Kosovo as Republic within Yugoslavia and on 7 September 1990 declared Kosovo as independent country, with the official name the Republic of Kosovo. This declaration was not internationally recognized.

During 1998 and 1999, the Albanian population unhappy with the Serbian regimes' discrimination and violation of human rights, engaged in open armed conflict with the Serbian regime installed in Kosovo. In 1999 for humanitarian reasons, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened with bombing of ex-Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The NATO bombing ended with the withdrawal of Serbian armed forces. Kosovo, through United Nations Security Councils Resolution 1,244 came under the Interim Administration of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), most of whose roles were assumed by the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) in December 2008. In February 2008, members of the Assembly of Kosovo declared independence as the Republic of Kosovo.

From 17 February 2008, when Kosovo Parliament declared the Independence until mid 2012, Republic of Kosovo was recognized by 89 UN member states. On 8 October 2008, at

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request of Serbia, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution asking the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the issue of Kosovo's declaration of independence. On 22 July 2010, the International Court of Justice ruled that Kosovo's declaration of independence did not violate international law (International Court of Justice, 2010).

Kosovo is landlocked and borders the Republic of Macedonia to the south, Albania to the west and Montenegro to the northwest, all of which recognize Kosovo. The remainder of Kosovo's frontier to the north and east is with Serbia. The largest city and the capital of Kosovo is Pristina (alternatively spelled Prishtina or Priština).

Constitutionally, the Republic of Kosovo is an independent, sovereign, democratic, and indivisible state. It is a state of its citizens and exercises its authority based on respect for human rights and freedoms of its citizens and all other individuals within its borders. The Republic of Kosovo is a multiethnic society consisting of Albanian and other ethnicities, governed democratically with full respect for the rule of law through its legislative, executive, and judicial institutions. The exercise of public authority in the Republic of Kosovo shall be based upon the principles of equality of all individuals before the law and with full respect for internationally recognized fundamental human rights and freedoms, as well as protection of the rights of and participation by all Communities and their members (Parlamentii Kosoves [Parliament of Kosovo], 2008).

Kosovo is a democratic Republic based on the principle of separation of powers and checks and balances as provided in the Constitution. The Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo exercises the legislative power, and the President of the Republic of Kosovo represents the unity of the people. He is the legitimate representative of the country, internally and externally, and is the guarantor of the democratic functioning of the institutions of the Republic of Kosovo, as provided in the Constitution. The Government of the Republic of Kosovo is responsible for implementation of laws and state policies and is subject to parliamentary control.

The judicial power is unique and independent and is exercised by courts. The Constitutional Court

is an independent organ in protecting the constitutionality and is the final interpreter of the Constitution. The Republic of Kosovo has institutions for the protection of the constitutional order and territorial integrity, public order and safety, which operate under the constitutional authority of the democratic institutions of the Republic of Kosovo.

Kosovo Police

The Kosovo Police Service was established on 6th September 1999 as an immediate need to provide security for people of Kosovo, and has grown and developed into a modern and democratic police force exponentially in the years following its inception. In this growth and development, the advice, support, and substantial assistance of the international community was very important (Functional Review and Institutional Design of Ministries [FRIDOM], 2009).

In fact, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) opened the Kosovo Police School in Vushtrri and began training the first class of cadets for future Kosovo Police officers, beginning in 1999 under the terms of the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo. Since 2008, the name of the force has changed from the Kosovo Police Service to the Kosovo Police. A number of international organizations such as the UNMIK, European Union mission in Kosovo EULEX, OSCE and other international organizations had, and continue to play, a role in helping and supporting Kosovo Police in the professional development.

The number of the Kosovo Police is about 8,500. Around 7,500 of them are police officers and the remainder is composed of administrative and other civilian personnel without police powers. Based on the research of the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies, more than 4,000 private security guards are operating in Kosovo (Kosovar Centre for Security Studies, 2009: 6).

Historical Development of the Police

Policing in Kosovo could be one way or another divided in three different periods, the reason is

because there were very different political and policing systems, methods, different authorities and different regimes.

These periods of time covers:

- (a) The period before 1990.
- (b) The period from 1990 until 1999.
- (c) The period from 1999 until now.

The Period Before 1990

Kosovo historically was constitutionally apart of the ex-Yugoslav Federation, and mainly policing was part of general socialist principles, with certain a liberalism under which the system worked, especially after year 1970. Specific for this period of time, was that the police was not divided from operationally political bodies, so they were part of the Kosovo Secretariat of Internal Affairs (KSIA) (equal to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, MIA) mainly headed by individuals appointed and very reliable to the ruling Communist party (League of Communists). There was not a clear division of operational responsibilities, from politics and policy making. That means the chief of a political body was the chief of police as well.

The KSIA as police Headquarters was headed by the Secretary for Internal Affairs and composed of three pillars (Ligji mbi punet e brendshme [Law on internal affairs], 1978):

1. *Public Security Services* as one of the pillars, governed/led by the Undersecretary for Public Security, appointed by Kosovo's Executive Council (equal to Government), with the support of the Secretary for Internal Affairs. The primary responsibilities of this pillar were public safety, traffic safety, public order and investigating the crimes (not included the crimes against the political system), border security and control, stay and movement of foreigners, security of the very important personalities, fire safety, assistance to the population in case of general dangerous situations, issues related to the explosive materials. Most of the officials in this pillar were uniformed. Duties and responsibilities of the public security service were organized within seven regions: Prishtina, Peja, Gjilani, Prizren, Mitrovica, Gjakova, and Ferizaji. The next level of policing was the local level. In every

municipality there was a Directorate for internal affairs, with administration bodies, police stations and substations. In every municipality there was a least one police station; in some areas, including some large villages, police substations were created.

2. *State security services, the "secret police"* were headed by an Undersecretary, appointed from Kosovo's Executive Council, with the support of the Secretary. All personnel in this sector worked in plain clothes and responsibilities of this pillar were operational duties related to the protection of the constitutional order, territorial integrity, and the power (regime) worker class, i.e., anything related to the socialist political system.
3. *Administrative and other internal affairs.* Most of the duties & responsibilities of this pillar were performed in the internal affairs directorates located in the municipalities. Personnel were civilian without authorization to perform police duties. The main responsibilities of this pillar were personal number and residence registry, issue of identity cards, travel documents and driver licenses, vehicles registration, administrative issues related to the fire safety.

The Period from 1990 Until 1999

After several violent protests, with a lot of political tension and without the will of the majority of population, in 1989 changes were made to the Constitution of Kosovo of 1974 and the Autonomy was suspended (Djukanović, 2007: 53–55, 147–150).

One year later, on 5 July 1990, Serbia dissolved the Kosovo Assembly including the Kosovo Government, part of which was the Secretariat for Internal Affairs as well (University of Arkansas, 2012). The officials of this Secretariat, including uniformed police officers the majority of whom were Albanians, were fired/expelled/terminated from their working places as "politically and ethnically" improper to work in institutions that were installed by the Republic of Serbia, after this suspension (Ron, 2003). In one form or another Kosovo was "occupied."

A specific autocratic form of administration was installed which was directed and controlled

by the Republic of Serbia, not at all accepted from Albanian population as majority of the Kosovo's population. Until June, 1990, most of the police officers were brought from Serbia. A decade of discrimination and abuse under Serbian President Slobodan Milošević had forced out most Albanian lawyers and discredited the ones who stayed (International Crises Group, 2010).

During this period of time, policing was part of the totalitarian system and in most of the cases the police organization obeyed political orders; in many cases, the police exited with the use of the force. Even medical professionals have witnessed to police brutality (Gashi, 2004). On 11 October 1990 the European Parliament approved a Resolution condemning abuses of human rights in Kosovo. Several years later, on 24 September 1998, NATO warned President Slobodan Milošević of Yugoslavia that a failure to end the violence in Kosovo would result in NATO air strikes (University of Arkansas, 2012)

There are few sources in the exciting Kosovo Police archives that can describe the ex-policing system accurately, because the totalitarian regime used the police organization as a tool to achieve their own goals, and this use of police force did not respect the existing laws and rules. Misuse of police powers was not reported, the population ignored cooperation with the police, and corruption was open. Expressions like "Community policing" or "Serving the people" were not known at all.

The Period from 1999 Until Now

It should be mentioned that by creating the Kosovo Police Service in 1999, there occurred a total excision/division with the ex-policing system from the past. Everything was newly formed and created including laws, rules and regulation (police procedures), working system, training model, uniform and signs. Everything that was associated with the police system in the past was changed, including the change of paradigm as well. The Kosovo Police Service as a newly created civil force has made significant progress toward a professional police service attaining a total strength of over 8,500 trained and employed staff (uniformed police and civilian personnel),

policing all of Kosovo and taking on an increasing number of key roles. There is much still to be achieved as institutions in Kosovo continue to develop.

The MIA as a political supervisor was formed in 2005 (United Nations Mission in Kosovo [UNMIK], 2005a), about 6 years after the police system was created. From 1999 until 2008, the strategic goals and policies were set up by the United Nations Interim Mission in Kosovo. UNMIK had a police component as part of the first pillar, exercising police authority in the (1999) first years with large number of police officers coming from contingents of different United Nations member countries, and especially after begin of the transition in 2003, the number of UNMIK police officers was reduced and most of the activities were performed by Kosovo Police officers.

As per Law on the Police relationship with the MIA is encapsulated and the role of the MIA is clear on providing the strategic directions, priority setting, and performance management. In this short period, there have been a number of strategies and plans published by the Kosovo Ministry of Internal Affairs. Executing these, strategies and plans allow the people of Kosovo particularly the local communities and other stakeholders to see real progress in policing. Under the Kosovo Ministry of Internal Affairs is operating Police Inspectorate, who is increasingly effective and has produced some good specific and thematic reports on police issues (United Nations Mission in Kosovo [UNMIK], 2005b). The role of Police Inspectorate is extended to monitoring priorities and targets set by the MIA.

The Kosovo Police is undoubtedly still in the process of forming a stable identity, as well as in the development of its culture of performance. A great deal of success is seen during this period of strategic planning, in almost all levels. It is very important fact that, so far the members of the Kosovo Police have managed to successfully maintain impartiality and professionalism in performing tasks.

In 2008, after the declaration of independence of Kosovo and the promulgation of the Law on Police, the Kosovo Police Service changed its name to the Kosovo Police.

Police Organization

The mission of the Kosovo Police is to provide Kosovar citizens with highly professional police services, always through effective and efficient enforcement of the law. The effectiveness and efficiency is measurable. The Kosovo police vision is to build the trust and pride of the people of Kosovo through competent performance (Kosovo Police, 2011b).

Personnel employed in the Kosovo Police must have certain values. Despite the circumstances faced in their work, Kosovo Police officials should always show honesty, courage, and be responsive even when faced with different situations, which in some cases can even be uncomfortable. Kosovo Police officials should have always realize, that for every action, they are accountable. Police work in specific cases requires patience and self-restraint/forbearance. These are just some of the basic values which characterize the Kosovo Police.

The Kosovo Police is organization established to meet certain strategic objectives. Undoubtedly one of the most important objectives is to guarantee the rule of law. In order to accomplish the strategic objective of the rule of law, cooperation with the community is a fundamental prerequisite. The fulfillment of this strategic objective is important not only for the internal security of the country, but also for regional security as well. This objective will be realized only through strongly working efficiently and effectively, and always trying

to improve services and continuously setting high professional standards for the achievement of the expected results.

To fulfill these objectives, the Kosovo Police depends on cooperation with the MIA. But of course also through the cooperation and coordination of its activities with other law enforcement agencies, such as Judicial Authorities, Customs, Correctional Service, the Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC), as well as regional and international organizations such as United Nations Organizations, Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), European Union Mission (EULEX), OSCE, European Police Office (EUROPOL), International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL) (Kosovo Police, 2011a, 2011b).

The Police in Kosovo, just as every other police force, is faced with a number of conflicting priorities and tasks, ranging from community protection and support, maintenance of public order, prevention and detection of crime, to the protection and control of borders.

The functionality of Kosovo Police is organized according to the police law, but the organizational structure (organigram) is a flexible structure systematized and proposed by the General Director of the Kosovo police, and approved by the Minister of Internal Affairs. This system enables the General Director of the Police flexibility in changing, arranging, and organizing internally the organigram and the chain of command. In practice, this enables the system of the duties according to the needs and the circumstances in the service (Table 1).

Table 1 Kosovo Police statistics on number of inhabitants per police officers (Source: Functional Review and Institutional Design of Ministries [FRIDOM], 2009)

Region	No. of inhabitants	No. of police officers	No. of civilian staff	Police officer-citizen	Civilian staff to police officers
Pristina	837,905	1,410	157	1-594	1-9
Mitrovica	350,823	912	131	1-385	1-7
Gilan	205,537	687	91	1-299	1-8
Ferizaj	181,114	516	85	1-351	1-6
Prizren	488,797	828	114	1-590	1-7
Peja	383,245	863	110	1-444	1-8
MHQ		767	395		1-2
Border Police		1,029	28		1-37
Total	2,100,000 ²	7,194	1,111	1-290	1-6.5

The Kosovo Police (KP) organizational structure has been changed many times according to the organizational and managerial needs, but in principle since its inception in 1999, was organized in pillars as you can see below:

1. *Operations Pillar*: is one of the most important parts of the organizational structure of the Kosovo police. It conveys and is responsible for development and coordination of police operations performed within the Kosovo Police, and simultaneously coordinates with other institutions out of police.
 - *Department of Public Order*: is monitoring the overall security situation in Kosovo, through assessments and analysis. Issues operational orders as needed on the different operational situations.
 - *Department of Specialized Units*: it supports all units within the Kosovo Police in high risk operations as well as in technical operations which require special police tactics. Also makes provision of facilities and the personalities of particular importance.
 - *Directorate of Community Policing*: is responsible for formulating and implementing strategies on effective collaboration with citizens. Realization of projects and programs for the prevention of crime includes: safety in schools and around them, distribution of leaflets and manuals in terms of education and awareness for children and young people at risk from use of illegal drugs, alcohol, keeping lectures on traffic safety, etc.
 - *Six Regional Police Directorates*: are responsible for law enforcement in their area of responsibility. Their primary focus is to maintain public peace and order and investigation of criminal offenses which have low social risk in their regions.
2. *Crime Investigation Pillar*: The primary task of this pillar is to develop and implement policy on preventing crime, detection and investigation of criminal offenders by collecting and presenting the facts, evidence, and proof. Especially when it comes to serious crimes.
 - *Directorate of Organized Crime*: is a specialized police unit in the investigation of criminal offenses that are considered organized crime. It monitors and analyses trends of organized crime in Kosovo and elsewhere, and creates efficient access plans in combating organized crime.
 - *Directory of Major Crime*: conducts the investigation of serious criminal offenses and coordinates investigative actions of all regional investigation units in detecting offenses that are competence at all levels.
 - *Directory of Crime Analysis*: collects, coordinate, manage information criminal intelligence within the Kosovo Police. As well as assists all units' at the station, region or specialized investigations units with criminal intelligence information's.
 - *Directory of Forensics*: is responsible for collecting and examining evidence in all cases of serious crimes such as the murder of police officers, aggravated murder, terrorism cases, attack on diplomatic offices, courts, prosecutor's office, or international organizations, etc. As well as assists and establishes procedures for forensics units at the local level.
3. *Border Police Pillar*: is responsible for establishing and implementing policies and strategies pertaining to border control at entry and exit points of every border crossing and border green line in order to prevent illegal crossing of the state border as well as control of passengers and means of transport and fulfillment of the obligations specified in international agreements.
 - *Border Police Department*: is responsible for supervision and support of the border police operational activities of Border police Regional Directorates: East, North, West, and Pristina International Airport.
4. *Personnel and Training Pillar*: manage, supervise, and deliver the administrative support to all Kosovo Police units. Creates and implements the policy, identify and plan the personnel needs. Plan and supervise the career development process to complete the command structures.
 - *Administrative Services Department*: efficient management of personnel data,

vacations, protocoling, archiving, and distribution of all documents of the General Directorate of Police, providing primary health services for members of the Kosovo Police.

- *Training Department*: identifies the training needs, prepare the curricula and organizes the basic training and advanced training. Assists and supervises the field units on in-service training.

5. *Support services Pillar*:

- *Directory of Budget and Finances*: according to needs prepares the budget and supervises expenditures.
- *Directory of Procurement*: processes under the law on public procurement all purchases carried out by organizations.
- *Directory of Information Technology and Communication*: supports all units over seeing information technology networks and telephone connections and databases with different data.
- *Directory of Logistics*: perform necessary supply equipment such as uniforms, equipment police, office materials, servicing, and repair of existing equipment.
- *Directory of Management of Buildings*: oversees the maintenance of existing police facilities and according to the needs prepare projects and supervise the implementation of projects for the new buildings.

With the aim of offering the opportunity that every officer has his own duties and responsibilities, where a deconcentration of power takes place in the organization, the Kosovo police is organized at the central, regional, and local levels. The General Police Directorate is the central headquarters, responsible for all policing activities in Kosovo. Police units on the field perform operational activities, and the General Police Directorate is in charge of the strategic management of the organization.

The regional level is organized in six Regional Police Directorates, responsible for regions comprising specified municipalities. At the local level, Police Stations are responsible for basic police functions, and at a minimum there is one police

station in each municipality. Police substations, as part of the larger police stations established in the larger communities are responsible for security of the local community. The General Director of Kosovo Police is responsible for establishing units by the territorial jurisdiction of each: Region, Police Stations, Police Substations, as well as Border Police Stations.

The General Police Directorate is located in Prishtina, and is under the direction, control, and supervision of the General Director of the Kosovo Police, who can serve for maximum of 8 years, in two mandates. The first mandate of is 3 years, with the possibility to be chosen for another mandate of 5 years. The General Director is selected through a public competition. The best candidates, selected from Senior Police Appointments and the Discipline Commission proposed to the Minister, who then will recommend to the Prime Minister eligible candidates for appointment (*Ligji për policin e Kosovës* [Law on Kosovo Police], 2008).

Some of the main functions of Kosovo Police General Directorate include to manage, observe, analyze, and evaluate the overall security situation in Kosovo. Support and supervise the performance of police units, take the lead of police operations in extraordinary or exigent circumstances, coordination, development, and implementation of strategies for prevention and reduction of crime, etc. (*Ligji për policin e Kosovës* [Law on Kosovo Police], 2008) (Table 2).

Police Regions and Police Stations as well as Border police stations at the local level are in a position to perform police duties within their jurisdiction and authority independently according to the law. Police Regions are led by their respective Director of Region or police stations by the police Station Commander.

The Kosovo police in their chain of command have three levels of management:

1. Strategic with the ranks from Major and above.
2. Operational with the ranks from Lieutenant and above.
3. Sergeants as supervisors of first line are the Tactical level.

Table 2 Kosovo Police statistics on ethnicity and gender (Source: Functional Review and Institutional Design of Ministries [FRIDOM], 2009)

Kosovo Police statistics on ethnicity and gender				
Ethnicity	Female	Male	Total	Total (%)
Albanian	1,069	6,335	7,404	85.80
Ashkalia	0	20	20	0.23
Bosnian	38	189	227	2.63
Cerkezi	0	5	5	0.06
Croat	2	2	4	0.05
Egyptian	1	6	7	0.08
Goran	2	40	42	0.49
Macedonian	1	0	1	0.01
Roma	2	19	21	0.24
Serbian	148	661	809	9.38
Slovenian	1	0	1	0.01
Male	85.24 %			
Female	14.76 %			
Albanian	85.80 %			
Serbian	9.38 %			
Others	4.82 %			

Functional Competencies

While performing police duties and activities, according to the law the Kosovo Police are authorized to impose reasonable/lawful control over people and property as well as having the power to enforce lawful orders and instructions to members of the general public in order to achieve legal and legitimate objectives. Patrolling the border area, control trans-border traffic, examine border crossing documents, if that is necessary and reasonable enter into the private property along the border as well as railway stations, airports, trains, and airplanes, are also within their jurisdiction (Ligji për policin e Kosovës [Law on Kosovo Police], 2008: Article 11).

As mentioned above, all other police authority and power, will be performed and exercised exclusively, whenever this is possible for security reasons, by identifying themselves as police officers and making clear the legality of the action. Kosovo police officials will exercise this authority only when necessary and to the extent required to achieve legal and legitimate police objectives with the littlest possible harmful consequences and of course in the shortest possible

time, always adhering to the principles of suitability and proportionality.

It is already built into the culture and the ethic of the Kosovo Police to make sure that all legal orders are obeyed through the chain of command. But it is also part of the ethical behavior and police culture that developed that clearly sees that unlawful orders will NOT be obeyed and will be reported immediately. The Kosovo Police officer will not obey an order to inflict, instigate, support, or tolerate any act of torture or inhuman, degrading treatment or any other act that can be seen as torture. If that under any circumstances will happen, not any kind of order can justify such action.

In order to perform their duties and responsibilities, police officers have the power to issue verbal orders. It is known that most of the time police officers while on duty must communicate with the public in certain situations, and it seems that many of the problems are going to be solved by a verbal order or another warning. The reason for issuing a lawful order is to ask the persons either to stop his action or to take another action, conduct or behavior as the police officer may require.

In certain cases, the police can take individuals into temporary police custody if this is necessary to protect the person from harm or danger (especially when the person is under helpless conditions), or to identify the person, or to restrict the movement of the person as authorized by law, when the person is uncooperative with lesser measures. Temporary police custody cannot last more than 6 h, excluding circumstances when the person is still in a helpless condition, but no longer than an additional 6 h. Police custody is not prison or detention, but in this way the person cannot be held with prisoners or persons arrested and detainees.

By having an individual in custody, the police will consider not holding them together with persons of the opposite gender, minors, unless if he/she themselves is a minor. The person taken into temporary custody is informed of the reason for custody, and is given an opportunity to notify family or any other trusted person that he chooses to inform (Ligji për policin e Kosovës [Law on Kosovo Police], 2008).

Crime Trends

Kosovo is a place which is undergoing through a multidimensional transition. As in other places, crime is one of the interesting dynamics in the life of Kosovar citizens and most probably one of the important developments on which depends the political and economic stability of the country. Prevention of crime but also the attempt to keep under control the crime trends remains one of the main goals of the Kosovo Police.

Undoubtedly the influence on the overall trend development of criminality in Kosovo derives from political developments but also military and other changes in which the Kosovar population experienced from 1990 to 2000. This was period in which the statistics were a privilege of the totalitarian regime and the rest of the citizens were not likely to have them.

During the years 2000 and 2001, there was an interesting trend in the forms of crime directly

related to the conflict and violence caused during previous years of Milošević’s totalitarian government and the conflict. For example, as examine the UNMIK’s Police annual report from 2000, we note that there were 246 murder cases registered, 274 attempted murders, 3,163 assaults, and 2,402 intimidations. This shows a substantial number of crimes of violence. But also in the same report we can see a significant number of the reported crimes against property (United Nations Mission in Kosovo [UNMIK], 2000: 38) (Table 3).

Immediately after the conflict in 1999, the number of the crimes must have been higher. The cooperation with community because of the barriers was not in expected level, keeping in mind the culture of the past totalitarian regime, during which people hesitated to report crime to the police.

Another fact that supports this is that the UNMIK Police was composed of different nationalities with different policing cultures and the local population had barriers on language and

Table 3 Crime rates in Kosovo during year 2010 and 2011 (Source: Kosovo Police, 2011a)

	Regional police directorates											
	Prishtina		Prizren		Peja		Mitrovica		Gilan		Ferizaj	
	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011
Criminal offenses against Kosovo and its citizens	6	8	6	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0
International law	4	2	2	4	0	0	2	22	0	4	0	1
Life and body	1,223	1,211	821	849	605	586	708	661	398	386	416	408
Human rights and freedom	845	977	402	414	381	345	271	226	169	128	189	196
Working rights	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2
Honor and authority	21	16	1	7	7	2	0	0	5	1	0	0
Sexual integrity	62	50	14	17	21	27	31	29	20	12	10	17
Marriage and family	13	20	10	6	196	191	11	5	4	19	8	9
Public health	10	7	11	9	43	46	25	28	34	21	7	10
Economy	460	415	139	53	170	96	84	49	72	55	83	21
Wealth	7,902	8,884	2,709	3,109	3,395	3,507	2,537	2,907	2,223	2,109	1,795	1,981
Environment (animals, plants, cultural facilities)	46	60	17	18	152	191	82	57	68	64	28	25
General safety of human and wealth	225	280	148	154	196	252	254	283	152	183	52	62
Traffic safety	39	41	6	7	3	1	458	440	356	196	86	104
Admin. of justice	67	57	30	11	44	53	11	9	5	6	15	10
Public order	989	845	396	348	946	915	403	354	219	213	251	206
Official duty	22	31	13	5	38	32	98	33	3	10	5	3
The total of criminal acts reported by Kosovo Police	11,938	12,906	4,727	5,015	6,197	6,245	4,976	5,106	3,729	3,407	2,947	3,955
Comparison in %	8.1		6.09		0.77		2.53		-8.63		3.66	

trust of the police. Not just in reporting but there was an impact in solving the crimes as well. Despite the fact that the international presence was accepted, distrust of those in uniform was so high that it prevented people from proper cooperation with police. The UNMIK Police instituted concrete initiatives such as open communication with the public, field activities aimed at changing the paradigm, than community policing policies and the establishment of the Kosovo Police Service, assisted in breaking the wall between the International police and the population.

During this period of time, the fight against organized crime, which had already spread in and around Kosovo, was very difficult and even quite impossible? And it needed a continuation of police efforts during the large period of time. Combating organized crime also required remedies that UNMIK Police did not have, given the outdated structure of the applicable law in Kosovo during that period of time. Preparing, drafting, and promulgation of numerous regulations enhanced the ability of police to conduct covert surveillances and investigations, and provide witness protection. The transnational nature of organized crime required cross-border police cooperation. This cooperation has been hampered by the status of Kosovo, which has from time to time become the official obstacle to international cooperation for exchange of information on criminal activities with certain authorities of some countries.

This leads the police to surmise that as life has returned to normal for the citizens, the crime patterns are starting to resemble the same patterns found other European cities.

Analyzing the developing trends of criminal activities, but also observing the modus operandi of most of the recognized criminal groups who have engaged in organized crime in Kosovo, we find similarities with various groups and other criminal organizations in the region. And these criminal groups in many cases cooperate with among themselves. From this perspective, any serious study on organized crime in Kosovo cannot be done separately or in isolation from the study of organized crime in other Eastern European countries.

Nonetheless, the primary characteristics of most of the organized crime groups in Kosovo are:

- Family ties or close friendship between members of the group.
- Very clear defined and well-built hierarchical structure, based on the links listed above.
- Aggressiveness and brutal use of violence.

Organized crime is the phenomenon that characterized Kosovo in the period after the year 2000 to the present, and is prevalent in most of the culture. This finding is consistent with the public impression that an organized crime structure operates in Kosovo and controls not just leisurely profitable businesses, but also some of the state vital structures. In this respect there are rare or different reports regarding various affairs in connection with organized crime (Korajlić & Muharremi, 2009: 21).

Kosovo is part of the group of the South Eastern Europe countries where illegal drug crimes, including the production of cannabis, and trafficking in heroin, occur (Hysi, 2010: 207).

From 2003 to 2004, 27 organized crime groups and clans committed 27 cases of organized crime, which were related to drug trafficking (15 cases and groups with 150 perpetrators), trafficking in human beings (82 cases, no groups, with 83 arrested persons), economic crime (questionable 3 cases and groups with some 600 perpetrators), and other types of crime (Council of Europe, European & Regional Project, 2006) (Table 4).

Some of the most significant forms of manifestation of organized crime in Kosovo are:

- Illicit trafficking, drugs, weapons, tobacco, alcohol, and human beings.
- Economic crimes and abuse of public property, money laundering.
- Counterfeiting, fraud, bribery.
- Robbery, racketeering.
- Threats, blackmail, and other from of the use of violence.

Table 4 Crime rates against wealth and economy in Kosovo during year 2008 and 2009 (Source: Kosovo Police, 2009)

	Year	
	2008	2009
Criminal cases		
Crimes against economy	1,418	989
Crimes against wealth	18,916	17,158

As can be seen also from the statistics on crimes mentioned here, the main crime in total number of the cases remains crimes against the wealth and economy.

Among the external causes that have major influences on the crime, in order of importance, especially highlighted the numerous economic and social factors, political and ideological and other criminal behaviors such as economic crisis, unemployment, housing crisis, political conflict, religious, national, cultural, impact of war and conflicts, the lower efficiency on detection of crime by the law enforcement agencies, population migration, the crisis of the system of values, and the negative impact of the media, etc. (Korajlić & Muharremi, 2009: 20).

Changes in Policing

In the monopolistic communist (socialist) system, police activity was oriented towards the use of repressive methods, while police today have a tendency to increasingly choose problems by preventing them from happening and through mostly proactive activities.

Policing in Kosovo can be divided into three periods, in which the police claimed to serve the people, but in reality the first period police served the monopolistic party, police in the second period served the political regime of Milošević, while the third period (after 1999) was characterized by professionalism and political neutrality. Nevertheless in the Balkans, especially in the transitional countries under development such as Kosovo, it is very difficult to escape the political influence and maintain operational independence.

Generally in the past (before 1999), the police were characterized by intimidation, threatening and fear, especially for individuals involved in political activities against the regime. Currently, the Kosovo Police Service is not seen as an organization that brings fear to the citizens, in fact it is other way around. According to the UNDP's Early Warning Report for Kosovo, the Kosovo Police Service is seen as one of the most trusted organizations by Kosovo's population. Satisfaction

represents population-based data, not disaggregated on ethnicity (United Nations Development Program, 2007).

Current Trends in Policing

Even though in Kosovo the private security industry has emerged, public policing still plays the main role in the security. According to the Law on private security services, the private security companies can only operate in some fields, for example (Ligji për shërbimet private të sigurisë [Law on private security services], 2011):

- Static guarding and mobile patrolling for the physical protection of property or a secure area.
- Establishing and maintaining safe space through escorting and protecting an individual in terms of Close Protection.
- Armed escort for cash and other valuables during transportation.
- Electronic surveillance of a secure area and property by a private security company.
- Providing security services on public gatherings.

Observing the security system and the providers of the security services, there is still a lot of security services provided by the public sector, especially, gathering and analyzing of information, every type of investigation, private prisons, among others. The Kosovo police in early 2000 introduced a model of Community Policing, which is slowly becoming identified as successful. A concept of Intelligence led-policing was installed in policing forms, but it needs to be improved.

Police, Media and Public Opinion on Police

Everything that police did in the first and second period was secret and confidential for the general public, for the media as well and there was no spokesperson or any office to deal with the public; transparency had no meaning. In fact, the relations with the media were interesting, and while the media was completely controlled by the

communist party, there was no major problems in reporting if anything was reported at all, it was reported the way police wanted especially, as the “secret police-state security” wanted.

A significant difference can be seen in the third period, when the police arranged an office for relations with the public and a spokesperson was appointed as well. Anyone with an interest can go and get any information desired, except of course operational or confidential information. Currently there are many different sources such as TV, radio, internet web pages, and newspapers, most of which are commercial and very interested in the news connected with police activities.

Rule of law has clearly improved since the period of UN interim administration from 1999 to 2008, and even more so since the years of Serbian rule (International Crises Group, 2010). According to the 2009 World Bank’s Rule of Law index Worldwide Governance Indicators project, Kosovo has gradually improved on the implementation of the rule of law, from a low of 13 (out of 100) in 2003, to 24 in 2007, rising to 30 in 2008, the first year of independence and in 2010 to 32 (World Bank, 2009).

With the support of the OSCE, a series of training sessions on cooperation was organized for the police, prosecutors and journalists (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2011). The program focused on the media’s role in scrutinizing the work of law enforcement agencies and ways to improve cooperation and communication between the prosecutors’ offices, the police and the media.

Police Education and Training

In the past (prior to 1990), most police personnel were educated in the police secondary school for 4 years as cadets, which counted as regular secondary school, and new courses we organized as needs dictated. The length of these courses was about 6 months, and participants who finished this program were then employed as police officers. There were other training programs in certain areas primarily to train supervisors. When analyzing the police education system, we find

that it is focused more on education rather than training, and there is a lack of training courses.

The Kosovo Centre for Public Safety, Education and Development (KCPSED), is located in the Vushtrri municipality. It was founded in 1999, when the Department of Police Education and Development (DPED) operated under the auspices of the OSCE, and established the Kosovo Police Service School (KPSS). In 2007 it became an executive agency under the Kosovo Ministry of Internal Affairs transferring to its current status. The Centre is responsible for the training and education of four different public safety and security agencies, namely the KP, the Correctional (Prisons) Service, the Customs Service and the staff of the Department of Emergency Management (DEM) (predominantly Fire Fighters and Search and Rescue Personnel).

The KCPSED delivers three levels of training; basic, specialist, and leadership and management training for senior personnel of the Kosovo Police. Under the Department for Police Education and Development, the first basic training commenced in 1999 (Functional Review and Institutional Design of Ministries [FRIDOM], 2010). It began with a basic 6 week course (followed by 24 weeks field training) with the aim to get police officers deployed as quickly as possible. By the end of 2002, after this initial “emergency” phase, it was intended that capacity building takes place as a transition to local ownership. In 2005, the decision to transform the DPED managed police school into the Kosovo Centre for Public Safety, the Education and Development and the process of transferring posts from international staff to local staff was made. Unfortunately, this transformation was not without consequences. The KCPSED became a local institution and funding arrangements changed, significant salary reductions for the vast majority of staff resulted.

The basic course for police officers currently consists of 20 weeks training in KCPSED, followed by 32 weeks of training supported, monitored, and evaluated by the Primary Field Training Officer (PFTO). Specialized training is organized according to the specific needs of the agencies, and the length of these courses depends on the specific course. The role of training in the Kosovo

Police is very important, and it should be noted that training department it is an important part of the KP General Directorate that deals with the creation, realization, and implementation of in-service training. It supports the KCPSD with police trainers in implementing training programs, and in the Regions and Stations there are training coordinators and in-service trainers.

Research on Police and Policing

One research effort in the area of police reform with a focus in capacity building and development of police personnel was conducted on *The Role of Capacity-Building in Police Reform*, carried out by (Harris, 2005) an OSCE member who worked in the Kosovo Police School and was knowledgeable about policing in Kosovo. This research attempted to inspire and perhaps support the debates on the role of capacity building in police reform. Harris in his research deals with difficult problems such as establishing the priorities in capacity building, evaluation methods and performance management, staff planning, etc.

A survey on Kosovo Police reforms was conducted in June 2010 by the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (Security Forum, 2011). The survey formalizes the importance of the police and policing reforms, with contributions towards further police strategic development. The main focus of the survey is the reform in fields of planning, decision-making, and communication.

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Policing in the Republic of Macedonia

Stojanka Mirčeva and Rade Rajkovčevski

Brief Introduction to the Macedonian Police

The Republic of Macedonia (Republika Makedonija) is a South-Eastern European country, with a territory of 25,713 km² (State Statistical Office, 2012a), landlocked, and situated in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula. On 8 September 1991, the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence from SFR Yugoslavia and was internationally recognized within UN in 1993. The country is constituted as a parliamentary democracy, with three separate branches of government (legislative, executive, and judicial) and is administratively divided into 84 territorial-administrative units (municipalities). Skopje, the capital and the largest city with a large concentration of cultural, economic, and political activities, is organized as a special unit of local self-government including ten municipalities within the city. According to the last Census in 2002, the territorial distribution of the population in Macedonia showed a striking disparity; 57.8 % of the total population lives in cities (in Macedonia there are 34 cities), with major concentrations in the capital

Skopje (20.5 %). Macedonia's population numbers 2,022,547 citizens, Macedonian being largest ethnic group with 64.2 %, followed by Albanian 25.2 %, Turkish 3.9 %, Roma 2.7 %, Serb 1.8 %, other 2.2 % (State Statistical Office, 2002). The official language is Macedonian and the alphabet is Cyrillic script. Following the signature of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in 2001,¹ the national Constitution (Ustav na Republika Makedonija, 1991) was amended, and as stipulated in the Amendment V of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia (Amandmani IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII i XVIII na Ustavot na Republika Makedonija, 2001), "The Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language throughout the Republic of Macedonia and in the international relations of the Republic of Macedonia. Any other language spoken by at least 20 percentage of the population is also an official language, written using its alphabet..." Accordingly, the Law on Use of the Language Spoken at Least by 20 % of the Citizens in Republic of Macedonia and Use of the Language in the Units of Local Self-Government (Zakon za upotreba na jazik što go zboruvaat najmalku 20

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¹The Ohrid Framework Agreement presents a basic conflict settlement document signed on 13 August 2001 between the President, Mr. Trajkovski, the international mediators, Special Representative of the EU, US Special Envoy and the four political parties of the, by that time established, the government of unity.

procenti od građanite vo Republika Makedonija i vo edinicite na lokalnata samouprava, 2008) defines the ethnic groups which achieve this (over 20 %) condition use their native language in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, communication between the citizens and the Ministries, lawsuit and administrative actions, execution of the sanction measures, Public Attorney, in the electoral processes, cases of referendum, issuing personal documents to the citizens, managing registry evidence and records, exercising police powers, radio diffusion, infrastructural objects, local self-government, finances, economy, education and science, culture, and in other areas of public life as well as in other institutions regulated with this law. However, the change introduced with this Constitutional amendment does not affect the language used in by the police for the purpose of commanding.

The country is strongly committed to the Euro-Atlantic integration processes. In the last 4 years country received positive note on Annual Progress Report of the European Commission. Macedonia achieved all the criteria necessary for entry into NATO in 2008, and since 2005 obtained country-candidate status. Nonetheless, integration processes are blocked by the Greek administration due to the two decades long country name dispute. This situation has implications on security and interethnic relations.

Demographic of the Macedonian Police

During 2011, the National police had a total of 11,195 employees (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2011). Pursuant to the provisions of the Law on Internal Affairs (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti, 2009), 330 authorized officers employed in the Ministry were retired in 2011. The current situation regarding equitable representation is as follows: 8,813 Macedonians, 1,888 Albanians, 182 Serbs, 70 Turks, 72 Roma, 28 Bosniaks, and 92 others. According to the data presented at the workshop of COMPOSITE project (see section "Recent Trends in Research on Policing: Specificities of Research on Police and Policing (Researchers and the Police)") partners in the

Netherlands on 5 October 2010, 95 % of total Ministry of Interior employees are police officers in uniform or law enforcement staff (Stojanovski, Mirčeva, Krstevska, & Rajkovčevski, 2010). It is mainly centralized organization with the decentralized segment of National police represented by eight territorial entities, so-called Sectors for Internal Affairs (SIA).

The current Macedonian police organization corresponds to the sociopolitical and cultural setting of the Macedonian society. The fundamentals of Macedonian police organization are rooted in the policing model of former Yugoslavia. Since independence in 1991 numerous transformation processes have taken place, including viewing the police organization as one of the most visible state actors. In the organization and structure reform of contemporary Macedonian police, we may differentiate two periods, prior to 2001 and after 2001. The most distinct point during the transitional processes of the police organization, as well as in the society as a whole, was 2001, when an ethnic conflict resulted in armed conflict. Following the signature of Ohrid Framework Agreement, the police organization faced deep processes of reorganization and restructuring. Nevertheless, the transitional processes of the Macedonian society are not yet finished.

The period after the armed conflict in 2001 had major influences on the Macedonian police. Following the signature of Ohrid Framework Agreement in August 2001, there were many political and changes according to the equal participation of ethnic groups integrated to Ohrid Agreement that affected the police organization. In that period, the international community largely supported the Macedonian police with training and post-conflict reconstruction activities. Namely, the most implemented novelty in policing in Macedonia is the concept of Community policing, which continuously represents part of police Action plans (Ministry of Interior of the RM, 2007, 2008). The Police Reform Project started in 2002, with the support by the ECJHT (European Commission Justice and Home Affairs Mission). Accordingly, the Strategy for Police Reform in Macedonia was adapted in 2003. Such developments were firm

bases for launching the 2-year police reform project led by the German police in 2005. In 2008, a new 2-year police reform project began, which was led by the French police. The first Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006) becomes applicable in 2007 presenting an appropriate response to police needs and democratic changes. In line with the police reform processes, the Border Police was established in 2004 as a structural entity of the National Police. The Border Police establishment resulted from the democratic changes that occurred with new Army role and the duty to keep the national borders has been transferred to the police authorities. Swiss DCAF (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces) largely supported the activities of establishing the Border Police.

Currently, according to the Strategic Plan of Ministry of Interior for 2009–2011, The Ministry of the Interior has not an operative function, but solely represents a classical organ of the Government. The operative functions of the police are implemented through the Central Police Services, the four Regional Border-control centers, and the territorial police—eight Sectors of Internal Affairs.

Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006) defines the basic function of the police as, protection and respect of the fundamental freedoms and rights of the human being and the citizens, guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, the laws and the ratified international agreements, protection of the legal order, prevention and detection of offences, undertaking measures for prosecution of the perpetrators of such crimes, as well as, maintenance of the public order and peace in the society.

Even today, when the aims and vision of Macedonian police are clearly set, there are many issues that need to be addressed and adequately implemented as part of the police reform processes and democratization of the society.

International Reputation

The Macedonian Police is a recognized member and full partner in numerous international police

organizations. Since 4 October 1993, Macedonia has been a member of INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization). The country had signed the Agreement for Strategic Cooperation with Europol on 16 January 2007, and 5 years later signed the Agreement for Operational and Strategic Cooperation Operational Agreement. In May 2009, a Working Agreement has been signed with FRONTEX as part of close cooperation with third countries, which represents one of the core elements of the EU Integrated Border Management. The cooperation between Frontex and the Ministry of Interior has started gradually, from information exchange and risk analysis, through common training and Research & Development projects, to joint operational measures. The enhancement of cooperation in the field of risk analysis was the first step to enact the agreement (Frontex, 2009). Previously, Macedonian national authorities have already taken part in some of the activities of the Frontex Risk Analysis Unit focused on the Western Balkans.

The Macedonian police organization is well networked within regional initiatives that include coordination of common police tasks and sending Liaison Officers, such as SELEC (Southeast European Law Enforcement Centre), SEPCA (Southeast European Chiefs of Police Association), MARRI (The Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative), and PCC SEE (Police Cooperation Convention for Southeast Europe). MARRI Regional Centre is located in Skopje.

Police Organization, Structure and Function

The legal framework for the operation of the Macedonian Police is mainly based on the Constitution (Ustav na Republika Makedonija, 1991, amendments), the Criminal Code (Krivičen Zakonik, 1996, amendments), the Law on Criminal Procedure (Zakon za krivičnata postapka, 1997, amendments), the Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006, amendments), the Law on Misdemeanors (Zakon za prekršoci, 2006, amendments), the Law on Internal Affairs (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti, 2009, amendments),

the Law on National Criminal Intelligence Data Base (Zakon za nacionalna kriminalističko—razuznavačka baza na podatoci, 2009), and the Law on Border Control (Zakon za granična kontrola, 2010). Those laws and related bylaws shape the core of police organization, its function and policies. The above-mentioned laws are basis for regulating the crime detection and prevention activities, migration, asylum, residence and temporary stay, witness protection, citizenship, documents, weapons, international juridical cooperation, and other issues. The ratified international documents (United Nations, Council of Europe, acts which are part from the Association and Stabilization Agreement signed in 2001 between Macedonia and European Commission, regional agreements) are fully integrated in the core of laws which regulates the policing.

The organization of the Ministry of Interior is defined in the Article 7 of the Law on Internal Affairs (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti, 2009), which stipulates that the Ministry of Interior consists of organizational units for the Ministry of Interior purposes and organs within the Ministry. Organizational units for Ministry of Interior purposes perform activities, expert and civil, for the entire Ministry. Furthermore, the Ministry of Interior consists of two organs, the Bureau for Public Security and the Bureau for Security and Counter Intelligence.

Police affairs are carried out by Law enforcement officers in the Bureau for Public Security.

With the provisions of the Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006), *police affairs* are defined as actions of the police officers that refer to:

- Protection of life, personal safety, and property of the citizens
- Protection of freedoms and rights of the human beings and the citizens, guaranteed by the Macedonian Constitution, the laws and the ratified international agreements
- Prevention of committing crimes and misdemeanors, detection and apprehension of the perpetrators of crimes, and undertaking other specific measures, stipulated by law, for prosecution of the perpetrators of such crimes
- Maintaining the public order and peace

- Regulation and control of the traffic
- Control of the movement and residence of foreigners
- State border security and state border crossing control
- Protection of specific persons and facilities
- Other affairs determined by law

Such definitions of internal affairs have an intention to respect the principles of democracy, rule of law and gives support in dealing with different types of crime. Police have civilian character and it is focused on the function as the service to citizens. However, leaving an open-ended list of actions by police officers, such as “other affairs determined by law,” without defining which affairs, and determined by what laws leaves room for uncertainty, both among police officers and the citizens.

The Ministry of Interior represents a political body responsible for implementing Government policies in the field of internal affairs, with no operational functions. The Bureau for Public Security, as an organ within the Ministry of Interior, has overall responsibility for policing. Overall duties of the Bureau are related to the implementation of the standards and procedures for the actions of the police, exercising expert and the general oversight and control of police work in order to assess the efficiency and economy of policing, as well as providing establishment of mechanisms for civic control over police work (Ministry of Interior of the RM, 2008). The operative functions of the police are implemented through the central police services, four regional border-control centers, and eight territorial SIA. The *territory principle* of organization and work is combined with *linear principle*. The strategic plan of the Ministry of Interior underlines both principles, with special focus being on the linear principle of organization, which is based on the contemporary challenges that the police organizations face, such as the organized forms of crime. A significant progress has been made with establishment of the Center for Combating Serious and Organized Crime as a special centralized unit that promotes and carries out police-juridical cooperation (Fig. 1).

The Bureau for Public Security is managed by the Director who is appointed by the

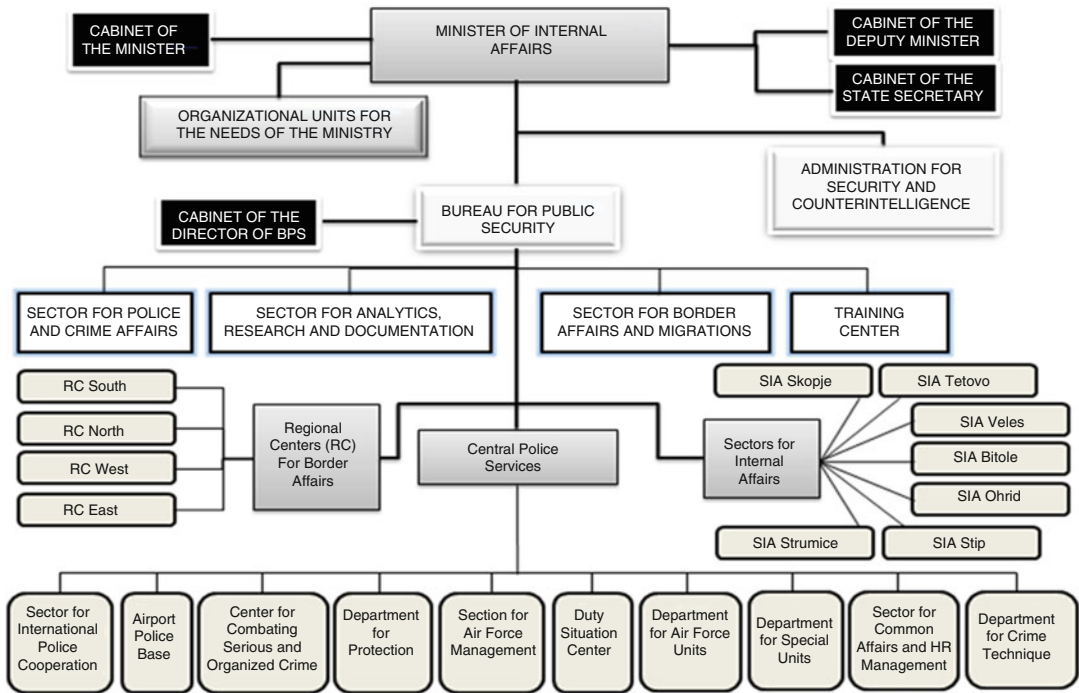


Fig. 1 Organizational chart of Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia (Source: Organization of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 2011)

Government of the Republic of Macedonia upon a nomination by the Minister of the Interior for a period of 4 years (Article 16 of Law on Police [Zakon za policija], 2006). The Bureau duties are stipulated in Article 15 of Law on Police (Zakon za policija):

1. Conceptual planning, monitoring, and analyzing the security state of affairs and the reasons for crime and public security endangerment appearance
2. Harmonization, direction, general and expert supervision and control of the work of the Police organizational units
3. Gathering, processing, analyzing, using, evaluating, storing, and deleting data from the Police scope of work
4. Participation in performing certain complex affairs within the scope of work of the police organizational units
5. Implementation of the ratified international agreements on police cooperation and other international acts which fall under the jurisdiction of the police

6. Proposing equipment standards and material-technical means for the police organizational units
7. Consideration on the police preparedness for acting and working in conditions of a complex security state of affairs
8. Other issues determined by law

Within the Bureau for Public Security there are four sectors: the Sector for Police and Crime Affairs, the Sector for Analytics, Research and Documentation, and the Sector for Border Affairs and Migration, and the Training Centre.

The Central Police Services operate across the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, with the goal of performing police affairs. Such position requires a high level of specialization and task performance under the principle of centralized work. The current organizational structure of the central police services is inspired with the aim of achieving effective and cost-efficient performance of certain specific and complex tasks, as well as for meeting the needs of the Sectors of Internal

Affairs and the Regional Centers for Border Affairs. The Central Police Services perform activities in the field of organized crime, forensics, activities in giving support to the performance of certain specific and complex affairs in the area of the SIA and the Regional Centers for Border Affairs by special police units, as well as other activities and tasks. The Central Police Services are governed by a Head of Service (Zakon za policija, 2006). Deconcentration and decentralization are inevitable processes that should follow, because the technical capabilities of the Ministry and the permanent increase of diversity and number of crimes. During economic crisis when costs of operations are emphasized, it requires rational redeployment of human and material capacities. Distinct feature of the CPS is operation of the Sector for common affair and human resources development, particularly sections for development of the personnel and representation of communities that care about the principle of gender equality, ethnic proportionality, rational deployment of police staff, and carrier development. Very helpful for this sector and for the police at all are Codex of Police Ethics (Kodeks na policiska etika, 2004), Rulebook on the manner and procedure for career development system of the law enforcement officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Pravilnik za načinot i postapkata za ostvaruvanje na sistemot na kariera na ovlastenite služebenici vo Ministerstvoto za vnatrešni raboti, 2009) and other internal acts related to systematization of working position of the employees of the Ministry of Interior. Following the signature of the Collective Agreement between the Ministry of Interior and Police Syndicate in September 2010, the implementation of the Act on systematization of work positions have started in the first quarter of 2011.

Article 20 of the Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006) defined eight SIA. They are established according to the area's size, number of the population, number of committed criminal acts and misdemeanors, as well as the significance of the road directions and the geographical location of the municipalities within the scope of the Sector for Internal Affairs. City of Skopje represents a SIA with an exclusive structural body called CIK

(Centre for reporting and coordination). The Sector is managed by a Head of Sector, and has the following responsibilities (Zakon za policija [Law on Police], 2006):

1. Monitoring and analyzing the security state of affairs and the events that cause emerging and development of crime and events that jeopardize the public security on the area for which it was established
2. Organizing, harmonizing, directing, and controlling the work of the police stations
3. Performing activities connected to crime and prevention of crime
4. Collecting, processing, analyzing, using, evaluating, transmitting, storing, and deleting data of the police scope of work for the area for which it was established, as well as personal data procession under the terms and manner determined by this and a separate law
5. Directly participating in the performance of the complex affairs within the scope of work of the police station
6. Performing and enforcing determined measures from the area of state border security, if needed
7. Undertaking measures for protection of certain persons and facilities
8. Informing the public on issues related within its scope of work
9. Performing other tasks determined by law, other regulation or according to the obligations deriving from the membership in the international police organizations and initiatives

According to Article 24 (Zakon za policija [Law on Police], 2006) there are 38 general duty police stations (besides specialized police stations, traffic police stations, border police stations, and airport police stations). Commander of general duty police station are getting elected by majority vote of councilors of the Council of the municipality in which police station of general jurisdiction is located, from the list that contains at least three candidates proposed by the minister, including at least one candidate that belongs to a community which is a majority in those municipalities.

The Border Police is organized in four Regional Centers for Border Affairs. They have operational

Table 1 Structure of the employees within the Ministry of Interior according to their status

Year	1992 (%)	1998 (%)	2002 (%)	2010 (%)
Law enforcement officers	72.9	74.4	81.7	94.9
Others	27.1	25.6	18.3 ^a	5.1

^aIn 2002 the group others consisted of 6.2% of Ministry employees with a civil servants status, 7.2% of firemen, and 4.9% of administrative technical staff

Source: Stojanovski et al. (2010: 6)

and tactical duties to perform police work related to providing the state border control and control of the border crossings. Within the Regional Centers for Border Affairs police stations for state border security and police stations for border crossing control are established, according to the international standards for state border surveillance. The border police stations are managed by a Commander, who performs the tasks in a police uniform (Zakon za policija [Law on Police], 2006).

The newly established Border Police within the Bureau for Public Security is of particular significance since Republic of Macedonia borders two EU member states. The duty to preserve the safety of borders is also related to prevent cross-border criminal activities, such as smuggling drugs and goods, illegal migration, and human trafficking.

The *Directorate for Security and Counterintelligence* is part of the Ministry of the Interior having responsibility for internal affairs related to the security and counterintelligence. The employees have a status of authorized officers for security and counterintelligence, and they may exercise police powers.

Police officers are the largest number of employees in the Ministry. The majority of them (around 80 %) are uniformed Police Officers, and the rest are other Law Enforcement personnel (Table 1). The highest number of the uniform police are from the District police (Territorial Sector for Internal Affairs), and Border Police. The smaller number of the uniform police is from the Central Police Services (Rapid Reaction Unit, SWAT) and from the Headquarter of the Police. The higher number of the Law Enforcement is from the District Police (SIA) and Central Police

Services—Units for prevention and detection the OC, Forensic unit, and units for Analytics, Statistic and Documentation, Unit for Personnel (Stojanovski et al., 2010).

Based on the defined objectives, in June 2003, the Ministry of Interior functioned with 11,135 employees which, in comparison to 1998, when the total number of employees was 8,377, and in 1992—6,786 employees, indicated a gradual increase in the number of employees. According to the age structure, the highest percentage of employees were between 31 and 35 years of age, and regarding the national background there was a tendency of decrease in the number of Macedonians, and the number of members of communities which are not majority in Republic of Macedonia, especially Albanians, is increasing (Dugas, Geck, & Pfannenschmidt, 2003). In 2011, there were total of 11,195 employees within the Ministry of Interior.

The Law on Internal Affairs (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti 2009) categorizes the employees within Ministry of Interior in three groups:

- Authorized officers according to this Law (authorized officials for performing professional or civil affairs, authorized officers for security and counterintelligence, and police officers)
- Civil servant according to the Law on Civil Servants
- Employee according to the Labour Law and defines the conditions on which the selection and election of individuals who establish employment relation is made

The highest is the percentage of employees aged 31–35 years (Table 2). Article 126a of the Law on Internal Affairs (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti, 2009), provides for retirement after 40 years length of service, regardless his/her age. It includes the beneficiary length of service. Starting from 1 January 2010, this provision should be applicable for 5 years. This measure seriously changed the internal structure of the Ministry of Interior. Also, regarding the provisions from Ohrid Framework Decision, the number of ethnic Macedonians tends to decrease (Table 3), while the number of members of other communities that are not in the majority in Republic of Macedonia (except Serbs), is increasing (Table 4).

Table 2 Age structure of Ministry of Interior employees

	Up to 20 (%)	21–25 (%)	26–30 (%)	31–35 (%)	36–40 (%)	41–45 (%)	46–50 (%)	51–55 (%)	Over 56 (%)
1992	1	16.2	21	21.6	15.9	12.2	9	2.4	0.7
1998	2.2	8.6	22.2	19.9	17.8	13.5	9.4	5	1.4
2003	0.5	14	10.3	20.5	18.2	16	12	6	1.5

Source: Dugas et al. (2003: 135)

Table 3 Ethnic composition of Ministry of Interior employees

	Macedonians (%)	Albanians (%)	Turks (%)	Serbs (%)	Roma (%)	Others ^a (%)
1992	92.6	2.7	0.4	2	0.5	1.8
1998	92.3	3	0.3	2.1	0.5	1.8
2003	88.3	7.3	0.5	1.8	0.7	1.4
2011*	78.7	16.9	0.6	1.6	0.6	1.1

Sources: Dugas et al. (2003: 135) and *Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2011: 10)

Table 4 National composition of uniformed police employees

	Macedonians (%)	Albanians (%)	Turks (%)	Serbs (%)	Roma (%)	Others (%)
1992	92.5	2.7	0.4	2	0.5	1.9
1998	91.7	3.2	0.3	2.3	0.5	2
2003	85.7	9.1	0.5	2.0	1.0	1.7
2010*	77.9	17.5	0.7	1.7	0.7	1.6

Sources: Dugas et al. (2003: 136) and *Stojanovski et al. (2010: 7)

The admission of new police officers in the period after 2001 produced many changes in the police structure and subsequent police culture. Accordingly, we may differentiate four groups: In the *first group*, there are police officers who belong to ethnic communities that are not a majority in Macedonia, as an obligation provided in the amendments of the Constitution following the signature of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The *second group* comprises members of the police unit “Lions” and reservists of the security forces who demanded from the government employment in the MOI. The *third group* consists of the police officers who formed the border police in the period 2004–2006 in three stages. During the establishment of border police, the admission of members of the minor ethnical communities in the Army was at an advanced stage, so one part of them crossed in the border police. The *fourth group* consists of police officers who were hired due to political pressures on police. The political impact in the admission procedures of police officers is independent regarding the events in 2001. Politicians since 2001 proved more skillful in the level of de-pro-

fessionalization of the police than their predecessors. In Macedonia it became a practice to employ from 100 to 200 new police officers in the period after the elections (Rajkovčevski, 2011).

The lack of professionalism in the recruitment of staff is perceived through the process of some kind of quick, overnight education. Increasing the number of members of Albanian nationality is usually made by a key (proportional) method. This does not build professional and quality police, but the villains. Each of the ruling parties, in its own way, looks to insert their own people, i.e., people that can be trusted (Toevski, 2008).

According to a senior DUI (Democratic Union for Integration, political party) official, 29 % of civil servants were ethnic Albanian in December 2009, but only 7 % of employees were in public administration (International Crisis Group interview held in Skopje, 28 June 2011). Civil servants are individuals working in state administration; public administration more broadly includes all state jobs (police, customs, and state institutions). Since 2001, law enforcement officers employed in the MoI with ethnic background other than

Macedonian is steadily increasing, reflecting the general policy of the government for implementation of Ohrid Framework Agreement.

The employment of ethnic Albanian recruits and the related introduction of multiethnic police patrols have undoubtedly been one of the contributing factors in facilitating the (re)-acceptance of regular police in the former crisis areas (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, as cited in Dikici, 2007). Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Both ethnic Albanian and Macedonian recruits have indicated that they feel accepted by all colleagues, regardless of their ethnicity. The interethnic cooperation is positive and most recruits feel included by their colleagues. Most superiors are providing recruits enough responsibilities and opportunities, and are showing them appreciation (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, as cited in Dikici, 2007). Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. The first explanation for the lack of resistance is that ethnic Macedonian police officers realize that the employment of recruits from minority groups is simply inevitable, and secondly, certain ethnic Macedonian police officers actually support the measures proposed in the Ohrid Agreement (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, as cited in Dikici, 2007). Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The data published by the European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR) on the gender representation, pointed out that the proportion of women in the total number of employees structure of MOI in 2003 was 15.6 %, whereas only 7 % of the uniformed police were women. In comparison to 1998 gender structure, when the proportion of women in the MOI employees structure was 15.1 % and 4.3 % of the uniformed police were women, and 1992 gender structure, whereas 15.5 % of all MOI employees were women and 3.6 % of uniformed police officers, there is a gradual increase of the representation of women within the Ministry, although their number is significantly smaller than the representation of women in the public administration (Dugas et al., 2003). According to the findings from the South

East Europe Police Chiefs Association (2010) research, out of all Ministry of Interior's employees, 14.9 % were women, whereas 6.1 % are uniformed and 47.1 % are nonuniformed employees. On the strategic level positions, the proportion of women was 4 %, on mid-level positions 0.7 %, and at the operational level 0.1 %. According to the Universal Periodic Review of the Universal Periodic Review Watch, the gender structure of the MOI until June 2011 is as follows (Universal Periodic Review Watch, 2012):

- The percentage of employed women compared to the total number of employees in the Bureau for Public Safety in the Ministry of Interior is 14.4 %
- Proportion of women in managerial positions of strategic work in the Bureau for Public Safety in relation to the total number of employees at the strategic level is 25 %
- Proportion of women at senior management level positions in the Bureau for Public Safety in relation to the total number of employees at managerial level is 9.1 %
- Proportion of women at the operational level in the Bureau for Public Safety in relation to the total number of employees at the operational level is 14.7 %

There are no differences regarding the conditions for promotion between women and men in the MoI. According to the Rulebook on the manner and procedure for career development of law enforcement officials of the Ministry of the Interior, the promotion takes place in a transparent procedure, based on the professional qualities and qualifications of the law enforcement official, the skills, completed training during the employment and the performance of the duties regardless of the gender, race, skin color, political, or religious beliefs.

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

Crime and disorder trends in the country were observed using two sources of data, judicial statistics and MOI statistics. It is worth mentioning that judicial statistics are collected by the

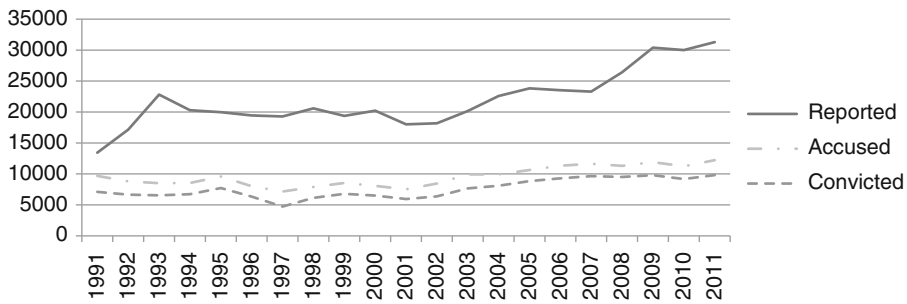


Fig. 2 Number of reported, accused, and convicted persons 1991–2011 (Sources: State Statistical Office, 2011b: 13, 2012b: 12,37,47)

State Statistical Office and are based on data gathered by regular statistical surveys on reported, accused and convicted adult and juvenile perpetrators of criminal acts. Data are gathered by individual statistical questionnaires filled in by public prosecution offices and courts of first instance. Data presented by the State Statistical Office pertain to perpetrators. The second source of data is statistics kept by Ministry of Interior, which include data on crimes reported to the Police and data on cleared crimes. The former statistics provide data on reported, accused and convicted perpetrators of crime pertain to 20 years period (1991–2011). The latter, statistical data on crimes kept by the MoI and pertain to the 10 years period (2001–2010).

Statistical data on reported, accused and convicted perpetrators for 20 years period (1991–2011) are presented in Fig. 2.

Such figures need to be observed in the socio-political and economic context of Macedonian society. Namely, the period following the independence was marked by the withdrawal of the Yugoslav National Army from the territory of Republic of Macedonia, an assassination attempt on the President, armed conflict, and legislative changes. In addition, the ongoing process of economic transition has resulted in economic decline, high unemployment rates, the growth of poverty, and a deteriorating standard of living. All of these impacted the work of the Police, especially crime detection function of the Police. Notably, police officers were engaged in preserving national security, rather than crime detection. Namely, there are uneven trends in the number of reported adults, peak year being 1993, which lasted till 2003 when stable increase started. Such pattern

of stable increase was interrupted in 2006 and 2007, the year of implementation of the new Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006). Another sharp increase is evident from 2008 to 2010. The entire period 2004–2011 is marked by intense legislative changes, the Criminal Code and the Law on Criminal Procedure underwent several amendments, and new laws were adopted.

While there is a notable oscillating trend in the number of reported adults, in relation to the accused and convicted adults there is more even trend and at the same time there is stable ratio between accused and convicted adults. This ascertained difference between the trends of reported and trend of accused and convicted persons might be interpreted in the light of multifactorial impact on the police conduct.

Analysis of crime dynamics, using a basic index is based on the statistical data for convicted perpetrators from judicial statistics kept by the State Statistical office for the 20 years period (1991–2011) (Fig. 3).

According to the data on Basic index, the following conclusions may be drawn.

During this 20-year period, the sentenced crime in the Republic of Macedonia increases more than one-third (fast and huge growth). However, the scope of sentenced crime according to the basic index indicates unequal trends. The tendency of stable increases began in 2003 lasting to the present, while in 2010 there is small decrease. Until 2003, there was an unequal trend, only in 1995 did crime increased substantially, followed by sharp decreases over the next 2 years (1996 and 1997). Interpretation of such sharp fall need to take into consideration two elements, namely, enactment of new laws, and the crime

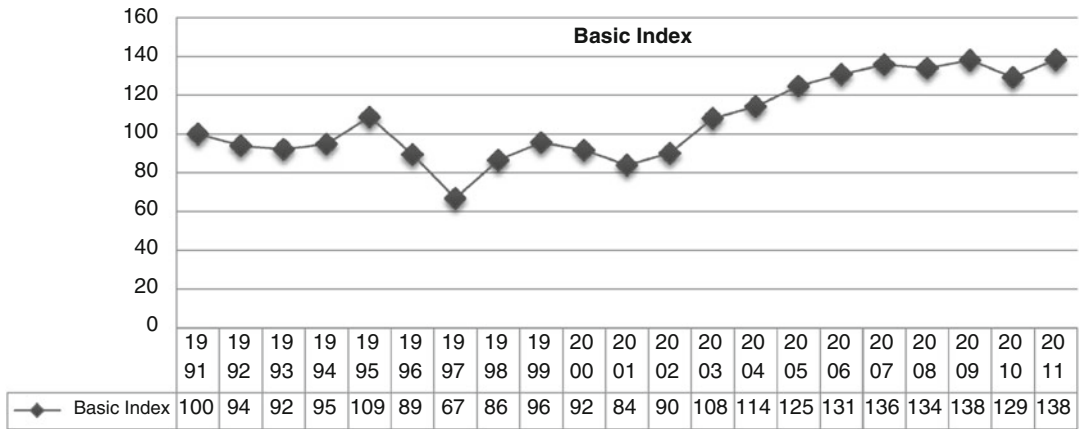


Fig. 3 Dynamic of convicted persons in the period 1991–2011—basic index (Sources: State Statistical Office, 2011b: 13, 2012b: 47)

detection activity of the police in the context of attempted assassination on the President. From the data above it is obvious that the crime in the Republic of Macedonia showed maximum growth of 38.3 index points in 2011.

Beside the scope of crime, the next feature of the crime in the country is related to the structure of sentenced crimes (Table 5).

Regarding the structure of sentenced offenders, the conclusion may be drawn that two groups of crimes dominate. Namely, these are crimes against property and crimes against traffic safety. Furthermore, these two groups of crimes in the Republic of Macedonia have remained relatively stable during the 10 years research period (50–60 %), and they might be drawn as a characteristic for the type of crime.

The data on the structure of imposed criminal sanctions were observed in the period 2006–2011. This research period is determined by the legal changes in the types of criminal sanctions introduced by amendment as of 2004. The data points out that there is a relatively even distribution between penalties and alternative sanctions. At the same time, a small decrease of alternative sanctions in the imposed criminal sanctions to totally convicted offenders is noticeable. In the interpretation of such data, it is necessary to emphasize that among pronounced main penalties, the penalty of imprisonment dominates, while among pronounced alternative sanctions, conditional sentences dominate.

According to the data (Figs. 4 and 5), the following general conclusions may be drawn.

There is a stable ratio between imposed penalties and alternative sanctions. At the same time, 2009 may be identified as a year when penalties began to advance over alternative measures. Such conclusion needs to be observed in the context of current situation with implementation of alternative measures in the country. Although the number of alternative measures had been introduced in 2004, the dominant alternative measure imposed is the conditional sentence, mainly due to the undeveloped system for implementation of other alternative measures (community work and conditional sentence with enhanced supervision).

The alternative sanction (conditional sentence to imprisonment) dominates among convicted offenders. In the structure of alternative sanctions, participation of conditional sentence to imprisonment is above 90 %, while conditional sentence to fine is below 9 %. No other alternative sanction is present, beside minimal representation of court reprimand. Beside the alternative sanctions Conditional sentence and Court reprimand, which have been used in the Macedonian penal system for many years, other alternative sanctions which are introduced with the Amendments of the Criminal Code in 2004 (conditional sentence with enhanced supervision, conditional termination of the procedure and community work) have no implementation whatsoever. In the period (2006–2011), the conditional sentence participated with

Table 5 Structure of sentenced offenders according to the groups of crimes in the period 2001–2011

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total crime	5,952	6,383	7,661	8,097	8,845 ^a	9,280	9,639	9,503	9,801	9,169	9,810
Percent of total crime											
Crimes against body and life	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.3	7.8	9.2	8.6	8.8	9.2	9.5	9.6
Crimes against freedoms and rights of humans and citizens	1	0.7	1	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.8	1.9	2.4	2.4
Crimes against honor and dignity	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.7
Crimes against sexual freedom and moral	0.9	1	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.9	1	0.7	0.6	0.5
Crimes against marriage, family and youth	2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.9	3.2
Crimes against public finances, payment and economy	3.1	3.4	3.9	3.2	3.3	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.1	2.7	2.5
Crimes against property	35.8	38	37.2	37	40.6	39.8	40.3	39.7	40.3	39.4	39.2
Crimes against general safety of people and property	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.3
Crimes against traffic safety	17.6	17.6	18.2	16.7	14.8	16.9	18.2	19.6	19.4	19.7	18
Crimes against legal transactions	7.1	6.2	7.4	10.4	8.1	1	6.9	5.7	5.4	5.3	4.9
Crimes against the public order	5.2	4.8	5.2	6.4	6.1	6.2	6.5	5.6	6	5.8	6.8
Crimes against official duty	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.6	4.6	1,7	1.5	1.4
Other crimes	13.3	11.9	9.8	6.2	7.3	11.8	5.2	5.6	6.3	6.2	7.9
Crimes in other laws	0.9	0.7	1.3	2.3	2.1	2	1.8	1.2	1	0.8	0.6

Source: State Statistical Office (2011a: 51, 2012b: 47)

^aThe coverage is incomplete, as there are no available data from the Court in Kumanovo: State Statistical Office

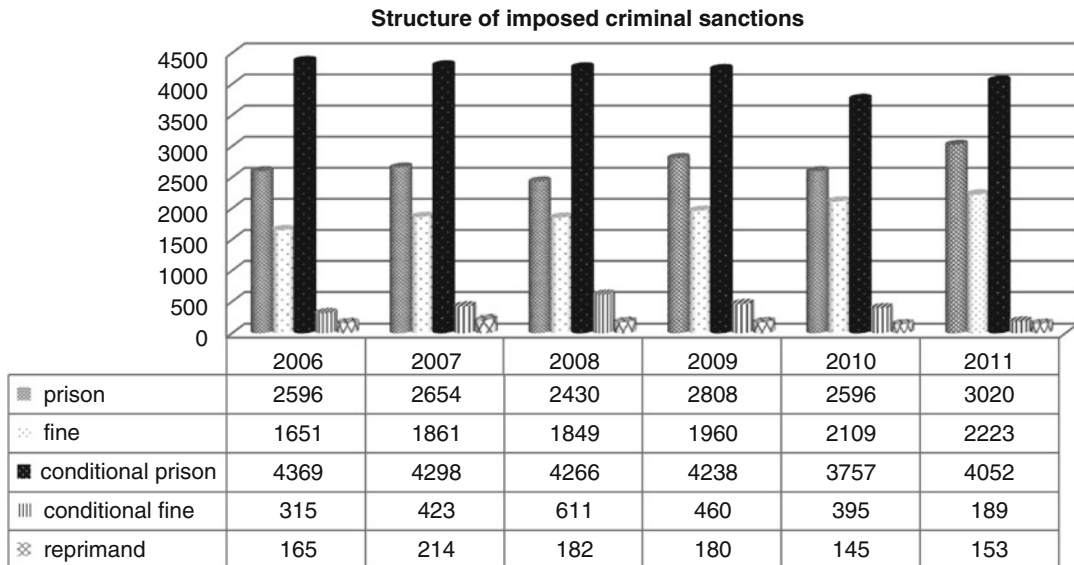


Fig. 4 Structure of imposed sanctions to convicted offenders (Sources: State Statistical Office, 2007: 52–53, 2008: 52–53, 2009: 52–53, 2010: 52–53)

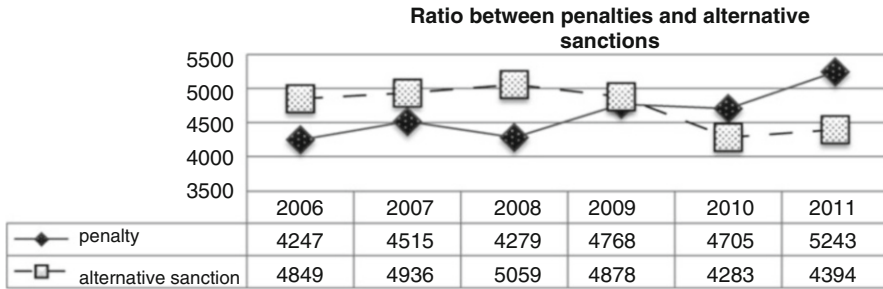


Fig. 5 Ratio between imposed penalties and alternative measure (Sources: State Statistical Office, 2007: 52–53, 2008: 52–53, 2009: 52–53, 2010: 52–53)

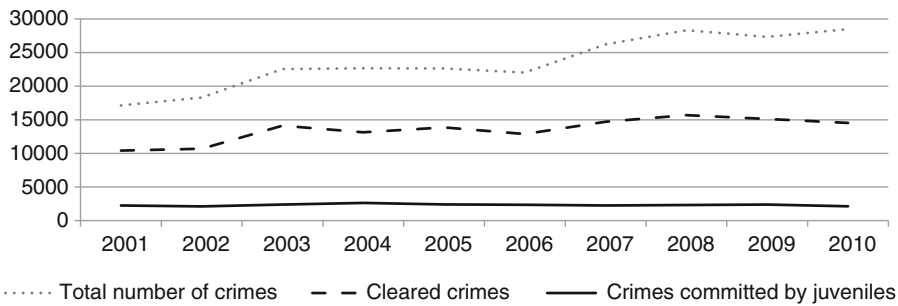


Fig. 6 Crime dynamics in the Republic of Macedonia in the period 2001–2010 (Source: Statistics of crime issued by the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012)

more than 95 % of total imposed alternative sanctions, which is due to the small share of the alternative sanction-Court reprimand as the only other alternative sanction imposed.

Imprisonment is second in the total number of imposed sanctions to convicted offenders, with relatively stable distribution (27–29 %). The fine shows relatively stable participation (17–23 %) with minimal constant increase (exception is 2010).

With regard to total convicted offenders to conditional sentence, inexpressible decrease is noticeable. Such a situation might be considered as an indicator toward an initial shift of the penal policy of Macedonian court with increased implementation of penalties as a means for crime prevention. At the same time, increased participation of fine in relation to imprisonment is noticeable. In both theory and practice, the old thesis that response to increases in crime should be stricter and harsher penal policy with implementation of more severe penalties, is not abandoned.

Accepting the proposition that reported crime is closest to the real figure of crime, the MOI

statistics (Fig. 6) showed an uneven increase in reported crime over the 10 years period. In the period 2001–2005 there is a relatively even increase, which was most obvious in 2003 with increase of 23 %. This was interrupted in 2006, when a slight decrease (2.7 %) in reported crimes is observed. As of 2007, there was a sharper increase (19 %) in the reported crimes to MOI that lasted till 2008 when oscillating tendency of slight decrease and increase is noticeable. Possible explanation for this trend may be found in the new procedure for recording the reported crimes introduced with the Law on Police.

It is worth noting that the clearance rate (Fig. 7) of the MOI relatively closely followed the number of reported crimes until 2006, when the gap between reported and cleared crimes started to expand and reached the lowest value in 2010 (51.03 %). This situation corresponds to the legal changes, namely enactment of the first Law on Police in 2006, where all police powers and corresponding procedures are set. It is also an indicator that the processes of transparent police

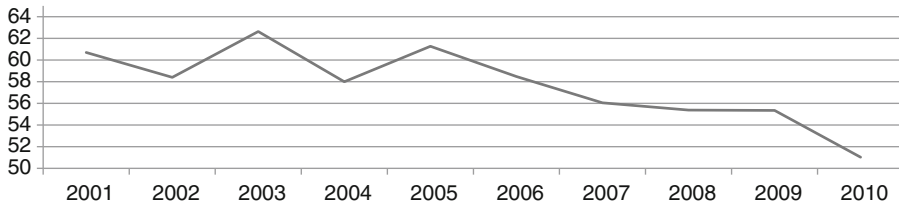


Fig. 7 Quote of efficiency (percent) in the period 2001–2010 (Source: Statistics of crime issued by the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012)

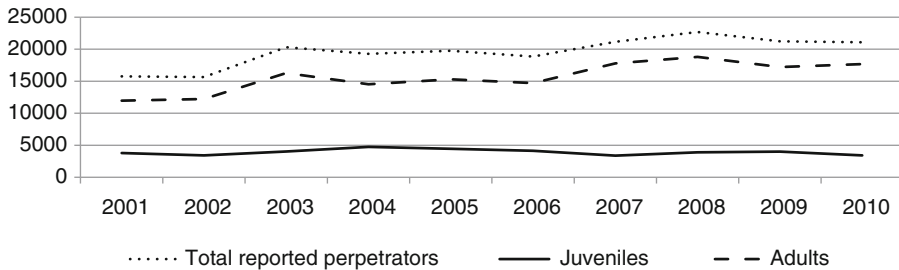


Fig. 8 Perpetrators of crime in the period 2001–2010 (Source: Statistics of crime issued by the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012)

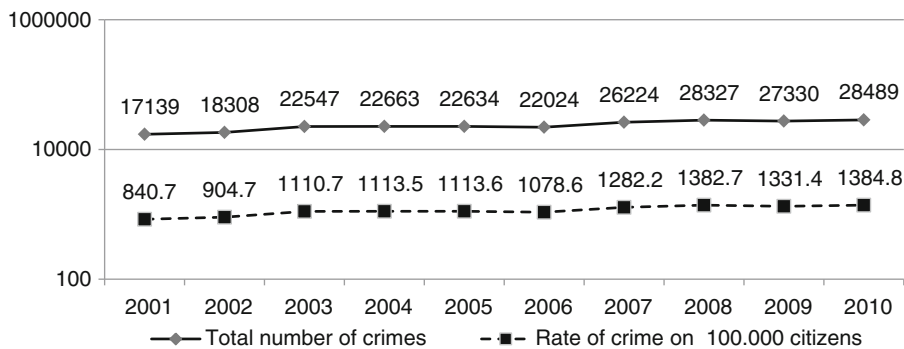


Fig. 9 Rate of crime (Source: Statistics of crime issued by the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012)

procedures have started and is accompanied with enhanced external oversight on the exercise of police powers. At the same time, process of training of police officers related to the new police legislation, impacted such situation, too.

According to the statistic on reported perpetrators kept by the MOI (Fig. 7), the participation of juveniles in the total number of cleared crime ranged from 14.7 to 21.7 %. The exception occurred in 2010 when, although the number of reported crimes reached the peak, the participation of juveniles is on the lowest level (14.7 %).

Such observations need to be read in the context of the new approach to juveniles introduced with the Law on Juvenile justice (Fig. 8).

The crime rate in the research period (2001–2010) showed increases. An oscillating trend is noticeable starting with peak in 2003 followed by a decline in 2006. The following 2007 and 2008 showed stable increase followed by another fall in 2009 (Fig. 9).

With regard to the types of reported crime, according to MOI statistics, in the last 10 years the most common crimes were those against

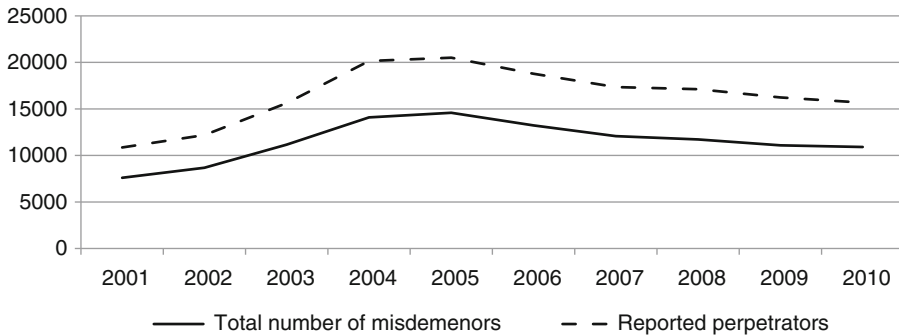


Fig. 10 Misdemeanors against public peace and order for which were submitted requests for initiation of misdemeanor proceedings in the period 2001–2010 (Source:

Statistics of misdemeanors against public peace and order issued by the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, 2012)

property (30 %) and offences against traffic safety (17 %). In the field of organized crime during the last year, the Police reported criminal offences related to corruption, illicit drug trafficking and smuggling of migrants, as the most frequent criminal acts by the organized groups.

Apart from crime prevention and detection, maintenance of public order is the dominant responsibility of the Macedonian police. Breaches of public order or social values which are not protected within the Criminal Code are protected with the Law on Misdemeanors. Data summarized below (Fig. 10) are collected by the Ministry of the Interior and pertain to the number of recorded misdemeanors and number of reported perpetrators.

In the area of misdemeanors against public peace and order there is clear pattern reaching a peak in 2005 with a subsequent noticeable decline. Such data need to be observed in the light of thorough legislative changes in both, substantive and procedural laws in the field of misdemeanors.

Among misdemeanors against public peace and order dominate those with elements of violence. Namely, the misdemeanor offense of physical assault prevails and ranged from 23.5 to 34.4 % in the observed period, followed by participation, causing or inciting a fight (15.8–19.0 %), and fighting, shouting and rude behavior (8.0–9.9 %), harassment of neighbors (5.9–10.2 %).

The data presented above on crime dynamics and structure, as well as recorded misdemeanors against public peace and order, should be inter-

preted in the context of the efficacy of various criminal justice system agencies in responses to crime on one hand, and willingness of the victims to report their victimization. In the absence of National Crime Surveys, the above presented data are rather indicator of the operation of criminal justice system than real picture of crime dynamics and structure in the society.

Police Training and Police Educational Systems

Initial and Continuous Police Training

The Macedonian Police training model originates from the 1970s (within the former Yugoslavia). Since then, the Police training center was established in Idrizovo (near Skopje—the capital of Macedonia). Beginning in 1991, the training curriculum has undergone many changes, the same as in Macedonian society itself. Especially after 2001, focus on training was in the areas of human rights protection, police ethics, community policing, and other themes which promote the police as citizen's service. The training was supported by international partner entities by financial fund and expertise. The training of police officers could be implemented by (a) mentor or training center and (b) training of workers may be performed in another way, with engagement of other persons and entities (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti [Law on Internal Affairs], 2009). According

to the employment policies and the Ohrid Framework, MOI takes care about gender and ethnic equality in hiring the new police officers.

Article 54 of the Law on Internal Affairs (Zakon za vnatrešni raboti, 2009) defined training activities as follows:

- When a certain individual establishes an employment relation for the first time (training for probationer)
- When a certain person is selected by a selection procedure as a candidate for police officer (basic training for a police officer)
- In order to train the employee for an independent job performance on a particular working position
- For continuous training of an employee

Currently, basic police training lasts 1 year. During 9 months of the basic training, recruits learn about police skills, arms and ammunition used by the police and administrative procedures; the other 3 months of the basic training have the police recruits spending in the police stations or other police units. The training is conducted by the trainers—police instructors employed in the Training Center, in cooperation with national police experts and police advisers from international partner organizations. The structure and duration of training is the same for men and women. According to the new concept of police work, basic training still has room for upgrading in areas related to communication with citizens, intelligence-led policing and anticorruption programs. The question of physical endurance commands the most attention in the recent admission of police officers in the middle of 2012.

Continuous training gives an opportunity to already employed police officers to upgrade their acquired knowledge and to obtain skills regarding police needs and social changes. There were many courses organized by National police and regional and international partner entities, which mostly took place in the Police training center in Idrizovo.

The Training Centre of the Macedonian Police became regional for many type of advanced police training. Today, police officers from Macedonia and the region participate together in the different courses organized by partners (FBI

and others) and other regional and international police organizations (Interpol and others).

Higher Police Education

The Faculty of Security was founded in 1977 (as a member of the University “Ss’ Cyril and Methodius” from Skopje) as a higher educational and scientific research institution specialized in police education. The Faculty was closed in 1995 according to special law and it entered into force on 31 December 2002. Closing of the Faculty of Security, which was the only university level (4 years) educational institution within the former Yugoslavia, is interpreted as a serious blow to the profile of high-ranked police officer and on the policy of recruitment and selection in the Ministry of Interior. Created vacuum in the higher police education lasted until 2003 when, with the Law on Police Academy (Zakon za Policiska akademija, 2003), the Faculty of Security was reopened with new title. The Police Academy was established as higher educational institution that comprised initial, continues and higher police education together. Academy started its work on 1 October 2003. In 2008, with the Law on establishing the Faculty of Security (Zakon za formiranje na Fakultet za bezbednost, 2008), the part of the Police Academy responsible for higher education was transformed into the Faculty of Security that transformation completely separated the police training section from higher police education. Currently, there are two study programs at the Faculty—*Criminalistics* (4+1 years) and *Security and Financial Control* (3+2 years) in the first and second cycle of studies. As of the academic year 2012/2013, the Faculty will start with (new) Ph.D. studies following the Bologna criteria. The Faculty of Security as an academic establishment that provides higher education in the field of security and criminal justice studies, is a member or cooperates with AEPC (Association of European Police Colleges) and CEPOL, and is regionally networked with similar institutions. Within the national higher education system, there are few private faculties that partially contribute to higher police education.

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

Transitional changes in Macedonian society resulted in changes in the National Police organization, performance and purposes. Frequent elections bring political turbulences which result with structural changes within the MoI. After 2001, Macedonia became a post-conflict society. Within Euro-Atlantic processes, following the signature of the Stabilization and Accession Agreement in April 2001, reforms within the police corresponded to reforms of other public entities. Above all, crucial is the changed role of the police, from an instrument of the government to the service of citizens. With this role, the police intend to promote its modern image within the society and introduce transparency and humanity.

Democratization of policing imposed the need for *oversight and control over the police*. Within the internal control system, we may distinguish supervision and oversight by immediate superiors within the organizational unit, and a separate unit within the Ministry called *Unit for Internal Control and Professional Standards*. The aim of the Unit for Internal control is the investigation of all cases of violation of human rights and freedoms, abuse of police powers, official positions or conduct, which is not in line with the professional and moral principles defined by the ethical code of the police. The Unit's work is predominantly based on submitted requests from citizen, directly to the Unit, to nearest police station or via an anonymous call to Police Call center. Depending on the findings, they can take specific measures based on professional, disciplinary, material or criminal responsibility.

Besides internal control, external control over the police is of utmost importance and is carried out by both national and international bodies and institutions. Several committees within the Parliament have particular responsibility for control of the police—*Committee on Defense and Security* (CDS), *Committee for supervising the work of the security and counter-intelligence directorate and the intelligence agency*, *Standing inquiry committee for protection of civil freedoms*

and rights and the Committee for the supervision of the application of communication interception techniques by the Ministry of the interior and the Ministry of Defense.

Control over the police is related to depoliticization of the police, as a permanent topic in the public debate. Starting from the first years of independence, political influence on the exercise of police powers is a continuous process. Mostly connected to misuse of police powers was the MoI's Department for Security and Counterintelligence. There were several cases of illegal interception of communications, when two largest political parties changed their roles in the Parliament. The journalists, ministers, opposition politicians, executives, and businessmen were part of an interception network. The scandals in Intelligence Department and poor interagency cooperation led to the failure in flow of certain security information, which was also reflected in the multiagency cooperation during the armed conflict in 2001. According to the preliminary research findings of the Macedonian research team within the COMPOSITE Project related to the identification of internal capabilities, strengths and best practices, lack of sufficient and appropriate flow of information between security agencies is qualified rather as deliberate omission and concealment of information received from the field, than as a unprofessional police conduct. The respondents point to the fact that due to politicization and lack of professionalism in the police and security services, not only during the conflict but later as well, is a result of the lack of an integrated model of cooperation, training, command, and necessary equipment (Graham, 2012).

The government has initiated all police-related legislation while considerable amendments have followed, but very few of these amendments are adopted. For example, 40 amendments were proposed in 2009 when the Law on Internal Affairs was presented to the CDS. Of these, 37 amendments, all from the opposition, were rejected (Bogdanovski, 2012). Since 2008, the MoI has submitted four annual reports to the Parliament. These Annual reports are concerned with different areas of police work including combating crime, countering drug smuggling, and crime

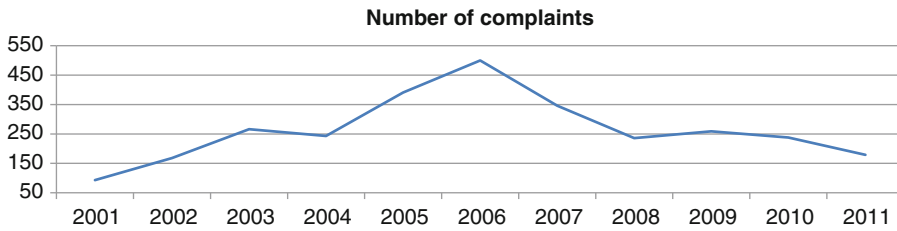


Fig. 11 Number of complaints submitted to the Ombudsman regarding police procedures (Source: Ombudsman of the Republic of Macedonia, 2002–2012)

prevention and maintaining public order. The 2010 Report, submitted in early March 2011, was delayed because of the elections held in June 2011 (Bogdanovski).

In addition, according to the Annual Reports submitted by the Ombudsman of the Republic of Macedonia, it is evident that the busiest year for the Ombudsman, in terms of quantity of complaints against police officers was 2006 (Fig. 11). In fact, the research period may be divided before 2006 and after 2006, which represents the peak year. Such data however need to be interpreted in the light of the social processes taking place within the country in 2006. The most influential issue is the enactment of the Law on Police, which was the first such law in the country, which contained detailed provisions on the supervision and control over police. Particular attention is placed on defining the procedures for processing the citizen's complaints in front of internal control and professional standards units within the Ministry.

The decrease in the number of complaints against police procedures submitted to the Ombudsman also might be interpreted as a result of implemented and improved measures for prevention and protection in cases of violations of human rights and freedoms by the Police. The operation of the Committee for the Prevention of Torture is especially noted.

As a signatory to various international and regional agreements and other documents, the Republic of Macedonia is open to all international organizations that monitor the protection and respect of human rights and freedoms. Since 1998, Macedonia was visited by the Committee for the Prevention of Torture very frequently. Most of the recommendations were

aimed at improving the standards in the area of protection and non-violation of human rights and freedoms.

Execution of police powers is also subject to scrutiny by the NGOs. Numerous projects for human rights protection in cases where police powers have been exceeded were carried out by several NGOs, which impacted the performance of police duties.

The politicization of police organization and the Ohrid Framework Agreement have impacted general public perceptions and confidence in the police, which also impacted internal human relations. It is divided into "ours" and "your" police, in line with ethnical or political membership.

Since 1998, when the first project related to an intelligence criminal database development began, the political and managerial levels of the MoI emphasized the role and importance of Information Communication Technology (ICT). With international funding and support at the beginning, development and implementation of sophisticated ICT solution became part of contemporary police strategies funded by own budget and EU funds (CARDS, EU Twinning projects, IPA etc.). ICT solutions are addressed to modernization of communication equipment, use of internal network and restricted access to centralized database, police stations, mobile patrols and vehicles, forensic units, border crossings, and other structural units. Recently, the implementation of TETRA system started its third phase.

After the armed conflict in 2001, a major emphasis was placed on *policing in multiethnic communities*. If a police organization resembles the composition of society (in terms of ethnicity, religion, language, and regional affiliation), there

will be better police relations between those who police and those who are policed (Jackson & Lyon, 2001). Changes in the ethnic structure led to changes in the police approach and actions in the crisis regions in post-conflict period. As a result of mistrust, several months following the end of the conflict, in a number of villages inhabited by ethnic Albanians the women and children have not returned. The return of confidence was the result of contacts between police and the local community and the demilitarization of many areas. Authorities took the responsibility to manage crisis situations in term to avoid substitution of the role of the state with certain subjects of power who could take decisions in critical situations (Rajkovchevski, 2011). The admission of new police officers under the criteria set by the Ohrid Framework Agreement entered certain freshness in the police work. Awareness campaigns for bringing the police closer to the community, which was facilitated by the OSCE, encouraged the citizens in crisis areas to talk about security issues and problems that plague the community. At the outset of the renewed communication between the local communities affected by the conflict and the police, there were concerns among Ethnic Albanians in relation to the perceived loyalty to their community and attempts to protect criminals, solely because they belong to the same ethnic community. Today, citizens in the former crisis regions actively contribute to the work of the police. It manifests the increased level of safer living in those regions.

The Law on Police impacted policing at the local levels. Namely, the territorial distribution of 38 general duty police stations within the eight SIA provided for Local Government's influence on local policing. The Municipality Council assumed a larger role in the selection process of Commandeers of police stations. Although their power is still limited, their role is confined to:

- Article 11 of the Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006) provide the establishing common advisory and coordinative body comprised of members of Municipality Council within Local government and police officials on local level responsible for public security and traffic

safety. Also it serves for better cooperation, trust building, and identification of threats.

- Article 24 of Law on Police (Zakon za policija, 2006) defined the role of the Municipality Council in the selection procedure of the police station's commander. Council discusses upon three candidates nominated by the Minister, and the candidate for Commandeer is elected by the majority of votes of members of Municipality Council.

The high-ranked police officers from the police stations have a duty to participate actively within municipalities' Committee for Security issues. Besides general security topics, subject to Committee is the state of interethnic relations in the multiethnic environments, traffic safety, elementary and high-school security, issues related to community security, events related to maintaining the public order and peace, and the like.

Current Trends in Policing (Public and Private, Multilateral, Plural Policing)

Trends in policing have been of particular interest for the research community in the country, and they were addressed by the COMPOSITE research project. During the COMPOSITE research activities in 2011, police officers identified different trends connected to policing and police organizations. The Republic of Macedonia focuses much energy and devotion to harmonization with EU norms. This strong legal trend, leading to substantial changes in national legislation, is seen as very positive by the police officers, with high impact on the police. Technological advancements are also perceived as very positive for the police, being associated with a very high perceived impact. The other three types of trend—economic, political, and social—are assessed to have a medium impact on the police, with an effect that is often evaluated to be slightly negative or neutral (van den Born & van Witteloostuijn, 2011).

According to the same research findings, the decentralization, even it is mentioned as a main aim of the police reform, still, it is on declarative level. Regarding Ministry of Interior's policies, the center of police power—Bureau for public

security still exercise strong influence on the performance of SIAs. Accordingly, SIAs largely depend on centralized budgetary sources, willingness, equipment, and other technical capacities. It produces the lack of initiative and creativity and reduces the motivation of SIA's police officers.

Since 2001, there is a strong commitment of the Macedonian police to implement *community policing* model, which had resulted in local communities' and police ownership of this concept.

According to the Criminal law (Krivičen Zakonik, 1996) and recent adoption of the new Law on Criminal Procedure (Zakon za krivičnata postapka, 2010) involvement of the special investigative measures and provisions for their implementation transformed the traditional policing model to *intelligence-led policing*.

"The success is even greater taking into consideration the fact that our neighbors are included in the group of countries partially meeting standards in the fight against human trafficking," stated the Minister of Interior in a press conference (A recognition of Macedonia's activities in fight against human trafficking, 2012). According to the US annual State Department report Macedonia joined the group of 32 countries (mostly highly developed countries such as Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Finland, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the United States, Great Britain, and others) whose governments fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking.

Changes in the delivery of policing have occurred along a number of axes. Loader (2000) identifies four expansionary trends out of changes in policing executed by the government: Policing through government, Policing above government, Policing beyond government, and Policing below government.

Private policing activities in Macedonia are regulated by the Law on Securing People and Property (Zakon za obezbeduvanje lica i imot, 1999, amendments), Law on Weapons (Zakon za oružjeto, 2005, amendments), and Law on Detective Activity (Zakon za detektivskata dejnost, 1999, amendments). In late November 2011, the Working Group composed of representatives from the Ministry of Interior and the Chamber for Securing People and Property sub-

mitted a Draft Law for securing people and property. The bill tends to equalize the powers of private security service providers with those of police officers, but only in relation to providing security of property and personnel. The Draft Law corresponds with the new Code of Criminal Procedure, Law on Police, Law on Internal Affairs, Law on Weapons, and clarifies the responsibilities of legal entities which operate in the field of security of people and property and their employees. The Draft Law makes visible the intention to rationalize certain tasks of the police and to build a partnership with private agencies. It emphasizes the tasks related to providing transport of money (due to the fact that in the last period occurred few armed robberies, attempts and murder of two security agents) in the direction of leveling the private security agencies procedures with the standard operating procedures used by the Ministry of Interior, professionalization of the agencies and their employees, and introduces additional licensing of the agencies that perform technical security. Furthermore, in accordance with Law on Weapons (Zakon za oružjeto, 2005), members of the security agencies are entitled to be armed, to use coercion to hold a person, but they also have the obligations and responsibilities with respect to exercising such powers.

According to the Article 32 of the Law on Securing Property and Persons (Zakon za obezbeduvanje lica i imot, 1999), the Ministry of the Interior has the responsibility to perform the oversight and supervision over the Chamber for Securing Persons and Property and its members, i.e., companies which provide security services.

In terms of numbers, private security companies (16,000 guarding staff) overshadow the police (12,000 officers), a 1:1.33 police/private security ratio (van Steden & Sarre, 2010). However, the source of this data is very far from the real picture, because the number of issued certificates does not mean that the same number of employees in private security agencies is operational. Namely, according to the interview with the Director of the Chamber for Securing Persons and Property Chamber (V. Stefanovska-Mileska, personal communication, 19 September 2012), the Chamber has data that 17,675 working

licenses have been issued, 275 working permits (of which 180 are for legal entities for provision of services and 95 for provision of their own security) and almost 5,000 identity cards to the security employees (of which 3,494 for agencies that provide security services and 1,401 for companies for providing own security).

Security agencies are registered to perform the following activities: (a) Activities of private protection; (b) Protection services with the help of security systems; and (c) Investigative activities. According to the National classification of the activities within Activities of private protection are inserted two activities that leave room for a lot of vagueness in criminal (pretrial) procedure and in the defining of the tasks of the private agencies and their employees. Namely, the possibility for private security agencies to conduct polygraph services and services for taking finger prints.

The Chamber continuously requires and receives information related to its scope of work from the Central Registry, Ministry of Interior and the State Statistical Office. According to the data that the Chamber received from the Ministry of Interior in 2010, legal entities that provide security services (private security agencies) have 81 piece long guns and 267 pieces short firearm, or a total of 348 pieces of firearms.

Addressing the contemporary situation, many authors refer to the emergence of a system of *plural policing*, in an attempt to capture the fact that the conduct of policing broadly conceived, involves a range of public, private, and “hybrid” agencies (Innes, 2003). “Judicial police are authorized officials of the Ministry of Interior, Financial Police, and the authorized officers from the Customs administration which are functionally subordinate to the Public Prosecution Office and are at its disposal in disclosing and prosecution criminal acts and conducting the investigative procedure.” (Zakon za krivičnata postapka [Law on Criminal Procedure], 2010).

The authorizations entrusted to the Judicial Police are also entrusted by law to the Financial Police, in cases when they detect crimes and their offenders, as well as collection of evidence for prosecuting criminal offenders for the following crimes: money laundering and other income from crimes, Article 273,

unauthorized production and release for trade of a narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and precursors, Article 277, smuggling, Article 278 and tax evasion, Article 279 of the Criminal Code, as well as other crimes including illegal income of significant amount (Zakon za krivičnata postapka [Law on Criminal Procedure], 2010).

Article 47 of the Law on Criminal Procedure (Zakon za krivičnata postapka, 2010) defines the authorizations that are also the responsibility bylaw of the authorized officers of the Custom Administration of Republic of Macedonia in the cases when they work on disclosing crimes and their offenders and for gathering evidence necessary for criminal prosecution of the criminal offenders for the following crimes: production and release for trade of a harmful medicinal products (Article 212 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); production and release for trade of a harmful food and other products (Article 213 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); unauthorized production and release for trade of a narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and precursors (Article 215 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); unauthorized procurement and possession of nuclear materials (Article 231 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); bringing dangerous materials into the country (Article 232 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); export of goods under temporary protection or culture heritage or natural rarities (Article 266 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); money laundering and other income from crimes (Article 273 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); smuggling (Article 278 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); custom fraud (Article 278-a of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); covering of goods that are subject to smuggling and custom fraud (Article 278-b of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); tax evasion (Article 279 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); not allowed possession of weapons and explosive substances (Article 396 of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); human trafficking (Article 481-a of Criminal Code [Krivičen Zakonik], 1996); crimes referred to in Articles 59 and 60 of the Law on Excise (Zakon za akciza,

2001) and other crimes regarding import, export and transit of goods across the border line.

As a part of the interagency cooperation, the Ministry allocated substantive efforts on the development of the concept of “one stop” for the passport and customs control new application for foreigners and risk analysis. Meanwhile, police was largely involved in the establishment of Integral Border Management (IBM) as a joint project of five different state institutions.

For the purpose of prevention of hooliganism at sporting events, through SIA’s partnership police officers seconded for prevention and maintenance of public order, the police have developed cooperation with other external subjects. Police officers were involved in the prevention and organization activities before and after the matches together with national Agency for Youth and Sports, NGOs, and teams’ fun groups.

Together with the implementation of police activities in a multiethnic society, the OSCE Mission in Skopje largely supported the campaigns for implementation of this concept in Macedonia via Police’s Open Days, introduction of public with police activities, increasing the skills of police officers to communicate with general public, especially citizens, as well as establishing the Local councils for prevention and Citizen advisory groups.

Recently (as of 7 May 2012—Day of National police), the Centre for automatic control of traffic safety has become operational, which had been established as joint project of City of Skopje and SIA Skopje. The main purposes of the project were reduction of noise, decrease of the travel time across the city for 50 %, reduced pollution and fuel consumption. Whether and to what extent the project aims will be achieved, remains to be seen.

Within multilateral policing, in addition to the classical concept of international police cooperation established through the police attachés, liaison officers, participation in civilian (police) missions, participation, and cooperation with international police organizations and other contributions, MoI also applies the innovative ways for police cooperation. Thus, the Macedonian Police have developed binational border offices (with

Bulgaria) and they perform joint police patrol with local police officers in the places that are traditionally visited by Macedonian tourists (in the southern part of Albania).

Police, the Media and Public Opinion on Police

The relationship between the police and the media, public opinion on the police and expectations of the public and of the police are occupying the research field in the Macedonian realm, lately. Several surveys are concerned with above mentioned issues, respectively.

According to the COMPOSITE research findings, the most important external party in Macedonia was the *citizens*. The term citizens encompassed concerned residents and witnesses, as well as victims and perpetrators. In this category, individual citizens as well as citizen action and lobby groups are classified. In general, research findings pointed out that expectations of the citizens and representative bodies from the police concentrate on professional conduct of the police in accordance with the law. On the other hand, the perception of the interviewed police officers was that: “they actively manage the expectations of citizens by working in a timely and efficient manner and that this results in increased trust and increased levels of cooperation.” The Macedonian police scored high on this aspect, at least in the eyes of the interviewees. The second most important party was the *local government*. Several local authorities have composed this group, such as the municipal councils, mayors, and local security councils. According to the findings, the respondents have perceived “lack of cooperation from the local authority,” on one hand, and their “unrealistic expectations as to what the police can and should achieve,” on the other. The third group was *national government organizations such as ministries*. The perception of police officers is that “the national government has little understanding of police work,” and that the “new legal structures does produce bottlenecks.” In the worst case, not meeting ministerial demands will lead

to budget cuts. The fourth most important party was the *judicial bodies*, which includes the public prosecutions office. Here, strict adherence to the law was of greatest importance. Finally, a variety of partner organizations (for training, inspection services, et cetera) were mentioned. Accordingly, cooperation was identified as necessary to solve cases and fight crime (van den Born & van Witteloostuijn, 2011).

According to another survey conducted in 2004 by the Center for Open Communication, 46 % of the Macedonian citizens from different ethnic structure believe that the multiethnic police raised the confidence in post-conflict Macedonia, 35 % had the opposite opinion and 17.3 % had no opinion. Within the survey, on the question: “Does ethnicity influence the attitude of the police?” 70 % of Albanians responded affirmatively and 16 % of them reported the personal experience. According to the survey, an increase of the confidence in the police was observed. Fifty-eight percent of respondents in 2003 considered that the relationship of the police and citizens was good, and 23 % saw it as bad (Gragjanite i policijata vo postkonfliktniot period, 2004).

In a survey conducted by the *Institute Dimitrija Cupovski* in 2010, the army and religious institutions enjoyed the highest confidence levels in the Republic of Macedonia (Macedonian Information Agency, 2010). Almost 11 % of respondents reported to have the highest confidence in the army and religious institutions, 10.5 % in the Government and 8.3 in the police, among all social institutions. In the survey conducted by agency *Maripann* in 2004, most of the citizens trusted the army and police, while expressing insufficient confidence in the President, Parliament, Government, and judiciary. They did not place trust in any politician. Confidence in the army was 69.9 %, and in the police was 58.8 % (Z.B.P., 2006).

According to the survey conducted to assess the trust in the State Sector in the Republic Macedonia for the period 2007–2010 (Klekovski, Nuredinowska, & Stojanova, 2010), most of the citizens in 2010 trusted the army (62.9 %) followed by 62.1 % of citizens that expressed confidence in educational

institutions. While there was no notable change in the expressed confidence in the army in the research period (64.6 % in 2008 and 64.4 % in 2007), there was notable decrease in the confidence in educational institutions (65.8 in 2008, and 68.5 in 2007). Worth noting is the evident decrease in the citizens’ confidence in the police, starting with 57.3 % in 2007, 56.6 % in 2008, and 52.1 in 2010.

Recently, social media is seen as a useful tool to increase the reputation of the police, and provides an opportunity for communication with the public on various topics related to police work and community problems. Social media supports police to detect the cases related to various types of crime and violation of public order. With regard to publicizing own work and efficiency, the MOI has its own channel, page and profile on some of the social networks.²

Recent Trends in Research on Policing: Specificities of Research on Police and Policing (Researchers and the Police)

A complex EU funded project initiated in 2010 and lasting till 2014, focused on police issues: “*COMPOSITE: Comparative police studies in the EU.*” Project is part of European Commission’s Seventh Framework Program Security which includes 13 universities and 2 research centers from 10 countries across Europe (<http://www.composite-project.eu>). Macedonia is represented by 4-members research team of the Faculty of Security (Skopje) as member of the University “St. Kliment Ohridski” from Bitola, a represent in the

²Facebook (<http://www.facebook.com/jankuloskagordana>), Twitter (https://twitter.com/G_Jankuloska) and Youtube (<http://www.youtube.com/user/MVRMacedonia1231?feature=mhum>). Youtube channel and Twitter profiles are reachable via Facebook page of the Minister of Interior. Facebook profile contains public statement, video and journalistic records connected to the minister’s work, opinion, and the like. On Youtube video records of the actions of the police are usually posted, such as: seizure of drugs, illegal weapons, arrest of persons suspected for murder and other forms of serious crime. Following the concern raised by the general and expert public, the police keep the anonymity of police officers and perpetrators of criminal acts presented on social media.

End user Board (from Macedonian MOI) and one represent in the Diplomatic Board. “COMPOSITE: Comparative police studies in the EU.” The project is focused on the processes of large scale changes in Police institutions in the EU countries.

Aimed at meeting the needs and requirements of scientific and expert public, since the end of 2011, the MoI became more transparent via its website. Most of the statistical data, which used to be subject to special access permission, now are available on the website of the Ministry. Most of them cover the period 2001–2010.

Yet, there is not full access to all documents of the police which have been identified as public information. The same apply to research access. Officials in the MOI explained such situations with the fact that the NGOs frequently request information from them. And, since most of the NGO are politicized, the MoI fears that such information would be politically abused and the ministry has no benefit from the surveys. Faculty of Security from Skopje boasted the optimal level of cooperation, due to its history (as a part of the MoI) has credibility within the governing structures of the Ministry.

Several other surveys related to the police organization and police conduct have been carried out over last 10 years, as follows:

- Project of Tempus and CARDS program “Advanced training for fight against organized crime,” 2002, Faculty of Security—Skopje.
- Project “Citizens’ Opinion about Police Work,” 2007–2011, Faculty of Security—Skopje.
- Project “Psycho-Social and Legal Consequences on the Security Forces of the Republic of Macedonia, Participants in the Conflict in 2001,” 2009, Faculty of Security—Skopje.

Worth noting are the surveys conducted by the Faculty of Security related to crime mapping. They date from the end of the 1980s.

Future Developments in Policing

At present, the Macedonian Police need to invest much more in the fight against corruption, drug trafficking and the smuggling of migrants. Macedonia has made significant progress in the fight against

human trafficking, which is largely credited to the efficient operation of police services.

A particular issue for policing is the existence of appropriate and standardized databases operated by law enforcement agencies. According to dynamic and scope of crime that police face, there is a particular interest for standardized, updated and harmonized databases of each national law enforcement agency. The initial efforts can be seen in the implementation of the new concept of police involvement as leader within national coordinating center for intelligence analysis, project which started in 2011. The database will be managed by the Commission composed from representatives from the Ministries of the Interior, and Defense and from the Public Revenue, the Financial Police and the Public Prosecutor’s Office. The database will not include all citizens of Macedonia, but only individuals who are suspected as perpetrators of crime, and victims of crimes. Also, the database will allow collection of data in one location, the possibility to increase the level of system’s protection, to avoid duplication in entering the same data in various databases, to upgrade it and to achieve compatibility. It will overcome the old communication methods between agencies based on written letters, requests or telegrams.

Alongside the Euro-integration processes and expected changes in the standard of living, human labor will become expensive. For this purpose, the police in certain parts of its operations will work to replace the human factor with new and modern technological solutions. This especially covers the area of crime prevention, partially on maintaining the public order and peace and the maintenance of traffic safety. It is expected that the effects of applying high technology devices that are used in police work will come to the fore, especially in the urban areas characterized by high population density and private and commercial properties in close proximity.

The community policing concept which is not sufficiently understood by the police and the community will require a similar but more appropriate solution that demands for a greater involvement of citizens in preventing and tackling crime. On several occasions, there were attempts to introduce the concept of Security Community through a regional approach, which according to its definition

may have better effects than existing update of Community policing concept called as “police work in a multiethnic society.” Security Community is a concept that can offer de-ethnicization of the relations between police and community.

Emphasized physical endurance requirement and professionalism during the admission announcement for new police officers (released in mid-2012), leave a room for estimations that the processes underpinning the professional police organization have already started. What will be the results, in terms of consistency with police principles and whether efficient policing purposes will be achieved in medium and long term remains to be seen?

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Montenegrin Police: Current Profile and Future Trends

Zoran Keković and Savo Kentera

Country Profile

Montenegro is situated in the western part of southeast Europe, opening onto the Adriatic Sea with 277 km of shoreline, and covers an area of 13,812 km². The demographic structure of Montenegro has changed over the past decade primarily due to migration caused by war. According to the last census (2011), Montenegro has a population of 620,029, including 50.61 % of women and 49.39 % of men. The population of Montenegro consists of Montenegrins (44.98 %), followed by Serbs (28.73 %), Bosniaks (8.65 %), Albanians (4.91 %), Muslims (3.31 %), Croats (0.97 %), and smaller numbers of Roma and various others. The Serbian language is spoken by over 42 % of citizens, while 37 % speaks Montenegrin. Both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets are used. There are two primary religions in Montenegro: Islam and Christianity, with believers organized in several religious groups: Orthodox (72.07 %), Muslim (19.11 %), Catholic (3.44 %), and other (5 %).

Montenegro's recovery from the economic breakdown in the 1990s has been slow. The economy has suffered from a low growth rate, high

unemployment, low wages, and a high cost of living. The economy of Montenegro depends largely on trade and industry, and can be broken down as follows: trade (12 % of GDP), industry (11.3 % of GDP), transportation (9.5 % of GDP), real estate (8.4 % of GDP), and agriculture (8.3 % of GDP). In Montenegro, the gross national product per inhabitant, according to standard purchasing power, amounted to 41 % of the 2010 EU average (The Institute for Statistics of Montenegro, 2011). The GNP per capita in 2010, amounted to 5,006 Euros, while in 2009, was 4,720 Euros (The Institute for Statistics of Montenegro). Natural resources include bauxite, hydropower, and timber. The government of Montenegro is located in Podgorica—the republic's largest city, which is relatively well developed. By contrast, the rest of central Montenegro is relatively underdeveloped and shares the same problems as the north.

Montenegro was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). After the Second World War, the Montenegrin police was absorbed into the greater Yugoslav Federation (Keković & Redžepagić, 2006). After the disintegration of the SFRY, Serbia and Montenegro remained together and created the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in April 1992. In 2003, the country's name was changed into the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. On 21 May 2006, a referendum for independence was held in Montenegro, which showed that the majority of the Montenegrin population supported independence (55.5 % of the population voted in favor). The Parliament of

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Montenegro made a formal Declaration of Independence on 3 June 2006. As both Serbia and Montenegro had their own internal police, customs, and other structures, the outcome of this referendum had a limited impact on the structures within Montenegro's police. Montenegro signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU in October 2007, concluded a World Trade Organization (WTO) bilateral agreement with the EU in April 2008, and was invited to join an Intensified Political Dialogue with NATO on April 2008 at the summit in Bucharest. NATO foreign ministers invited Montenegro to participate in the Alliance's Membership Action Plan (MAP) on 4 December 2009. On 9 November 2010, the European Commission recommended EU candidate status to Montenegro, under the condition that accession negotiations begin after the completion of the seven "key priorities." That decision was ratified by the European Council, and the EU candidate status was granted on 17 December 2010 (United States Department of State, 2012).

In the strategic orientation of Montenegro to become a part of the Euro-Atlantic integrations, Montenegrin police has been rapidly transformed into a modern police organization adapted to the collective security of NATO and the EU. The reform process of the Montenegrin police in particular has remained strong after the declaration of independence. It is a complex process because it has opened the issue of stable functioning of security institutions, with the simultaneous need to transform the police force in a complex multi-ethnic and multireligious environment. In this regard, Montenegrin police is expected to be actively involved in legality, efficiency, and fairness in the law enforcement process to prevent public peace violations and ensure the maintenance of order, which, in turn, should be based on the principles of humanity, nondiscrimination, and professionalism.

Police Organization, Structure and Function

The organizational structure of the Montenegrin police service changed as a result of the adoption of the *Law on Police* (Zakon o policiji, 2005).

In accordance with the Law on Police (Zakon o policiji) and the *Regulation on organization and the work of the Ministry of Interior* (Government of Montenegro, 2010), the police performs administrative duties related to the security and protection of citizens, freedoms and rights set out in the Constitution; the protection of property; the prevention and detection of criminal offences and misdemeanors; finding and apprehending perpetrators of criminal offences, as well as bringing them to competent authorities; the maintenance of public peace and order; securing public gatherings and other meetings of citizens; protection of certain persons and facilities; road traffic safety and control; border crossing checks; control of movement and stay of foreigners; providing conditions for adequate operation of the courts; forensic expertise and research; forensic and other evidence gathering; international police cooperation; making analyses, studying and monitoring certain security issues; and other activities that are in its jurisdiction.

According to the Law, the Police Director is the government's appointee who directly appoints subordinate managers. In this shift, it is important to address the issue of decentralization. The organization remains highly centralized and it is recommended that decisions and planning regarding the work of uniformed officers should be moved closer to the local community level. Crime prevention is a complex task that often goes beyond the level of the local community and, as such, requires cooperation with other criminal justice authorities to consolidate resources and engage in activities that would maximize outcome.

The structure of the newly formed Police Administration still reflects the structure of its predecessor, the Ministry of Interior's (MoI) Public Security Service. Territorially, it is divided into eight police regions, called security centers. The security centers are territorial police districts. The security centers for the central part of Montenegro are located in the capital Podgorica and in the city of Nikšić. The south of Montenegro is covered by the security centers in Bar, Budva, and Herceg Novi. The south has a large sea border and lands that borders with Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Albania, and an international airport in Tivat. In the north of Montenegro there

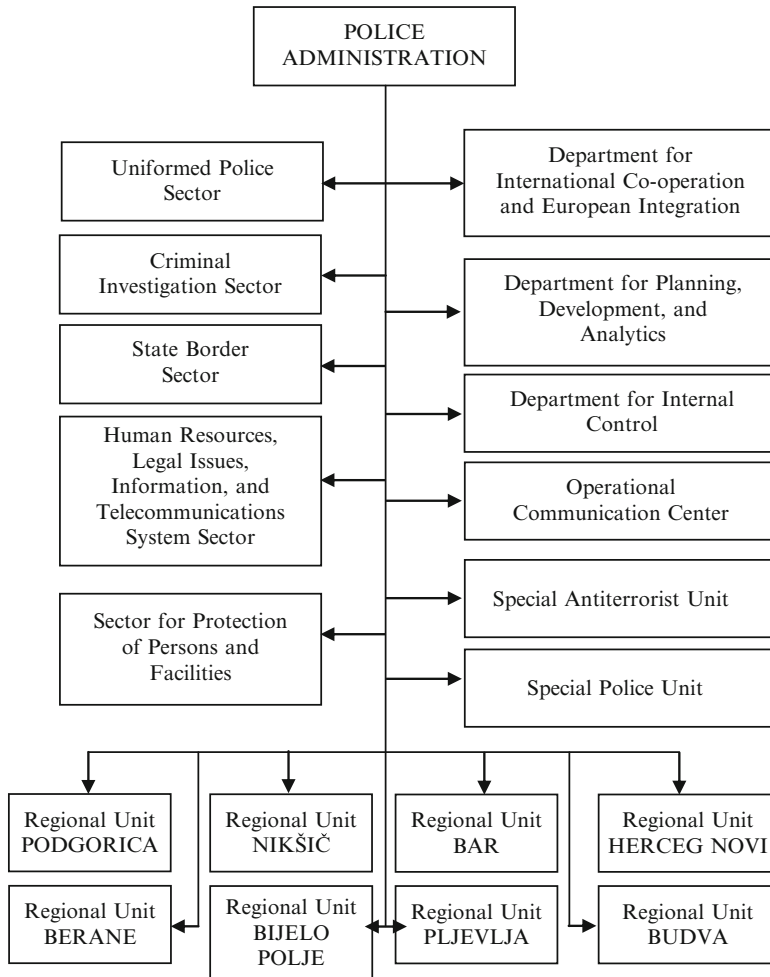


Fig. 1 The structure of police administration (Source: Police Directorate of Montenegro, 2011a)

are three security centers: Berane, Bijelo Polje, and Pljevlja. There are also 13 smaller regions, security departments, subordinated to the security centers. All 21 police regions reflect the administrative division of the Republic's 21 municipalities (Fig. 1).

Regarding their functional division, the Police Administration has five police sectors (Uniformed Police; Criminal Investigation; State Border Sector; Human Resources; Legal Issues, Information, and Telecommunications Systems Sector; Sector for Protection of Persons and Facilities); three departments (Department for International Co-Operation and European Integration; Department for Planning, Development, and Analytics; Department for

Internal Control); Operational Communication Centre (OCC); Forensics Centre, and two specialized units (Special Antiterrorist Unit; Special Police Unit). Heads of directorates, departments and specialized units report directly to the Police Director, as do the heads of the eight security centers. However, within the security centers, the heads of two police branches (Uniformed and CID) report both to the head of their respective security centre and to the head of their respective directorate. Such a dual chain of command may be inefficient because there is no official priority of tasks.

The Uniformed Police Sector is primarily in charge of public order. It consists of five organizational units: Department for Public Law and

Order; Traffic Police Department; Department for Prevention and Community Policing; Department for Protection of Property and Persons. The Criminal Investigations Sector (CID) is tasked with the fight against crime and is composed of six organizational units: Department for Suppression of General Crime; Organized Crime Department; Commercial Crime Department; Department for the Fight against Drugs and Smuggling; Department for Special Screening; Criminal Technical Department (Forensics); Unit for Witness Protection; the National Central Bureau of Interpol. The State Border Sector is the youngest and the most rapidly developing directorate, which currently has five departments/units: Department for Border Crossing Checks; Department for Control of Border Area; Department for Operational Work; Department for Fighting Illegal Migration. It also includes border police units in cities (Berane, Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Podgorica, Nikšić, Bar, Herceg Novi) and the Maritime Police Unit. The Human Resources, Legal Issues, Information and Telecommunications Systems Sector consist of Department for Legal Issues; Department for Management, Planning, and Development of Human Resources; Department for Telecommunication Technologies and Systems. The Sector for Protection of Persons and Facilities is in charge of protection of persons who are the subject of protection due to their employment engagements, their housing and positions in retaining in place and drive-by shooting. It consists of Department for Protection of Persons, Department for Protection of Facilities and Diplomatic Consular Offices, Department for Protection of Certain Foreign Persons and Anti-Terrorism Screening.

The OCC follows and registers occurrences and events in the field of security, as well as estimates the crucial events. Depending on the need, OCC takes and organizes urgent and more extensive operational measures, coordinates and directs organizational units of police services. The Forensic Centre conducts all criminal-technical tests of traces from the crime scene. Montenegro's police service has two specialized units: Special Police Unit (often known by its

acronym PJP—*Posebna jedinica policije*) and Special Antiterrorist Unit (SAJ—*Specijalna antiteroristička jedinica*). Both specialized units are organized only on state level and their heads report directly to the Police Director. Special Antiterrorist Unit is a classic police antiterrorist unit, while the Special Police Unit is a paramilitary police unit inherited from the 1990s. Militarization refers to the experience and training of staff, and the methods and equipment they use. These units carry out the most complex policing tasks and assist the regular police in carrying out other complex tasks. Both of them participate in the “fight against terrorism and organized crime.” The other tasks are ensuring public peace and order if endangered to a greater extent, resolving hostage situations, arresting criminal groups, securing public gatherings and events of the highest risk levels, etc.¹ The number of police officers in the service generally depends on the geographical area, security situation, style of policing (community policing requires more manpower) and other aspects. The size of the police service in Montenegro was such largely due to the security situation in the 1990s, which led Montenegro to focus more on building a “defense force.” During this period, the police force served as a virtual army for which a large number of officers were recruited. In 2000, after the fall of Milošević, the security situation eased and the country was left with a military-style, untrained and large police force.

According to the Study on Policing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Monk, 2001), the Ministry of Interior in Montenegro had

¹As their mandates seem to be quite similar, and as resources are scarce for special equipment and training, gfuture. In other European police services, SAJ and PJP-type officers participate in regular police duties when not carrying out their specialized tasks. “For instance, the practice in some other countries is for such units to be operational in normal police duties half of the time while continuing their specialist training the remainder of their time” (Downes, 2004). This would both help save resources and promote career development, as officers would have an easier transition to regular duties once they reach the age limit for performing special operation tasks. This would also be important for further police demilitarization.

approximately 10,000 staff overall, of which there were 3,800 uniform police officers. Moreover, there were an estimated further 10,000 members of the Special Police Unit created as a defense force. Ordinary police numbers were also increased to counter the perceived threat from the Yugoslav army and this has produced a relatively young police force with little sense of public service.

At the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century, Montenegro was opting for downsizing by setting high standards and enforcing rigorous performance assessment.² The Ministry of Interior was the biggest state employer in Montenegro, with the Police Administration employing the majority of the personnel. As of March 2006, the Police Administration employed 5,234 people (364 women and 4,870 men). The 5,234 employees of the Police Administration in a country with a population of around 650,000 people means a ratio of one officer per 125 citizens (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).³ The composition of the police service in Montenegro was overwhelmingly male, with little ethnic minority representation, and the vast majority coming from the northern and central areas of Montenegro. Approximately 1,000 women work for the MoI, but the vast majority work in administrative positions and are not operational police officers.

According to the *Strategy for Development and Functioning of Police for the period 2011–2013* (Ministry of Interior and Public Administration of Montenegro, 2010), the current number of employees in the Police Administration is 5,313, out of which 4,648 are the police officers. More data of employees in the Police Administration:

- (a) Total population: 631,535 (Ministry of Interior and Public Administration of Montenegro, 2010)

- Number of classified jobs: 5,189
 - Number of employees: 5,313–4,684 police personnel
- (b) The Police Directorate employees' educational structure
- Doctor's degree: 0.056 %
 - Master's degree: 0.20 %
 - Bachelor degree: 15.48 %
 - Upper secondary school education: 7.45 %
 - Secondary education: 75.79 %
 - Primary education: 0.97 %
- (c) Employees' age structure
- Under 35: 33.09 %
 - Between 35 and 55: 64.20 %
 - Over 55: 2.71 %
- (d) Gender structure
- Female: 13.11 %
 - Male: 86.86 %

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

After Slobodan Milošević took power in Serbia in 1987, the pro-Milošević fraction of the League of Communists of Montenegro (LCMN) came to power in 1989. That period was marked by an enormous increase in organized crime and corruption. Crime was not only tolerated, but its suppression was also a low priority for the police. Elements of the police force often turned a blind eye to illegal activities, which led to corruption at many levels (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006). Some of the criminals even rose to the status of “national heroes” in the eyes of an anxious and impoverished public. Aforementioned impunity for such individuals led to an increase in the general criminalization of the society. Politics, business, security services, and crime became a part of a messy, interdependent network. Organized crime groups in the former Yugoslavia “have gained protection for a wide variety of criminal activities by establishing connections with state security and intelligence agencies, forming autonomous power centers that are immune to prosecution and are able to control local politicians and manipulate the media” (Berry et al., 2003: 77). Not only were organized criminals

²The necessity for downsizing as part of police reform was outlined in the OSCE's report, *A Study on Policing in the Federal Republic in Yugoslavia*, and in the European Commission's Staff Working Paper from 2002.

³This ratio is relatively high in comparison to police services in the European Union and Serbia, where they have one officer per 250–350 citizens.

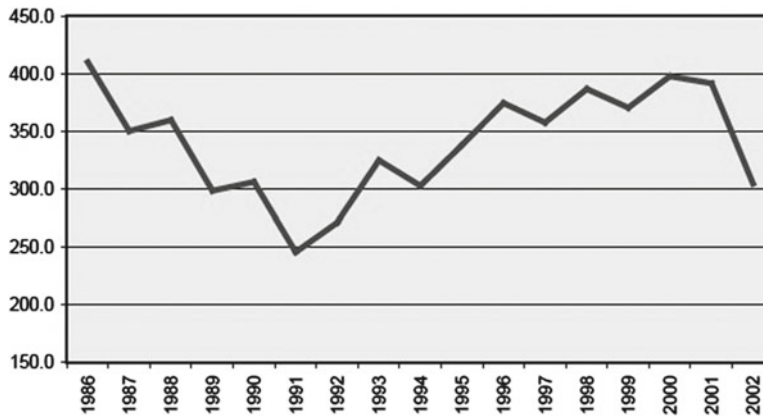


Fig. 2 The number of sentenced persons (per 100,000 inhabitants) (Source: Ministry of Interior and Public Administration of Montenegro, 2005)

on the loose, but the war environment provided them with entirely new areas for “business.” Warring factions, for example, used criminals for circumventing the international arms embargo that the UN Security Council imposed against Yugoslavia (and its successors) in 1991. The authorities of Montenegro and Serbia also used them to break the UN economic embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992–1995). The smuggling of various goods, primarily fuel and tobacco, started out as being seen as in the national interest, but soon became quite a lucrative activity.

Organized crime was not limited by national borders. Many criminals of Montenegrin origin operated outside of the republic, but Montenegro was also the victim of international organized crime.⁴ Montenegro was also a transit area for international organized crime. International police cooperation and exchange of data was almost non-existent between 1992 and 2001. A major obstacle was the revocation of Interpol membership for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992.

⁴During the 1990s, Italian mafia organization Sacra Corona Unita used Montenegro’s coast as a base for their smuggling activities and as a safe haven. Italian Interpol opened their office in the port city of Bar in 1999, which was instrumental for extraditing dozens of Mafiosi from the republic and cutting smuggling lines for tobacco and drugs.

In absence of a comprehensive crime statistic for the Republic of Montenegro during the 1990s, the ratio of sentenced persons per 100,000 inhabitants can represent crime trends for the last decade of the twentieth century. In the period 1986–2003, the ratio of sentenced persons per 100,000 inhabitants was the lowest in 1991, and the highest in 1986. This rate suddenly increased in 1999, after which the number of sentenced juveniles reduced. Over the past 20 years, the number of convicted juveniles in relation to the total number sentenced is not completely clear. Finally, the armed robbery continues to be a problem in Montenegro. To a large extent, this is the consequence of wars in the Balkans, when many illegal weapons were in possession of ordinary citizens (United Nations Development Programme, 2005) (Figs. 2 and 3).

The crime statistics for the Republic of Montenegro (1996–2000) show crime to be reducing substantially in all categories. The view of experts is that the major offences linked to organized crime, such as murder, has reduced whilst the criminals assess the situation under new regimes. Property crime is also declining but it is expected to increase as the transition to a new economy takes effect (Monk, Holm, & Rumin, 2001).

The statistics on crime in the Republic of Montenegro (1998–2003) show characteristics of a situation where general crime dominates compared to commercial crime. Regarding the

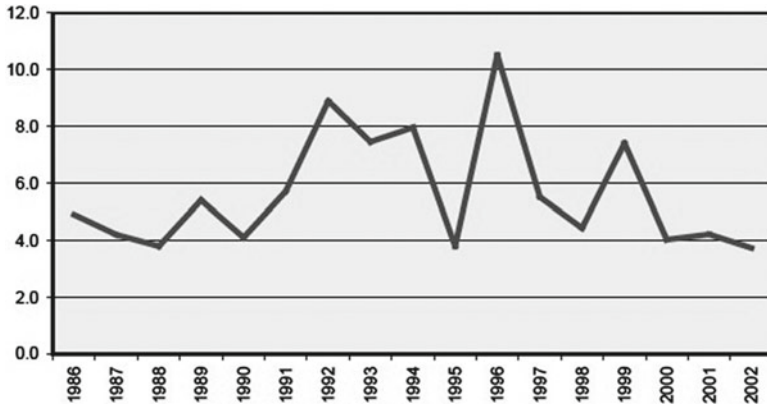


Fig. 3 Sentenced juveniles (percentage of totally sentenced) (Source: Ministry of Interior and Public Administration of Montenegro, 2005)

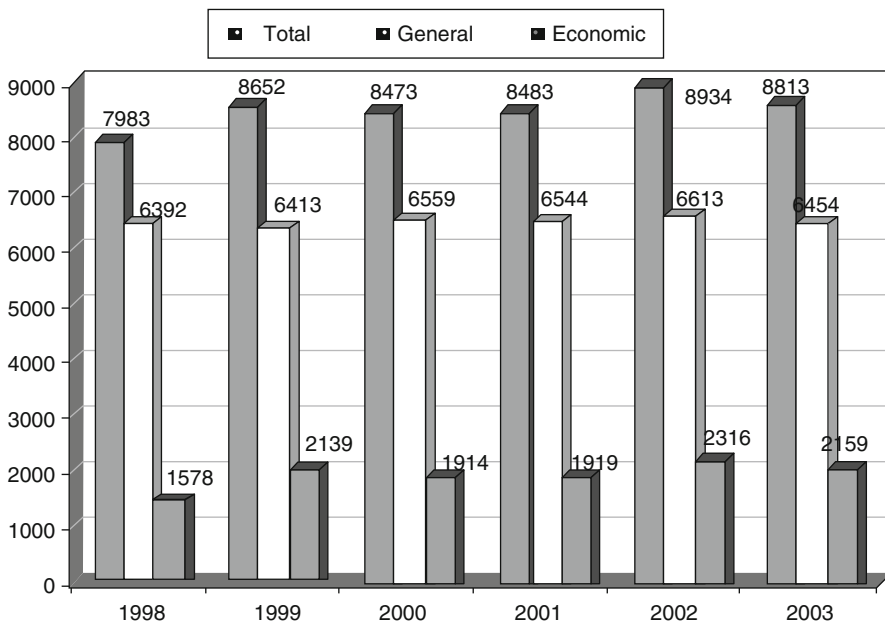


Fig. 4 Registered crimes on territory of Montenegro (1998–2003) (Source: Ministry of Interior and Public Administration of Montenegro, 2005)

general criminal structure, there was a high rate of property crime in the same period (Figs. 4 and 5).

There is an unequal crime trend in the period between 2001 and 2005 with a growing number of criminal acts occurring between 2002 and 2005 (Table 2). This can be explained by turbulent political and economic changes in the Montenegrin society before the referendum of independence. The relationship between the number of criminal

acts by unknown perpetrators and the total number of criminal acts, as well as resolved cases (in percentage), is presented in Table 1.

In 2005, within the total number of registered criminal acts, there were 7,643 (6,431 in 2004) acts in the category of general crime, with a significant increase compared to the previous year—18.84%. More significant growth is registered in the following categories of criminal acts: blackmail, violent

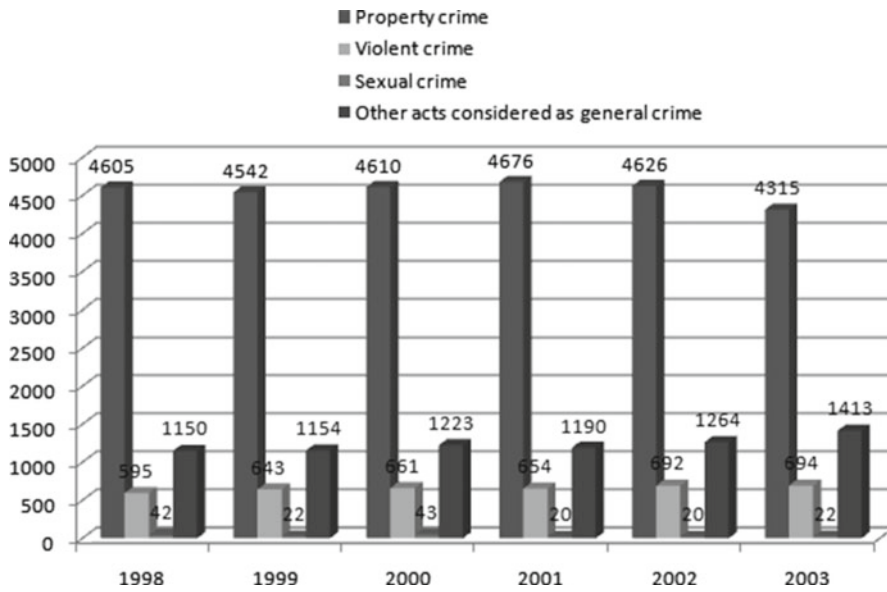


Fig. 5 General structure of crimes (1998–2003) (Source: Ministry of Interior and Public Administration of Montenegro, 2005)

Table 1 Criminal acts 2001–2010 and their resolution

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total number of criminal acts	8,463	8,934	8,613	8,227	9,579	9,564	9,258	8,277	8,101	6,994
Criminal acts by unknown perpetrators	5,251	5,166	4,576	4,329	4,959	4,323	3,947	3,470	3,388	2,842
Resolved cases (%)	57.78	53.75	56.9	45.64	50	55.8	59.5	64.2	68.3	67.8

Source: Police Directorate of Montenegro (2011b)

Table 2 Violent and sexual crime (2001–2010)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Murder	22	27	20	14	22	25	10	23	24	15
Attempted murder	62	93	92	66	70	77	59	60	52	56
Grave bodily harm	124	148	141	150	155	164	181	196	186	193
Endangering by means of using dangerous instruments in brawls or quarrels	145	148	131	111	128	128	154	93	81	78
Rape	6	8	5	14	8	11	7	17	9	5
Attempted rape	4	5	6	6	9	3	3	3	3	1

Source: Police Directorate of Montenegro (2011b)

behavior, stolen vehicles, fraud, murder, robberies, attempted rape, illegal possession of firearms and explosive devices, family violence.

Decreasing trends in the number of criminal activities was evident after 2005 (Table 2), resulting in the lowest crime rate in the last 5 years (2005–2010). Changes in Europe and the region have made in this period certain changes in the

nature and extent of security threats in Montenegro, through organized crime and corruption, crimes with the use of violence, smuggling and trafficking; owning and using firearms, disturbance of public order at sports events and public gathering.

Statistics about the property crimes is of the most important indicator for the vulnerability

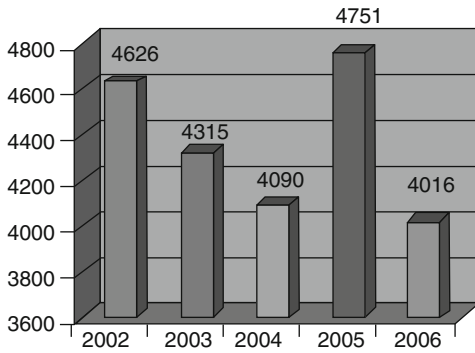


Fig. 6 Property crime (2002–2006) (Source: Police Directorate of Montenegro, 2007)

assessment in the general structure of crime. In relation to the 5-year period (2002–2006), the largest number of property crimes within the structure of general crime was registered. In 2005, there were 4,751 criminal acts against property, which makes almost half of the total recorded criminal acts (Fig. 6).

An increase of 7.8 % in commercial crime in 2005 (1,936) has been registered, compared to 2004 (1,796). Substantial growth has been recorded among the following categories of commercial crime: abuse of power and authority in business, fraud, issuing NSF checks, unauthorized trade, tax evasion, and violation of the Law on Foreign Exchange. Increase of crime is noticeable among the commercial offenses such as negligent performance of business activities, fraud, issuing NSF checks a no-cash payment means, unauthorized trade, counterfeiting money.

In 2009, property crime is the most numerous crime of general crime (44.9 %). In the field of economic crime, in 2008, 1,692 criminal offences were discovered and prosecuted (20.6 % less than in 2007). For recent years it has been registered the reducing trend of property crime (18.3 % in 2010 related to the previous year). As a number of crimes have not been reported or remain undetected, it can be concluded that the degree of crime is significantly higher than the police and prosecution statistic show.

According to the statistic of the Police Administration, crime has been reduced to 27 % in the past 5 years (Table 2). In comparison to 2005,

2006, and 2007, the number of crimes was slightly lower in 2008 and 2009, while the number of crimes that are prosecuted by private action is lowered by 6.6 % (Table 2). Crime rate decreased (number of registered criminal acts per 1,000 inhabitants) for criminal acts which are prosecuted ex officio (11.3 %) and this is the lowest rate in Europe. The rate has increased the most in SC Budva, which is considered the centre of Montenegrin tourism during the summer (31.5 %). In the past 5 years number of public order violations is reduced, and there were no cases of disturbance of public peace and order to a greater extent.

In the previous years, a special problem is the number of violent crimes caused by increasing in drug abuse, economic crisis and the activities of organized criminal groups with an international character. As significant changes and factors that influenced the development of certain forms of organized crime in Montenegro, as well in the region, may be cited: wars in region; ownership transformation and privatization of public property; monopoly of large enterprises and companies; economic crisis; extent of corruption; social stratification and low standard of living; and unemployment. In Montenegro, it is observable that there are groups which are not fixed organized network, whose members collaborate with one or more experienced criminals to commit crime. The largest number of organized criminal groups engages in drug trafficking, and most of them are involved in murder, blackmails, kidnapping, extortion, and counterfeiting money. Organized criminal groups cooperate with criminal groups in the region regardless of the ethnicity of criminals. Compared to 2009, the rate of drug abuse and drug trafficking has been reduced by 20.6 % in 2010. In 2010, the number of registered acts of trafficking in human beings has been increased in relation to the year 2009, which is the result of “Afrodita” action and cooperation with the special prosecutor for organized crime. In spite of this, the crime rate is significantly higher because the data presented do not include crimes that are reported directly to the prosecutors, acts that are not reported or not registered for various reasons (lack of trust, consequences, etc.) and so-called dark figure crime, or criminal

acts that are registered only when they are discovered and whose number is much higher than it is reported (criminal acts of corruption, economic crime, property crime, crime related to the drugs, etc.).

In spite of the consequences of economic crisis, which is reflected in all spheres of social life, as well as other security risks, the state of security in Montenegro in 2010 can be assessed as favorable compared to the previous years. More favorable state of security in Montenegro is characterized by the reduction in the number of criminal acts, high percentage of resolved crimes with unidentified perpetrators, the reduction in the number of offences against public order and peace, the number of traffic accidents, as well as the number of illegal border crossings and incidents at the border. The reduced trend of the total number of registered criminal acts in 2010 has been followed by the reduction in the criminal acts committed by an unknown perpetrator with the smallest number since 2005. From this number, 1,928 acts or 67.8 % have been resolved, which is a very good result.

Criminal offences against traffic safety have been reduced by almost 15 % in 2010 as compared to 2009, primarily as a result of stricter implementation of traffic safety regulations. State of road safety is unsatisfactory despite the reduction in the number of traffic accidents with injured persons and fatalities. Number of detected and prevented illegal crossings is increased by 18.4 %.

Ensuring stable public order and peace, safety of the citizens and their property, preventing and detecting criminal acts and all illegal conducts which endanger public order have been one of the basic priorities of policing in the previous decade. Many disorders have occurred under the influence of difficult living conditions caused by the process of disintegration and wars from the previous period, the economic reconstruction and privatization, as well as the independence referendum when police intervention and assistance was necessary to provide public peace and order. With the establishment of political stability and reduction of consequences of the economic crisis, the decreased trend has been recorded for a

number of criminal offences and misdemeanors against public order and peace (1,944 in 2010 compared to 2,198 in 2009 or 11.6 % fewer compared to 2009).

Police Training and Police Educational Systems

Training and education are key tools in any reform process. This has been acknowledged in Montenegro with the transformation of the High School of Internal Affairs into the Police Academy in 2006. The High School of Internal Affairs was in charge of basic police training; it also organized professional courses and seminars. Courses were mainly taught by experts from the police of Montenegro; associates from civil and police educational and scholarly institutions from neighboring countries also participated. Together with Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and other international organizations and NGOs, training aimed at meeting the development needs of the Montenegrin police, especially in the domains of human rights and freedoms, public relations and education of educators (Keković & Redžepagić, 2006) has been put into place.

Currently, training and education at the Police Academy is used to serve the identified needs of the police service at all levels. New recruits receive standardized *basic education*, and attention is paid to the principle of career-long development. All serving officers require continuous updating of their skills in new technologies, policies, and procedures, best achieved through a program of in-service training. Moreover, officers are expected to have access to specialized and advanced training as their position requires. *Additional training* is organized for officers who work in the organizational units of the police, but who did not previously complete basic police education. *Specialized training* develops expert knowledge, skills, and abilities required for particular fields within the police service, such as border policing, forensic policing, traffic policing, or special antiterrorist and other units. *Training for police management* develops managerial

knowledge, skills, and abilities required of police officers in positions of management (from first line supervisors to senior management). The nature of specialized and advanced training an officer receives depends on the position s/he fills in the police organization and on their educational background and experience.

The Academy has signed an agreement on cooperation with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Public Administration, as well as with the Sector for Protection and Rescue to train operational units and personnel for protection and rescue in emergency. As for its primary focus, the Academy conducts training and professional development of private policing personnel for carrying out the protection of persons and property and detective activities.

Since 2006, the Police academy managed to become the national institution for all types of police training. However, complete transformation is acknowledged to be a longer term goal. In the future, the development of undergraduate and graduate specialist courses could attract officers to the areas that are currently lacking resources, such as IT or forensic specialists. Education, like training, also requires the proper research to ensure that the courses offered are meeting the needs of the officers and police service (e.g., job task analyses, education needs analyses, curricula, evaluation).

As Montenegro's police service does not have any experience in higher police education, (e.g., a police faculty), it is strongly recommended to involve universities in its development, as well as seek the advice of similar police institutions and universities in other countries. Higher education should be encouraged for police officers wishing to further develop their advanced or specialized knowledge and turn it into a university degree. Conversely, all recruits entering the police service with a higher education degree should receive a form of basic training before they enter service, as mentioned above (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

The Academy has also attempted to establish a research and publication element, which indicates that developing higher education at the Academy might be forthcoming, which is encouraging.

As the successor of the School of Internal Affairs, the Police Academy has continued to produce the "Perjanik" magazine in which theoretical works and experiences from practice in the area of human rights, forensics, and security are published.

There is a need to increase the cooperation between the Police Academy and the practitioners in the field. The vast majority of the courses require knowledge, skills, and abilities from a constantly changing environment—which applies to all courses (basic, specialized, advanced, and in-service). Currently, instructors are assigned to work at the Academy and are removed from the field. While instructors at the Police Academy should be professional police officers, they could be rotated back into regular police service occasionally to reconnect with activities in the field. The removal of instructors from the field impacts the training, as the knowledge and skills of the instructors can become stale. A rotation system would require a higher number of instructors to be trained, but would benefit the quality of training. A rotation system would de facto increase the connection between the practice and the Academy, and ensure the establishment of more open lines of communication (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

The final point is improving regional and international cooperation. The contributions from the international community to training and education have been considerable. As the only police education institution in the republic, the Police academy has established the cooperation with International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), OSCE, Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI), European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex), Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Southeast Europe Police Chiefs Association (SEPCA), The Council of Europe (CoE), International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Swedish National Police Board, and other international and national institutions. A large number of trainers

from the police academies abroad have also contributed to various trainings at the Academy. However, it must be said that the vast majority has been ad hoc, i.e., not part of a broader, long-term program of assistance. Since 2011, Academy has become a part of the CEPOLs network, which is made up of educational institutions of EU member states. This cooperation should continue and improve, especially with institutions in the region.

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

In the past few decades, the police was often used as an oppressive arm of the government. With the criminalization of the elements of the society in the 1990s, the situation worsened. Not only did the police continue to be a tool of oppression, but the level of professionalism deteriorated significantly. An unfavorable security situation led the government to militarize the police, so the aspects such as the fight against crime and community policing were largely neglected. Criminal investigation capacities fell to a very low level, while the uniform police component (especially the militarized police elements) was considered more important and thus given a disproportionate amount of resources.

Policing in Montenegro suffered, directly and indirectly, from the effects of the Yugoslav crisis. It delayed the process of reform by at least 10 years, compared to the other central and eastern European countries. In addition, the police system developed during the 45 years of peace drastically deteriorated during the 1990s. The isolation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) made it difficult for the police to follow international trends in policing, especially in training, procuring proper equipment, and keeping up with modern policing methods. The uniformed and more militarized components of the police force became more important than criminal investigation, community policing, or crime prevention. Fighting crime became less important and criminal activities, such as smuggling of embargoed goods, were

even condoned by the authorities (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

The security situation in Montenegro became tenser after the 1997 political changes. Since Montenegro did not have its own army, the police force was heavily militarized in order to become a virtual armed force. Several thousands of people were hired into the police, envisaged to perform military duties. In 2001, in his significant report, Richard Monk estimated that the more militarized element numbered as many as 10,000 (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006). At that time, the police force procured military equipment. Tensions between the Montenegrin police and the Milošević-led federal military were the highest during the NATO bombing in 1999. Incidents between the opposing forces were frequent and often ended in fatalities.

Organized crime groups in the former Yugoslavia “have gained protection for a wide variety of criminal activities by establishing connections with state security and intelligence agencies, forming autonomous power centers that are immune to prosecution and are able to control local politicians and manipulate the media”. The war environment provided them with entirely new areas for ‘business.’ Warring factions used criminals for circumventing the international arms embargo that the UN Security Council imposed against Yugoslavia (and its successors) in 1991. The authorities of Montenegro and Serbia also used them to break the UN economic embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992–1995). For example, smuggling in Montenegro became a state-sanctioned activity during the UN economic embargo. It was deemed necessary by some for the survival of the population. However, the smuggling of goods such as fuel started as a patriotic duty, but soon became very lucrative. Numerous smugglers and black marketers emerged. “By the second half of the 1990s, Montenegro was the centre of smuggling operations for the Balkans, ‘one gigantic marketplace for smuggled cigarettes,’ according to German customs investigators” (Hozić, 2004). Smuggling penetrated political structures, public administration, the commercial sector, the criminal justice system, as well as the police.

According to the OSCE Report on *Police Reform in Montenegro 2001–2005*, there have been several high-profile organized crime-related cases that remain unsolved. These cases and their lack of progress in the investigations continue to shape the perceptions of citizens and the international community regarding the state. In all cases, except for the arrest of a dozen individuals, there was no systematic inquiry into the area of criminal justice system's failure. Organized crime in Montenegro is a politicized issue. A prime example is the notorious 2002 case of *trafficking for sexual exploitation*. Based upon recommendations from the joint OSCE/Council of Europe special report on the case, new legislation was introduced that strengthens the penalties, and the government adopted a *Strategy for the Fight Against Trafficking in Human Beings* in November 2003.

A serious concern is that for many years the authorities have avoided officially acknowledging that organized crime exists in Montenegro. Several high-profile murders changed that to some extent.⁵ A major obstacle was the revocation of Interpol membership for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992.

Proper police reform started in 2001, after the fall of Milošević. It is important to emphasize that the reform during this time was strongly influenced by politics (Monk, 2001). Political instability led to inconsistencies in police reform policies, as priorities were set by issues often not related to home affairs. The Montenegrin government took a critical step by adopting its *Program of fighting against corruption and organized crime* (Ministry of Interior, 2005). The small size and narrow scope of work of the understaffed Criminal

Investigation Directorate (CID)/Organized Crime Department is not reflective of the government's publicly expressed commitment to fight organized crime. The CID still requires deep structural reforms. Adequate staffing must also be supported by adequate infrastructure. Insufficient methods and a lack of infrastructure in the areas of criminal intelligence, forensics, special investigative techniques, witness protection and border policing gravely impact the abilities to fight crime of any nature. The establishment of a central criminal intelligence system is crucial for the success of the fight against all criminal activities in Montenegro (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

In 2005, the Parliament of Montenegro finally adopted the *Law on Police* (Zakon o policiji, 2005), simultaneously with the *Law on the Agency for National Security* (Zakon o agenciji za nacionalnu bezbjednost, 2005). The new legislation radically restructured the security sector in Montenegro by establishing a Border Police Directorate, by initiating strategic planning, expanding the structures and mechanisms of accountability, and establishing a training institution. The Law on Police regulates the police affairs, police powers and duties, the status of police officers and their control. The Agency for National Security (ANS, formerly the State Security Service) was taken out of the Ministry of Interior and placed in its own agency directly under the government's supervision. The separation of the MoI and the Police Administration was the other major structural innovation of the new legislation. Previously, the police service was called the Public Security Service and with these structural changes renamed into the Police Administration. Under the previous system, the Minister of Interior was also the "top policeman" in Montenegro, but now its power is significantly reduced and the executive power over the police service now belongs to the Police Director. The MoI has executive oversight over the Police Administration. The MoI and the Police Administration are still in a transitional process and restructuring is still on-going.

Central to the police reform is the principle stating that it could be carried out using a holistic

⁵The assassination of Dusko Jovanovic, editor-in-chief of the daily Dan in 2004, and of Slavoljub Ščekić, Head of the CID's Department for the Suppression of General Crime in 2005 brought the pervasive character of organized crime in Montenegro into sharper focus. Solving these two assassinations have been considered as an test of the police service and criminal justice system's capacity to deal with serious and organized crime and crucial, as well, for regaining public confidence and support. International police co-operation and exchange of data was almost nonexistent between 1992 and 2001.

approach. Reform cannot take place without addressing all aspects of policing. The priority areas were defined in a *Memorandum of Understanding* signed between the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro in 2005 as community policing, police accountability, criminal investigation, border policing, strategic planning and development and police education and development. Memorandum provides recommendations for the organizational aspects of the Police Administration, the work of the three directorates—Uniformed Policing, Criminal Investigation and Border Police, the external bodies and mechanisms that play an important role in policing, as well as recommendations for the international community.

The level of transparency in the Police Administration in Montenegro has made significant progress with the adoption of the *Law on the Free Access to Information (Zakon o slobodnom pristupu informacijama, 2005)*, the implementation of which provides a basis for ensuring this aspect has been reformed within the police service.

Border policing is the area of police reform that had the fastest and most comprehensive development. Removing control of the border from the military to the border police was completed by the end of 2003. Nowadays, it is very important that the border police are seen as a part of the police service, in charge of policing the border, and not as a separate unit that still uses military methods for military-style border protection.

The concept of community policing seeks to bring together the police and the community to work together in addressing problems of crime, disorder, and community safety. Community policing has been embraced in the government representatives' speeches but little has been done on the implementation of this approach of policing.

According to the *Report on the Work of Police Directorate and Security Conditions in 2010* (Police Directorate of Montenegro, 2011a), recent trends regarding policing in Montenegro can be described as performing tasks written in government documents and related plans of the Police Administration, as well as responding to

the demands of the process of Euro-Atlantic integrations, the protection and safety of citizens and their property, the prevention and detection of organized crime and grave criminal offences, the prevention of abuse and trafficking in drugs and the improvement of traffic safety. Border security and the prevention of illegal crossings, the protection of certain persons and facilities, the safety of public events and gatherings, the participation in the minimization of consequences of natural disasters, the search and rescue personnel services, the assistance to certain institutions and other important activities, are priorities in police work as well.

Current Trends in Policing (Public and Private, Multilateral, Plural Policing)

Having in mind the success of public-private partnership (PPP) projects in the member states of the EU, and the lack of the budget funds for infrastructure development, the Government of Montenegro decided to use the PPP model more intensively through the privatization process. In the past 2 years, the number of concluded PPP contracts has increased significantly. This decision of the Montenegrin government was based on the following rationale: when there are areas/resources in which the state may not act efficiently and whereby no significant budget funds may be allocated for the revitalization of that certain sector, it is more convenient to “delegate” a certain area/resource to companies that are willing to use the necessary financial means to help the development of natural resources. The provisions of laws protect national interests and prevent the permanent allocation of such resources and infrastructures to private companies. This cooperation produces multiple gains for both sides. In the long term, the state retains the infrastructure, while the private company receives material compensation by using the resource. However, there are certain risks, mirrored in the potential low profit margin from the attained resource for the private company, or high loss for the state, if the company receives those infrastructure segments that have monopoly positions (Institute Alternative, 2010).

As reform of policing in Montenegro in one or two areas would have a limited effect and police reform therefore requires a holistic approach, public and private, multilateral policing has significant influence on improving and strengthening public safety and security. In Montenegrin society, many stakeholders with their capacities could play significant roles in providing modern, comprehensive, and structural responses to the current security challenges and threats. Economic reasons and the dynamic of changes caused the reduction of the state monopoly in the field of security. Counter-diversion inspections and baggage checks in objects of particular importance are conducted by private companies as well as providing transport of money.

External institutions, such as the Parliamentary Committee, the Council for Citizens' Control of Police Work, the Ombudsman, NGOs, and the media can contribute to policing in various ways as instruments of control and transparency of policing. Their external role is extremely valuable. In that sense, accountability, as an important principle of police work and service should not be perceived as an instrument of control, but rather as a mechanism to improve the services the police provide, and as a means to ensure that the abuse of power or position is adequately dealt with. The Montenegrin Police Administration should view accountability from a broader perspective, looking beyond the Internal Control Department, towards improving performance accountability and the related issue of financial accountability and transparency. Transparency enables the public to witness how the police perform their duties and helps to foster an environment of trust, cooperation, and mutual benefit between the police and the community it serves.

Although the private security industry in Montenegro started to work in 1992, which is relatively early compared to the surrounding countries, the industry has begun to be developed in the late 1990s. A key question regarding the privatization of security in Montenegro is the need to adequately enforce the existing laws. Though the licensing system does exist, it is not fully implemented. In that sense, the companies which are registered do not have to conduct security

checks of their employees. As well, the police officers usually perform private security activities while they are out of work, which leaves the question of police control and potential conflicts of interest open. The SALW report on companies for private security in Southeast Europe recommends that there should be a clearer relationship between Private Security Companies (PSC) and the police, more transparency in the regulation of PSC, and the implementation of rigorous training programs, which would be related to the proper use of force and other issues (South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons, 2005).

A modern police service needs to be working fully in partnership with the community regarding all fields of policing. The focus needs to be placed on issues that directly relate to the police services' ability to efficiently perform regular tasks, such as preventing crime, ensuring traffic safety, maintaining public order, border protection, issuing personal documents, training staff, managing crime scenes, gathering evidence, conducting investigative interviews and building cases to assist the prosecution. To most effectively and efficiently fight serious and organized crime, a consolidation of police and community capacities is needed. It is especially crucial that specialized, intelligence-driven, strategic capacities of communities have to be developed. They are necessary for rapid deployment to support local investigators across Montenegro.

Current trends in policing depend on the degree of centralization of certain police organization. Since the organizational structure of the Montenegro's Police Administration is mostly in line with developed police services' structures, the emphasis of structural reform should be less on the number of units or their place in the system, and more on changing their relationships and functioning. The key issue is police centralization vs. decentralization, and finding the correct balance between the two for optimum performance of the police service. The police centralization affected local police districts and departments around the republic, as local governments lost influence over them. More effort should be given to reversing this process, especially regarding

uniformed police and future community policing. Monk et al. (2001) pointed out that the decentralization of authority and decision-making to the lowest possible level in the organization makes police more responsive to local needs.

Establishing and reinforcing the structural integrity of the police service as an institution is equally important. Building structural integrity of a police service is one of the main tools for strengthening public confidence in the police service. It entails promoting three crucial principles: accountability (professional standards and oversight), transparency (internal and external openness), and operational independence (depoliticization).

The gender structure of police organization also influences the necessary degree of public-private and local partnership. The composition of the police service in Montenegro is overwhelmingly male, with little ethnic minority representation, and the vast majority of personnel coming from the northern and central areas of Montenegro. In order to ensure a better balance in the police service, the number of women and ethnic minorities should increase and regional representation should be improved. If one element of the community is overrepresented in the police service, it affects the culture and the ethos of the police service. While such equal representation is a difficult goal to achieve for any police service, visible and credible attempts should still be made to meet this aim. Approximately 1,000 women work for the MoI, but the vast majority work in administrative positions and are not operational police officers. Within the total number of employees in the Police Administration (5,313) just 13.11 % are women. Ethnic minorities are also poorly reflected in the ranks of the police service. Montenegro is a relatively homogenous state, with the majority (around 75 %) of its citizens classifying themselves as Montenegrin or Serbian. The vast majority of the police officers are also Montenegrin or Serbian. Ethnic minorities such as Albanians, Croats, Bosniaks, and Roma, are poorly represented and their percentages are not reflected in the Police Administration. In some security centers the problem of recruiting

minorities is more apparent than in others. Some interviewers expressed difficulty in recruiting ethnic Albanians, for example, and said they would welcome applications from the Albanian community, but that none were being received.

By implementing the concept of “community policing” in Montenegro, preventive work of police, cooperation with citizens and with other institutions would be significantly improved, as well as the overall security. There is also a need to guide the public in their new community policing role, as the transition towards a democratic police service requires new strategies and concepts for all involved. NGOs, in their role as lobby groups and advocates, are also expected to help the public become more familiar with the work of the police.

A good example of community policing efforts was the European Basketball Championship in Serbia and Montenegro, in September 2005, which demonstrated the capacity of Montenegrin agencies to work together towards a common objective.⁶ To ensure a safe and successful championship, two working groups were set up in Podgorica, the first to deal with public order and the second to deal with emergencies. The Uniformed Police Directorate was in charge of the public order working group and the Department for Prevention against Fire, Explosions and Breakdowns and for the Protection of Technical Facilities was in charge of the second working group. The second one was formed to assess the possible risks to the championship, such as a stadium fire, to prevent the risks where possible, and to develop emergency plans. The working group consisted of representatives of companies (such as electricity and water companies), hospitals, state institutions in charge of infrastructure, fire-fighters, rescue teams, and organizations in charge of the facilities used by the teams. The working groups contributed to a well-run event, which took place without major incidents.

⁶Podgorica hosted the group stages for the European Basketball Championships together with Novi Sad, Belgrade, and Vršac.

Police, the Media and the Public Opinion of Police

Police-media relations in Montenegro can be best described as inconsistent. There are examples of good cooperation, as well as examples of animosity between the police and media. The media views the police as unwilling to provide sufficient information, whilst the police claim the media is not professional enough to report responsibly on sensitive security-related issues. Information from the police about issues of serious crime or politically sensitive crimes is minimal, according to the media.⁷ There is a lack of understanding, as well as a lack of acknowledgement, of the importance of their cooperation on both sides. The media's ability to conduct critical and independent analyses is affected by a number of factors.

The media in Montenegro, both print and electronic, is divided largely into pro- and antigovernment camps. A number of media outlets are state-owned. Competition between the media outlets is high and there is pressure to publish quickly. Pro-government media outlets have more access to information than those more critical of the government. As such, some journalists use unofficial, anecdotal information from political parties or individuals within the police service for their reports. Information from these sources is often not corroborated by the MoI or the Police Administration. The media would like to see more contact, both formal and informal, with the MoI, the Police Administration and the spokespersons in particular. For example, during snow falls that have befallen Montenegro in 2012, a great sacrifice and solidarity was demonstrated, in particular by the state media in order to provide timely and permanent communication between all stakeholders included in this extraordinary situation and thus reduce tensions among the most endangered segments of the population. In such situations, the forces for protection and rescue operations expected from the media to be

objective in reporting, regardless of their political background, as well as timely warnings from competent state bodies and services in a timely fashion. On the other hand, the first responders (police service, medical service, and fire service) used to be criticized due to the numerous shortcomings in their work during such situations: lack of appropriate assessment and action plans, failure to block the roads, failure to provide medical care and supplies to the most vulnerable categories of population, inability to provide a steady food supply to the cut-off villages, etc.

The role of the media in the prevention and resolution of crime is largely misunderstood and underestimated in Montenegro. First, the media needs to understand that they have a responsibility in reporting. For example, in the "S.C." trafficking for sexual exploitation case in 2002–2003, reporting was highly politicized and failed to protect the victim's rights. Media representatives have to become aware of the balance between providing the public with information and keeping information confidential regarding police investigations, which is also in the interest of the public.

After the separation of the police service from the MoI, as a result of the new Law on Police, the Police Administration appointed their own spokesperson in March 2006. The communication of the Police Administration with the media is carried out by the heads of security centers and the Police Administration's spokesperson. The spokesperson in the Police Administration is in charge of informing the public about the daily operational tasks of the police.

Negative effects of misunderstandings between the police service and public are that the level of trust in the police will affect the level of reporting of crimes by the public. This makes the police less effective, as they have less information about where to spend their scarce resources most efficiently. Public perception surveys in late 2004 revealed that citizens were primarily concerned about crimes such as theft, drugs, and traffic safety (Centre for Democracy and Human Rights [CEDEM], 2004). A political public opinion survey carried out in December 2005 indicated that people are generally dissatisfied with the

⁷ Some evidence for these conclusions comes from expert OSCE knowledge about Montenegro.

government and its work (CEDEM, 2005). This dissatisfaction could be attributed to the level of crime, the level of corruption, poverty, inequality or other issues that affect people directly or indirectly.

Results of research on corruption in Montenegro (April–May, 2011) show that citizens identify two key reasons for ineffective anti-corruption measures: ineffective prosecution of corruption by the authorities (60.9 %) and the unwillingness of citizens to fight corruption (60.5 %). In the same survey, data on the trust in the system show that citizens have the greatest confidence in the Church, that are religious in general (69.9 %). In the middle echelon, with the similar data of measured confidence are the police (47.9 %), ministries, army, local government, public administration, and judiciary (Bešić, 2011).

Besides the accountability of police officers, a democratic police culture embodies transparency and operational independence as being a structural feature both for the multilateral policing and public opinion on police service. Transparency is not only the police service's tool of communication, but also all police officers in Montenegro need to overcome the legacy of secrecy and understand that transparency helps them build connections with the community. The same applies to politicization. Police officers must perceive themselves not merely as hired security guards, but as protectors and servants of their own society. Only then will the Montenegrin public trust, accept, and respect them.

Transparency or openness should be an integral part of police culture. Transparency, both internal and external, is a key aspect of democratic policing. External transparency is based on the presumption that citizens have a right to know what the police is doing and why. The higher the level of openness, the higher the level of trust the police enjoy from the community. Internal openness aims at transparency of operations and procedures, aiming to increase cooperation inside the police service, as well as provide a form of accountability. Transparency is the guarantor of accountability (Greenwood & Huisman, 2006). Both openness and accountability can prevent a culture of impunity within the police, i.e., that the

police do not have to justify their actions. Transparency in sensitive police operations has obvious and necessary constraints. Certain information must be kept secret in order to carry out effective policing. However, the ability to keep information secret should be exercised with caution. Currently it is difficult for the public to access information. There remains a mind-set that the public has to justify their right to information rather than the MoI or the Police Administration having to justify that certain information is classified. The police have the responsibility to find a balance between openness and secrecy, with a dual goal to protect the citizens and to uphold the democratic right for transparency. This has been legally regulated with the adoption of the *Law on the Free Access to Information* in 2005 (Zakon o slobodnom pristupu informacijama, 2005). However, the implementation of this law is slow. Legislation can contribute to ensuring transparency, as well as training, but first and foremost, like accountability, transparency should become a part of the culture of the police. At the moment, the police in Montenegro fail to demonstrate the importance of openness in police operations and procedures.

The media and civil society can play a very constructive role to play in achieving effective external police oversight. The media can highlight misuse or abuse of police powers, while civil society NGOs can act as an intermediary between the police and the public. Both media and civil society therefore have a unique role in accountability. This role depends largely on the quality of media and civil society. At the moment, Montenegro's media lacks independent analytical capacities and is too politically biased to perform this role.⁸

The two NGOs are good examples of how civil society can play a role in increasing accountability and oversight. The NGO Network for the Affirmation of the NGO Sector (MANS) established an SOS hotline for victims of corruption in February 2005. MANS cooperates with the MoI

⁸Recommendations to improve this role of the media can be found in the chapter "Police-Media Relations" (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

and the police, who have started investigations based on the reports submitted by MANS. Another NGO, CEDEM, regularly publishes surveys on political public opinion in Montenegro, providing insight into the priorities of the public. The CEDEM research showed a general dissatisfaction with the work of the government in Montenegro, which indicates that the overall level of trust in government institutions might be low, including the police, but just higher in comparison to other institutions. Some people trust NGOs more than they do official structures and prefer to address their concerns through these bodies rather than to go directly to the police. This will ideally change in the longer term as people gain more confidence in the police and their abilities.

To improve confidence and partnership between police and other members of the community, a classification system for documents should be established. Communication with the public and the media has improved, but a mindset remains that the public has to justify their right to information rather than the MoI or the Police Administration justifying their right to keep it classified. Transparency requires such an approach to handling information, where information is accessible until ruled otherwise through specific procedures. If this issue is not addressed, and if official bodies do not release declassified information to the public, it will foment rumors, speculation and complaints. As Caparini and Marenin stress (2004: 8): “Unless offset by open documentation and transparency, nonofficial information will undermine police credibility and public support.”

Recent Trends in Research on Policing: Specificities of Research on Police and Policing (Researchers and the Police)

Montenegro’s strategic orientation to become a part of the Euro-Atlantic family influenced the fast transformation of Montenegrin police into a modern police organization interoperable with police organizations of EU countries. The reform process of the Montenegrin police in particular has remained strong after the declaration of inde-

pendence. This is a complex process because it has opened the issue of stable functioning of the security institutions, with the simultaneous need to transform the police in a complex multiethnic and multireligious environment. In this regard, Montenegrin police is expected to be actively involved in legality, efficiency, and fairness of the law enforcement process in order to prevent violating the public peace and order that should be based on the principles of humanity, nondiscrimination, and professionalism.

Research in the area of police and policing is underdeveloped due to the lack of relevant research institutions or research work on police practice within the academic framework. The transformation of the police educational system towards police academy without respectable research resources mismatches the training to the real needs of the police organization, while the motivation of target groups to learn and advance knowledge are only some of the problems that have been identified as major causes of the lack in the police research work.

In 2006, Ministry of Internal Affairs launched the project Reform of Police Education in Montenegro, as a part of the strategic reform of the Ministry of Interior and the police. The main objective of the project was to improve the general knowledge and skills of the Montenegrin police and meet international standards in the field of policing. To meet these requirements, it was necessary to establish a modern and efficient police academy which would have the capacity to deliver highly qualified research and development activities for the purposes of police education and training. Although research work is considered a very important segment of the Police Academy and its activities, as it contributes to the increasing of the level of training, instead of the results of research, experienced police practices are more predominant in police education.

Police reform in Montenegro is generally marked by development projects that have been done within the scope of the strategic framework and goals of Police Administration to be a part of regional and international projects of police cooperation for the purposes of data exchange, combating of all types of crimes, cooperation

with international police associations, as well as to be the part of the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integrations. Currently, within the framework of assistance of the European Commission, the project of establishing the national coordination offices for the international cooperation in law enforcement is conducted (ILECUs project). The goal of project is the international cooperation within the Western Balkans for the purposes of data exchange among judicial bodies, as well as the police. The Project led by Austria and supported by a number of other countries in the region has been running for several years. Concrete results have been achieved through the establishment of International Law Enforcement Coordination Units in six beneficiary countries, including Montenegro.

Future Developments in Policing

Developing the Montenegrin police further could be considered in the following fields⁹: Normative Framework; Organizational Structure; Structural Capacity: human resources management, financial resources management, technical and infrastructure resources; Structural Integrity—Police Culture (accountability—professional standards and oversight, transparency—internal and external openness, operational independence—depoliticization); and Planning and Development.

In terms of financial capacity, more than 10 % of Montenegro's annual budget is allocated to policing. The budget indicates that the vast majority of funds are spent on salaries, to the neglect of maintenance and innovation of technical resources and infrastructure. Moreover, the budget cycle is carried out without adequate input from the lower levels of the police service. Although expenditures are accounted for, the police service requires an audit where the expenditures would be measured against achievements (whether police provide an appropriate service for the means the tax payers invest in them).

Strategic planning and development is essential to the sustainable development of the Montenegrin police service. The establishment of the Strategic Planning Unit has had a major role in this progress. Strategic planning group in the MoI would carry out strategic policy planning (i.e., overarching goals as identified by the Minister, the elected official ultimately in charge of the ministry and the police), while the Police Administration would be responsible for carrying out these directives and engaging in operational and strategic planning.

In 2010, the MoI and the Public Administration passed the Strategy for Development and Functioning of Police for Period 2011–2013 emphasizing the following areas of strategic importance for future development:

- (a) *Improvement of the police organizational structure*—police restructuring should be in accordance with the standards of developed countries, the EU police systems, and real needs; Normative framework should be harmonized with international standards and regulations; Development of strategic management and leadership; Strategy development and implementation (Strategy for Combating Corruption and Organized Crime, and the Action Plan for Implementation of the Strategy); Annual National Program (ANP) in the first cycle of the NATO MAP; The national strategic response to drug consumption; Strategies to improve traffic safety for the period 2010–2019; National Strategy for Integrated Border Management and Action Plan for its implementation; Strategies for prevention and suppression of terrorism, money laundering and terrorist financing and its Action Plan (2010–2012).
- (b) *Standardization of police work*—Further development and improvement of the IT system; Development of standards on crime and strengthening the capacity in data collection.
- (c) *Security*—Fight against corruption and organized crime; Combating drug trafficking; Fight against all forms of terrorism; Increased road safety; Maintaining public order and safety; Greater efficiency in preventing and combating cross-border crime; Control and reduction of small arms and light weapons.

⁹These fields were being used as the framework of analysis in the paper "Police reform in Montenegro 2001–2005" (OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

- (d) *Construction and development of partnerships*—An effective mechanism of cooperation with government agencies and other institutions in the security system; Developing a relationship of trust and partnership with citizens, media, and civil society; Developing capacities for regional and international police cooperation; The police have their representatives in relevant international organizations. Sending police officers to the headquarters of Interpol in Lyon, France, the SECI Centre in Bucharest and the UN peacekeeping mission in Cyprus.
- (e) *Human resources, education and training*—Adequate gender and ethnic representation; Creating the conditions for adequate valorization of police officers' work environment, and providing necessary tools for obtaining personal and professional standards for all police members; Training program development at all levels, with implementation and application of modern standards related to police training and its evaluation; Education and professional development of police officers is conducted by the Police Academy; Training and professional development of police officers is carried out with the support of relevant international organizations (OSCE, DCAF, ICITAP et al.), embassies, and others.

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Policing in Russia

Vladimir Sergevnin and Oleg Kovalyov

The State

The Russian Federation (Russia) is a democratic presidential-parliamentary federal republic, located in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia geographically is the largest country in the world. The population is 138.7 (July 2011 estimation) million people. The Official language is Russian but in 23 subjects of the nation other languages are in use as official. For example, in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic, in addition to Russian, other official languages include Abaza, Karachay, Nogai, and Circassian languages. Russians are the largest ethnic group with 70.9 % of the population along with Tatar 3.8 %, Ukrainian 2 %, Bashkir 1.2 %, and Chuvash 1.1 %; others are an unspecified 12.1 %. The capital city is Moscow. Russia shares borders with 18 countries is a member of the UN Security Council.

The executive branch includes the President of the Russian Federation is Vladimir Putin who (since 7 May 2012) (Russian: Prezident Rossijskoj Federatsii) is the head of state, supreme commander-in-chief, and holder of the highest office

within the Russian Federation. The Government of the Russian Federation (Russian: Pravitel'stvo Rossijskoj Federacii) exercises executive power in the Russian Federation. The members of the government are the Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev (Chairman of the Government), the deputy prime ministers, and the federal ministers. The *Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del* (MVD) is the Ministry of Internal Affairs which is part of the government of Russia. Its predecessor was founded in 1802 by Alexander I in Imperial Russia. The Ministry is headquartered in Moscow.

The legislative branch is comprised of a bicameral Federal Assembly or Federalnoye Sobraniye consisting of an upper house, the Federation Council, or Sovet Federatsii (166 seats; members appointed by the top executive and legislative officials in each of the 83 federal administrative units—oblasts, krais, republics, autonomous okrugs and oblasts, and the federal cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg; with members serving 4-year terms) and a lower house, the State Duma or Gosudarstvennaya Duma (450 seats; as of 2007, all members are elected by proportional representation from those party lists winning at least 7 % of the vote; members elected by popular vote to serve 4-year terms) elections: State Duma—last held on 4 December 2011 (next to be held in December 2015) election results: State Duma—United Russia—49.6 %, CPRF—19.2 %, Just Russia—13.2 %, LDPR—11.7 %, other 6.3 %; total seats by party—United Russia—238, CPRF—92, Just Russia—64, LDPR—56.

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The judicial branch consists of a Constitutional Court; Supreme Court; and Supreme Arbitration Court. Judges for all courts are appointed for life by the Federation Council on the recommendation of the president (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). The legal system is based on civil law with judicial review of legislative acts.

Evolution of the Police

Two centuries of Russian police history have produced a definite image of an oppressive tsars' or commissars' style of rule in which the police have all the rights and powers and the people have none. The first police agency in Russia was established in Saint Petersburg as the Main Police with General-Police master on 7 June 1718 by decree of Peter the Great. On 19 January 1722 the Governing Senate established the Moscow Police. The first Investigative Department was founded in 1866 operating under the Police Department of the Ministry of Interior, and by 1907 similar departments were created in other major cities of the Russian Empire. The Police of the Russian Empire was dissolved on 10 March 1917, and on 17 April the Provisional Government established the People's Militia (Militsiya) as a new law enforcement body. The current law enforcement system may be seen in its dramatic evolution through three stages (Sergevnin, 2010b).

1917–1953

Upon seizing power in 1917, the Bolsheviks (later Communists) imposed a violent, centrally planned and repressive police system in Russia and then in the Soviet Union. The so-called Workers'-Peasants' Militia was established immediately after the October Revolution on 10 November (28 October old style) in 1917 for the protection of the new Soviet order. New standards for policemen were introduced: be at least 21 years of age, recognize Soviet authorities, literate, and have the right to vote (the so-called capitalist class was denied such a privilege). Initial contracts for militia officers were at least 6 months.

There were established voluntary organizations of supporting militia such as the Voluntary Militia, the Friends of Public Order, etc. Only individuals from blue collar and peasant backgrounds were accepted to service. During the Civil War, militia officers actively participated in various battles on the front. Utilizing political commissars as a political monitoring tool in each and every militia division, affirmed political control and became a unique feature of the Soviet police until the demise of the Soviet Union. The initial design of Soviet style policing was based on serving the political class struggle with a centralized military style structure and the modus operandi of placing itself above the law or using the so-called "revolutionary conscious law." From September 1918 the militia had participated in the Red Terror which resulted in millions of victims. As part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), police became one of the most powerful tools of the Communist party and the Soviet state. Once it became more sophisticated the Soviet state forced the MVD to embrace more and more of the nonpolice services, such as the Internal Troops (focused on internal uprisings, ethnic conflicts, riots, demonstrations, etc.), the department of corrections, the firefighting service, and passport and registration services, to mention a few. The MVD shared police functions with the Committee of State Security (KGB) in investigating serious crimes such as political offenses, large-scale economic crimes involving foreign currency, banditism, terrorism, sabotage, and mass riots.

1953–1991

Stalin's death in 1953 brought about some cosmetic changes to Soviet policing such as the separation of the KGB from the MVD, and an attempt to move from political style policing to a professional model. Police recruitment training standards and curricula focused on legal, forensic studies, and criminal investigations. Soviet style community policing allowed police to enlist millions of volunteers (*druzhinniki*) to assist in street patrols. New uniforms, equipment, and technology

were introduced. Gorbachev's perestroika and general weakening of the social and political controls were marked with widespread corruption, inefficiency, brutality, and involvement with military type operations for which police had not been trained. An anticorruption campaign was introduced by Andropov and carried on by Gorbachev. Thousands of militiamen were fired or resigned (Sergevnik, 2010b).

Police Organization, Structure and Function

In 2010, the Interior Ministry (Ministerstvo Vnutrennykh Del [MVD]) employed about 1.2 million people, roughly five times greater than the Prosecutor's Office and courts combined. According to the experts before the well-published reform of 2011 there were around 1.5–2 million people in the Russian police, and in 2007, the number of officers surpassed the number of law enforcement officers in the Soviet Union. Thus, today in Russia there is a police officer for every 75 people. Policing is one of the largest professions in Russia (Gladarev, 2008a). The police reform (2011) intended to reduce the force for 20%. In January 2012 according to the MVD there were 1,106,000 personnel including 782,000 police officers (MVD, 2012).

Since the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Russian government has been unsuccessfully attempting to reform the militia (police) by imitating change and implementing international police experience. The initial step in reforming the militia was made by adopting the 18 April 1991 Law No. 1026-I "On Militia." The Ministry of Internal Affairs was separated from corrections and firefighting functions in the 1990s. After several serious incidents with high-ranking police officials and wide spread cases of corruption former President Medvedev made a new attempt at reforming the police by decree with new police regulations he signed on 24 December 2009. Generally this decree proposed to cut the number of policemen by 20%, raise salaries, and reform police training and selection.

The Bill on Police, with the proposal of a name change from *militia* to *police* returning to the pre-1917 title, was introduced by former President Dmitry Medvedev to the State Duma on 27 October 2010 as a part of the reform process of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The bill was signed into law by the President on 7 February 2011, and took effect on 1 March.

The police are part of a centralized system of federal executive authority—the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD of Russia), exercising its powers within the government to protect the rights and freedoms of people. The composition and structure of the police are determined by the Constitution and the President of the Russian Federation. The 2011 police reform had changed the financing of police solely from federal budget to exclude cases of involvement of local administration in the law enforcement process. Police have several vertical levels of management and are highly centralized.

Level One

The Russian Interior Ministry reports to the President of the Russian Federation. The Minister has eight (as of 12 February 2012) deputies appointed by the President of the Russian Federation on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The number of Deputy Ministers is established by the President of the Russian Federation. Police activities are carried out in the following areas:

- Prevention of crimes and administrative offenses
- Identification, prevention, and detection of crime, the preliminary investigations in criminal cases
- Search for wanted persons and stolen property
- Prevention of offenses and administrative proceedings on administrative violations
- Protection of public order
- Traffic safety
- Control of arms trafficking
- Control over the private detective and security activity

- Protection of property and facilities under contracts
- State protection of participants in criminal proceedings, judges, law enforcement officials, and regulatory bodies
- Rendering assistance to the citizens, the federal bodies of state power, bodies of state power of subjects of the Russian Federation, other state bodies, local authorities, public associations, and organizations regardless of ownership, the officials of these bodies and organizations to protect their legitimate rights and interests. Supervision over the legality of police actions is carried out by the Prosecutor General's Office and subordinate prosecutors

The Russian Interior Minister directs all police. In the course of administrative reform, the Russian Interior Ministry established a new structure, and significantly reduced the number of central staff. Instead of 34 major departments and offices in the headquarters, 15 independent departments, centers, and management units were established (Krylov & Nalivaiko, 2008).

The structure of the Russian Interior Ministry, which includes the police, is:

- Main command of internal troops
- The investigation committee
- Department of Law Enforcement on transport
- Administrative Department
- Departments: Public protection of property, staffing, traffic safety, law enforcement in closed areas and sensitive sites, protection of public order, to combat extremism, internal affairs, logistics, criminal investigation, economic security, organizational and inspector, legal, financial, and Economics
- Main Information and Analytical Center
- Expert and forensic center
- State Institution "All-Russian Research Institute of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia"
- National Central Bureau of Interpol at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia
- Russia's national contact point for cooperation with the European Police Office (Europol)
- Department "K," to ensure the safety of persons who are subjects to state protection

Level Two

The Ministries of Interior of the subjects of the Russian Federation are the general management bodies of internal affairs within a given subject of the federation. Depending on the staffing structure, which is determined by population and other factors, Ministry of Interior of the subjects of the Russian Federation can be equated with the Main Department of the Interior (GUVD) or Department of Internal Affairs (UVD). Interior ministers of the republics, heads of main departments, departments of the interior are all appointed to office by the Minister of Internal Affairs with approval by the state authorities of the Russian Federation.

The Main Department of the Interior (GUVD) manages the internal affairs bodies, within their competence, limited either geographically (police departments in each state of the Federation) or functionally (responsible for a certain number of tasks of the Interior such as General Directorate for Combating Economic Crimes—a division of the central office of the Ministry). The Main departments of the Interior (GUVD) are above the Departments of Interior (UVD) or departments of the Interior in the districts. In the subjects (states) of the Russian Federation with a population of more than two million people, or with special status by virtue of certain circumstances, as a rule, there are Main Departments of Internal Affairs (GUVD or police departments in Moscow, Moscow regional police department, police department of Krasnodar region, etc.). The District of internal troops is equal to the Main departments of the Interior (GUVD) according to the power structure. The head of the Main department of the Interior, as a rule, has a paramilitary (special) rank of Lieutenant General—Colonel-General. All the appointments on this level are highly political and require loyalty rather than professionalism and competence. Any attempts to criticize upper level police bureaucrats are discouraged and immediately reprimanded. In February 2012 the head of the Saint-Petersburg Main Department of the Interior (GUVD) Colonel-General Michail Suhodolsky was fired due to his criticism of the

Ministry of Interior and was forced to leave his office with a help of the special police squad "Bastion" (Desyatnichenko, 2012).

Department of Internal Affairs (UVD) as a governing body of the system of Internal Affairs has a lower status than the Main departments of the Interior (GUVD), but higher than the Division of the Interior (OVD). There are territorial UVDs (in federal subjects, such as UVD in the Tula region), and functional ones as an intrinsic part of the Ministry or the police department. Their bureaucratic structures and power potential are equal, as a rule, to the division of internal troops, led by a Major-General or Lieutenant General. In the case where the UVD is part of a superior police department, then its bureaucratic structure is equal to a brigade of internal troops with a commander who will hold the rank of Colonel.

Level Three

The Division of Internal Affairs (OVD) is the main governing body in the internal affairs of Russia and reports to the Department of Internal Affairs (UVD). There are territorial Divisions of Internal Affairs (OVD) (for example, OVD of a district or of the city with regional subordination) and functional Divisions of Internal Affairs (OVD) which direct all activities of law enforcement within the jurisdiction of the administrative area (for example, the Department of Criminal Investigations). The Departments of Internal Affairs (UVD) and Divisions of Internal Affairs (OVD) also include special police purpose squads and special rapid-response teams. In Moscow, there are also environmental police.

Level Four

The branches of militia or the police branches (OP) in most of the cases are the lowest agencies in police structure and designed as territorial (very few are functional) branches within the Division of Internal Affairs (OVD).

Law and order in rural areas is enforced by District inspectors (or precinct commissioners). Precinct police service is one of the central departments of the Interior, which is due not only to its multiplicity, but also the daily proximity to the vital interests of the population. About 40 % of the police district inspectors (23,000) work in the countryside, and are often the only representatives of the Ministry of Interior. The district police inspector as a representative of the government has executive and administrative functions aimed at solving the complex task of ensuring the protection of public order and public security in the area served by this administration. The status of the police district inspector serving the rural administrative area in the sphere of public order is different from the status of the district inspector serving the administrative area in the municipality. In rural areas, the district inspector is the main representative of the Interior Ministry and fully administers functions of the public authorities in general, as well as local authorities in the protection of public order, which defines its role as the main subject of the system of crime prevention and public order. In the precinct, the district inspector serves as an organizer and direct executor of action to implement the state policy in law enforcement. Each district inspector is assigned to service an administrative area with from 3 to 3.5 thousand of the population both in urban and rural areas. The district inspector reports to the branches of the militia or the police branches (OP), or to the Division of Internal Affairs (OVD) in the district, the head of which approves the number and lengths of the shift(s). Usually there are two shifts but working hours can be set based on the state of the operational situation at the site. District inspectors interact with other services of the agency concerning: the exchange of information, including through information networks, training, joint planning; implementation of specific actions (raids, operations); and they perform certain tasks with the approval of superiors.

District inspectors solve from 70 to 80 % of all registered crimes in rural areas. However, the conditions of their work are generally very poor:

one-third of the precincts do not have office space and grounded telephone lines. Most police vehicles are outdated and in poor condition. More than half of the precinct police inspectors do not own their homes and apartments. There are serious shortcomings in crime control in rural areas, including, but not limited to, poor registration of crime, limited crime prevention programs, and inadequate staffing and resources. Emerging issues are not adequately reflected in departmental regulations, modification of forms, and methods of preventing crime. The process of identification, disclosure, and exposure of the perpetrators of crimes in the villages is fraught with challenges. For example, it is more difficult for rural cops to obtain confidential information. Rural residents are disinterested in testifying against perpetrators if the potential to damage neighborly relations or ethnic or religious unity exists. Of great importance is the issue of limited resources and staffing for rural law enforcement, especially of precinct police inspectors. Precinct police inspectors have a high level of turnover; almost 70 % have less than 5 years of work experience, and only 9 % have more than 10 years of work experience (Cheprasov, 2007). Operating procedures (instructions for organizing the activities of the precinct of authorized police officers, approved by the Order of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia Number 900-2002) for organizing the activities of authorized police officers (precinct police inspector) do not contain a section of special guidelines for precinct police inspectors serving rural administrative areas, despite the specificity of policing in such areas (Sergevnin, 2010a).

Voluntary associations of citizens for the protection of law and order and public safety, or voluntary people's guards (VPG), play an important role in police efforts to prevent and combat crime in rural areas. The activities of the VPG are based on the principles of voluntariness, justice, humanity, respect and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

In 2009 there were more than 34,000 units of VPG with more than 363,000 people. Despite modest logistical and financial support for VPG from regular police, they are able to assist in

clearing 40,000 crimes and to detect more than 400,000 administrative offenses annually.

Law "On Police," law "On Operational-Investigative Activities" and other legislative acts of the Russian Federation establish the body of police responsibilities. Police are called to regulate order in the relations between people; to prevent life-threatening events, provide security to the health and property of citizens and legal. In accordance with law police has to protect all individuals, regardless of nationality, place of residence, social status, property and official status, race, national origin, sex, age, education, language, religion, political, or other beliefs. Police are prohibited from resorting to degrading treatment. Any restriction of citizens in their rights and freedoms by the police is permissible only on legal grounds. A police officer in all cases in which restrictions on rights and freedoms should apply is obliged to explain to individuals the grounds and cause of such limitations, as well as individual's rights and obligations. The police provide an opportunity to detainees for statutorily established rights to legal assistance; reports upon request (in the case of detained minors it is mandatory) on the detention to individual's relatives, or to the employer or to school administration, if necessary, take measures to provide them with first aid, as well as to eliminate the danger of someone's life, health or property resulting from the detention. The police have no right to disclose information relating to the personal life of a citizen, discrediting his honor and dignity, or likely to damage the legitimate interests, if the execution of justice otherwise requires.

The police in the Russian Federation are divided into Criminal Police and Public Safety Police. The mission of the criminal police requires the identification, prevention, suppression, and disclosure of criminal acts when a preliminary investigation is required; organization and implementation of the search of persons hiding from the inquiry, investigation or from trial, or avoiding the execution of penal Code, missing persons, and other persons in cases envisaged by legislation. Criminal police have operational-investigative, scientific and technical divisions: criminal

investigation; to combat economic crime; scientific, technical, and other divisions.

The activity of criminal police aimed mainly at ensuring the interests of the federal law and state and, therefore, requires a certain independence from the influence of local authorities. Therefore, it is derived from the authority of local administrations and is subordinate only to the federal police agency.

The primary tasks undertaken by the police regarding public safety include ensuring the personal safety of citizens; protection of public order and public safety; prevention and suppression of crimes and administrative offenses; disclosure of the crimes for which the preliminary investigation is not required, and the investigation of crimes in the form of inquiry; assisting within its competence to citizens, officials, businesses, institutions, organizations, and associations.

The powers of a police officer by law "On Police" are broad: to prevent and suppress crimes and administrative offenses, identify, and within its rights to take measures to address the circumstances that contribute to crime; to record statements, reports of crimes, and administrative offenses; to identify and solve crimes; initiate criminal proceedings, to make inquiries and investigations; to search for the perpetrators of the crime, hiding from the inquiry, investigation and trial, avoiding the criminal penalties or missing persons; to carry out the investigations of the administrative offenses; to ensure law and order in the streets and other public places, regulate traffic, to register vehicles; to authorize the acquisition, carrying and storage of weapons; and to protect on the basis of agreements with the owners their property.

Police officers in the performance of their duties are entitled: to demand from citizens and officials the termination of criminal behavior or administrative offenses; to check with the officials and citizens their ID documents if they have reasonable grounds to believe that these individuals are committing a crime or administrative offense; to request citizens and officials to be present for inquiry; to receive from the citizens and officials the necessary explanation, information, statements, documents, and their copies; to draw up protocols

on administrative offenses, and to carry out administrative detention; to proceed with criminal proceedings; to arrest and detain, in accordance with the law of persons suspected of committing a crime, as well as persons against whom there is a custody warrant; to deliver individuals to health facilities for sobering; to initiate proposals to the state bodies, to enterprises, institutions, organizations, and public association and require them to review and to eliminate the circumstances that contribute to crime; to carry the operational-investigative measures; to enter freely into residential and other premises of citizens, to the territory and premises occupied by businesses, institutions, organizations, and examine them in the pursuit of those suspected of committing crimes, or if there sufficient evidence to believe that they committed or is being committed crime, accident, and also to protect the personal safety of citizens and public safety during natural disasters, accidents, epidemics, epizootics, and mass riots.

A police officer should notify the prosecutor within 24 h about cases of penetration into a dwelling against the will of an individual. Also law enforcement personnel can carry out voluntary and mandatory state fingerprint registration and mandatory state registration of genome; to establish the cordon area when plots, natural disasters, accidents, conducting quarantine measures in case of epidemics or epizootic diseases, suppression of riots, as well as in the search for escaped convicts and criminals, to carry out inspection of vehicles; to screen carry-on baggage and luggage of passengers of civil aircraft and, if necessary, personal inspection of passengers; to prohibit operation of vehicles the technical condition which does not meet the requirements, to stop vehicles and check the documents; to inspect the storage and use of firearms, ammunition, and explosive materials; to withdraw from the citizens and officials documents with signs of forgery; to receive information from the companies, organizations, institutions; to engage citizens with their agreement to cooperate, etc.

It is important that police have the right, in cases stipulated by the Law "On Police," to apply in the prescribed manner of physical force, special tools, and firearms. Due to intensified measures

to control crime in 2011 there was a 64 % increase in the number of unlawful acts against members of the Ministry of Interior and internal troops: and more than 20,000 crimes committed against police officers. Of the officers assaulted, 3,602 were injured and 322 policemen and interior troopers were killed. In the same year, 926 staff members received state awards, five officers were posthumously awarded the title Hero of Russia (Bulavin, 2012).

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

During the last 20 years, the Russian Federation has increasingly recognized crime as a critical social problem. Before the demise of the Soviet Union, however, awareness of crime was extremely limited, particularly during Stalin's reign when the ideological pursuit of "a perfect society" made most of the information on the criminal justice system a taboo. Most criminal justice information was classified by the state and was only available to police officials or political leadership.

The transition from a totalitarian society to the early stages of democracy has had a significant impact on the crime situation. The resulting radical political and economic change, financial and regulatory chaos, privatization and extreme deterioration of the economy have been accompanied by an unprecedented increase in lawlessness, corruption, and crime. The overall crime rate (per 100,000) in Russia has increased considerably during the past 20 years (Table 1).

The controversial transition to a market economy has increased the scope of property and violent crimes and moved the crime issue into the focus of public concern. A survey conducted in December 2005 rated crime as the second most worrisome phenomenon for Russian citizens.

Recent polls 2009–2012 indicate that 38 % (57 % in 2012) of residents have strong concerns about the rapid rise of crime and comparative analysis of different types of criminal activity shows no significant dynamics between 2009 and 2011 (± 2 %). Exception of fear of suffering from car thieves and extortionists, blackmailers, who feared more in 2011 to 5 % and 9 %, respectively, compared with 2009 (WCIOM, 2012). The serious tendency in crime situation has been a significant growth in virtually all types of crimes. Increased crime rates follow the process of criminalization of new types of socially dangerous behavior. Four Criminal Codes of Russia (1922, 1926, 1960, and 1996) have criminalized more than 300 new types of behavior, and approximately 100 have been decriminalized (Luneev, 2011).

For a couple of decades Russia has had high levels of serious violent crime, especially in rural areas. The predominantly agricultural Russian empire in 1913 had registered 34,400 murders, and after more than 80 years, in 1996–1997, the number of murders was approximately 30,000. The murder index per 100,000 inhabitants was 20.3 in 1913 and 19.9 in 1996–1997. From 1950 to 1980, under the Soviet power, this ratio was significantly lower (i.e., 4.9 in 1956, 6.1 in 1966, 7.0 in 1976, and 6.8 in 1985) (Luneev, 2003). In 1990, this index exceeded 10, and in 1994, 1996, 1997, and 2006, it was at approximately 20. From 1994 to 1995 and again from 1998 to 2005, the index exceeded 20. In 2009, there were 21,400 murders and in 2011, as result of criminal attacks, there were 40,100 killed (a 4.5 % increase), 49,400 suffered serious bodily harm (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2012). Police statistics on violent crime traditionally are not reliable. Even former President Medvedev indicated that police statistics are "nonsense" and could not be trusted (Medvedev, 2010a). According to MVD advisor Vladimir Ovchinsky in 2011 there were

Table 1 Crime rate (per 100,000 people) in Russia

Year	1987	2001	2004	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Crime rate	817	2,039	2,007	2,692	2,519	2,260	2,110	1,852	1,705

Source: Luneev (2011)

Table 2 Homicides in Russia

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Registered homicides	33,583	32,285	31,630	31,533	30,849	27,462	22,227	20,056	17,681	15,563	263,889
Registered suspects	28,312	25,541	25,964	27,161	26,304	24,082	19,904	18,247	16,798	14,482	226,795
Convicted and sentenced	22,158	20,070	19,737	20,165	20,257	18,153	16,275	14,653	13,499	12,394	177,361

Source: Luneev (2011)

24.5 million citizen's reports about crime but law enforcement agencies initiated only two million of criminal cases (Ovchinsky, 2012). According to medical statistics, the mortality rate from murder in Russia is even higher (i.e., 22.9 in 1992 [in contrast with law enforcement statistics, which indicated 15.5]; 30.4 in 1993 [in contrast with law enforcement statistics, which indicated 19.6]; 32.3 in 1994 [in contrast with law enforcement statistics, which indicated 21.8]; 30.8 in 2002 [in contrast with law enforcement statistics, which indicated 22.4]; and 29.5 in 2003 [in contrast with law enforcement statistics, which indicated 22.1]). According to Gilinsky (2008), the differences in numbers between medical and law enforcement statistics are due to the fact that law enforcement statistics are derived from relevant articles of the Criminal Code (introduced in 1997), whereas medical statistics record the actual number of killings (Table 2).

From 2001 to 2010, there have been 263,889 murders officially recorded. From 100 % of homicides, there were only 86.3 % registered suspects, only—67.5 % were convicted. During the same decade there registered 1.2 million missing and 38.2 % of them have not been found, but almost a million (974,672) unidentified corpses were found, many of whom were killed (Luneev, 2011). The Research Institute of the Academy of General Prosecutor's Office revealed the different level of murder of around 46, with 2,000 murders in 2009. The murder rate when calculated based on the multivariate model increased steadily, the number of statements about murders admitted by police amounted to 45.1 thousand and the number of unidentified bodies in the same year 77.9 thousands (Inshakov, 2011).

In addition, Russian women are at higher risk to become victims of violent crime and homicide than males, and homicide is currently the leading

cause of external mortality for Russian women (Gavrilova, Semyonova, Evdokushkina, Ivanova, & Gavrilov, 2004). The criminological characteristic of homicide in Russia has changed considerably in two decades, with more cases in which murder is committed to conceal another crime, in association with robbery or rape, or by a group of people. Offender characteristics are also changing: they are younger, less likely to have previous convictions, and more likely to have a more diverse range of educational levels (Chervyakov, Shkolnikov, Pridemore, & McKee, 2002).

A growing number of deaths are attributed to guns: every eighth murder, every seventh robbery, and every tenth case of hooliganism is committed with firearms. The Soviet Union and the Russian Federation have strong gun control measures. In the Soviet Union, the percentage of crimes committed with the use of firearms accounted for 0.03 % of all crimes committed; today, the proportion is 1.6 %, or an increase of more than 50 times. In 2000, the number of crimes committed with firearms, explosives, and explosive devices was 25,500 followed by 30,400 in 2001, 31,800 in 2002, 9,600 in 2004, 5,500 in 2007, and 4,400 in 2008 (MVD, 2009). The most common channels and sources for obtaining and illegal trafficking in weapons, explosives, and explosive devices are theft from (1) military and paramilitary agencies, especially the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and internal troops, and the customs authorities; (2) mining enterprises; (3) weapons manufacturers, including the conversion of gas weapons and smuggling of arms from abroad; (4) citizens who have permits for possession and carrying; and (5) the illegal acquisition of arms of the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. The internal conflicts in the rural Caucasus region are strong magnets for illegal firearms trafficking (Sergevnin, 2010a).

In addition, sexual violence has become more prevalent. Such crimes are prosecuted according to two articles of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (2003): (1) rape (Article 131) and (2) sexual assault (Article 132). Law enforcement statistics indicated more cases (i.e., 35.7 % in 1997, 37.4 % in 1998, 37.2 % in 1999, 37.9 % in 2000, 35.9 % in 2001, and 34.6 % in 2002) than sexual assault (27.2 % in 1997, 28.8 % in 1998, 29.5 % in 1999, 29.3 % in 2000, 30.7 % in 2001, and 27.8 % in 2002). A significant number of violent sexual crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol. The average percentage of convicts who committed a crime under the influence of alcohol is 35–9 %; 64–67 % were convicted of sexual assault; and 83–84 % were convicted of rape. In addition to sexual violence, acts of domestic or family violence are more prevalent in rural areas than urban areas (Roshin, 2003).

Alcohol has played a significant role in the evolution of crime in Russia. Before the demise of the Soviet Union, the consumption of alcohol rose 2.3 times or from 4.6 to 10.6 L of pure alcohol annually per capita from 1960 to 1984. Today, per capita consumption of pure alcohol in Russia is 18 L (in comparison to 8 L in the United States) (Efimov, 2009). By some estimates, approximately seven million out of roughly 120 million persons over 15 years of age, or roughly 6 % of Russia's adult population, are classified as heavy drinkers, with 20 % of deaths attributed to alcohol intoxication (Eberstadt, 2009). Russia has experienced large wave of moonshine (samogon) production in the last two decades. A 2003–2004 survey of residents of the city of Izhevsk reported that 7.3 % of men aged 25–54 had drunk surrogates in the past year, with 4.7 % drinking them weekly or more often (Stickley et al., 2007). From 2000 to 2005, the consumption of alcoholic drinks increased 1.3 times, the number of crimes committed under the influence of alcohol rose almost 1.6 times, and the number of administrative law violations has increased 1.9 times (among juveniles, 2.3 times). Mortality directly linked with the consumption of alcohol has risen 2.5 times. During the same period, 250,000 people died from chronic alcoholism; liver cirrhosis; psychosis; and alcohol poisoning, which

accounted for the most deaths at 105,000. Currently, Russia has approximately 2.5 million chronic alcoholics. According to crime statistics and expert opinion, from 27 to 30 % of all crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol. For some types of crime, especially serious violent crimes against individuals, the numbers are much higher (60–65 %). The majority of domestic violence crimes involve alcohol consumption (70–75 %) (Zaigraev, 2002). Accidental alcohol poisoning is pervasive in Russia and accounted for more than 41,000 deaths in 2001, equating to a rate of 28.5 per 100,000 of the population, or more than 120 times the European average (Stickley et al., 2007).

Another dangerous crime trend in Russia is significant radical nationalist, religious, and hate crime activity. Modest efforts of state and non-state institutions to counteract it have failed in most cases. Acute separatist and nationalist crimes are especially widespread in the Northern Caucasus region. Racism and racial profiling by local police is rampant and even indirectly approved by MVD.

One of the first precursors of skinheads in Russia were groups of *stylyagi* or mod's and hipster's groups. Mod (from modernist) is a subculture that originated in London, England, in the late 1950s and peaked in the early-to mid-1960s. Hipsters and mods were the majority among the *Natsiks* (nazi) and included mostly students and young people, which had been attracted by the aesthetics of Nazism, with its parades, the cult of beautiful bodies and neoclassical architecture. For most of them Nazism was a game (Charny, 2004). "Game" type organizations were among the first Nazi organizations in the former USSR. Kiev group of schoolchildren, led by J.P. Yurchenko first just played in the Nazis. Then they decided to create the youth of Nazi (formally fascist because fascism and Nazism in the USSR, then very few people make out) the organization of "SS Viking" in order to build national communism in the Soviet Union and forced construction of socialism in the world. The band members considered Hitler's genius. Filed against them, the case was in December 1957 discontinued because it was proved that the participants of this

Viking group did not go further than a game. Particularly rapidly these groups had blossomed 1970–1980s in the form of covert “fascist organizations” of students. And the catalyst for this process was the movie *Seventeen Moments of Spring*, one of the first Soviet movies that demonstrated the “grand style” of Nazism and simultaneously “humanized” it. The authorities quickly realized this relatively harmless hobby, and because most of the punishment for “mods” were limited to the formal conversations in the KGB and the District Committee/Regional Committee of the party. Perhaps one of the last of these “mods” was arrested in 1985 in Krasnodar, S.L. Serban, who had listened to hard rock, and considered “fascism as a hostile union of free people” as opposed to “friendly alliance of slaves,” as he called the Soviet system (Charny).

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century hate crimes have continued to be a serious problem in Russia, including instances of intimidation, threats, vandalism, arson, assault, and murder. The Interior Ministry reported that in 2008, the total number of crimes committed by foreigners rose by 29 % (MVD, 2009). Although a share of foreigners among criminals in Russia constitute only around 3.1–3.5 % (2008–2009) (Gilinsky, 2011), recent statistical analysis found that throughout the past 5 years, there was a steady increase in hate crimes, mostly related to neo-Nazi and skinhead activity. From 2000 to 2005 the number of identified and disclosed xenophobic crimes increased from 35,100 to 51,200. The number of crimes against foreign citizens for the same period increased from 7,200–13,300, or to 83.9 %. The number of crimes against foreign students: in 2001—160, in 2002—214, in 2003—311, 2004—449, 2005—437. Of the total number of foreign students studying in Russia (more than 67.3 thousand) 0.6 % have been attacked (Brod, 2006) (Table 3).

According to the U.S. State Department annual 2009 Human Rights Report the number of race-hate crimes, committed in Russia declined in 2009, but ethnic discrimination still causes concern. According to the SOVA Center (NGO), 84 people were killed and 434 wounded in racially motivated attacks in 2009, down from 109 killed

Table 3 Number of racist attacks victims according to SOVA Center (2012)

Year	Deaths	Injuries
2004	46	208
2005	47	461
2006	62	564
2007	85	605
2008	109	486
2009	84	434
2010	38	377
2011	20	130
9 months, 2012	11	132
Total	502	3,397

Source: SOVA (2012)

Table 4 Sentences for hate crimes (SOVA, 2012)

	2009	2010	2011	Total
Vandalism	24	19	13	56
Violence	297	343	210	750
Organization	9	36	13	58
Propaganda	77	90	87	254
Total	307	488	323	1,050

and 486 wounded in 2008. The SOVA Center reported a slight rise in hate crimes in 2008 after a 13 % rise in hate crimes in 2007 (LeGendre, 2006; SOVA, 2012) (Table 4).

Despite hundreds and thousands of cases in 2010 there were only 63 guilty verdicts on hatred-based violent crimes, 215 people were accused, and 75 of them were conditionally sentenced or released. In 2010, there were 43 guilty verdicts for propaganda of hatred, 52 people were accused and 22 of them were conditionally sentenced or released. Ten verdicts were produced for propaganda of the extremist activity, 13 people were accused, and 9 of them were sentenced conditionally (or released). In 2009 there were 117 verdicts for hate crimes including hate crime related to murder (Article 105 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003)—17 cases; serious bodily harm resulted in death (Article 111 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003; Zyukov, 2010). Numbers of incarcerated foreigner are steadily climbing up: in 2000, there were 14,000 foreigners and 1,500 illegal immigrants, in January 2010 there were 29,000 foreigners and 3,500 illegal immigrants.

Police and courts are frequently criticized for not responding to the increase in violence, and many hate crimes were only prosecuted as incidents of hooliganism, which would carry a lighter sentence than hate crimes (Bottorff, 2010). Despite a recent decline, many hate crimes remain unsolved, including murders, assaults, bombings, arsons, and vandalism, and most instances of public hate speech, which is illegal in Russia, continues to go unpunished. A total of 12,900 racially or religiously motivated crimes were registered during 2009 (UCSJ, 2010). High-ranking federal officials have condemned anti-Semitic hate crimes, but law enforcement bodies have not always effectively prosecuted those responsible (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, 2011).

Some of the incidents include interethnic riots, as in the case of the rural Karelian city of Kondopoga where the local prosecutor's office has opened 17 criminal cases on the violence that erupted after a brawl on 31 August 2006 between ethnic Chechens and Slavs. This incident led to the deaths of two ethnic Russians. Thousands took to the street, targeting businesses owned by people from the Caucasus. Chechen families were evacuated as the violence continued, and demands were made for the removal of all residents from the Caucasus. Massive hate crimes with significant rural community involvement are not isolated from any area of Russia. Prior to Kondopoga-style violence, there were riots in the Siberian village of Haragun (May 2006) when anti-Azeri unrest resulted in one death, several wounded, and 16 arrested. Local villagers demanded to expel ethnic Azeri, and their property became a target of destruction and arson. In another Siberian village of Targis (June 2006), residents initiated violence with the silent assistance of local police, clashing with Chinese migrant workers, injuring 6 of them, and deporting 75 (Yasmann, 2006). In 2004, the racist attacks on minorities were registered in 26 regions, and by 2005, they had spread to 36 regions (Rossiyskaya Federatsiya, 2006). The response of the Russian criminal justice system to the problem of hate crime is simply inadequate. In particular, police and prosecutors have refused to recognize the

racist nature of these attacks and killings, despite the existence of the Russian Criminal Code article that imposes criminal penalties for racial crimes. In many cases, these violent attacks were identified as hooliganism. According to Gilinsky (2008), in most cases, a hate crime would be qualified as disorderly conduct, murder, etc. For this reason, Article 105, Part 2, paragraph L of the Russian Criminal Code (murder motivated by ethnic, racial, or religious hatred or enmity or blood feud) documents only 9 cases in 2001, 10 in 2002, 11 in 2003, and 10 in 2004, whereas the media and criminal justice literature describe hundreds of hate crimes committed in the country each year (Gilinsky). The failure of law enforcement to act with due diligence to prevent, investigate, and punish crimes motivated by racial hatred strengthens the extreme manifestations of xenophobia, Nazism, and neo-Fascism in Russia (Sergevnin, 2011).

A considerable gap in the count of extremist groups can be found between information from NGOs and the media and official numbers. According to one of the information agencies there were 453 extremist groups with 10,000 members (in 2004) and around 302 extremist groups with 11,000 members (in 2008) in Russia (SOVA, 2012). The Federal List of Hate Organizations now includes only 28 organizations (not including a separate 19 groups considered terrorist) whose activities have been prohibited in a court of law, and whose continued actions are punishable under Article 282-2 of The Criminal Code of the Russian federation (2003)—organization of an extremist organization. As of February 2010, there were up to 70,000 skinhead and radical nationalist organizations operating in the country. There are over 150 radical neo-Nazi groups registered in Russia. This was announced by Sergey Girko, the head of the Russian institute for scientific research under the Russian Interior Ministry. The Interior Ministry anti-extremism department admitted that the number of skinhead groups and crimes, committed on the basis of ethnic, race or religious hatred is increasing every year (There are over 150 radical neo-Nazi groups in Russia, 2010). Skinhead groups have been identified by Russian

police in 85 major cities of the country. Today skinhead membership is growing steadily: 2002—40,000; 2005—50,000; 2006—60,000; 2008—70,000; 2011—150,000 members nationwide (Zyukov, 2010). Currently there are over 500 internet sites that encourage incitement to ethnic hatred. These sites posted specific information on the preparation and perpetration of crimes motivated by ethnic and sectarian strife. Websites describe in detail not only how to make explosives, but also methods of bombing. Police are concerned that existing legislation provides virtually no criminal responsibility for the financing of extremist manifestations, and no effective mechanisms to deal with extremism on the Internet (Sergevnin, 2011).

Current Russian legislation provides criminal liability for acts connected with the commission of violent crimes motivated by political, ideological, racial, ethnic or religious hatred or enmity, or motivated by hatred or hostility toward a particular social or ethnic group. Such crimes are recognized by Criminal Code of the Russian Federation as an aggravating circumstance. Such circumstances include membership in any associations or groups (53 % convicted of extremist crimes were members of informal groups), which should indicate the stability of certain personal prejudices, distinguishing them from “situational,” “spontaneous” decision (Kuzmina, 2010).

The Russian Criminal Code, adopted in 1996 and amended in 2003 (The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003: Article 63), provides a legal framework for the prosecution of hate crimes, with a general provision for enhanced penalties when crimes are committed with a motive of national, racial, religious hate, or enmity... The article punishing incitement extends further, to bias founded upon “sex, race, nationality, language, origin, and relationship to religion as well as the affiliation to any social group” (LeGendre, 2006).

The trafficking and smuggling of human beings is also a problem for Russia; women are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation and slavery. Men are trafficked internally and from central Asia for forced labor in the construction and agricultural industries (Central Intelligence

Agency, 2012). The Ministry of Internal Affairs claimed 118 human trafficking investigations and 62 prosecutions for trafficking in 2010 (compared with 99 prosecutions in 2009). At least 15 investigations involved slave labor. Police indicated that prosecutions in 2010 reportedly involved larger and more transnational trafficking rings. Russian courts convicted 42 trafficking offenders and issued 31 sentences in 2010, a decrease from 76 trafficking offenders convicted in 2009. Sentences for the reported trafficking convictions ranged from several months to 12 years’ imprisonment (U.S. Department of State, 2011).

Theft is currently the most prevalent crime in Russia and counted for between 40 and 50 % of all crimes. Robbery increased nearly 50 % from 1992 (30,400) to 2007 (45,300), and theft increased nearly 15 % from 1992 (1,368,000) to 2007 (1,567,000), to 1,038,600 in 2011 (Federal State Statistic Service, 2012). In 2009, almost every third theft (32.1 %) involved illegal entry into homes, premises, or other dwellings (MVD, 2009). Most of the theft targets are valued at less than 1,000 rubles (56.9 %) or approximately \$30 (US) (Criminologicheskaya [...], 2005).

Another unique trend in rural crime is the spread and increase of poaching and the illegal use of bio resources in general. Despite the overall decline in the production of bio resources by state and legitimate private companies, the number of detected crimes in the fishing industry from 1996 to 2003 increased 4.2 times. In one of the rural states (Astrakhan oblast), the number of registered illegal fishing crimes grew from 188 in 1985 to 2,263 in 2002. One survey of this region discovered that 53 % of the rural population engaged in poaching (Goncharova, 2003). Annual losses from illegal fishing and uncontrolled exports of aquatic resources to foreign countries are estimated at billions of dollars. In 2006, law enforcement agencies registered more than 12,000 crimes with a total loss of about five billion rubles (approximately 166 million dollars). The Russian Ministry of Economic Development estimates that the average annual profit from the smuggling of fish and other biological resources overseas is up to seven billion dollars. Due to the high profitability of such crimes, they have a

tendency to transform individual poachers into highly equipped organized criminal enterprises with corrupt ties to governmental and law enforcement agencies (Sergevnin, 2011).

According to the General Prosecutor's office, organized crime in Russia for the last couple of decades became not only evident, but a threat to national security. Concerned legislators have made some additions to law and have criminalized certain organized criminal activities: Article 241 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation has been modified by federal law (162-FZ from 8 December 2003) and now includes "organized prostitution" provisions; Article 322.1 has been modified by federal law (187-FZ from 28 December 2004) to include a provision on organized illegal migration, etc. (The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003). Because of economic chaos and organized criminal groups activities during 1993–1999, registered economic crimes almost tripled, growing from 110,000 to 303,822 incidents (Gurov, 2000: 63). By the year 2001, there were already 382,400 registered economic crimes. The majority of those (50.7 %) were crimes against property, 47.0 % of which was illegal appropriation and misallocation of funds (Kidanov, 2002). The scale and risk of organized crime has been recognized by the Russian Government. Former Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov indicated in 2003 that 40 % of the consumer goods industry refers to the shadow economy (Skoblikov, 2007).

While in the past few years the number of registered economic crimes has decreased (partly due to decriminalization and abandonment in 2003 of Article 200, "Consumer Fraud," of the Criminal Code), law enforcement is convinced that this is not a result of their success but simply of corruption cases going unrecorded. Often, corruption networks coordinate the activity of the organized criminal groups or even merge with them (Cheloukhine & King, 2007). Organized criminal groups are infiltrating all segments of the society including state and political (Kulikov, 2008).

According to the Ministry of Interior (MVD) in 1996, there were 3,000 individually operating criminal groups in Russia, 70 of them were formed ethnically and 365 were organized inter-

regionally, with the remainder organized on a regional level. The total number of members in the Russian criminal world was about 600,000, which does not include about 40 % of entrepreneurs and nearly 70 % of commercial structures, which were also involved in criminal activity. Ten years later in 2007, according to the MVD Department for Combating Organized Crime and Terrorism, there were only 450 groups and in 2010—around 249 organized criminal groups with 11,622 members (Kuznetsova, 2007). These numbers include only those involved in violent crime, drugs, and human trafficking. The same source indicates that the number of semi-legal operating organized crime groups, which provide "roofs" or protection services to businesses, is about 10,000, with 300,000 rank and file members. Some these individuals are employed as security officers protecting business and financial operations owned by organized crime and illegal economic leaders. Currently, the size of the shadow economy operations in Russia is about 20–25 % of the GDP. In 2011 the number of identified offenders as part of an organized group or criminal community (criminal organization), was 5,200, which is 18.6 % lower than the previous 2010 year (Federal State Statistic Service, 2011).

Police Training and Police Educational Systems

To be a police officer in Russia an individual should be no younger than 18 and no older than 35 years (40 years old to be an employee of the MVD), regardless of nationality, gender, social origin, property and official status, religion, convictions, membership of public associations, personal and moral qualities, education and health to carry out official duties. Although to enter police educational institutions, one can be younger than 18 years but must possess a high school diploma.

Police candidates undergo physiological and psychological tests, testing for alcohol, drug, and other toxic substances. The degree of fitness for service on health is determined by the military-medical commission. A unique feature of recruitment and selection is the requirement of a

personal guarantee, which consists in writing the obligation of the employee of the Interior, having a length of service for at least 3 years that he vouches for compliance specified by Russian national restrictions and prohibitions established for employees. A personal guarantee is a written positive letter of recommendation by the guarantor. The guarantor may be a police officer, who has worked in the police department at least 3 years, with no current disciplinary actions and who is not a relative of the candidate. All candidates are hired as a trainee (intern) in the police department for a period of 3–6 months.

Basic police training is provided by training centers located usually in the capitol of each subject of the Russian Federation and established by the department of Internal Affairs. Duration of training is from three to four and a half months. Basic training is required of all individuals who are hired to serve in rank and file positions. Individuals who are accepted to serve as senior officers can be trained through independent study and internships, followed by in-service training or retraining. Length, structure, and content of special training for each job category of employees is determined by the relevant curriculum and training programs developed by educational institutions of the Russian Interior Ministry training centers. Educational programs of special training are coordinated with the police departments and agencies concerning the directions of the operational activity.

This system of police training and education experienced very few changes since the demise of the Soviet Union and suffers from lack of specialized training and education and outdated teaching methods. Entrance tests to police institutions of higher education and specialized secondary education (2 year college) are not job related and do not allow for the selection of individuals best fit to serve. As a rule recruits have to pass exams on the Russian language, social studies, history, mathematics (for some specialties), and physical fitness. Prior to these exams they will pass a criminal background check, medical and psychological testing. It is a disadvantage for police departments that their representatives do not participate in selection of recruits and cannot

make sure that prospects are fit for duty. Curriculum for police higher education and specialized secondary education (basic college) institutions is not focused on police skills development and is dominated by humanitarian segments of study such as philosophy, history, political science, economics and finance, education and cultural studies. The majority of these institutions will provide graduates with a law degree. There are 28 police educational institutions with associate, bachelor, master and doctorate programs, including 22 institutions of higher education (3 universities and 4 academies, 15 institutes), with over 100,000 students and trainees annually. All schools are licensed by the Russian Interior Ministry to conduct educational activities and have state accreditation. Annual admission to all police institutions of higher education is about 27,000 students and trainees, who upon graduation are distributed to the units of internal affairs in accordance with the given professions and specializations (Kuzmin, 2008). Special training in educational institutions for the Russian Interior Ministry, training centers is carried out in full-time and distance learning forms. In February 2012 the Ministry of Interior developed a new format for a contract with police officers which requires the employer to train and provide the employee with everything he needs on the job.

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

Political actors in the 1990s quickly realized that the MVD, which was designed by Communists, is more than a law enforcement agency and that it needed restructuring along with the separation of power lines. Throughout the 1990s, the Russian militia functioned in an environment of unclear and conflicting laws (including constantly changing Criminal and Administrative Codes) and protocols, limited funding and equipment, a dysfunctional justice system, and a lack of community support. Following the adoption of the Criminal Code in 1996 (The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003), legislators in more

than a 100 federal laws made over 3,000 changes and additions to it. In only a few days in December 2011 of the last session of the State Duma adopted 512 amendments to the Criminal Code (Luneev, 2011). In some states, Russian Federation officers have not received paychecks for months; patrol cars are allotted only a couple of gallons of gas per shift; and officers were assigned for lengthy posts in the area of ethnic conflicts mainly in Southern Russia. High turnover was triggered by militia personnel resigning to take better-paying jobs in the booming industry of private security. The remaining members of the militia have limited skills and experience. Legal violations, brutality, torture, racism, corruption, lack of accountability, and unprofessional behavior have damaged the police force's public credibility.

Because there has been an accumulation of "non-law enforcement functions" and establishing new militia bureaucracies for performing tasks that are distant from the police mission, additional efforts to reform and decentralize were initiated with the separation of the correctional institutions in 1998 and of the firefighter's service in 2001 from the MVD. Also, law enforcement officers were released from the non-core functions, conducting technical inspections of vehicles, addressing issues of exclusion of illegal migrants from Russia, and monitoring the sobering-up stations. At the same time in the 1990s and 2000s, the Russian Federation witnessed a proliferation of private security forces and the outsourcing of government services related to law and order. Some modest attempts were made to focus local and state law enforcement agencies on operational duties requiring police powers, experience, and specialized training (Sergevnin, 2010b).

Due to major scandals such as mass shootings of civilians by a drunken precinct police chief in Moscow (2009) and multiple cases of brutality and corruption, the new wave of MVD reforms was declared in December 2009, proposing major transformations of the agency. Russian Interior Minister Rashid Nurgaliyev indicated that the law "On Militia" (adopted in 1991) had been outdated and impeded the work. In April 2010, the Ministry proposed to revise some 40 functions that are currently performed by police; in particular,

functions to combat terrorism and drug trafficking, which also are overlapped by the Federal Security Service and the Federal Service for Drug Control. To reduce agency attention to the activities of business entities, the police should interfere in the companies' activities only when there are signs of a crime. The most problematic issue in all the attempts to reform the militia was that all the attempts were from inside of the highly centralized and bureaucratic institution.

The draft bill, "On Police," was released in August 2010 and was discussed online. According to the pollsters, more than three quarters of the Russian people are to some extent were familiar with the bill. In January 2011, the bill had replaced a 1991 law, "On Militia."

The law has 11 chapters and 56 articles and builds around declarations of constitutional norms and international principles. Vagueness of many norms of the bill on police is a prerequisite for the subsequent manipulation of the law by the adoption of internal protocols and procedures and establishing regulations on how to apply all of them. Incorporated changes was designed to enhance the federal nature of the police by almost exclusively providing federal funding and eliminating any financial responsibilities in the local and regional budgets. Along with providing funding, the federal center will be appointing all senior police officers in the regions. Before the reform local governments were participating by approving the federal center's proposed candidates. This was designed to reduce the corruptive influences of the local authorities on law enforcement agencies but also to elevate the independence of local police from the community's regional administrators and residents (Apparatchik, 2010).

In the general provisions of the bill, the critical organizational principles of the police were not outlined such as the main structural units of the police agency and their main functions, and the basic procedure to appoint and dismiss the federal executives and heads of territorial agencies. Thus, it gives an opportunity for the MVD to generate departmental rulings and protocols outside of the law and to provide a strong basis for manipulating the system (Sergevnin, 2010b).

The principles of police work have not been changed fundamentally in comparison with “On Militia” (1991). However, there are some important provisions such as the required publication of annual reports by the heads of territorial bodies of the police and the release of annual reports to communities by district inspectors. At the same time, no mechanism was proposed to allow the public to influence those law enforcement leaders with unsatisfactory records. Creating a single call center (calls from any point of Russia would be free) is another technical recommendation (Zhigulina, 2010).

The rights and responsibilities of police were enhanced with several additional powers, including the rights to access bank data of any individual without a court order; to compel any person to leave a certain place or remove that person by force if the behavior of this person suggests that he or she may cause harm to life and health, damage property or facilities, or is a real threat to public order and the security of citizens; and to restrict freedom of movement of citizens on the street or other public place for 1 h with the intention to check identity papers without probable cause, to name a few. Some of these rights are in clear contradiction with the Constitution (Kedrova, 2010).

The use of force and measures of coercion exclude the right of an officer to deliver blows to the head, neck, collarbone area, abdomen, or to the genitals. However, the bill has extended the rights of police to produce a shot to defeat the attacker if the person is trying to get something out of his or her clothing without the command of a police officer or to perform other actions that may be considered by a police officer as a threat of violence or an attempt to seize a weapon. Another controversial provision is the requirement to obtain a sponsor (individual pledge or personal guarantee from a current officer) to be hired into a law enforcement agency. With the extraordinary level of corruption in existence, this proposal will not allow people to enter the force on the basis of merit and standards.

The changes give no new face (paradigm) to police and are a desperate attempt to accomplish the reform in isolation from other segments of the criminal justice system. Proposed facelifts

could not be profound due to the bureaucratic conservatism of courts, prosecutors, and corrections. There is no clear concept of reforming the Ministry of Internal Affairs whose structure survived more than 200 years (since 1802) and the delinquent intrusions of tsars, commissars, and self-proclaimed democrats (Sergevnin, 2010b).

In 2012, the Ministry of Internal Affairs is introducing new ID cards for the police. These will include the police officer’s rank, surname, first name and the title of the employee. In addition, the police officers who work on the street and are in contact with the citizens will wear on their chest badges with a photograph. In particular, these rules apply to staff patrol and district inspectors (Falaleev, 2012).

The police have the grounds to be frustrated due to ineffectiveness of courts manifesting exceptional “humanism” to violent criminals such as rapists and murderers. In the period 2004–2009 in Russia, life sentences for murder were used only for 0.2–0.5 % of those convicted of a crime. A maximum term of imprisonment was applied to only 3.2–4.6 % of all murderers. Most of them received light terms and with parole were released from prison after 3–4 years. During the same period from all of 234.4 thousand convicted for causing grievous bodily harm (including death) the maximum term of imprisonment was applied only to two individuals (Ovchinsky, 2011).

Current Trends in Policing

Serious political challenges of the postelection period in 2012 for President Putin and Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, initiated strong efforts to bring the power-structures under federal control. Formally centralized structure of Interior Ministry was surprisingly decentralized and experienced significant influence from local authorities.

One of the major negative factors that prevented the progressive changes in Russian police is corruption. Corruption in Russia has penetrated each and every political, economic, judicial, and social institution so thoroughly that it has ceased to be a deviation from the norm and has become

the norm itself (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011). In his annual address to the Federal Assembly, Russian former President Dmitry Medvedev noted that the only violation of the law on public procurement costs and “kickbacks” to the most conservative estimate is one trillion rubles per year (Medvedev, 2010b). One of the leading Russian sociologists specializing in corruption, estimated that the value of bribes paid annually by Russians rose from 33 billion dollars when Putin came to power (1999), to more than 400 billion dollars at the end of his presidency in 2008 (Freeland, 2011). The anticorruption watchdog group Transparency International estimates that a third of Russian businesses have been targeted by police in attempted corporate raids. An anti-raider hotline set up by Moscow’s City Hall has reported a tenfold jump in complaints, from 200 to more than 2,000 over the last half of 2009 (Matthews & Nemtsova, 2010).

Some experts indicating deepening dependence on corruptive activities by Russian police fueled by (a) alcoholism, requiring significant resources and pushing to unofficial relations with other police officers, retail nets, and producers of alcoholic substitutes; (b) regular need to provide informal services (meals, hotel, etc.) for the members inspection teams, other inspectors, as well as managers and colleagues on the occasion of their anniversaries, “washing ranks,” awards, retirement, push many officers to negotiate with the owners of restaurants, grocery stores, etc; (c) maintaining informal, sometimes friendly relations with representatives of the criminal underworld, accepting services and valuables from them; (d) entering in personal and business relations with suspects, defendants, witnesses, victims, experts, lawyers, etc (Sopneva, 2009).

According to the MVD Department of Internal Affairs Chief Draguntsov, in 2009 there were identified about 104,000 offenses committed by officers of the interior (17 % increase). The Central Register (State Information Analytical Center of the MVD) identified about 60,000 police employees (18 % increase), including—56,000 for disciplinary misconduct (18 % increase). Against 4,202 employees criminal investigations were initiated (up 11 % more than

in 2008) and 2,717 employees (up 9 %) were indicted in criminal court. The analysis shows that the facts of illegal activities of officials of the Ministry of Interior and the FMS of Russia are often related to corruption: abuse of powers (Article 286 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003), abuse of power (285 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003), bribery (st. 290, 291 of The Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003), and forgery (292 Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 2003; Draguntsov, 2011).

Private policing (security) in Russia was first legitimized upon the enactment of such legislation as the 1992 “Law on Private Protection and Detective Activity in the Russian Federation.” Currently private security companies in Russia provide such services as safety, protection, and emergency services, executive protection, and business security. Recently Russia’s Parliament passed a bill specifying the rights and obligations of private security firms operating in the country. Private security guards are approved to use force, so long as they do not breach a citizen’s constitutional rights. They are also responsible for reporting criminal and suspicious activity to the local law enforcement agencies. The most significant feature of the private security industry in Russia, in comparison with some former Soviet bloc countries, is that private security companies are allowed to possess firearms. In early 1993 in Russia there were over 100,000 private security personnel; in 1999 there were 11,000 security companies, with 165,000 licensed security guards; in 2005 there were 22,000 security companies with 581.8 thousand; in 2009 there were 29,000 security companies with 762,000 employees and in 2010 the number of guards had reduced to 745,000 guards (Scherban, 2012). This private pole force is comparable to public policing today.

There is increasing cooperation between the public and private security sectors in Russia, evidenced once recently by the MVD’s support of the Transport Ministry’s proposal to give private security firms the right to check passengers at railway terminals. Russian government proposed in 2012 legislative amendments that would

Table 5 Russian police in transition from political to reform era

	Political era (1991–2011)	Reform era (2011–present)
Primary mission	Protecting power elites	Crime control
Strategic goals	Satisfy desires of the political elites and their own needs—predatory policing	Serving public—professional policing
Organization	Factually decentralized, build on political and personal loyalty	Centralized
Financing	Federal/local budget—low salaries	Federal budget—increased salaries
Primary weaknesses	Corruption, brutality, and torture	Lack of communication with people, mistrust

largely outsource counter-terror efforts at airports and train stations to private security firms.

Summarizing the last 20 years of Russian police development we can see that it is entering a new era of reforming. Russian police is a relic of the Soviet past with strong political and personal loyalty to protect and serve the current power elite; extreme centralization with bureaucratic inefficiency and denial of promoting human rights and security; predatory practices, corruption, and brutality; lack of transparency and unnecessary secrecy to mention a few (Table 5).

The new generation of police reformers believe in importance of institutional independence from local power brokers and the concentration of management vertical in the federal center. What is not yet in the agenda of the reformers is to establish an agency independent from the federal elites. Also unprecedented need for higher moral and professional standards should be in their focus for next several decades.

Police, the Media and Public Opinion on Police

Russian police were able to use the secretive atmosphere of the Soviet style system way into new regime to hide its weaknesses and inefficiency. Most of the law enforcement data is still for official use only and not available to public.

In the last decade, Russia is actively working to humanize and promote transparency of the police. Recently there media coverage of police work on TV has been increased. Russian leading channels had launched several popular programs

such as “Petrovka 38,” “Duty” and other news programs. For more than 10 years radio station “Militia Wave” became a true window for the public. The Ministry of Interior was the first among law enforcement agencies to open the official site called “Public Reception” for the citizens, which in 2011 had received over 10,000 complaints concerning: criminal acts (5,700), the traffic police (about 3,000), violation of the law by police officers (more than 3,500). Over the past 3 years the Ministry of Interior has inspected (audited) 27 regional and branch offices on how they work with citizens. General Prosecutor’s office and representatives of the Russian presidential administration also have been involved in police inspections.

The Russian Interior Ministry is actively working with the Public Council, composed of representatives of public, nongovernmental organizations, prominent public and cultural figures. Board members participate in the discussion of fundamental issues of reform and development of the police, the reduction of criminal repression, isolation, with the development of alternatives to it, the introduction of elements of restorative justice, based on the maximum protection of the interests of victims of crime, humanization of prison, reintegration into society of ex-convicts, etc. After the demise of the Soviet Union the law enforcement system did not go through many changes unlike many other institutions and structures of the state. It is widely accepted that Russian police is inefficient, outdated, corrupt, and lacking basic systems of accountability at every level. In one of the surveys (2002) for question “If You Encountered a Threat to Your Property or of

Physical Violence, Whose Protection Would Be the Most Reliable?" only 29 % of respondents answered that it will be police, 28 %—friends and relatives, 10 %—criminal authorities (Kliamkin & Timofeev, 2002).

Public Opinion

According to a series of surveys by the Levada Center, conducted in 2004–2012 only 25–30 % of Russians in trust the police, but more than 80 % of the respondents indicated its lawlessness, over 70 % do not consider themselves protected from the police arbitrariness, 60 % believe that the law enforcement system has deteriorated (Gimpelson & Monusova, 2012). According to public opinion surveys, the Russian people are skeptical about the outcomes of well promoted police reform. The Levada Center (2012) public opinion survey indicated that 72 % of respondents gave a negative answer to the question "Do you think it has a positive effect over the last year police reform (transformation of the militsiya to the police)?" 43 % answered "probably not," 29 %—"definitely not"; 18 % were satisfied with the reform and 10 % do not know anything about it or could not answer. Also, 72 % of respondents believe that over the past year and a half, police did not work any better or worse. Earlier survey indicated that 29 % of respondents were confident that people should not trust the militsiya to reform itself because there were no social control mechanisms in place (Levada Center, 2010). According to the research center of recruitment portal, Superjob.ru, 57 % of Russians did not support the renaming of the militia to "police." They did not believe that the name change would solve existing problems. Only 22 % of respondents believed that the renaming of the militia reflected an intent to transition from the Soviet system to a modern one (Ryshkina, 2010).

According to the poll, published in February 2010, 67 % of Russians say they "fear" police, while 81 % say they do not feel safe against arbitrary police behavior and 52 % indicated that police have extorted bribes (Levada Center, 2010). Public opinion surveys indicate that the

Russian militia is practicing predatory policing which can be viewed as focusing a significant amount of officers' efforts on self-enrichment. In 2005, a public survey demonstrated that 31 % of respondents believed that greedy people are hired by the militia; 11 % of respondents felt that the police is hiring the unemployed (Public Opinion Fund, 2009). Recently the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center (WCIOM) published the results of a study in which more than 40,000 citizens in 83 regions were surveyed. It was found that the level of confidence in the police to ensure personal and property security has increased from 33 % in 2009 to 52 % in 2011 (Bulavin, 2012). Significant numbers of militia officers do not see their job as a service for the people but, rather, as an opportunity to boost their income. The speedy drift of Russian society to a market economy in the past two decades and the moral vacuum in law enforcement agencies could not prevent the infiltration of pathological materialism ideology among all the ranks.

The public sees police corruption as one of the most negative features of modern day Russian state. In some of the regions, the situation is so bad that public can observe various groups of vigilantes fight back to corrupt law enforcement officials. In 2010, Primorye (Far East state in Russian Federation) regional police received an anonymous manifesto that declared the launch of a retaliation campaign against law enforcement. The statement said the gang was seeking to end the lawlessness, corruption, and tyranny of local police officers, prosecutors, and judges. The authors of the letter pronounced themselves "defenders of Russia" who "have come up against the evil that has enslaved our country and brought the Russian nation to its knees." Moscow also saw a series of attacks against the police, when unknown attackers set fire to several police stations in various districts of the Russian capital. Videos of the attacks were distributed on the Internet, accompanied by a commentary saying that the torching was meant as retaliation for police corruption (Stolyarova, 2010). In 2009, there were 2,470 publications in media across the country materials dealing with the IA units (54 % increase) (Draguntsov, 2011).

Recent Trends in Research on Policing

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 the focus of the majority of researchers switched to the major challenges the nation continues to face in transforming the police from brutal servants of the former Soviet State to servants of the public. Research efforts have been moved to the most critical and vulnerable issues of contemporary law enforcement.

The Russian Federation progressed significantly in political and economic reform before the beginning of the twenty-first century but the criminal justice system remains as it was under the Communist regime centralized, politicized, and militarized police forces. Russia had made little progress in democratizing police relations with the public despite numerous speeches by officials, presidential edicts, and changes to the law “On Police.” But all of it made little difference and police reputation continues to be one of a force that routinely violates human rights, is involved in corruption, and acts primarily in the pursuit of their own interests (Beck & Robertson, 2009; Shelley, 1999).

There is a recent trend in analyzing the Russian police as a predatory policing model for the search of effective methods to reform police organization. Gerber and Mendelson (2008) view three different possible paradigms of police organization. The first, professional police aim to achieve public safety and security (Western Europe, US). The second, police of divided society, mainly operate for the benefit of powerful elite groups. The third, predatory police are indifferent toward public interest or elite groups but mainly focus on extracting money from the market (Gerber & Mendelson).

Ethical norms are the foundation of law enforcement. However, ethical training is not a priority for researchers in Russia. Another recent dimension of research of policing in Russia is the analysis of the structure and mechanism of the informal economic activities of the policemen by Wilson, Kolennikova, Kosals, Ryvkina, and Simagin (2008). This study analyzed the “economic” activities’ of Russian police officers and

identifying three categories of police behavior related to economic gain outside their regular wages: (a) consisted of activities that were considered to be police misconduct, only because the actor was a police officer because economic activities by police officers are not permitted by the Law of the Police; (b) police engaged in economic activities during their regular work; (c) involvement in activities which are both an abuse of police powers and material gain.

One of the critical issues of the modern Russian police is the use of force, brutality, and torture. There is almost no research existing on the topic. In the absence of data and reliable research or official government reports, torture has been poorly understood and its extent largely unknown. Professor Yakov Gilinsky reports on surveys conducted by the nongovernmental organizations in five regions of Russia: St. Petersburg and Pskov (North-West of Russian Federation), Nizhny Novgorod (Central Region), Chita (Siberia), and Komi Republic (North of Russia). A survey of citizens found that an average 58 % believed innocent people are tortured by police, and 4 % of respondents reported experiencing torture at the hands of the police (Gilinsky, 2011).

Racism and racial profiling by the Russian police became a new segment of current research. Russian police are practicing limiting the rights of migrants and aggressively harassing them in all the municipalities. It can be result of the state policy to put pressure on legal and illegal immigrants and intricate relationship between the police and the contemporary Russian state (Light, 2010).

The Russian police are heavily involved with counterterrorism activities and counterinsurgency operations especially in Caucasus region which changes the modus operandi and attitudes of many officers toward certain ethnic groups. There was not enough research on the impact of such rotations for law enforcement personnel (Kramer, 2005).

Future Developments in Policing

In conclusion, the period of socioeconomic and political transformation associated with the weakening state’s power facilitated increases in

crime, qualitative changes associated with the transition to a new political system, chaotic economic management, and acute social problems. The overwhelming evidence demonstrates that in Russia, the transformation from a totalitarian society to the initial phase of democracy with limited market mechanisms had a severe criminal impact on the nation. The disadvantaged segments of the population are suffering disproportionately from crime and a lack of personal safety, and long-term crime prevention initiatives have yet to be successful. The police force, especially in the transitional phase of Russia and most of the former Eastern Bloc countries, is the most controversial expression of the power of the state. The change is coming from the top of the power structure, and it will serve the interests of the current administration which understands that the corrupt police and criminal justice system are the major obstacles in democratizing society and moving to a transparent market economy.

Local police agencies in Russia (especially in rural areas) have very limited budgets, therefore they are forced to be selective in enforcing the law and the quality of these services is low. One approach that can be effective is consolidation of police services and reduction of enormous law enforcement bureaucracies.

There is an urgent need to establish new criteria for evaluation of police efficacy because Russian police are still using statistical indicators. The efficacy of the police may be measured in a number of ways. Crime control, orderly streets, public support, new technologies, and enhanced skills and tools are a few, and they should reflect major concerns from the citizens.

New emerging crimes in Russia such as cyber-crime, biocrime, counterfeiting drugs and goods, sexual exploitation of children and females are highly technological and require a new cadre of professionals and training programs for the police. It would not be an overestimation to predict it to be a necessity to establish web patrol units in all the state jurisdictions of Russia.

As in many other countries, Russian police for the last two decades demonstrated that even enormous and highly centralized systems of resources and personnel could not effectively control crime,

and clearly require public support and involvement. Old Soviet style partnerships (voluntary guards, etc.) on a new level of management and training can be the future of national policing strategies.

Drastic and profound changes in demographic dynamics (a reduction of Russians and an increase of both legal and illegal immigration) require crucial attention to racism and racial profiling issues in Russian policing. Ethnic bilingual minorities' recruitment, diversity and multicultural law enforcement training, and hate crime control (to name a few) are areas that need urgent attention by Russian police policy makers.

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Serbian Police: Troubled Transition from Police Force to Police Service

Želimir M. Kešetović

Serbia: Country and Police Organization Overview

The Republic of Serbia is located in the central part of the Balkans, occupying 88,361 km² or 77,474 km² without the provinces of Kosovo and Metohija (Serbian Government, 2012).¹ According to the preliminary results of the last census (2011), the total number of population is 7,120,666 (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2012).

The ethnic composition of the population of the Republic of Serbia is very diverse, a result of the country's turbulent past. The majority of the population are Serbs, but another 37 ethnicities live here. According to the 2002 census, Serbs make up 82.9 %, Hungarians 3.5 %, Bosniaks 1.8 %, Romanians (Gypsy) 1.4 %, Yugoslavs 1.1 %, Montenegrins 0.9 %, and others 8 %.² The Constitution guarantees the rights of minorities

in accordance with the highest international standards. The official language is Serbian and the alphabet is Cyrillic as well as Latin. In the areas inhabited by national minorities, the language and alphabets of the minorities are in official use, as provided for by law. The primary religion is Christian Orthodox, the faith of the Serbs. Other religious communities are Islamic, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and others.

The country's economy was devastated due to mismanagement during Milošević regime of personal rule (1989–2000), an extended period of international economic sanctions imposed by UN Security Council due to the Serbian role in Yugoslav wars and the damage to infrastructure and industry during the NATO airstrikes in 1999. GDP—per capita: 10,900 dollars (2010 est.) and 8.8 % of population are below the poverty line. The GDP composition by sector is as follows: agriculture: 12.3 %, industry: 22.5 %, services: 65.2 % (2010 est.), while the standardized rate of unemployment was 17.2 %. Serbia's main foreign trading partners are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italy, FYR Macedonia, Germany, Bulgaria, and Russian Federation (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012).

At the beginning of twentieth century Serbia formed a kingdom with Croatia and Slovenia which existed until World War II. From 1945 to 1990, Serbia was part of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. This country split in a civil war and Serbia with Montenegro formed Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1990, Serbia formally emerged as a pluralistic

¹The territory of Kosovo and Metohija is, according to Serbian constitution, an integral part of Serbia. However as from 1999 Serbia practically has no effective powers in Kosovo and Metohija the text will refer to Serbia without this province.

²The data from the 2011 census on nationality or ethnicity, gender and age, religion, and other characteristics will be successively made public from mid-2012 until the end of 2013. <http://www.srbija.gov.rs/pages/article.php?id=36>

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society and democracy, introducing democratic institutions in the new constitution. In reality, the country was led by Slobodan Milošević's authoritarian regime, which was in power until "the democratic revolution" in October 2000. In the province of Kosovo and Metohija, inhabited primarily by Albanians, ethnic tensions between them and Serbs and other nationalities were present for several decades. The Albanians, guided by the project of forming a "Greater Albania," exerted pressure on other nationalities to move out from the province. In 1990, Serbia suspended the province's autonomy and resistance of ethnic Albanians grew, so in 1998 they formed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Clashes between KLA and Serbian military and police forces expanded. Serbia was under international pressure for excessive use of force. After the breakdown of negotiations, NATO forces intervened in March 1999, and after a 3-month military campaign, UN Security Council Resolution 1244 placed Kosovo under a transitional administration, the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), pending a determination of Kosovo's future status. UN administration took over the responsibilities for maintaining civil law and order, including establishing local police forces. Meanwhile, the international police personnel were deployed in Kosovo. An UN-led process began in late 2005 to determine Kosovo's final status. The negotiations ran in stages between 2006 and 2007, but ended without agreement between Belgrade and Pristina. On 17 February 2008, the Kosovo Assembly declared Kosovo independent. Since then, over 70 countries have recognized Kosovo, while Serbia continues to reject Kosovo's independence.

After the ousting of Milošević regime in October 2000, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) coalition government implemented stabilization measures and embarked on a market reform program. The government of Zoran Djindjić initiated a process of reforming all the institutions, including the police, with a general aim to become a democratic society, based upon the rule of law and other main democratic values, and becoming a member of EU. The reform

process was slowed after the assassination of the Prime Minister, Zoran Djindjić, in March 2003. However, Serbia signed Stabilization and Association Agreement with EU on 29 April 2008, got member candidate status in 2012 and now is waiting for the date for negotiations.

Constitutionally, the Republic of Serbia is a state of Serbian people and all citizens who live in it, based on the rule of law and social justice, principles of civil democracy, human and minority rights and freedoms, and commitment to European principles and values.³ Constituent and legislative power is vested in the National Assembly with 250 deputies. Executive power is vested in the Government that consists of the Prime Minister, deputy prime ministers, and other ministers. The Government and the ministers are independent within the framework of their jurisdiction, and are responsible to the National Assembly.

Serbia has a civil law system, while its criminal law system could be called mixed or quasi-adversarial. The courts, the State Prosecutor, the prisons and correctional institutions, and the Police, comprise the criminal justice system.

The protection of constitutionality, as well as the protection of legality, in accordance with the Constitution, is vested in the Constitutional Court that is also a protector of the constitutional order of Serbia and in its entirety.

Judicial power is vested in the courts of law with general responsibilities (138 municipal and 30 district), commercial courts (district and Supreme), Court of Appeal, Administrative Court, and the Supreme Court of the Republic, the highest court in Serbia.

The State Prosecutor is an independent state authority responsible for prosecuting cases brought against those suspected of committing criminal offences. There are 109 municipal public prosecution offices, 30 district public prosecution offices and the Supreme State Prosecutor's Office, as well as the Special Prosecutor responsible for organized crime.

³Serbian Constitution available on <http://www.predsednik.rs/mwc/epic/doc/ConstitutionofSerbia.pdf>

The Recent History of Serbian Police

Frequent disruptions of historical continuity have been reflected in the police organization. The period after World War II saw an ideologically motivated police force with low level of respect for human rights. During the period of socialism (1945–1989) Serbia, as a constitutive republic of SFR Yugoslavia, emphasized the ideological component of security. Party-state security was provided by the strong state apparatus such as the public and secret police which, under the Ministry of Interior (MoI), held wide-ranging legal powers and often violated human rights as they were accountable only to the communist party.⁴ With the dissolution of the SFRY in 1990s and the subsequent disintegration of the political system of socialist self-management, Serbia formally stepped into the multiparty system. However, in reality it was ruled by the Socialist party of Serbia, with Slobodan Milošević as the inviolable leader of party and state. The police were the pillar of the regime, whose main task was not to serve and protect the people, but the political regime e.g., the ruling elite. The police were separated from the people and misused for political aims, principally to protect the regime and suppress the democratic movements rather than enforce the law, and ineffective in fighting crime and outside any form of effective democratic control. Many serious crimes remained unsolved and fear of crime among citizens was high. Some criminals were even protected, due to their actions in both the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia and the smuggling operations of the state. A number of high-ranking police officers and managers were involved in, or very close to, organized criminal groups. The police were also very forceful in interventions against political

opponents of the regime, especially during street demonstrations. The police model became highly centralized and militarized, which subsequently led to the introduction of a military ranking system for the police in 1995. Loyalty was ensured by direct appointments of politically obedient people to elite positions in the service. The situation in Serbia culminated with the 1998–1999 Kosovo crises and the subsequent NATO military intervention, after the breakdown of negotiations in Rambouillet. Milošević was defeated in elections held in September 2000, and his attempt to falsify the results failed due to massive civil resistance that culminated in demonstrations of over 600,000 people in Belgrade on the 5 October 2000 (Kešetović & Davidović, 2007).

After democratic changes, it became apparent that a complete revision of the security concept was a high priority and that immediate and substantive change in all the organizational and functional sections of the Ministry of Interior must correct the serious inherited shortcomings (links between some police officials and organized crime, corruption, politicization, militarization, centralization, lack of control and respect for human rights, code of conduct, capable managers, personnel and equipment). Analytic expert reports summarized all the main problems (Monk, 2001; Slater, 2001). As a part of the overall social reform, the reform of the Ministry of Interior was launched immediately, aiming to create a police that will be more democratically oriented and aware of respecting human rights in its actions against crime and the protection of citizens and their property, as well as organized in line with the highest standards, norms, and rules of the EU countries. Cornerstone challenges of this reform were flagged as the four “Ds”—depoliticization, decentralization, decriminalization, and demilitarization. The reform process has been greatly helped by the international community, primarily the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Council of Europe, Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR) and the national experts of the Ministry of Interior Advisory Body, as the manager of the reform project.

The reform of the Ministry of Interior has been implemented in three main areas:

⁴The main values that had to be protected from a plethora of “domestic and foreign enemies” were ideological: for example, the system of socialistic self-management, the brotherhood, and unity of nations that lived in Yugoslavia and the nonalignment foreign policy. Securing them was the priority of the police and other agencies which controlled both media and citizens alike.

- The reform of practice (increasing the efficiency of work)
- Legislative reform (drafting of laws and regulations)
- Long-term strategy for the development of law enforcement agencies

The years 2001 and 2002 represented a radical break with the negative legacy of the past. A new organizational structure of the Ministry has been set up, whereby the Republic Security Service⁵ has been separated from the Ministry of Interior and the new Security-Information Agency (BIA), responsible for protection of the national security, placed under the civil control of the Government and Parliament. The guidelines for further reform of the police, including the reform of the relevant legislature, police education, and the plan for the equipment and modernization of Ministry of Interior have been clearly defined and validated by the Government. Personnel changes down to the lower managerial levels have been made. The police have become more representative and responsive to the population. The institute of the beat officer started operating, prevention programs have been launched, and new technologies have been implemented in some fields of police work. New legislation related to internal affairs was completed, as a legal basis for a quality and comprehensive police reform. Strategic laws on Security-Information Agency and on the Power of State Bodies in Suppressing Organized Crime have been adopted, as well as three laws of a particularly reformist nature (Law on Police, Law on Police Education, and Law on Records of the Security Service). The passage of the new Law on Police, plus other police laws and bylaws, are the most necessary organizational changes carried out as the initial phase of a further and more thorough restructuring of Ministry of Interior.

Mainly positive remarks, deprived of a self-critical view, would be heard in the statements and presentations from the official sources at conferences and round tables (Kuribak, 2008). On the other hand foreign experts, national independent

researchers, and NGOs are very critical of the reform results (Bakić & Gajić, 2006; Downes, 2004; Milosavljević, 2004).⁶ The Conflict Studies Research Centre analysis concluded that “police reform was slow, as neither of the post-Milošević administrations had an overall reform strategy, which led to lack of internal capacity and precise time-frames. If the results are to be sustained a long-term home affairs strategy needs to be in place” (Bakić & Gajić, 2006).

Depoliticization continues to be a very distant ideal. Although recent legislation (Zakon o policiji [Law on Police], 2005) has made a nominal division between political and operational components, political influence is still overly present at all levels and the Minister of Interior is still seen as the top operational police officer. Goran Petrović, an ex-chief of the State Security Sector, views ideas of professionalization and depoliticization, two pillars of the modern police, as abrogated with numerous solutions within the new legislation. The fact that the Director of the police is appointed by the Government on the proposal of the Minister, would be a small step towards his imaginary autonomy, if the Minister did not appoint almost all the other senior police managers, as is evidenced by a number of provisions. The Director is responsible for the work of the police, but has no managerial autonomy. Powers granted to a politician, such as the Minister, is contradictory to the ideas of professionalization and depoliticization. Furthermore, the fact that the Minister decides on the promotion of police staff, the deployment of special police units, and is able to direct police investigations pending the public prosecutor being made aware of them, highlights the fact that the political function is neither marginalized nor limited. On the contrary, the Minister is a despot with unlimited powers (Kešetović & Davidović, 2007).

In real terms, there has been no concerted move towards decentralization; the police service remains a centralized authority, reflecting the structure of the centralized state. Centralized management of the budget and short-term

⁵Notorious *Resor državne bezbednosti*.

⁶See more in Kešetović (2008).

planning have impeded the delegation of decision making and police officers at the local level have little freedom in addressing specific local issues and working more closely with communities. This has also impacted the development of a coherent community safety agenda (Kešetović & Davidović, 2007).

It is difficult to estimate the degree of progress towards decriminalization, due to a lack of data and an ineffective system of accountability. Some of the structural elements and causes of criminalization are suppressed, but there are still policemen that are very close to “controversial” businessmen. It is not easy to estimate the level of corruption in the police, but, based on data about police salaries, and the estimates of overall level of corruption in Serbia, it might also be rather high. The Serbian police still have a long way to go in effecting decriminalization and progressing in the fight against corruption.

According to police officials, the Serbian police are now demilitarized as recent police legislation abolished military ranks in police, except in some special police units (e.g., the Gendarmerie). The key question is, however, whether military logic and relations are still present within the Serbian police. Police officers still have very few discretionary powers and execute the commands of their superiors without question. Thus, the hierarchy is still premised upon a rigid superior–subordinate relationship, defined by prerogatives of rank, where initiative is neither sought nor encouraged (Kešetović, 2008).

The main achievement of the reform, within the declared priority areas, on the operational level are in the fields of organized crime, forensics, and border policing (Kešetović & Davidović, 2007).

The reform of Serbian police has turned out to be a very difficult task. Any attempt to explain the somewhat limited result of reform should take the following obstacles into consideration:

- During the period of provisional technical government, as a result of an apparent political agreement, the State Security Sector was left to be tackled by the new Serbian government. Accordingly, in this 4 month period of transitional government, there were no changes or any start of the reform process in that Sector.

- The lustration of the police service was not carried out.
- The DOS governing coalition was heterogeneous with strong internal rivalries which weakened the democratic momentum. This also applies to Koštunica’s government that was in coalition with Milošević’s party. The consequence is the lack of a political will for real change.
- Political instability.
- The assassination of Prime Minister Djindjić slowed the reform process.
- Among all political actors in Serbia, the police are still comprehended as wielding power for their own purposes rather than for those of public service (Kešetović & Davidović, 2007).

Police Organization, Structure and Function

Overall policing in Serbia falls under the jurisdiction of the General Police Directorate in the Ministry of Interior. Specialized agencies include the Security-Information Agency, the Tax Police, and the Customs Administration. Serbian police model is centralized under the Ministry of Interior.⁷ The Ministry of Interior is in charge of public security and carries out administrative affairs, defined in the Law on Ministries, related to:

- Protection of security of the Republic of Serbia and detection and suppression of the activities aimed at undermining or overthrowing the constitutional order
- Protection of life, safety and property of citizens
- Prevention and detection of criminal offences
- Finding and apprehending perpetrators of criminal offences as well as bringing them to competent authorities
- Maintenance of public peace and order
- Securing public gatherings and other meetings of citizens
- Protection of certain persons and facilities
- Road traffic safety

⁷Among layman and even among professionals terms police and Ministry of interior are often confused.

- Border crossing checks; control of movement and stay in the border area
- Control of movement and stay of foreigners
- Provision, possession, and carrying of weapons and ammunition
- Production of and trade in explosive materials, flammable liquids, and gases
- Fire protection
- Citizenship matters
- Personal identification number
- Identity cards
- Travel documents
- Permanent and temporary place of residence
- Staff training
- Other tasks envisaged by the law

The internal affairs are conducted in a manner that ensures equal protection and exercise of freedoms and rights set out in the Constitution for every person and citizen. In the performance of internal affairs only such enforcement measures may be used as are envisaged by the law, which help to accomplish tasks with as few detrimental consequences as possible for citizens and their associations, companies, institutions, and other organizations.

The operation of the Ministry of Interior is based on a unique organization throughout the territory of the Republic of Serbia which comprises territorial, linear, and object principles of operation. On a territorial principle, police directorates are formed throughout the territory of the Republic of Serbia. According to the linear principle, the Ministry of Interior is organized to perform specific, specialized tasks (e.g., protection of public order, combating crime, traffic control). According to the object principle, the Ministry of Interior established specific organizational units for specific objects. According to the principle of hierarchical organization-subordination, the Ministry of Interior is divided into operational and managerial structures and lower and higher units.

The Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia consists of several organizational units summarized in the organization chart (Fig. 1). The work and managing of the Ministry are organized horizontally, vertically, and territorially. There is a political part of the Ministry—Minister and his

cabinet with five bureaus (strategic planning; international cooperation and European integrations; complaints and grievances; public relations and media; and more recently, bureau for information of public importance), as well as internal control service, State secretary, Secretariat with two departments: for normative and common legal affairs and for housing.

Besides the Police directorate that is in charge of the police tasks in the strict sense, there are four sectors (finance, HR, and common affairs; analytics, telecommunication, and information technologies; emergency situations; internal affairs). While three other sectors are responsible to the General police director, the sector for internal affairs is independent and responsible only to the Minister.

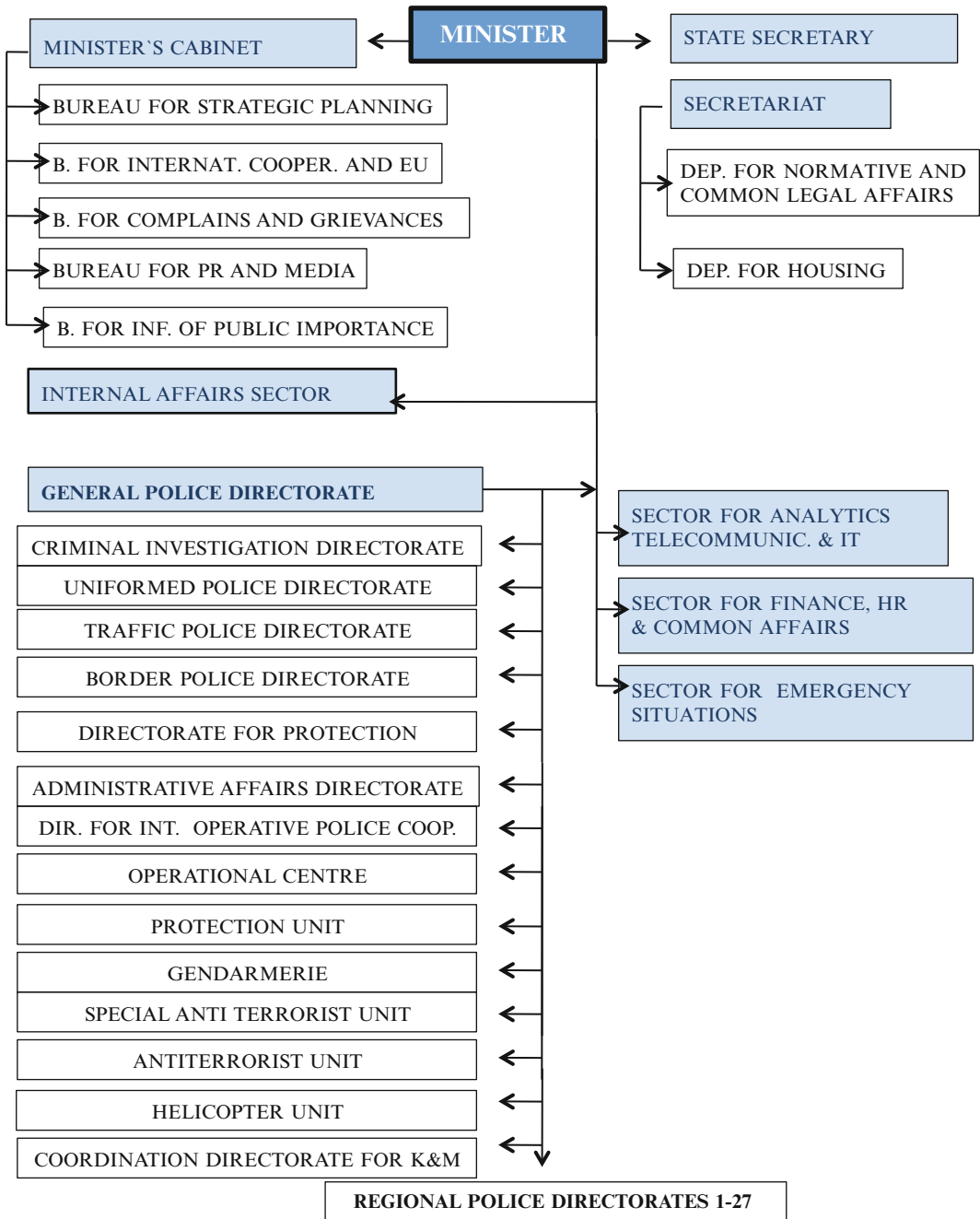
The main function of the police is to:

- Protect life, rights, freedom, and personal integrity of individuals
- Support the rule of law
- Protect property
- Prevent, detect, and solve criminal offences and violations
- Combat crime and its organized and other forms
- Identify and arrest the perpetrators of criminal offences and violations
- Maintain public order
- Offer help in case of danger
- Regulate, control, and oversee traffic
- Secure public events, persons, organs, buildings, and areas; to survey and protect the state border
- Control state border crossings
- Implement the border area regime
- Identify and settle border incidents
- Accomplish tasks set out by the regulations on aliens

The General Police Directorate is responsible for overall performance of the police. The General Police Directorate is led by the Police Director. Police work, competences, and powers are regulated by the *Law on Police* (Zakon o policiji, 2005).

Within the territory of the Republic of Serbia, the General Police Directorate:

- (a) Monitors and analyzes the security situation, in particular the phenomena fostering crime



Organogram of Serbian MoI January 2012

Fig. 1 Serbian MoI organogram (Source: Ministry of Interior, 2012a; chart created by the authors)

- (b) Coordinates, directs, and oversees the work of regional police directorates (RPD)
- (c) Directly performs specific complex tasks which are within the competence of RPD
- (d) Ensures implementation of international agreements on police cooperation and other relevant international instruments
- (e) Organizes and carries out forensic expertise

- (f) Creates conditions for maintaining and raising police capability and preparedness to respond in emergencies
- (g) Contributes to police-related security, educational, and scientific activities

The General Police Directorate comprises organizational units within the Ministry of Interior Headquarters, the City of Belgrade Police Directorate, RPD, and police stations. Organizational units of The General Police Directorate within Ministry of Interior consists of seven directorates (criminal investigation, uniformed police, directorate for protection, traffic police, border police, administration affairs, and international operative police cooperation), Operational centre, Protection unit responsible for witness protection and four special units (Gendarmerie, Special antiterrorist unit, Antiterrorist unit, and Helicopter unit) and Coordination directorate for Kosovo and Metohija.

In line with the political-territorial division of Serbia into districts, the tasks and duties within the purview of the Ministry are also performed by 27 regional units—RPD of Belgrade, Kragujevac, Jagodina, Niš, Pirot, Prokuplje, Leskovac, Vranje, Zaječar, Bor, Smederevo, Požarevac, Valjevo, Šabac, Kraljevo, Kruševac, Čačak, Novi Pazar, Užice, Prijepolje, Novi Sad, Sombor, Subotica, Zrenjanin, Kikinda, Pančevo, Sremska Mitrovica, and Coordination Directorate for Kosovo and Metohija (Fig. 2).⁸ Each Regional police directorate covers the territory of several municipalities.

RPD have their own internal division of labor, i.e., organizational units for main fields of police work. Organization of the Belgrade Police directorate (the capital and the largest city) is the most complex. Seven police directorates responsible for the territory of Kosovo and Metohija are practically out of effective function, as this region is under UN administration and they are performing mainly administrative tasks in different police directorates in south Serbia.

⁸Although Serbia has no effective power in the province, police officers, and managers employed in regional police directorates in Kosovo and Metohija, after signing Kumanovo agreement and withdrawal of Serbian police are now located in the regional police directorate in the south of central Serbia.

The tasks of a regional police directorate are:

- (a) To directly carry out police and other duties and establish local cooperation on the territory of the municipality where it is headquartered
- (b) To monitor and analyze security situation within the territory of its jurisdiction; to coordinate and control the work of police stations; and to facilitate local cooperation
- (c) To carry out, as appropriate, the duties which are within the competence of police stations
- (d) To apply security measures regarding particular individuals and facilities
- (e) To perform other duties as provided by special regulations and other official documents

Heads of RPD are appointed and dismissed by the Minister. RPD are presented in the map in Fig. 2.

On the local level, police tasks are performed by a police station. There are 134 police stations in the municipalities outside of the headquarters of RPD and 161 police substations (in the RPD and in small settlements). The size, organizational structure (Fig. 3), and number of staff in police station vary due to the size of territory, population, security problems, and other factors. There are three categories of police stations.

The task of the Police Station is to directly carry out police and other duties and establish local cooperation on the territory of the municipality for which it has been established. The Police Director is authorized to appoint and dismiss police station commanders.

The General Police Directorate also comprises specialized police stations and substations:

- The traffic police substations (49 in total, 8 thereof for traffic control at the “Corridor 10” section of the motorway)
- The border police stations—to control crossings of the state border (40) and to secure the state border (47)

The following is the *chain of responsibility and command* for the administration and work of police organizational units:

- (a) Heads of directorates within the General Police Directorate Headquarters, head of the City of Belgrade Police Directorate and heads of RPD are responsible to Police Director
- (b) Heads of directorates within the City of Belgrade Police Directorate and municipal



Fig. 2 Map of regional police directorates (Source: Ministry of Interior, 2012b)

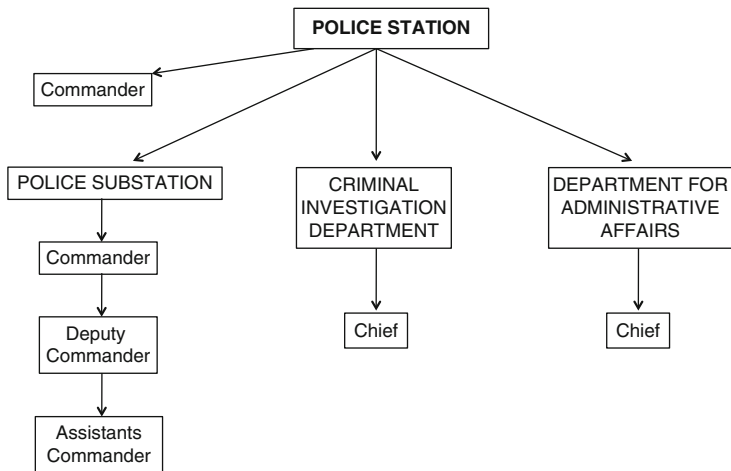


Fig. 3 Police station structure (Source: Ministry of Interior, 2012c)

police stations commanders are responsible to the Head of the City of Belgrade Police Directorate

- (c) Heads of departments within regional directorates and commanders of municipal police stations and substations are responsible to the heads of their respective RPD

Following the line management concept, organizational units within the Ministry of Interior Headquarters are operationally linked with their counterpart organizational units within RPD and police stations. They perform the duties within their competence on the entire territory of the jurisdiction of the Ministry (e.g., Traffic Police Directorate within Ministry of Interior Headquarters → Traffic Police Directorate within the City of Belgrade Police Directorate → police departments within RPD, municipal police stations). Organizational units within the Ministry of Interior Headquarters and RPD are led by regional heads, while police stations and substations are led by their respective commanders.

Police functions are performed by:

- (a) Uniformed and plain-clothed officers who exercise police powers
 (b) Personnel having special or specific tasks that are directly related to police duties

Police functions are performed following the principles of professionalism, cooperation, legality, proportionality in using police powers, as well as the principle of subsidiarity and inflicting least detrimental consequences. In the performance of police functions only such means and measures of enforcement may be applied as are envisioned by law which helps to produce the most professional results without undue harm or delay. The police have a Code of ethics, approved by the Government. In the fulfillment of their duties the police observe national and international standards of police conduct; requirements laid down by law and other regulations and official documents of the Republic of Serbia, and ratified international treaties and conventions.

The General Police Director is head of the Directorate appointed by the Government for a 5-year term under proposal of the Minister of Interior, following a call for applications and in accordance with the rules on labor relations

applicable for the Ministry. Police Director can be a person who fulfils general requirements for government employment provided by law, and special requirements for police employment; he/she must have university degree, at least 15 years of effective work experience in the police, and has to meet the requirements for the position of Police Director. When several candidates are eligible, preference is given to the candidate having the best professional results in the discharge of police duties.

In Serbia there is approximately one policeman per 400 inhabitants (with full executive power and authority and Uniformed Police), which is insufficient, taking into account the complexity of security issues. A particular problem is the lack of highly qualified and specialist staff. According to the Job Classification, Ministry of Interior has 51,218 positions. As of 30 September 2006 total staff of the Ministry of Interior numbered 42,740. As for gender division, 80.04 % were male and 19.96 % (8,533) were female. The number of uniformed police officers was 26,527, of which 1,833 were female (6.9 %) (OSCE, 2012). There is a positive trend of increased employment of women and in context of reforming the police in almost all multinational communities multiethnic police have been formed. The number of nonpolice personnel in Ministry of Interior is rather high. There is no clearly defined system of career building, monitoring, development, and planning. The only thing that is certain is that working position and rank depend on formal level of education and years of service. A police officer with a secondary school diploma cannot climb up to a medium or high position in police hierarchy, whatever his/hers working results are. There are no clear relations between in-service training and working results on one hand and promotion on other.

After years of isolation Serbian Ministry of Interior established intensive *international cooperation* with the police services of foreign countries and international organizations centered on involving police of Serbia in international police developments as well as exchange of information, experiences, and synchronized activity, primarily in combating organized crime, international

terrorism, standardizing of border system in line with EU countries, suppression of human trafficking, smuggling of weapons and narcotics, exchange of experience in application of modern information technology and telecommunication systems. A considerable part of these activities are being realized through Interpol and also through bilateral cooperation. With the aim of exchange of experience and synchronized activity in combating organized crime in the region and internationally, cooperation has been established with police forces of Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Italy, Croatia, USA (Drug Enforcement Administration), and with Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Council of Europe, Federal Bureau of Investigation Academy in Budapest, Interpol, Stability Pact for South-East Europe, South Eastern Cooperation Initiative centre, International Association of Chiefs of Police, United Nations Drug Control Program, International Police Task Force, and United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo. Cooperation with the Hungarian, Swiss, Italian, Bulgarian, and Austrian police includes exchange of operational information, as certain organized groups are active in the territory of a number of countries.

Regarding *police accountability*, the Minister of the Interior submits reports to the Parliament every 6 months or upon special request. Through the Committee for Defence and Security, the National Parliament has the capacity to monitor police activities, and besides this there is no other external control body. However, so far members of this committee were not very competent to perform these tasks. Civil society, NGOs, the media, and the Ombudsperson also play a certain role in oversight.

As for internal oversight mechanisms, the Internal Affairs Sector of the Police responds to complaints and grievances, determines the facts, reports to the Minister of the Interior and Police Director, and proposes corrections to the irregularities identified. The Internal Affairs Sector is an independent organizational unit of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia, which according to provisions of the Police Law, monitors the legality of work performed by Ministry

of Interior law enforcement officers, especially when they conduct police tasks and use police authority in order to safeguard and protect human rights. The Head of Sector, who is also an under-secretary to the Minister of the Interior, manages the Internal Affairs Sector and is appointed by the elected Government of the Republic of Serbia, according to the Law on Public Servants and previously conducted public competition, for a 5-year period. The Head of Sector answers for his or her own performance and the overall performance of the Service to the Minister of the Interior and submits regular and periodical reports of the performance of the Internal Affairs Sector. The Bureau for Complaints and Grievances, within the Cabinet of the Minister of the Interior, has similar tasks and works closely with the Sector for Internal Control of the Police.

Each complaint (whether written or verbal, signed, or anonymous) is examined and processed. Ministry of Interior devotes special attention to lawful use of power and authority, and to the proper and professional relations with citizens. Strict measures were taken against all police officers who violated the law and Rules of Service or acted contrary to professional code of ethics. Internal Affairs Sector existed earlier as the Inspector General's Service (IGS) of the Department of Public Safety (DPS) within the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia. IGS was formally founded on 12 March 2001, when Police Code of Procedure for the IGS of the DPS was adopted. However, the actual process of setting up the Service did not begin until June 2003, with the naming of the first Inspector General in Ministry. The founding of the IGS of DPS was one of the priority tasks within the Reform Programme of the Ministry of Interior, where the function of control and surveillance of the police was defined as one of the key areas of this Ministry.

Police Education/Training and Research

There are several institutions within the system of police education and training. Training is run by the Basic Level Police Training Centre and

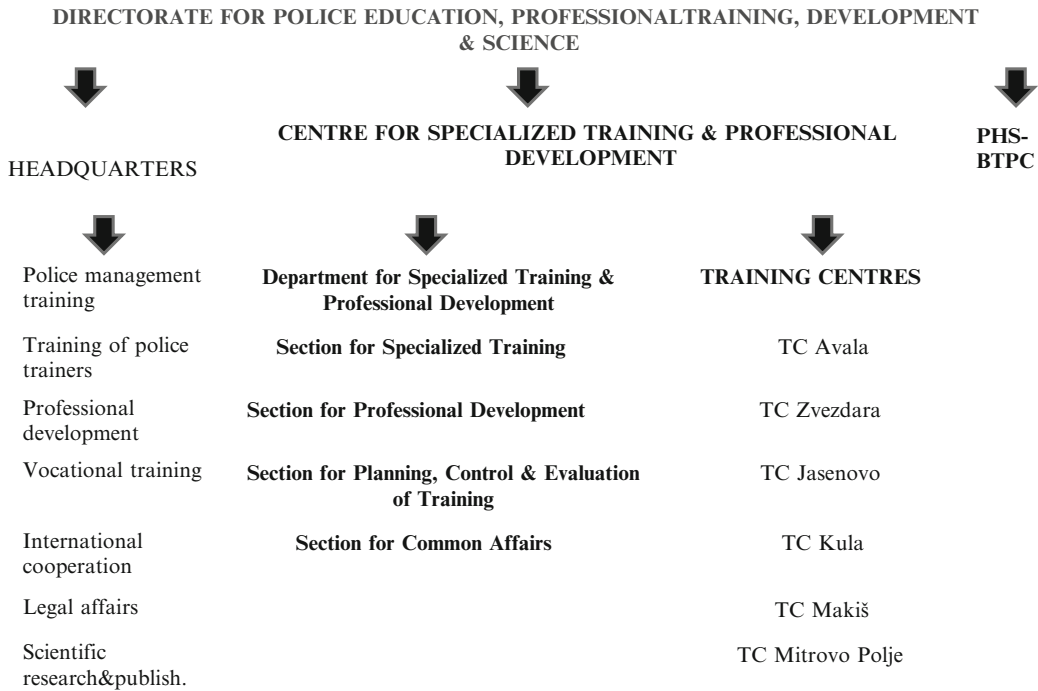


Fig. 4 Directorate for police education, professional training, development & science organogram (Source: Ministry of Interior, 2012d)

the Centre for Specialised Training and Professional Development, while the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies (ACPS) is in charge for the education. Directorate for Police Education, Professional Development, Specialized Training and Science, within the Ministry of Interior of Republic of Serbia is responsible for the overall management of this area.

The Directorate for Police Education, Professional Development, Specialised Training and Science, within the Ministry of Interior of Republic of Serbia (Fig. 4) has the following main tasks:

- (a) Development of the Centre for Specialised Training and Professional Development
- (b) Development of the system and concept of professional training
- (c) Organization and improvement of train-the-trainer courses
- (d) Establishment of training for police executives
- (e) Development of normative framework for the Directorate
- (f) Cooperation with international organizations and police forces of other countries

(g) Participation of representatives of the Directorate in creating national strategies

The Directorate endeavors to accomplish its key tasks in the best manner possible, through its own strategic development on a daily basis, especially in the field of organizational and personal competence, use of national and international knowledge, experience and standards of police personnel training. Also, the Directorate maintains active and effective relations with other lines of work within the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia, as well as other bodies and organizations, from both public and private sector.⁹

The Police High School in Sremska Kamenica was the major training institution in the Republic of Serbia, with an enrolment of about 1,600 students aged 14–18 who were to become police officers. In line with accepted practices in most European countries and OSCE recommendations,

⁹More information on Directorate are available on <http://prezentacije.mup.gov.rs/upravaobrazovanje/en-prec.html>

the Ministry of Interior decided to freeze enrolment as of 2006–2007 academic year, and to initiate the process to transform The Police High School into a *Basic Police Training Centre (BPTC)*. This transformation included four areas: organization, human resources, curriculum, and the facility's infrastructure. The first generation enrolled on 19 November 2007 and the Centre was opened on 5 December 2007.¹⁰ Both male and female candidates can apply for BPTC from all around Serbia. The recruitment process is open for all and participation of minorities is the only way to achieve a police service that represents the ethnic composition of Serbia. After first 12 week of training at the Centre, cadets have the opportunity to exercise gained skills in the real environment by being mentored for the following 2 weeks with their designated Field Training Officer (FTO). Both a cadet and an FTO keep a diary of daily activities. The diary is broken down into phases, which are progressive in nature and in line with curriculum. The first mentoring phase is followed by 8 weeks of student centered learning at the BPTC which is again followed by 4 weeks of field training. Having successfully completed second mentoring stage, a cadet goes through another 13 weeks of training at the BPTC, then sits for the final exam, which is for those that successfully pass it, followed by 26 weeks mentoring in the field (probation period) (OSCE, 2011).¹¹

The Centre for Specialised Training and Professional Development became operational in 2007. It was preceded by the Training Centre, established in 2003, as an organizational unit of the Ministry of Interior in charge of the integrated, planned and systematic organization, and delivery of vocational training and professional development of the members of the Public Security Sector.

On 27 July 2006, the ACPS was established by the decision of the Government. Formally, it is an independent higher education institution that provides academic and professional study

programs of all levels for the purpose of police education, and police and security affairs. However, not in academic manner, Ministry of Interior has significant influence on its functioning.¹² The first generation of students enrolled in the academic year 2006/2007. The ACPS was formed by merging of the Advanced School of Internal Affairs and the Police Academy—the two most important institutions specialized for conducting educational and scientific activities for the purpose of police education. The ACPS is their legal successor. The Academy educates, specializes, and qualifies employees for the highest directing jobs in the police. The curriculum for the basic studies represents the entire reform of police schooling. The accent is on those teaching subjects which are more related to criminalistic, police and other security activities and which qualify the students for development and application of scientific, professional and other achievements. Complementary to the basic activities of the Academy are scientific research work, tutor's work with students and extracurricular activities. Also included in the supporting activities are students' standard affairs, an IT centre, publishing activity, and administrative and technical services.¹³ Besides the basic studies (a university degree), ACPS is providing specialized postgraduate studies and master studies. Experiences with these types of scientific work, at the moment, are modest in comparison with European relevant institution.

There are a number of critical objections regarding police training and education. According to professor Milošević, the big question is whether it is actually a substantial change or is it just “cosmetic make-up,” an outdated and inappropriate system of educating officers. This concept of academic police education is perfectly suited to the concept of Soviet military-like police training creating a generalized type of docile professionals. These solutions are endangering

¹⁰Police High School and BPTC existed parallelly till August 2009 when last generation finished their schooling in PHS.

¹¹Information on Curriculum available on Center's website <http://www.copo.edu.rs/English-59-2>

¹²Minister of the Interior approves the selection of candidates for the dean and vice dean, approves the programs of scientific research and decides on the number of students enrolling in the first year.

¹³See more on <http://www.kpa.edu.rs/en/>

academic freedoms, the autonomy of educational institutions, freedom of expressing opinions, and give powers to the Minister to govern police education, prescribing the requirements for the candidates and conduct personnel policy in police schools (Lazić, 2006).

Besides delivering study programs for the purpose of police education, the ACPS also carries out scientific and research work in the domain of criminalistic (crime investigation), police, and security sciences. The Academy was accredited by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia as a scientific research organization. The scientific research activity at the Academy has been carried out through the Scientific Research Centre and comprises the following activities:

- Scientific research
- Publishing of scientific journal, conference proceedings, and other scientific publications
- Organization of scientific conferences

The Academy conducts basic, applied, and developing research, as well as research aimed at the development of police education and work. The Academy's scientific research team conducts the research named "Prevention and Suppression of Contemporary Forms of Crime" funded by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development. In addition, scientific research activity is directed towards the following areas:

- School violence
- Fight against corruption
- Drug abuse and delinquency
- Hi-tech crime
- Human rights and
- International police cooperation

There are two specialized police journals published in Serbia:

- *NBP—Journal of Criminalistic and Law*, published by Police Academy; Editor: Goran Milošević, Ph.D.; address: Kriminalističko policijska akademija, Cara Dušana 193, 11080 Zemun-Beograd, e-mail: casopis@kpa.edu.rs.
- *Bezbednost* [Security], published by MoI; Editor: Darko Marinković, Ph.D.; address: Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova, Bulevar Zorana Đinđića 104, 11070 Novi Beograd, e-mail: upobr@mup.gov.rs.

Police, the Media and Public Opinion of the Police

The police–media relations in Serbia should be understood in a wider sociopolitical context. During the 1990s, Ministry of Interior maintained relationships only with the official media and their journalists. This was primarily a one-way communication through official statements and specially arranged "events" for eligible reporters. Journalists from independent media organizations were excluded from such Ministry of Interior media events and labeled as enemies, non-patriots, traitors, foreign payees, and spies. The leading opposition journalists were under the surveillance of secret (state) police. During the peaks of social and political crisis independent media were banned, their facilities occupied, equipment and recorded material seized; journalists were imprisoned and subjected to police hearings. Two journalists were even killed under circumstances which appear to implicate the state.¹⁴

After the democratic changes, political influence in the Serbian media has become both more sophisticated and more discrete. A number of printed and electronic media have emerged and journalists are relatively free to write, search for information, and criticize the policy-makers at both local and state level. Police work has become more transparent and public image become more important for the police managers and even for the government. Although there was no overall police–media strategy, there were several attempts on the operational level aimed to improve relations between the police and the media.¹⁵

¹⁴Slavko Ćuruvija and Dragomir Pantić. Ćuruvija was under surveillance of secret police 1 min before he was killed near his flat in the centre of Belgrade in the middle of the day. Milošević's wife in certain way announced this murder few days before. These cases were never solved (Kešetović, 2007a).

¹⁵The most important and comprehensive was the project of improving communications between media and police launched in 2005 together with the OSCE. See more in Kešetović (2007a).

Ministry of Interior created guidelines/instructions for media relations that define to authorities how to reveal information, criteria for withholding information, relevant rules, and clear procedures of communication with the media. Police seminars for journalists that are dealing with police and security issues have been tailored and realized on the initiative of the OSCE. The *Communication Strategy of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia from 2010 to 2012* (Ministry of Interior, 2010) includes basic guidelines for development in the area of communication; it is based on the European experiences in the development of modern society, and draws on the directives of the EU relating to the area of communication. Transparency is one of pivotal attributes of police work in countries with a long democratic tradition, and is of even greater importance in the countries in transition aiming for qualitative changes in police structures. The Law on Police itself defines police as a public service which is required to inform the public on the events and matters within their jurisdiction; information may be withheld when justified in certain cases only. The basis of good communication is in ensuring that all parties interested be informed of the regular activities and future reform of the Ministry. This is achievable by utilizing simple but effective communication channels that make it possible to both distribute information and obtain feedback from internal and external audiences (such as employees, partner organizations, and other interested parties) (Ministry of Interior, 2010).

While much remains to be done, it does not seem to be one of priorities of the Ministry of Interior top management. For more radical and sustainable changes it is crucial that both the police and the media in Serbia adopt new system of values, and to learn a lot about how to play the new role they should have as key institutions of democratic society, constantly bearing in mind the enormous responsibility they have (Kešetović, 2007a).

Trust of official institutions is not a widespread phenomenon in the Republic of Serbia and it has not been such a phenomenon in the period since introduction of multiparty system.

Some authors indicate that over the past years we may even speak of further delegitimization of institutions (Slavujević, 2010). It is indicative that the institutions of order are “better” positioned in relation to the so-called political institutions, with the exception of the judiciary, which is trusted the least at the bottom of the scale.

Public opinion of the police is the result of police identity (police priorities, respect for the law, performance etc.), police image (projected and symbolically constructed) and actual social context. During the period of personal rule in Serbia, the decline in public confidence in the police was significant. According to the findings of a survey of satisfaction with the police conducted by the Partner agency in March 1996, only 28.2 % of respondents were satisfied with the Ministry of Interior. In the findings of the survey conducted by the Institute for Political Studies (1997) only 7.1 % of respondents had great and 19.7 % partial trust in the police. The distrust of the national minorities was even greater. In the survey “Anatomy of Kosovo Crisis” (July 1997) realized by the Forum for Ethnic Relations of the Institute for Social Sciences, 98 % of the Albanians interviewed had no confidence at all in the Serbian parliament, army, and the police (Kešetović, 2012).

During the period of transition and police reform, several surveys of public opinion on police were conducted and their results were rather different. According to Strategic marketing survey in 2008, 74 % of respondents thought that politicians had influence on the work of Ministry of Interior. Also 74 % of respondents considered the police as an instrument to protect the interests of the Government, and 66 % as a means to protect political parties. It is interesting that only 38 % thought that the police act as a service to citizens. When it comes to the confidence of citizens in the institutions, according to this study the police is in the fourth place. Citizens have the best opinion on church—59 % favorable and 12 % unfavorable, followed by the Army (38 % vs. 21 %), the educational system (33 % vs. 32 %) and the police (I. P., 2010).

Trust of police/police officers is included in the latest survey conducted, and expressed by 45 % of interviewees; 25 % have no trust; while 28 %

Table 1 Trust into institutions (%)

	Doesn't know	Has no trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Has trust	Total
Church	4	19	18	59	100
Police/policemen	2	25	28	45	100
Army/soldiers	7	21	28	44	100
Ministry of Interior	2	26	30	42	100
Education system	4	28	28	40	100
Health care system	1	36	26	37	100
Ministry of defense	7	28	32	33	100
Local self-government	4	42	29	25	100
Republican government	3	47	30	20	100
Judicial system	4	52	26	18	100
Association of citizens	10	43	29	18	100
Republican parliament	3	53	28	16	100
Political parties	4	66	21	9	100

Source: Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju [CESID] (2011)

belong to the group of undecided (neither trust nor do not trust). Research from October 2010 shows that 32 % of interviewees had trust into police, compared to 24 % of those who had different opinions.¹⁶ Therefore, we see that trust has risen in the past year by 13 %, while the number of those who show distrust remains almost identical. In Table 1 we can compare trust in the Ministry of Interior with trust in other institutions.

There are also slight differences in the level of trust between MoI and police (Fig. 5).

If we cross the questions of trust in police/policemen and the Ministry of Interior as an institution, we see that there are no significant statistical correlations in relation to any of the demographic indicators. The correlation is not high when we cross the questions with party affiliations, except in case of the expected above the average divergence when voters of coalition SPS/PUPS/JS are concerned.

Regional distribution of trust in the police, shown in Fig. 6, is also interesting.

Regarding the presence of the police-related issues in the media, the majority of citizens (40 %) said they were present “exactly as much as necessary.” One should take into account that items related to police are often comprised of violence and content that should be adapted to

the media. That is why one should not be surprised by the fact that 16 % of interviewees believe that there are too much of these themes in media (Fig. 7).

However, when the media are concerned, there is a very important perception by citizens on how much the police representatives are open to public in their appearances in the media. Based upon answers, one can get the impression that certain transparency exists, but there is also space for improvement (Fig. 8).

One in ten interviewees are of the opinion that police is not open to public at all; when we add those who think that representatives of police are mostly not open when communicating with public to this percent, we get a respectable 31 % of the citizens who say that this institution of the Republic of Serbia acts towards them with certain distance.

Crime and Disorder Trends

In the 1990s, significant changes in crime structure and dynamics occurred due to dissolution of SFRY, wars in neighboring Yugoslav republics, economic sanctions and isolation of Serbia from the international community, decline of economy, and ordinary problems associated with the process of transition. Besides the growing trend in criminality new problems emerged such as the

¹⁶ *Police reform survey*, Ipsos Strategic Marketing, October 2010.

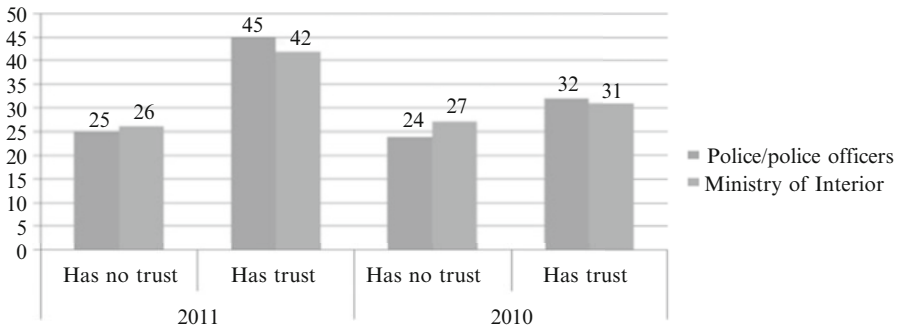


Fig. 5 Trust into police and MoI, comparative (%) (Source: CESID, 2011)

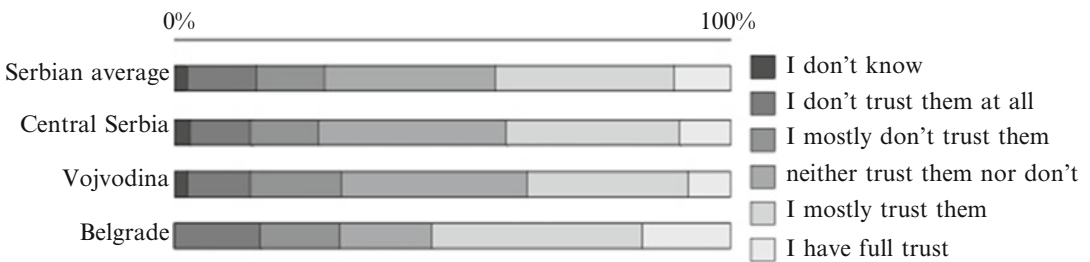


Fig. 6 Trust in MoI by regions (Source: CESID, 2011)

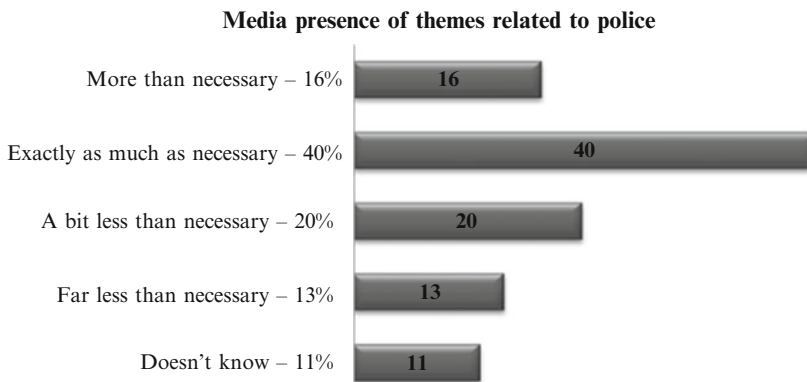


Fig. 7 Police presence in the media (Source: CESID, 2011)

rise of organized crime (drug trafficking, trafficking in human beings, kidnappings, and political assassinations), violence and drug abuse among the young.

There is no comprehensive research on crime trends and available crime statistic cannot give the proper picture of the situation, not only because of the frequent changes of legislation and other common problems of crime statistics, but also due to the fact that until 1991 crime records were kept on the federal level (SFRY),

after that for Serbia and Montenegro (FRY), and after 2003 for Serbia as an independent country. Also until 1999 the Kosovo statistics were included in the Serbian crime statistics. In the textbook *Criminology* Konstantinović-Vilić and associates presented the crime trends for Serbia without Kosovo for the period 1990–2005 (Konstantinović-Vilić, Nikolić-Ristanović, & Kostić, 2009) (Table 2).

When it comes to a subjective perception of security in the CeSID's research of citizens'

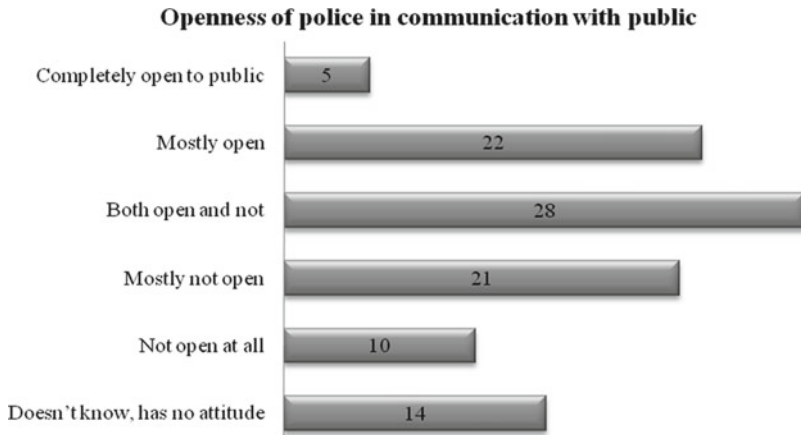


Fig. 8 Police openness in the media (Source: CESID, 2011)

Table 2 Total number of reported offenders in Serbia 1990–2005

Year	Number of offenders			
	Reported	Index	Convicted	Index
1990	106,601	100	39,684	100
1991	104,768	98	33,444	84
1992	118,327	111	28,791	72
1993	156,509	147	34,138	86
1994	140,776	132	34,440	86
1995	118,069	111	36,823	92
1996	115,508	108	36,582	92
1997	110,437	104	38,540	97
1998	103,978	98	42,403	106
1999	87,307	82	36,297	91
2000	87,601	82	34,223	86
2001	97,071	91	35,566	89
2002	107,312	101	35,997	90
2003	98,148	92	35,097	88
2004	91,573	86	36,222	91
2005	103,481	97	39,135	98

Source: Konstantinović-Vilić et al. (2009)

perception of main security/safety problems, the findings correspond to the trends that were established in the past 5 years. Problems related to drug abuse and trafficking represent the primary cause for a feeling of unsafety among the majority of citizens, both at the level of republic and at the local level (28 % of interviewees say this is the

key problem of Serbia, while 23 % say it is the biggest one in their place of living).¹⁷ A very high percent of interviewees opted to single out corruption as one of the three problems that burden Serbia and their place of living (16 % of interviewees said that it is the problem at the state level, while 12 % see it as a local problem). One should not forget different types of crime as well; they represent a problem for the total of 28 % of interviewees at the level of republic and for 26 % at the local level. Perception of the most important security/safety problems is presented in Fig. 9.

Citizens' attitude towards police has varied in the past two decades and one can say that it is very positive today, and that the work of the institution is highly valued and respected. Apart from the findings we presented so far and that corroborate the thesis, Fig. 10 shows the data which indicate that the majority of citizens have no doubts when the police will fight the safety challenges is concerned.

¹⁷Interviewees were provided with possibility to give several answers to these questions (a maximum of three). The answers of interviewees were summed up and the percent of presence of individual problems was included in regard to the total number of answers. Summing up the answers that deal with drug abuse and trafficking provided us with the presented percentage.

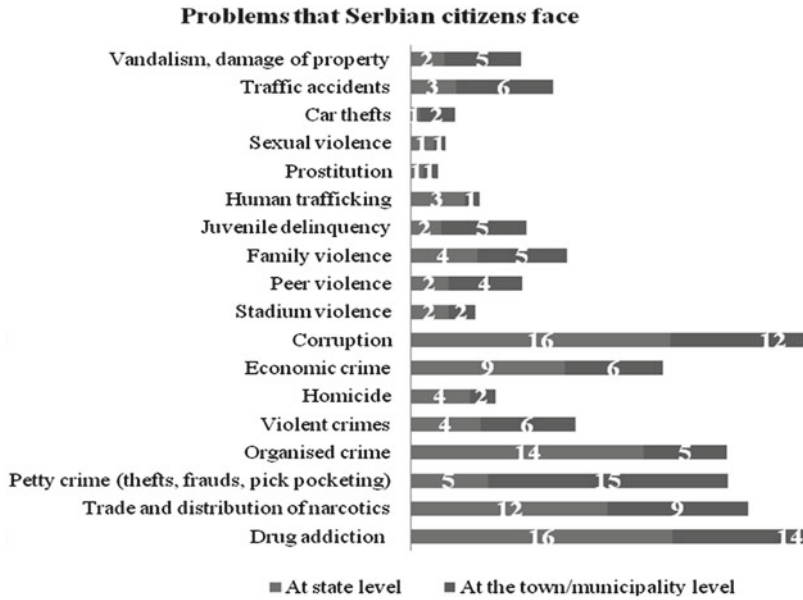


Fig. 9 Citizens perception of the most important security/safety problems (Source: CESID, 2011)

Existence of will in police to fight the security/safety challenges

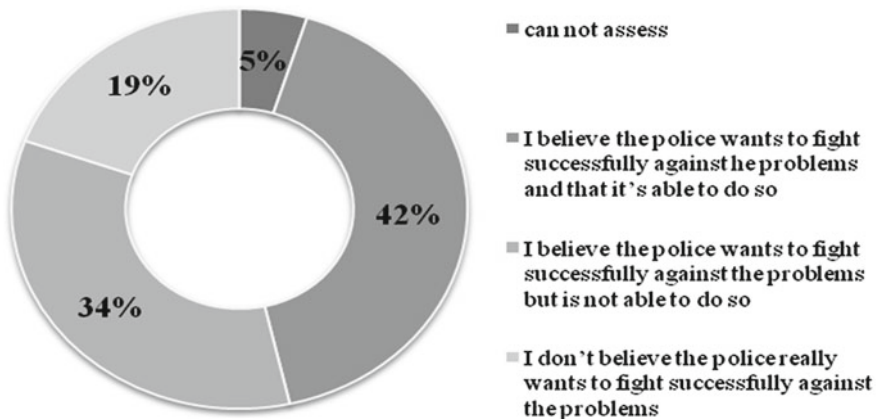


Fig. 10 Will in police to fight security/safety challenges (Source: CESID, 2011)

Current Trends and Future Developments in Policing

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the dominant perception was that the states/governments have the primary, and sometimes the sole responsibility, for ensuring security in the sense that they determine what kind of security is required (quantitatively and qualitatively) and

provide funds (in terms of organizational and financial) to achieve such security (Kešetović, 2007b). Today we are facing “the restructuring of policing” (Bayley & Shearing, 2001) and in the field of performing the security tasks besides the public police, as the state authority responsible for ensuring the safety and property of people and the protection of public order, there is a number of entities that define their security

needs (sponsors) and there are also the subjects that will meet those needs (providers). Unfortunately, Serbia is still far from these processes, since the prevailing concept of security is still state-centric. However, in the late 1990s the private security sector emerged and has rapidly grown since.

From the beginning, the development of the private security sector was moving in two directions: (1) towards establishing private agencies that were engaged in protecting not only “new businessmen,” politicians, “celebrities,” but also criminals and both former or current members of secret services; and (2) towards establishing private security companies that inherited the role and jobs of former security services in public and/or public companies that were engaged in classic jobs of securing property, people, or business. While doing so, the agencies, as a rule, worked in an illegal, frequently unlawful manner, while private security companies, that could have even had a larger number of employees, were slowly developing their field of activity and the private security sector in general.

In a period of only one decade, the number of employees in the private security sector has grown to around 30,000. Companies and enterprises engaged in private security are situated in various Serbian towns. The process of privatization, followed by the arrival of foreign companies in the Serbian market, has also conditioned a rise in the quality and expanded the range of supply in the private security market in Serbia. The rise in the industry of private security in Serbia is confirmed by the data that a yearly turnover of private security companies increased from ten million Euros in 2001 to nearly 26 million Euros in 2003 (according to official data of the NBS Solvency Centre). The investments of private security companies’ owners were particularly aimed at new security technologies and equipment, which cannot possibly be said for training and educating of employees.

The primary problems the private security sector is facing are:

- Absence of a contemporary categorical apparatus in the field of internal security, which emerges from the fact that in Serbia there is no clearly formulated national security concept

that should be primarily focused on prevention (not repression) and adjusted to the character/course of historical changes of the social corpus that is moving towards the private as its fundamental feature.

- In connection with that, the absence of a conceptual apparatus, with which current occurrences in the sphere of internal security, especially of the private one, would be determined adequately, thus becoming adaptable to a critical opinion, projecting, conceptualization, strategic planning.
- Lack of laws that would rationalize the number of negative, or at least undefined occurrences and relations that are already present in the reality of the private security sector—private investigators/detectives, private surveillance systems, the abuse of private securities—especially in the situations of taking control of a private facility or premises, the lack of standards in the manner of offering private security services, lack of standards in the manner of offering private security services, lack of systematic training, and educating of employees in the private security sector, licensing of the companies and employees in the sector, protection of employees’ rights, disloyal competition in the market of security services.
- Lack of partnership between the private and state security sectors, as the key precondition for achieving security and safety of citizens, a local community and society in general.¹⁸ This tells us something about at least two facts: (1) the governing model of internal security in Serbia, which is always state-centralized, and, in relation to this; (2) the ever present stereotype of the police as the only performer of security in the society.
- Lack of any conception on crime prevention at the national level, and therefore lack of any vision about the place and the role of the private police in prevention (Kešetović, 2010: 63–65).

¹⁸The state security sector (police) and private security work in parallel, mutual relations are not regulated, and collaboration so that occasionally occurs in some cases based on personal relations and acquaintances, not on a system that has made self-sustaining (Kešetović, 2007b).

New player in the security arena is the municipal police as the organizational unit within the city administration securing implementation of tasks that are within the jurisdiction of the city. Municipal police are in charge for exercising control over the application of laws and other regulations and general acts of communal areas and other activities under the jurisdiction of the city, exercising of supervision in urban, suburban, and other local traffic, in accordance with law and regulations of the city, protection of environmental, cultural goods, local roads, streets, and other public facilities of importance for the city and support implementing regulations that will ensure the smooth flow of life in the city, preservation of city resources and perform other tasks from jurisdiction of the city. Municipal Police Law came into force in July 2009. From spring 2010, in Belgrade and 23 other towns in Serbia the municipal police are established with the main task to enforce different municipal regulations and minor offences and misdemeanors.

Serbia is still not a consolidated democracy, but rather, in a way, a weak state lacking basic political and national consensus even on “big issues.” Due to this reason, it is very hard to predict the future development in policing. It will depend on the development of social and political situation and the moves of the EU and international community as well. A necessary prerequisite for speeding up the reform process in police and policing in general is a radical change in the way that the political leadership is managing the process of transition towards a modern and open society based upon the rule of law and a respect for human rights.

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Policing in the Slovak Republic: The Organization and Current Problems of Police Work

Josef Reitšpís, Libor Gašpierik, Kamil Boc,
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Introduction

The Slovak Republic (hereafter referred to as SR) is a sovereign state which in compliance with the international law that respects the territorial integrity and political independence of all countries. It does not raise claims on the territory of other countries and is not endangered by the armed forces of any other country. The SR is a legal state that respects international law, implements it into its legal system and follows legal regulations on state functions also in the area of security. The fundamental declaration document in the area of security is the Security Strategy of the SR which observes the principal changes in the security sphere of the SR as well as global changes, new commitments and responsibility of the SR to participate in the security and defense of the general community of democratic countries—allies and partners of the SR that are united in the Euro-Atlantic unions and communities.

The *Security Strategy of the SR* provides the bases for the implementation of security policy of the SR with intent to keep the required security

level for citizens and the state. The SR disseminates values of freedom, peace, democracy, legal state, justice, plurality, solidarity as well as human rights and basic freedoms. In compliance with international legal norms and the Constitution of the SR, the Slovak Republic guarantees safety for its citizens without regard to their origin, social status, and place of living. It is the fundamental precondition of the implementation of the human and civil rights and a harmonic development of the society. The SR also guarantees the right to personal safety for all categories of the population living on its territory. With regard to security, the SR faces two challenges that are typical of modern states. The first one is globalization and the second unequal development in the world and in the SR itself. Continuing globalization influences the SR in positive as well as negative ways. It brings phenomena and processes which are beyond control of the state, eliminates differences between the internal and external security and the boundaries between national and foreign policy. Economic subjects operating worldwide impose an increasing impact on the global development. The expansion of information technologies and general access to the Internet enable acquisition of weapon systems and instructions for their production, as well as further gaining experience necessary for planning and execution of attacks. The financial markets operating worldwide enable terrorist organizations to achieve certain objectives without the assistance and awareness of the state.

Globalization is associated with the increasing influence of non-state actors on security and

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stability in the world. The state monopoly for security and use of force disappears. The ability of the state as a subject of the international law to be the key actor in the international relationships is confronted by non-state groups, organizations and supranational networks.

The ever more apparent economic inequality in the world is a source of tension and instability and contributes considerably to security risks. The economic and social conditions in poor countries and impoverished regions results in huge differences in the standard of living among the population and consequently promotes general dissatisfaction and radicalism. The uneven economic development generates conditions for extremism and terrorism, abuse of faith and traditions, dissemination of religious fanaticism, establishment of authoritarian regimes, and illegal migration. These differences result in apprehension and attacks on new democratic institutes, citizens' freedoms, development of the economy and culture, or their considerable limitation. The uneven development in the world increases the danger of various nonmilitary risks.

Information on the Slovak Republic

With regard to geography, historical, cultural, political, and economic relations, the SR is an integral part of the Euro-Atlantic sphere. The geopolitical position of the SR in central Europe determines the security policy of the SR. The SR has a territory of 49,035 km². 5.4 million citizens of various nationalities are living in the SR (Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2012). 85.8 % of the Slovak population proclaim to be of Slovak nationality, 9.7 % of Hungarian, 1.8 % of Roma, and 0.9 % of Czech nationality (Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2011). Slovakia is situated in central Europe and borders on five countries, Austria and the Czech Republic to the West, Hungary to the South (the longest border), Ukraine to the East (the shortest border), and Poland in the North. The SR has been a member of the European Union since 1 May 2004, a member of the Schengen area since 21 December 2007, and a part of the European Monetary Union since 1 January 2009. The valid currency is the

euro (€). It is also a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the World Health Organization (WHO), EUROPOL (short for European Police Office), and the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL).

With its membership in the UN, OSCE and other regional organizations and communities, the SR contributes to efforts of the international community to keep peace and security in the world. Through the admission to NATO, the SR became a part of the system aimed at collective defense and security, and is a pillar of transatlantic defense and security is guaranteed by international commitments. By being admitted to the EU, the SR is guaranteed political and economic stability along with opportunity to actively participate in shaping, implementing and improving the European security and defense policies. Through the admission to OECD, the SR became one of the countries with the best developed economy in the world. The economic integration of the SR stabilized its market economy and enabled the country to begin global economic cooperation and to join the international system of development aimed at developing countries. The membership of the SR in influential international organizations has improved its security position and established new conditions for implementation these interests. Direct participation in the decision-making processes of these international organizations improved the level of security guarantees provided by the organizations as well as the extent of responsibility of the SR for security and stability in the world. The majority of the population of the SR is Roman Catholic (69 %). The Evangelical Augsburg Church is represented by 7 % of believers and is the second largest church in the country. A part of the population belongs to the Orthodox Church (5 %) and 13 % of population is unaffiliated or other. The political system of the SR is a parliamentary democratic republic, and is represented by the president who is elected directly by the people for a term of 5 years. He shares the power with the Slovak National Council, the

Parliament which is a legislative body whose 150 members are elected directly by the people for a term of 4 years. The government and the prime minister are responsible for the joint exercise of political power. The SR has a dense road infrastructure which is interconnected with railways and airports throughout the country. There are more than 1,000 protected areas, 9 national parks, and 16 protected landscape areas with numerous rare plants and animals. The climatic conditions differ according to the altitude and summer in the lowlands is dry and warm (Gašpírik & Reitšpís, 2010; Slovensko, 2012).

their authorizations defined by the respective law. The security forces in the SR are divided into two groups according to their organization and legal nature. The first group involves state security service, the second one non-state security service. The state security services are components of the state and are charged with the protection and safety of social interests in all areas for which they are responsible. They are the executive body of the state power and their representatives are public agents when performing the service. Structure of the state and non-state security services shows from Fig. 1.

Police in the Slovak Republic

Structure of Security Forces in the SR

A common feature of the security forces is the fact that they are established by law and their members performing the activities can apply

The state security services are executive bodies of state power, while their members are public agents when performing the service.

There is a wide range of non-state police security organizations that are established by law. As opposed to state security services, they provide security services for particular groups or individuals. The employees of the private security services are not public agents when performing

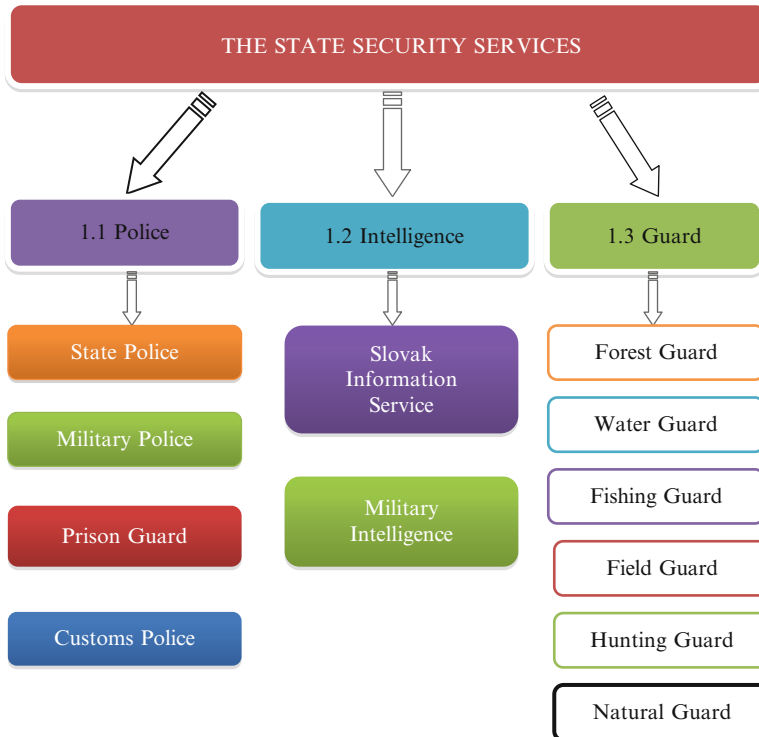


Fig. 1 Structure of the state security services (Source: created by the authors)

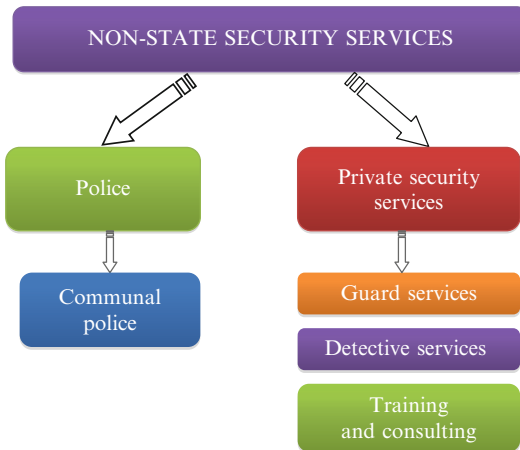


Fig. 2 Structure of the non-state security services division according to the subject of activities (*Source*: created by the authors)

these services (Gašpírik & Boc, 2010; Zákon č.473/2005Z.z. o poskytovaní služieb v oblasti súkromnej bezpečnosti a zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov (zákon o súkromnej bezpečnosti) v znení neskorších predpisov, 2005).

Division according to the subject of activities (Fig. 2):

The Police

The fundamental document regulating norms for activities of the European Police is the Declaration on the Police adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe as Resolution 690/1979. The Declaration has no legal force, but the principles defined by the Declaration were implemented into the legal norms for the police of the SR. The legal foundation for the activities of the Police is the Law on Police (Zákon č. 171/1993 Z. z. o Policajnom zbere v znení neskorších predpisov, 1993). The police of the Slovak Republic are an armed security unit which fulfills tasks associated with issues of national order, security, fight against crime including the organized and international forms and tasks arising for the police from the international commitments of the SR. The tasks are performed in compliance with the Law of Police (Zákon č. 171/1993 Z. z. o Policajnom zbere v znení neskorších predpisov, 1993).

The activity of the Police is supervised by the National Council and Government of the SR. The Police observe the Constitution, Constitution laws, laws and other generally binding legal regulations and international agreements to which the SR is committed.

Tasks of the Police

The Police:

- Cooperate in the area of protection of human rights and freedoms, especially protection of life, health, personal freedom, safety of persons, and property protection
- Uncover crime and search for offenders
- Cooperate in the area of revelation of tax avoidance, illegal financial operations, and legalization of income from criminal activities
- Conducts criminal investigations
- Coordinates fights against terrorism and organized crime
- Provide personal security for the President of the Slovak Republic, Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Chairman of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, Minister of Interior affairs and others as defined by law or the Government
- Provide protection of diplomatic missions and other objects as defined by the law or the Government and cooperate in the area of physical protection of nuclear facilities
- Provide protection of state borders, if not provided otherwise by special regulations
- Cooperate in the area of public order protection; if it is violated, they provide measures for its restoration
- Supervise safety and smoothness of traffic flow and cooperates in its management
- Reveal offences and search for offenders, if not provided otherwise by a special law, elucidate the offences and negotiate about them
- Conduct search for persons and objects
- Provide protection and help for witnesses in danger and for protected witnesses
- Conduct forensic expertise
- Cooperate in the area of civil aviation protection

A police officer in civil clothes is obliged to announce that he is a member of the Police verbally and by official card or by criminal police badge before an official intervention. A policeman in civilian dress shows that they belong to an oral declaration and police service card. With valid professional license and an oral declaration of belonging to the police does not have to give your name, surname and function.

Authorizations of Police Officer

A police officer is by Law of Police (Zákonč. 171/1993 Z. z. o Policajnom zbere v znení neskorších predpisov, 1993) authorized especially:

- *To ask for explanations* from a person who might contribute to elucidation of circumstances important for revelation of a crime or offence and to detention of the offender or culprit as well as to find the wanted or missing people and objects
- *To ask for identity demonstration* of a person if it is inevitable for fulfilling of the tasks assigned to the Police. The identity is demonstrated by an identity document (identity card, passport, foreigner registration card). Instead of identity document the person can demonstrate the card of a representative of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, card of a Government member, official card of a judge, official card of a prosecutor, official card of an armed forces member or confirmation about submission, loss or theft of identity card. If the addressed person refuses to demonstrate their identity, the police officer is entitled to take the person to the Police station with intent to find out their identity
- *To detain the person* who endangers her/his life and health or life and health of other people or property. If the person is caught when committing an offence or crime and there is a reasonable suspicion that s/he will continue in breaking the laws or if it is inevitable for elucidation of a matter. Further the police officer is entitled to detain a person who is found on crime scene immediately after the crime was committed and there is a connection between him/her and the committed crime. Detention of a foreigner cannot exceed 30 days

- *Is entitled to detain the object* if it is necessary to find out the real state of the object or if a decision by a respective body is inevitable
- *Is entitled to stop and inspect a vehicle.* In the performance of official duties he participates in elucidation of reasons of risks for *security and smoothness of railway traffic in the area of railway routes*, supervises security and smoothness of railway traffic in the area of railway routes
- *Is entitled* to inspect the aircraft *within implementation of civil aviation security* against terrorist attacks as well as to inspect people and luggage to find out whether they transport objects which might be used in a terrorist attack (e.g., firearm, stabbing weapon, cutting weapon, explosive, explosive object or alkali)
- *Is entitled* to inspect passport of people crossing the borders *when providing protection of state borders.* In case of a suspicion of crime he is entitled to inspect the person, luggage and vehicle in cooperation with the customs office
- *Is entitled to prohibit entrance to an area* if it is inevitable to fulfill the task. He is entitled to order everyone not to enter the area within the time specified
- *Is authorized to open a flat* if there is a reasonable suspicion that life or health of a person is in danger or there is a risk of serious damage to property and the action cannot be delayed anymore
- *Is authorized to use explosives and explosive objects* when providing security service for a person, property protection, especially in the disposal of explosive systems, ammunition or within the fight against terrorism
- *Is entitled to keep dangerous substances and illegal objects* for purposes of teaching, trainings, tests and expertise, and so on

Cooperation of the Police with Other Services

The Police force cooperates with bodies of public power, the armed forces, the armed security forces, armed units, Slovak information service, legal entities and persons, and with bodies of territorial self-government especially when setting

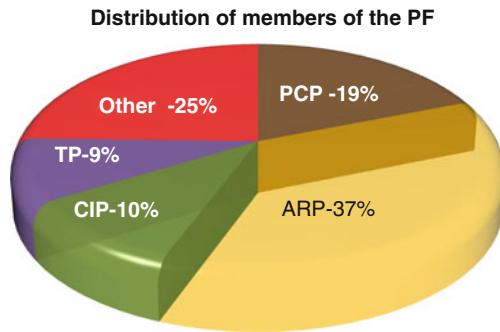


Fig. 3 Distribution of members of the Police (Source: created by the authors)

priorities for crime prevention, security public property protection, and focus of the fight against crime. The Police of the Slovak Republic cooperate with other security forces of the SR, especially with:

- Communal police
- Corps of the prison and court guard
- Military police
- Administration of customs

Organization of the Police

The Police are subordinate to the minister of interior Slovak Republic. The Police forces are divided into criminal police, financial police, riot police, traffic police, objects protection, immigration police, customs police, special units, protection of particular people, and inspection services. An organizational element of the Police is also a unit for forensic activities and expertise. The services of the Police are realized within offices of the Police which are founded and canceled by the Minister. He determines the content of their activities and the internal structure. The offices of the Police are organized primarily according to the organization of courts. The Minister establishes the special units that are active in the country and reveal and investigate crimes in the field that is within the authority of the Special court in compliance with the respective laws. The services and offices of the Police are governed by the President of the Police Force.

On 31 August 2008, the Slovakian Police had the following structure (Fig. 3) (Felcan, 2009):

- Overall number of the PF—20,283 workers
- Prison and court police, criminal police (PCP)—3,866 workers
- Riot police (ARP)—7,460 workers
- Customs and immigration police (CIP)—2,128 workers
- Traffic police (TP)—1,846 workers
- Other—4,983 worker

Organization of the Police of the SR is presented in Fig. 4.

Development of Criminal Activity in the Slovak Republic

The state of criminal activities is the number of committed crimes as well as people who committed those crimes in the SR within a specified period, and it is represented by absolute values. The official statistics about the SR shows the registered crime rate which varies considerably from the actual crime rate. The real crime rate differs with particular types of crime.

Status and dynamics of crime shows Tables 1 and 2 and Figs. 5, 6, and 7.

The level of criminal activity is calculated from the number of crimes committed within a specified term on a specified territory with regard to the total population. The level of crime is demonstrated as a coefficient per 100,000 citizens. The coefficient is calculated multiplying the crime rate by 100, divided by the number of citizens. To comprehend the crime rate as accurately as possible it is necessary to single out the children from the population (younger than 14) and consider only the population that is involved in criminal activities (Kittel, 2009).

To achieve a better quality and accuracy of crime rate representation, it is recommended to apply level indicators, i.e., crime rate index. The crime rate index is the ratio between the absolute number of crimes and total number in the population. It represents number of crimes per 100,000 citizens (Table 3).

Structure of criminal activity shows the ratio between particular types and groups of crime to the total number of all crimes committed within a specified period in a specified territory.

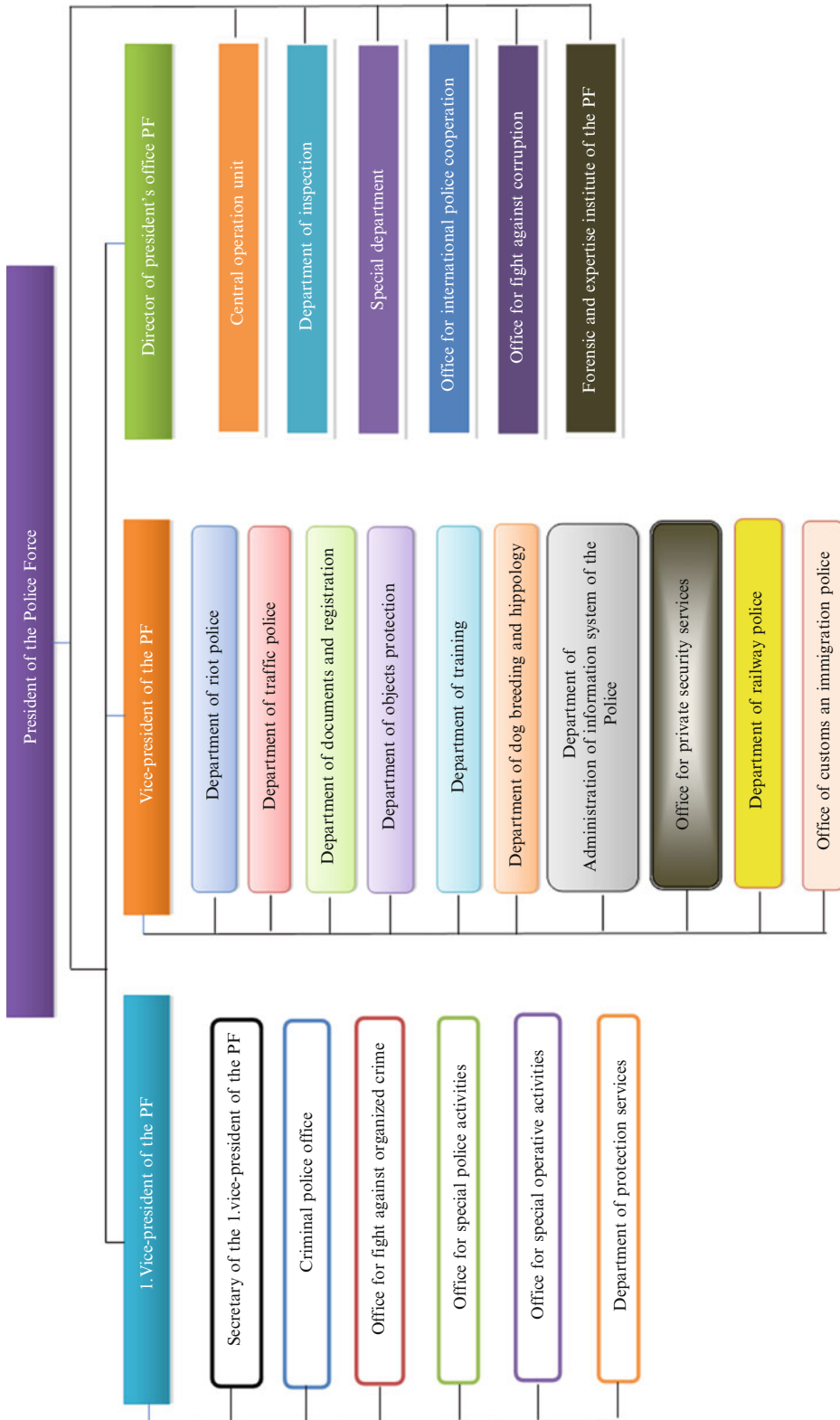


Fig. 4 Organization of the Police of the SR (Source: created by the authors)

Table 1 State of the registered crime rate in the SR and rate of clarification of the crimes

Year	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	
Crime rate	46,332	69,827	83,418	104,947	146,139	137,712	114,579	99,402	92,395	93,859	94,016	
Clarified crimes	40,723	40,288	43,863	44,760	52,981	51,327	49,153	45,116	43,642	45,658	47,067	
Percent	87.77	57.66	49.76	42.6	36.26	37.27	42.9	45.39	47.23	48.65	50.06	
Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Crime rate	88,817	93,053	107,373	111,957	131,244	123,563	115,152	110,802	104,758	104,905	95,252	85,696
Clarified crimes	47,107	50,818	55,212	56,451	56,723	60,093	53,245	45,969	45,680	49,453	46,725	43,309
Percent	53.04	54.61	51.42	50.04	43.22	48.63	46.24	41.49	43.61	47.15	40.05	50.54

Source: Štatisický úrad Slovenskej republiky (2011)

Table 2 Development of the registered types of crime in the SR

Year	Total crime rate	Property crimes	Economic crimes	Crimes of violence	Vice crimes	Drug crimes	Other crimes
1989	46,332	16,769	6,404	6,260	3,543	–	13,356
1990	69,827	44,802	3,939	8,554	1,037	–	11,495
1991	83,418	64,293	3,461	8,791	658	–	6,215
1992	104,947	80,089	5,105	8,867	612	–	10,273
1993	144,730	114,214	8,597	9,617	589	35	11,688
1994	136,758	107,657	7,140	9,752	703	88	11,412
1995	113,668	80,845	8,560	19,806	754	606	12,097
1996	98,557	67,305	6,400	11,202	823	732	12,095
1997	92,395	62,411	4,716	11,564	769	967	11,968
1998	93,859	63,130	4,913	12,427	669	520	12,200
1999	94,017	60,275	5,902	13,531	721	453	13,135
2000	88,821	52,923	6,686	13,459	783	940	14,030
2001	93,058	54,022	7,448	14,450	756	1,036	15,346
2002	107,419	57,543	14,448	15,020	773	1,114	18,521
2003	111,957	61,034	14,863	13,724	835	1,307	20,194
2004	131,244	77,098	16,414	13,692	875	1,270	21,895
2005	123,558	65,304	19,244	12,866	794	1,678	23,672
2006	115,152	63,077	19,168	10,858	798	1,732	19,519
2007	110,802	60,045	17,895	9,620	805	2,159	14,125
2008	104,758	54,754	16,974	9,030	840	2,285	13,034
2009	104,905	52,399	19,518	8,337	791	2,459	13,732
2010	95,252	47,408	16,781	7,532	678	1,762	13,568
2011	85,696	43,309	16,625	6,524	949	2,300	12,281

Source: Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky (2011)

Structure of Overall Criminal Activity in the SR

Structure of the criminal activity in the SR is composed by these types of crime:

- Property crime
- Economic crime
- Crimes of violence
- Vice crime
- Drug crime
- Other crimes that do not fit in the categories above

A credible characteristic of the crime rate is its structure. It reflects changes over the last decades which the general public views as alarming, as threats to lives of citizens, health, property, personal freedom, and other material and intellectual values.

Educational System of the Police

The education of police officers follows the national education policy in the field of training of police officers and their professional training. There is an educational system for police officers established by the Ministry of internal affairs consisting of:

- (a) *Stredná odborná škola Policajného zboru Bratislava* (Vocational school of the Police Bratislava)
- (b) *Stredná odborná škola Policajného zboru Košice* (Vocational school of the Police Košice)
- (c) *Stredná odborná škola Policajného zboru Pezinok* (Vocational school of the Police Pezinok)
- (d) *Akadémia Policajného zboru v Bratislave* (Police Academy in Bratislava)

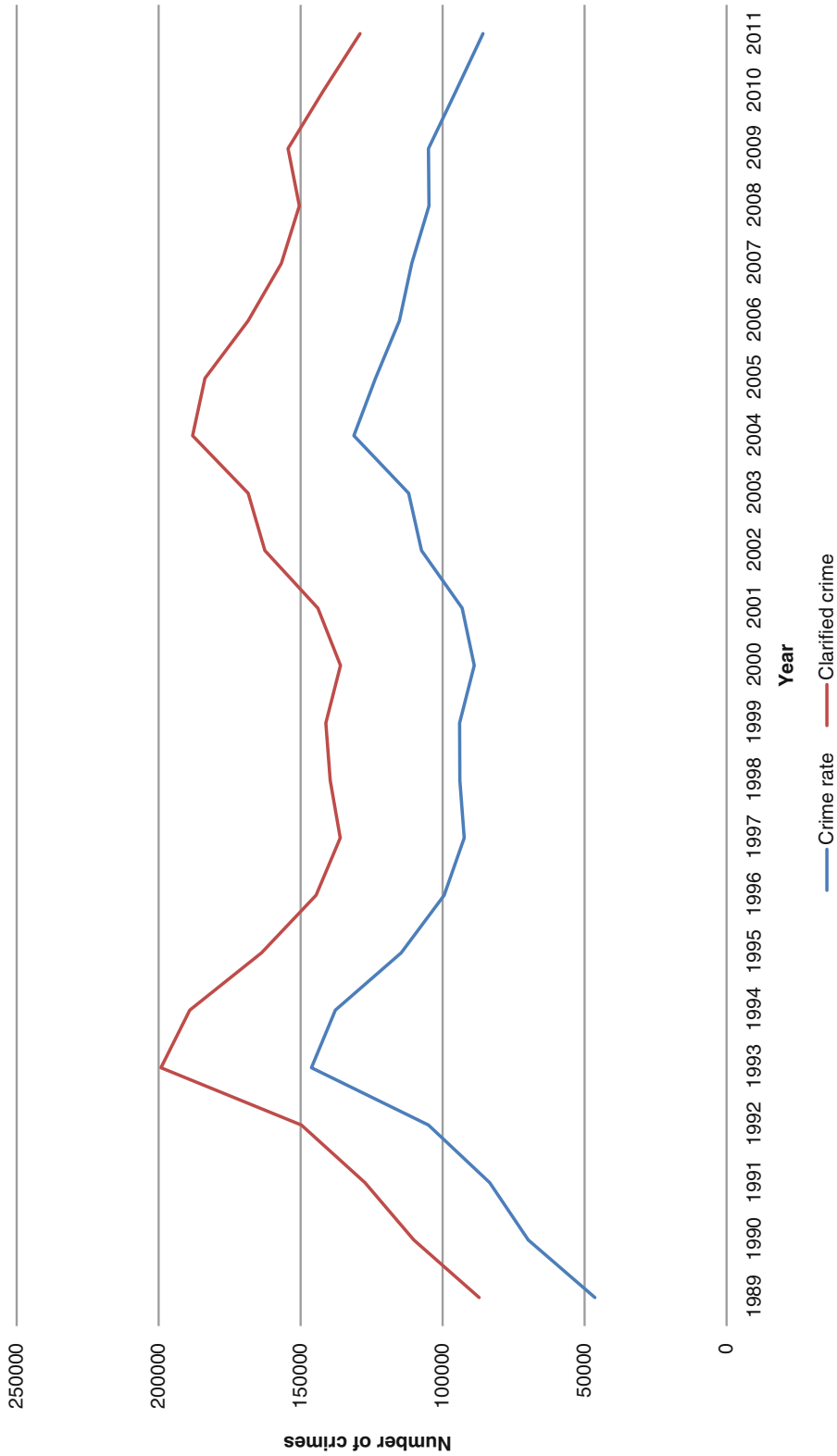


Fig. 5 Development of the registered crime rate in the SR (*Source: created by authors*)

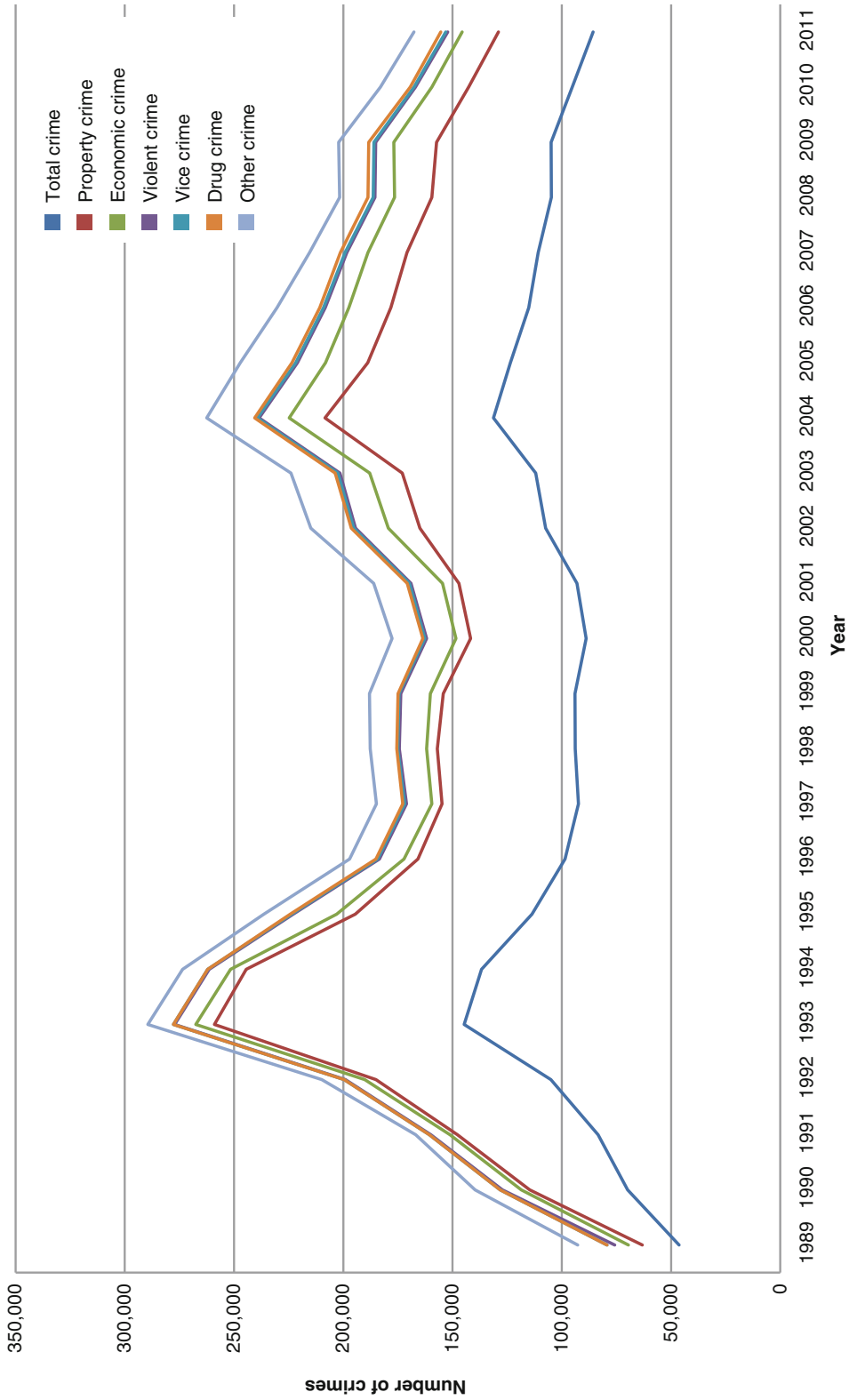


Fig. 6 Development of the registered types of crime in the SR (Source: created by authors)

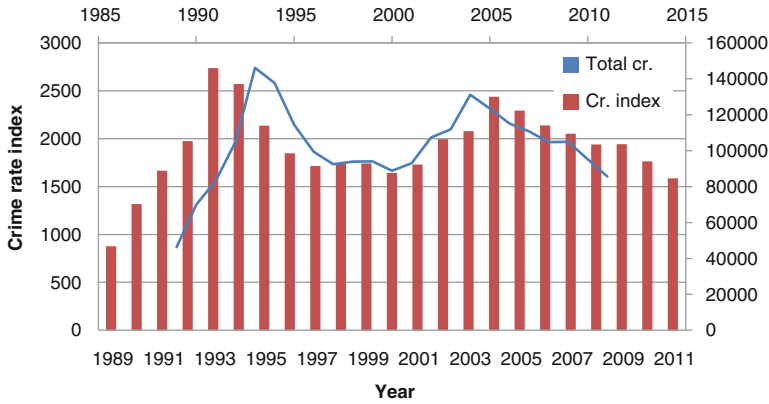


Fig. 7 Index of the registered crime rate per 100,000 citizens (Source: created by authors)

In the area of further education of police officers separate from the departmental police schools there is also education and training for special activities provided. Further education of police officers is organized through nondepartmental educational institutions and is provided through projects that are cofinanced with the EU.

The criteria for professional education include the admission to the office of a member of the Police. A citizen of the Slovak Republic older than 18 who applies for the admission can become a member of the Police if he:

- *Has a clean criminal record.* A person does not meet the requirements if he was sentenced, convicted, or imprisoned for an intentional crime. It is necessary to submit the criminal record certificate during the selection procedure, and the criminal record certificate is procured by the office of the PF that organizes the selection procedure.
- *Is reliable.* A person is not considered to be reliable if he apparently consumes alcoholic beverages, drugs, psychotropic substances or products that can result in dependence.
- *Has acquired general education* adequate to the function s/he shall be assigned. The required qualification is to finish high school with school exit examinations or complete a university program.
- *Is in good, physical and mental health* which is necessary for job performance. This is achieved through tests of physical fitness and psychological and medical checkups in the special-

ized facilities of the Ministry of Interior of the SR (each applicant has to be able to swim).

- *Speaks the national language.* The citizen demonstrates a good command of the state language on tests conducted in the specialized facilities of the Ministry of Interior of the SR.
- *Has permanent residence in the Slovak Republic.*
- *Is not a member of a political party or a political movement* on the date of admission to the civil office in the Police.
- *Is able to perform legal acts to their full extent.*
- *Has stopped performing activities that are forbidden in compliance with the Law on Private Security Services (Zákon č.473/2005 Z.z. o poskytovaní služieb v oblasti súkromnej bezpečnosti a o zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov (zákon o súkromnej bezpečnosti) v znení neskorších znení neskorších predpisov, 2005).*

Stredná odborná škola Policajného zboru Bratislava (Vocational school of the Police Bratislava) prepares police officers at the lower ranks for civil service in the Police. Those are police officers in functions with a planned grade second lieutenant, lieutenant, and first lieutenant in which specialized police education is required in compliance with the respective Law on State Services on Police (Zákon č.73/1998 Z.z. o štátnej službe príslušníkov Policajného zboru, Slovenskej informačnej služby, Zboru väzenskej a justičnej stráže Slovenskej republiky a Železničnej polície, 1998). The school also

Table 3 Development crime by index of the registered crime rate per 100,000 citizens in the SR

Year	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	
Crime rate	46,332	69,827	83,418	104,947	146,139	137,712	114,579	99,402	92,395	93,859	94,016	
Crime rate index	877	1,317	1,665	1,977	2,738	2,571	2,135	1,848	1,715	1,739	1,743	
Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Crime rate	88,817	93,053	107,373	111,893	131,244	123,563	115,152	110,802	104,758	104,905	95,252	85,696
Crime rate index	1,644	1,730	1,996	2,078	2,437	2,292	2,138	2,052	1,936	1,934	1,764	1,587

Source: Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky (2011)

provides further education for police officers in requalification, improvement, complementary courses designed for particular services of the Police, through short-term courses, schoolings, and trainings. The aim of the requalification courses is career growth, improvement courses on demand, and professional English and German courses; IT courses for users of the police information system, courses in criminalistics, security of road traffic transport, driving courses, and others according to the educational projects.

Stredné odborné školy Policajného zboru v Pezinku a v Košiciach (Vocational schools of the Police in Pezinok and Košice) fulfill the following tasks:

- Provides basic police education. The students acquire basic knowledge and skills in the area of service in the anti-riot police, traffic police, criminalistics, criminal law, marksmanship and physical practice, and according to the needs of the sector in service of customs and immigration police as well.
- The general part of the education includes German and English at the level that is required for performance of police officer's job, PC work, ethics and psychology of the officer's work, and management of the registry order.
- Practical seminars are a part of the studies. They integrate the study of several subjects. The studies are accomplished with a school exit examination consisting of practical and theoretical sections.

The graduates are usually assigned functions at basic police offices. Later, if required by the office, they can enroll in further studies at the *Stredná odborná škola Policajného zboru Bratislava—Devínska Nová Ves* (Vocational school of the Police—Bratislava—Devínska Nová Ves) or at the Academy of the Police in Bratislava—Rača.

Academy of the PF

The Academy of the Police Force in Bratislava is a state university that provides education for members of the Police and other security services. The Academy of the Police Force was established through a legal provision of the

Presidency of the National Council of the SR No. 370 from year 1992. The Academy of the Police Force was opened in the academic year 1992/1993 on 1 October 1992. The legal status of the PF arises from the Law of the Legal Code on Universities (Zákon o vysokých školách a o zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov, 2002). The mission of the Academy of the Police Force is to prepare qualified experts with university degree for the offices of the Police, specialized facilities of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and other state and non-state security services; to provide further education, develop scientific knowledge in study subjects, provide scientific degree through PhD studies, rigorous, habilitation, and inauguration proceedings.

State and Development of Safety as Perceived by the Citizens of the Slovak Republic

Every social system inevitably needs to create reliable and effective mechanisms of protection for its optimal development. Without an efficient solution for internal security, there is no way to increase economic prosperity and cultural levels of the citizens. Therefore, the basic social order, expectation of the public, and categorical imperative of the police activity is mainly to satisfy the need for the security of citizens and property.

Real fulfillment of this need is inseparable from the efficient functioning of the Police, in all of its elements and mainly its human factor. These are mainly the police officers and their professional activity which, not only directly influence the performance and results of the police system, but are also contribute to the success of practically every citizen in the public eye and help them to solve crises and dramatic life situations.

Current conditions for performance of service activity of the police officers are marked by new quality and quantity, higher dangerousness of committed crimes, aggression, brutality and recklessness through the actions of the offenders. New forms of crime have appeared and, at the same time, there is a distinct penetration of international crime into the Slovak Republic. That

yields new qualitative demands, not only for the behavior and action of the police officers, but also for the evaluation process of the Police by the Slovak citizens. The activity of the Police as a whole and activities of individual police officers are under permanent social supervision; they are intensively perceived, judged and evaluated by the citizens. There are only a few other professions which are watched and evaluated so intensively. The police cannot of course, be indifferent about the level of trust of the citizens. Philosophers say that “you can lose trust only once.” The point is that one who has already lost the trust is hard to trust again in the future.

Police officers are considered and evaluated from the point of view of their professional roles, in the form of demands, expectations, and suggestions about how a police officer should behave and act. It is important to understand what kind of demands we are dealing with (e.g., unrealistic–realistic, legal–illegal and similar) and how are they fulfilled by police officers. In case they are in contradiction to reality, it comes to disruption of the relationships, and the citizen loses his trust in the police.

The term trust is understood as an inclination to belief, as belief, whereby to trust is defined as “to have trust in somebody or something.” To be trustworthy means to be worthy of trust, to be reliable. We can state that the relationships of trust of the citizens in police officers are dominated by the attitudes and beliefs that the Police are reliably fulfilling all the tasks emerging from their status in the society. Relationships of mistrust of citizens in the police are those in which the citizens are sure that the Police are fulfilling their tasks unreliably. There are various impacts of economic, political, legal, social, and personal nature in the process of formation of trust in the Police which have positive, negative, or indifferent impacts on relationships between the citizens and the police. These relations are reflected in the relationships of trust (mistrust) of the citizens in the police, at the level of social acceptance of the Police as an institution and police officers as personalities and practical administrator of police activities.

Police officers are considered and evaluated through public opinion of the citizens which is promoted at two levels:

- At the level of demands, expectations, incentives, and suggestions about how a police officer should behave and act
- At the level of positive evaluation of the behavior and actions of a police officer or critical judgment of negative phenomenon in their service activity

Consideration and evaluation of the activity of the Police is influenced by particular social contacts, mood, overall the emotional state of the citizens, and by many other objective and subjective activities in the context of a particular situation. Existing opinions on the Police and police officers can be also solicited from various credible or non-credible sources.

Trustworthiness of the Police is evaluated by individual groups differently and differs in the following demographic marks (*Vývoj dôveryhodnosti Policajného zboru a analýza faktorov, ktoré ju ovplyvňujú, 2002–2006*):

- Trust of women in the Police is higher than of men; in the case of women, trustworthiness (48.4 %) is even higher than mistrust (44.7 %)
- Trust in the Police has the tendency to increase age; the lowest trust is recorded in the category of 16–17 years of age (only 39.3 %), in the age group 18–59 it moderately oscillates around the Slovak average, and in those over 60 years old, trust (56.8 %) markedly predominates over mistrust (40.1 %)
- Citizens with university education trust the Police the most (52 %)
- Members of agricultural production (61 %) and retired people (52.3 %) trust the Police the most in what concerns the socio-professional categories
- Citizens of the Bratislava district (51.3 %) trust the Police the most and citizens of the Trenčín district (only 39 %) express the lowest trust

Mistrust to the Police is expressed higher than the Slovak average:

- By the citizens of the Trenčín district (58.5 %)
- By unemployed citizens of which 60.6 % do not trust the Police forces

Improvement of the activity of the Police is according significantly connected primarily with positive evaluation of the following activities:

- Fight against organized crime
- Choice and professional readiness of police officers
- Fight against drug-related crime
- Ensuring fluency and safety of traffic
- Clarification of serious crimes

Citizens associate total *deterioration of the activities of the Police* mainly with negative evaluation of the following activities:

- Cooperation of the police and citizens
- Investigation of crime
- Willingness and ability of police officers to take action in favor of the “common” citizen
- Ensuring public order
- Revealing tax evasion and illegal financial operations

It can be stated with a high probability that:

- The trust of citizens in the Police sensitively responds to the perception of quality changes of individual tasks and activities of the Police
- Different conditions and events associated with the activity of the Police according to their immediate perception (e.g., personal experience) or presentation (in media) significantly influence the trust or mistrust of the citizens to the Police

Trustworthiness of the Police is statistically significantly influenced by various social factors and specific factors associated with the activity of the Police as a state authority, an armed security force which fulfills tasks in the area of internal order and state security.

After 1989, the Slovak society entered into social transformations which led to major structural changes. This transformation process of the society and the associated considerable extent of problematic situations is also shown in the relationship of the citizens to the state, state institutions and their activity. For the Police, it means not only to react to social changes, but also to take the position of an active subject working towards efficient solution to the problems of civil security.

These trends are reflected in the approach of the police to the population and the citizens. It is somewhat contrary to other processes which are currently promoted in police work, such as centralization, technocratization, specialization,

and depersonalization of the police activities. These processes are objectively justified to some extent and useful for some areas of police work, although their meaning is incomplete and should not affect the basic trends which put the police closer to the population. Its essence can be characterized as a change in the police from authoritarian, privileged, and mainly a repressive authority standing over civil society or even against it, to an authority fully integrated into the society and state system. An authority which is subject to laws and control mechanisms, fulfilling strict security functions because otherwise there would be a lack of information and essential social acceptance and support. The idea that the police serve the citizens has been moderately decreasing with the growth of population in the city.

In cities with less than 2,000 citizens, 60.3 % think that the police serve the public; however, only 53.1 % of the citizens in larger cities (more than 50,000 citizens) feel this way. Police officers are maybe more well known, perceived closer to the citizen in smaller towns than in larger cities in which the police officer is “anonymous” and relatively more distant from the citizen. Research indicates to some extent that almost one quarter of the citizens (24.5 %) in smaller towns have been in immediate personal contact with a police officer, while in cities with more than 50,000 citizens it was only 13.5 %. According to responses of the citizens, the feeling to be endangered by crime is lower in smaller settlements and the sense of security is higher than in larger cities (however it is not as distinct as in immediate contact with the police). A strong direct link of the evaluation of the Police as a service to the citizen with evaluation of the reliability of fulfilling basic duties and satisfaction with selected segments of operation has been confirmed. The most distinct unity in evaluation is in such activities of the police which are “in the public eye,” i.e., under supervision of the public and can be observed by almost every citizen. The way of transformation of the police to the service for the citizen (of course besides other activities) is aimed mainly at increasing quality in following areas of the police operation:

- Protection of the security of the citizens and their property
- Ensuring public order
- Revealing and adamant solving of offences
- Willingness and ability of the police to take action in favor of the “common” citizen
- Way of behavior of the police officers towards the public
- The level of cooperation of the police with the citizens

The majority of citizens associate a positive evaluation of work of the Police as a service for the citizen, and while their negative evaluation has a strong impact in the opinions of the citizens that the police do not serve the public.

One of the decisive factors which has an impact on the trust in the police, is sufficient awareness of the citizens about the activity and results of the work of the Police on the basis of optimal, brief, factual, credible and prompt information. Every familiarity which enriches the knowledge of the citizens about the Police, and which has an influence on the attitude to the police is regarded to be such information.

The relationships of the trust of the citizens to the police are formed through awareness at following levels:

- Under the influence of the information transmitted by mass-media and other means of information
- By interpersonal communication, immediate contact of the citizens and police officers
- Through one’s own experience gained in a particular interaction with the police officers, as an involved or uninvolved participant (bystander and the like)
- Through communication at an informal level through informal channels, communicating and transferring so called “guaranteed messages” and the like

The source and character of this information can significantly influence the opinions of the citizens; intensify their trust, and evaluation of the reliability of the police officers when fulfilling their service activities. Most research has pointed out that it is obvious that sources of mediated “official” information, mainly information from the mass-media, are predominant

among the sources which affect citizens opinion on police.

Almost three quarters of the citizens (74.2 %) gain information about the work of the police officers and activity of the Police on the basis of information from television. The predominant position of television is set by its communicational and informational possibilities of direct transfer of particular events and the possibility of transferring the activity of the police officers in picture form. Mediated “unofficial” information (indirect “second-hand” information) on the basis of knowledge and experience about the activity of the Police from other people, i.e., family members, relatives, coworkers, friends, and acquaintances, are also of importance. When evaluating the Police according to the information we get the result of more than one half of the citizens (51.6 %). Thanks to the “snowball” effect, mediated information can influence the evaluation of the Police for a large enough group of citizens.

Sources of information for the evaluation of the Police by the public:

- Information from television 74.2 %
- Personal observation of the police and police officers by the public 49.4 %
- Information from the daily papers and magazines 43.8 %
- Information from the radio 42.8 %
- Communicating with family members and relatives about their experience 36 %
- Communicating with coworkers, acquaintances, and friends about their experience 29.9 %
- Personal contact with police officers and personal experience of the activity of the Police 25 %
- Events organized by police officers (Police Day, projects for cooperation of the police and public) and various materials about the work of an police officer and activity of the Police (e.g., police newspapers, trade-union magazines and literature)
- Other 0.6 %

A group of citizens which does not observe the activity of the police directly and has no personal contact and experience with the police is affected by mediated information the most. This

group is represented by more than one quarter (25.7 %) of the citizens. They get information mainly from the mass-media, and detailed analysis has shown that trust in the Police is statistically significantly lower than in other groups of citizens.

Regarding direct, unmediated information, almost two-thirds of the citizens use information based on their own observation of the activity of the police and police officers in public, personal contact with the police officers, and own experience when evaluating the Police. The decisive part of the direct sources of information is represented by one's own, personal observation of the police activity in the public (49.4 %). It is obvious that the activity of the police is under public supervision of for more than one half of the citizens. The their duties can be supervised by the public, their behavior, acting, dealing with citizens, their appearance and similar factors, influence the evaluation of trustworthiness of the Police in a positive or a negative way. If we take into consideration the high trust of the public in the objectivity and credibility of the headline news of the most watched television stations, it is obvious that they can have a major influence on the opinion of the citizens on police officers and the Police generally. The aforementioned facts are to be considered during implementation of the media policy of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and in cooperation with journalists. Citizens also expect the initiative of competent units of the Police during implementation of the media policy concept.

The changes in the former social-economic system create situations which influence every element of the social structure of Slovak society. Long-term changes comprise the transformational process and have various consequences, e.g., increase of the cost of living, risk of unemployment, wage differentials, but also increase in crime, change of its structure and negative social impacts. Opinions of the citizens on the activity of the Police reflect the existing socioeconomic environment, and express the subjective perception of the activity of the state and its institutions in a complicated and difficult way. Evaluation by the citizens is a sensitive reaction, not only to

social changes but also to changes which arose during the process police activities, to the level of efficient activity of the Police and to individual behavior and action of the police officers. Subjective perceptions of the social reality are strongly associated with the evaluation of the reliability and trustworthiness of the Police. There is an influence of a complex of factors which determine and impact the content and focus of the relationships of the citizens and the police. Concrete form of these relationships is significantly influenced by social contacts formed during police activities and the solution of problems directly related to the citizens in the context of a particular situation. There is an intensive impact of personal factors, emotions, media, and various other objective and subjective influences.

Social Status of the Police Officers in the Slovak Republic

Social and professional groups live and work in particular social relationships and in concrete historical situations. A man is integrated into the social system with his work activity as a representative of various professions, takes various social positions, and assumes roles at certain level of status and prestige.

Police officers also enter into varied relationships with individuals and groups, enter into complicated net of organized, power, social, communicative, competence, prestigious, friendly and demographic relations. In their profession, police officers gain a social status which is an expression of their relation to other professions. Social status is associated with the value system of the society, the state as a social institution, and with the process of functioning of the Police.

The social status of police officers and the activity of the Police as a whole are under permanent social supervision of the citizens of the Slovak Republic, and are perceived, judged and evaluated by the citizens. There are probably just a few other professions whose activity is watched and evaluated this intensively.

This status also represents a social value considering the fact that the social status of the

police officers is evaluated by citizens according to the system of values of the society. This means that social factors (character of social development, level of state functioning, social systems based on values and similar), sector factors (implementation of basic tasks of the Police, information about the results of police activities, level of trustworthiness of the police officers and similar), and also personal factors (abilities, competences, qualities of the police officers, their behavior in the contact with public and similar) are reflected in the evaluation.

Police officers are considered and evaluated from the point of view of the demands, expectations, and suggestions as to how a police officer should act and behave. It is therefore necessary to know what are the demands like (e.g., unrealistic–realistic, legal–illegal) and how are they fulfilled by the police officers. The analysis of the opinions of the citizens of the Slovak Republic as to the social status of the police officers, on the influencing and determining factors, requires attention by the scientific and pedagogical departments of the sector of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic. The prestige of the job of a police officer is expressed by the social gravity and respect which are assigned to this job by the citizens.

A questionnaire on the topic titled “Social status and role of the police in the opinions of the citizens of the Slovak Republic” was designed and redesigned several times over the years in consultation with the Institute for Public Opinion Research at the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. Its aim is to assess the level of trust of Slovak citizens, their opinions on the activity of the basic fields of the police, and uncover possible factors which influence the trustworthiness of the Police and their social status.

The occupation of a police officer is understood as a specific, mainly formalized set of professional activities requiring specialized training directed towards gaining optimal police-competence. The prestige of the police profession is represented by the social appreciation of its importance, seriousness, complexity, and respect shown the professional activity of the police. It is a social relationship of particular evaluation and

appreciation of the prestigious characteristics of this profession. In connection with the evaluation of the prestige of the occupation of a police officer, it has been shown, according to research conducted on the population of the Slovak Republic, that citizens value such indicators of prestige of the occupation which are associated with the basic duties of the Police. Results and effects of their implementation in the society are in direct and everyday contact with the citizens. These are mainly duties associated with crime control, ensuring public order, protection of people and property, fight against organized crime, and investigation of crimes. It has been shown that a functioning indicator of prestige of the occupation of a police officer is how his activity serves the public, how it increases the sense of safety, and to what extent it represents a guarantee of the development of the rule of law and the promotion of a democratic society. At the same time, it confirms the rightfulness of the strategic orientation of the police to serve the public. The character of contemporary social development continuously elicits needs for the existence of internal order and safety which are perceived by the citizen as an organic part of his life, and he wishes these needs to be satisfied by the Police.

It has been shown that social importance, characteristic features of the occupation of the police officer, and conditions in which the work is performed are differently valued. However, basic duties and activities associated with this profession (protection of people and property, ensuring the public order, ensuring fluency and safety of traffic, investigation of crime, fight against ordinary and organized crime) are preferred by the citizens equally without regard to their opinion at the level of prestige of the job of a police officer. That means that the level of prestige of the occupation of a police officer is directly proportional to the aforementioned “action” activities. These activities represent the features which are valued by the citizens the most. A high correlation of the prestige of the occupation of a police officer with trustworthiness of the Police confirms that basic duties and activities of the police, reliability of their implementation, and satisfaction of the citizens with them, have a

substantial impact not only on the trustworthiness of the Police but also at the level of the prestige of the occupation of a police officer.

In conclusion, it is necessary to state that the prestige of the occupation of the police officer was evidenced by public opinion research, and is shown to be moderately low in Slovak society. Citizens evaluate positively such signs of prestige which express necessity, physical and psychological difficulty, responsibility of the police, but also its interest, social securities and comforts which are guaranteed by this occupation. The level of professional qualifications and readiness of police officers, their authority in keeping the rules of discipline and professional morality, are evaluated in a negative way. These are the signs of the occupation of a police officer which are perceived by the citizens mainly during immediate contact with the police officers and which have the biggest impact at the level of communication, interaction, behavior and relations to the citizens.

According to citizens of the Slovak Republic, the real level of prestige of the occupation of the police officer is evaluated as an occupation which is interesting, requires high responsibility, is mentally and physically demanding, and provides significant social and existential security for the officers. Seriousness, authority, respect and regard of the citizens for the occupation of the police officer is low, and is probably related to lower professional qualifications, readiness of the police officers, and very low level of keeping the discipline and rules of professional morality. With a very high probability, it can be concluded that negatively evaluated signs significantly decrease the overall level of prestige of the police officer in our society. This applies primarily to the discipline and professional morality of the police officers; these are the elements which are also negatively evaluated by those citizens who have a positive overall opinion of the police officer.

The prestige of the occupation of the police officer is to some extent relatively stable. It is a social phenomenon which is evolving and can also have certain development stages and is dependent upon various social factors. It is a

specific transfer of the impact of the social environment, its impact on subjective evaluation of individual citizens, social communities and groups. Knowledge of these factors and the level of their impact on the prestige of the occupation of the police officer including the evaluation of the police profession by the police officers, should become the subject of further researches dealing with this topic.

Safety Feeling of the Citizens of the Slovak Republic in Their Place of Residence

One of the basic human rights of every democratic society is the right to lead a safe life. The Police participate significantly in providing this safe life, internal security, order and lawfulness for every citizen of the Slovak Republic.

We find that, based on the surveys of public opinion carried out by the Academy of the Police Force, two thirds of the respondents (61.8 %) feel safe in their place of residence. This positive result is demonstrated by the index value ($S_x=0.305$) and means moderately positive below the positive evaluation line. The evaluation of the feeling of local safety is consistent according to the observed personal demographic markers of the respondents: there are no differences regarding sex, age, nationality, respondents' education. The results demonstrate that feeling safe is one of the factors associated with trustworthiness and satisfaction with the work of the Police. We can assume that trustworthiness and satisfaction as expressed by the public is significantly reflected in the feeling of safety. We can find other examples where this is not the case. Nearly three fifths of the respondents of the Bratislava district feel safe in their place of residence. That is why the crime rate in the region ranks third on the relevance scale. Nevertheless, a considerable part of the population from the Bratislava district is concerned about their property and health, and about aggressive conduct on the roads. This is mirrored in the fact that the citizens consider as the most important Police activity, finding out who has car thefts, flat or

house burglary. They accentuate the fight against drug crimes, point out serious economic crimes, i.e., corruption, corporate crime, “tunneling,” and legalization of income from crimes as well as the fight against petty crimes. The respondents maintain that the Police in the Bratislava district would become more trustworthy if more police officers were seen on the streets. Those officers would have to be carefully selected and would have to have more authority which would not be misused to take personal advantage of the situation or advantage for their relatives. Such police officers are supposed to be uncompromising in dealing with all offenders.

According to the demographic indicators observed, there are several, more or less, relations within the feeling of safety feeling evaluation concerning place of residence.

The following citizens feel safer in their place of residence:

- Men and women especially
- Respondents younger than 30 as opposed to respondents older than 60
- Citizens of municipalities with less than 10,000 inhabitants as opposed to the respondents living in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (these tend to feel unsafe)

With regard to the work of the police, the citizens of the SR appreciate that police officers are seen in the public and thus their presence has a preventive effect on crime rates, their resolve in performing their job, and their readiness and effort to help the citizens. However, there are also factors that disturb the citizens and areas in which the police officers are not viewed positively by the citizens of the SR.

The results confirm that the different approach of police officers towards citizens is mostly dismissed (on the one hand “bullying” of common people, on the other hand, benevolence towards relatives, the rich and powerful); nearly one half of the respondents perceive the work of the police in this way. The police are said to deal with minor, less serious cases rather than with seriousness. Dishonesty and corrupt police officers are deprecated by more than one-third of the citizens. The police are accused of being afraid of the mafia and the underworld, of being arrogant, rude, of

superior behavior when dealing with citizens. Generally, dissatisfying results of police work when protecting citizens’ safety and decreasing the crime rate in the place of residence, are foregrounded. They are also accused of being uninterested, indifferent, and inattentive when exercising their duties and responsibilities. However, we have to highlight here the fact that there is a group of citizens who have no objections to the work of the police in their place of residence.

In conclusion, if we respected the relevance of comparing two types of armed forces classified within the group of the evaluated institutions, for example the Army of the SR and the Police, we would have to keep in mind that under given social circumstances, different factors influence the trustworthiness of these institutions. As a result of the fact that there is no direct external enemy, the Army of the SR is not under public scrutiny, their work results are not directly observed and evaluated by the general public, and it does not affect the citizens repressively. On the contrary, military service has been canceled, there are no reserve calls, etc. However, the Police are perceived by the public as a representative of typically unpopular profession, which is not a phenomenon present only in our society. The content of their work involves a certain amount of control, supervision, restrictions, orders, forbidding and imposition of penalties. Police officers (as opposed to the Army) are in daily contact with the public, therefore observed and evaluated, even supervised by the public, and their work results, e.g., maintaining law and order in the public, safety and road traffic smoothness, fight against crime are immediately perceived by the public.

Evaluation and Information Sources of Citizens Concerning the Police in the Selected Electronic Media

One of the significant factors influencing trust in the police is the citizens’ extent of information results of the work of the Police. The source, relevance of this information, content and focus can

considerably influence opinions and attitude of citizens towards the Police.

The relationships between the media, society, and individuals are complex, and analyzing the impact of media communication on society is a subject of ongoing debate. The intricacy of this problem does not allow clear conclusions to be made. Analyzing the relationship media-society relationship is not a matter of theory, as several sciences provide alternative clarifications. It is obvious that the entire culture is affected by the processes of mass communication. Many mass-media authors play an important role in modern society when disseminating the propaganda and influencing public opinion. It is determined by the media which information will be reflected by the public and the media can “legitimize” nontraditional opinions and attitudes—any idea seems to be more trustworthy when presented in the media. The media participate in establishing the attention hierarchy, importance and prestige of people and institutions. What is not presented by the media is not reflected by the public, is nonexistent for the public, even though it deserves public attention. For these and other reasons—the media are a message themselves—the media play an important role in affecting public opinion and its importance is supposed to increase as they influence dispersed collectives in an efficient way. All organizations, especially those controlled by the public, form an image which is a survival strategy in the given society. Cooperation and proper communication with the public and with the media, that mediate the information to the public, can influence the perception of the organization in the public. Even though the omnipotence of the mass-media has been disproved by the empirical research their influence on the public opinion is to be considered and it will be intensified as a result of the electronic media development.

Therefore, within the conception of improvement of trust in the Police there is the need for objective knowledge and information on issues associated with the police and need for content analysis of the information on the Police presented in the electronic media.

Most of respondents are interested in information on the police, and there are more respondents who think that the information is scarce. Citizens are aware of the differences in impartiality degree of particular media. From their point of view the information on the Police are objective and unbiased. In most cases (three quarters) the information source is the television. However, personal knowledge and experience or information from relatives are decisive in the process of own opinion forming and evaluating the trustworthiness of the Police. The information provided by the media is less relevant.

The current results indicate that perception of personal or mediated contact with the police as well as the extent of attention given, perceptions of objectivity and seriousness of information on the police provided by the electronic media, influence considerably trustworthiness and prestige evaluation conducted by the public.

The results of content (qualitative and quantitative) analysis of contributions focusing on issues associated with the Police and presented by the electronic media, have pointed to more or less apparent differences in the approaches of particular media under observation and how the Police and their members are presented. Nevertheless, the applied features of the qualitative analysis indicate that generally the presentation can be considered objective, unbiased, crucial and distant from reality.

The way we see the issue is that the media do not distort reality. They just provide an image of a distorted value system within our society. It is a society in which organized crime, corruption, and preferential treatment, permeate the political, economic and social sphere of state structures. It is beyond question that most of members of the Police honestly and responsibly perform their mission, respect the law, and act in compliance with them. However, negative phenomena also permeate the structure of the Police Force. Not necessarily in the way they are presented, but seeing the phenomena themselves as the cause of fragile trust and insufficient prestige of the Police.

To put it metaphorically, the voice of the public when referring to the Police is essential, even more important than the results of the content analysis of references to the police. Responses of

citizens confirm that most of our public demand provision of more comprehensive information on the Police and their members.

Conclusion

Security at both regional and local level necessitates not only cooperation between individual elements of the Police. This treatise should highlight the necessity for cooperation between the academia and the Police.

Currently, when activities and goals of terrorism are unpredictable, integration of all interested security elements, as well as academia, are necessary for the design of corresponding measures that utilize knowledge of science and practice.

Close cooperation with professional associations in the field of private security proved most helpful, especially with the Slovak chamber of private security, which associates businesses operating in field of private security. The University of Žilina is a member of this Slovak chamber. It takes part in the development of crime activity forecasts, formulation of personnel requirements for individual position types, mostly for guard and investigative services, as well as in legislative measures that govern execution of private security activities.

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Recent Developments of Policing in Slovenia

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Introduction

Slovenia is a Central European country covering 20,237 km². On 1 July 2010, Slovenia had 2,049,261 inhabitants, and according to the 2002 census, the ethnic composition of the population was as follows: Slovenians: 83.1 %, Croats: 1.8 %, Serbs: 2.0 %, Muslims (including Bosniaks): 1.6 %, Hungarians: 0.3 %, Italians: 0.1 %, others: 2.2 %, unknown: 8.9 %. The official language is Slovenian, and in ethnically mixed areas where indigenous minorities live, the official languages are also Italian and Hungarian. The 2002 Census revealed that 58 % of inhabitants are Roman Catholic, and there are 42 registered churches and other religious communities in the country. The capital city is Ljubljana with about 300,000 inhabitants (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012a). Slovenia declared independence from Yugoslavia on 25 June 1991, this was followed by a 10-day Slovenian

Independence War, the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia (October 1991), adoption of the constitution (December 1991), and broad international recognition of the country (December 1991–May 1992). In 1992, Slovenia became a member of the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and in the following years, also joined other major international political, security, and economic organizations, e.g., the Council of Europe (1993), the European Union (2004), NATO (2004), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2010). In 2007, Slovenia joined the Euro Zone. Before Slovenia was hit by the economic and financial crisis in 2008, the gross domestic product per capita amounted to 18,437€ (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012a). The human development index for 2011 (prepared by the United Nations Development Program) places Slovenia 21st in the world (United Nations Development Programme, 2012), and according to the Gini coefficient of inequality (22.7), Slovenia is deemed to have the smallest social disparities in the European Union (Hren, 2011).

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Police Organization, Structure, and Function

Slovenian policing after 1991 has been characterized by several attempts of police reform in order to move closer to the western style of policing.

Despite organizational and professional cultural obstacles, some notable changes have been achieved. While it would be an overstatement to say the reform of the Slovenian police was successful, one can claim reasonable optimism and characterize the Slovenian police as a relatively modern and professional law enforcement service far closer to its western counterparts than to the communist “militia.” The present orientation is based on the slogan “to protect and serve” and community policing is the foundation of its declared strategy. This transformation has been a result of a complex set of processes that has not always delivered promised results—while community policing, professionalism, protection of human rights, and the restraints on the arbitrary use of force top the official agenda, the understanding of the underlying principles of problem-oriented policing and its practical implementation remains weak, and the human rights monitoring mechanisms continue to voice their concerns over the inadequate system of accountability of police officers for ill treatment of citizens (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007).

The organizational beginnings of the Slovenian police can be traced back to 1849 and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when the Gendarmerie Corps was founded. Between 1945 and 1991, it was part of the Yugoslav police force that was—as in many other communist countries—called “milica” (militia). A rather strong centralization of the police was typical for the whole territory of Slovenia in the period from 1945 to 1966; however, the number of police units itself continued to diminish from year to year. Another very important characteristic from the end of this period was a complete transfer of competencies of the organization of police on the republics of former Yugoslavia. Initially a centralized police force, the Yugoslav police, has gradually become more decentralized, transferring a lot of responsibilities to the individual republics. At the outset of the democratization process, Slovenia—then a republic of the former Yugoslavia—had an independent police structure subordinate to the Slovenian Secretariat of the Interior, and it was also decentralized. Strong decentralization is a characteristic of the period after 1967, and police stations became independent authorities of the

municipalities for direct carrying out of issues of public safety. They were established by the municipalities with agreement of the Secretary of the Interior of the Republic of Slovenia. Their commanders and deputy-commanders were appointed and relieved by municipalities in accordance with the Republican Secretary of the Interior. The number of police stations continued to also diminish prior to 1980 (Kolenc, 2003).

The uniformed and criminal police were not associated with political oppression before 1991. This fact and the role of the police in the struggle for independence from Yugoslavia contributed to an interesting phenomenon—compared to experiences from other transitional countries—namely, that the public “approval rating” of the Slovenian police, as indicated through public surveys, was high at the beginning of the transition period, and afterwards decreased until 2001 when the trend stabilized.¹

There has been no in-depth research conducted into this phenomenon. One possible explanation of the seemingly paradoxical indicator is, on the one hand, associated with the passive if not supportive role of the police in the process leading towards democratization and independence and, on the other, the relatively low crime rates (in the first years of transition, Slovenia has not experienced an increase in violent predatory crime which often characterized the breakdown of other postcommunist countries). In addition, the surveys likely registered overall positive views (and general public excitement with emerging democracy) of the larger political change which was indirectly reflected in positive evaluations of the police. Consequently, during the most turbulent times during the changes in the political systems, the police was not perceived as repressive bastion of the communist regime, but rather a partner in securing the independence and democracy in the new Slovenia

¹The conclusions is based on results of broader surveys of public opinion conducted regularly by the Centre for research of public opinion at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, which included questions related to police such as “How much do you trust the police?” and “How satisfied are you with the performance of the police?” (Toš, 1999, 2004).

(which was partially also a fact—it was the police together with the Territorial Guard of Slovenia that confronted the Yugoslav army after the declaration of independence in June 1991).

Working under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior, the police currently still play a key (supervisory) role in providing security, public order, and crime prevention. There are more police in the national security system, even more than in the Slovenian Armed Forces (2012) with 7,074 professional soldiers, noncommissioned members, officers, and uniformed specialists in 2011. In 2011, there were 7,666 police officers (5,945 uniformed police officers and 885 criminal investigators), or one police officer for every 267 inhabitants (Police, 2012a). The police are a centralized hierarchical organization, with a dominant position in the Slovenian security sector. Their role and tasks are clearly prescribed by the Police Act and many other regulatory acts.

The police are organized into state, regional, and local levels. Police tasks at the state level are performed by the General Police Directorate, which is the highest body within the police organization and is represented by the Director General of the Police, who is appointed by the Government and responsible to the Minister of the Interior. Since 2011, there have been eight Police Directorates (regional level) responsible for organizing police activities and criminal investigation and coordinating police activity at a local level. These are performed by police stations. There are different types of police stations—(general) police stations, traffic police stations, border police stations, maritime police stations, airport police stations, mounted police stations, service dog handler stations, and police stations for compensatory measures (Police, 2012b).²

Police Reforms

The very first reforms introduced were symbolic, but one which was very important was renaming

the “milica” into “policija” (police) and changing the insignias. The next challenge was to make a clear separation between law enforcement bodies and the security and intelligence services. In 1991, security and intelligence services were removed from the Ministry of Interior and stripped of law enforcement powers. The Slovenian Security and Intelligence Agency (SOVA) has been reorganized, its powers of covert surveillance and interception of communications curtailed and put under the judicial supervisions; parliamentary oversight over security and intelligence services was introduced. The Constitution of 1991 (Ustava Republike Slovenije, 1991) also expressly prohibited members of police and armed forces from being a member of a political party (Article 42)—while no specific research exists in Slovenian on this particular topic, it can be argued that this prohibition alone contributed to the fact that operational police officers in Slovenia are rarely perceived as instruments of different political forces (the same, as we will explain below, cannot be stated for the top level management).

A landmark institutional reform of the police occurred in 1998 with the adoption of the new Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998), which created a General Police Directorate as an autonomous body within the Ministry of Interior. This new status of the police organization changed the relationship between the police and the Ministry of the Interior dramatically, but more importantly it positively impacted the perception of the police organization by the public. Previously, the police were just one of the many services under the Ministry of Interior, and the Minister was the highest person in the police chain of command, directly supervising its operations. He or she was now replaced in this position by a newly formed post of the Director General of the Police that was appointed by the Government for a 5-year term. The post of the Director General of the Police has therefore become—at least in theory—a professional and not a political position, subject to transparent appointment procedures and safeguarded from purely political removal. This change of status reflected positively in the public's perception of

²More information about the Slovenian police is available at <http://www.policija.si/eng/index.php/publications>.

the police in general—from 1998 onward, the public and the media started seeing the police as an independent separate professional body, and not as an “organ” of the Ministry of Interior. Similarly, police officers started identifying themselves more as members of the police organization and not as (privileged) employees of a Ministry. A professional, the Director General of the Police, rather than the political appointee, the Minister, became the visible voice of the service. With this also came a clearer accountability and responsibility of top police management. However, this “divorce” of the police and the politics has not been all that smooth; since 1999, the public has witnessed constant jurisdictional clashes between the Director General and the Minister (at one point resulting in the Director General challenging the oversight powers of the Minister in front of the Constitutional Court) (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007).

Police Task and Organization

Institutional reforms were closely linked to the process of the centralization of the police organization in Slovenia. This was partially a by-product of a separate reform in the local self-government, but was also driven by the notion that in-depth reform of the police requires a clear hierarchy and central “command.” Under the socialist system, the Slovenian police organization was quite decentralized (Meško, 2004; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005; Pagon, 2004). The police organization currently in Slovenia is centralized, with one national, state-funded police force, leaving local authorities with almost no influence in that area; all police stations are state-level units, which operate at the local level. The local government has no oversight in their operation or in the appointment of their commanders. While such centralization arguably eased the management of reforms from a central level, it soon conflicted with the new policing strategy that the police wanted to adopt—community policing. In a subsequent section we will shed more light on these issues.

The police service performs the following tasks (Police, 2012c): protecting life, personal safety, and property of people; preventing, discovering, and inspecting criminal offences and minor offences; discovering and arresting those committing criminal offences and minor offences, other wanted persons, and their extradition to the authorized bodies; maintaining public order; control and regulation of traffic on public roads and non-categorized used for public traffic; protecting the state border and performing border control; performing tasks defined in the regulations about foreigners; protecting certain persons, bodies, buildings, and districts; and performing other tasks defined in the Police act, and other laws and secondary legislation documents.

The Criminal Police is a specialized division for combating crime. It is headed by the Criminal Police Directorate, which coordinates, monitors, analyzes, and evaluates situations in the area of criminal offences. In cooperation with judicial and other state bodies as well as foreign competent authorities, it ensures effective and lawful implementation of activities against various forms of crime. The Criminal Police is composed of several divisions including Organized Crime Division, General Crime Division, Economic Crime Division, Special Assignment Division, International Police Cooperation Division, Criminal Intelligence Centre, Computer Investigation Centre, and National Bureau of Investigation (see further Jevšek & Meško, 2011).

The Uniformed Police Directorate is responsible for the areas of public order and safeguarding of life, personal safety, and the property of people. It is composed of the General Police Division (Public Order Section, General Safety Section, and Security Planning Section), the Traffic Police Division, the Border Police Division, and the Aliens Centre. The Public Order Section analyzes and evaluates security situations and the success and effectiveness of police work in the areas of public order and peace, safeguarding of lives, personal safety, and the property of people. The General Safety Section analyzes and evaluates the security

Table 1 Trends in police-recorded crime in Slovenia, 1991–2011

Year	Total number of recorded crimes	Change from previous year (%)
1991	42,250	+9.2
1992	54,085	+21.9
1993	44,278	-22.1
1994	43,635	-1.5
1995	38,178	-14.3
1996	36,587	-4.3
1997	37,173	+1.6
1998	55,473	+33.0
1999	61,693	+10.1
2000	67,618	+8.8
2001	74,794	+9.6
2002	77,218	+3.2
2003	76,643	-0.7
2004	86,568	+13.0
2005	84,379	-2.5
2006	90,354	+1.0
2007	88,197	-2.4
2008	81,917	-7.1
2009	87,465	+6.5
2010	89,489	+2.3

Source: Police (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011), Meško and Jere (2012)

situation, successfulness, and effectiveness of police work in the field of public order and safeguarding lives, personal safety, property of people and personal security, and detective activities. The Traffic Police Division is responsible for road traffic safety and the regulation of traffic. The Border Police Division performs tasks in the field of State Border Security, illegal migrations and foreigners, and the Section for the Security of People. The Aliens Centre is responsible for reception, accommodation, and supplies of foreigners; restriction of foreigners' movements; implementation of stricter police surveillance of foreigners; preparation of foreigners for deportation, as well as deportation itself (Police, 2012d). The organizational chart of the General Directorate of the Slovenian police is available on the web page of the Slovenian Police.³

Crime and Disorder Trends and Victimization in the Last 20 Years

The primary sources of official data on crime trends in Slovenia are police statistics, which are complemented by data from victimization and self-report crime surveys. Table 1 presents trends in crime reported to the police during the period 1991–2010. General crime trends were rather stagnant in the period between 1991 (42,250) and 1994 (43,635), except in 1992 when the number of recorded crimes increased to 54,085. The number remained relatively stagnant for a few years before it has increased steadily from a low of 37,173 in 1997 to a high of 90,354 in 2006, leveling off to 81,917 in 2008 and increasing again to 89,489 in 2010, with the exception of a brief decline towards the middle of the 1990s. According to the *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics* (Aebi et al., 2010; Killias et al., 2003), in 1995, there were 2,019 criminal offences per 100,000 population occurring in Slovenia, and by the year 2000, the number

³The organizational chart is accessible at: http://www.policija.si/eng/images/stories/About%20the%20Police/Organizations/PDF/20120215_OrgGPU_a.pdf.

increased by 79 % (to 3,614 criminal offences per 100,000 population). Between 2000 and 2003, the number increased by 7 % to 3,838 criminal offences and by the year 2007 it increased again to 4,390 criminal offences per 100,000 population (for 14 % from 2003) and remained stable till 2010.

The overwhelming majority of offenders known to the police are males of Slovenian nationality. In 2010, nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina represented 2.3 % of offenders known to the police; Croats represented 1.2 %, Serbs 1.3 %, and Romanians 1.4 % (Police, 2011). According to the 2002 census, 1.51 % of population declared themselves as Bosniaks or Bosnians, 1.81 as Croats, 1.98 as Serbs, and 0.02 % declared themselves as Romanians (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012b). Statistically speaking, there are no signs of discriminatory police practices in dealing with foreigners and minority group representatives.

Turning to trends in victimization, Slovenia has been included in three waves of the *International Crime Victimization Survey* (ICVS): in the 1992–1994 wave (the survey in Slovenia was conducted in 1992), in the 1995–1998 wave (the survey in Slovenia was conducted in 1997), and in 1999–2003 wave (the survey in Slovenia was conducted in 2001) (Meško & Jere, 2012).

Results indicated that property crime in Slovenia was relatively stable over the 5-year period from 1992 to 1997, while the number of violent crimes has slightly increased, as well as cases of personal property crime, although it was still below the level which was expected with regard to the characteristics of Slovenia (transition, unemployment, etc.) and was on the average of industrialized countries. As far as victim characteristics were concerned, the research indicated that the most exposed categories of victims were younger, more educated, and more dynamic groups. Fear of crime has been increasing in the urban environment; at the same time, the visibility of the police decreased as well as satisfaction with their work, but that did not seem to trigger more severe punitive attitudes of general public. Comparing the results of the 1997 survey with the 1992 survey, it seems that with citizens of

Ljubljana fear of crime is not so much related to their property, but rather to the new dangers of undisciplined youth, impatient drivers, drug dealers, and the corruption (Pavlović, 1998).

Victimization surveys (in the years 1997 and 2001) showed a decline in sexual offences and a decrease in the number of physical assaults or threats, although official police statistics do not confirm these findings (Umek, 2004). Furthermore, according to victimization studies, respondents reported fewer criminal acts, although the number and the number of victims had increased in official police statistics.

Official statistics show that the number of crimes has been increasing during the last decade; however, this is not supported by findings from victimization surveys. These differences could be the result of different elements: those included in the surveys reported only the criminal acts that they had experienced, whereas the police also investigate crimes where individuals are not involved (for example, burglaries of businesses). Furthermore, an additional explanation could be that security has (or should have) improved due to better and more effective policing. However, it is more likely that the explanation can be found in the influence of the media, police efforts, and increases in self-protection measures of the public. This conclusion also indicates an increased fear of victimization that signifies modification of lifestyles in modern western societies. People spend more of their time at home, especially at night, they mistrust others (especially foreigners), and their concern is directed towards the home and its security. We could argue that one can perceive some unjustified paranoia, although the results of the victimization surveys indicate that the majority of interviewees felt relatively safe in their district in 1997 (42.2 %), and in 2001 (43.6 %). 30.8 % were feeling very safe in their district in 1997 and 31.3 % in 2001; 5.4 % felt very threatened in 1997 and 5.7 % in 2001. It is significant that more people are feeling safe in their own district rather than feeling threatened. The same results were observed in home security as well. In 2001, 60.2 % of interviewees were feeling very safe at home, 33.6 % pretty safe, 5.5 % a bit threatened, and 0.7 % very threatened.

Some of the victimization surveys indicate that the feeling of safety is significantly reduced if an individual has been victimized at home. Overall, results from these victimization studies cast doubts on findings based on official statistics that crime rates increased during the 2000s. He argues that, at least in part, the discrepancy between victimization studies and analyses of official data may be due to the fact that survey respondents tend to base their answers solely on personal experiences of criminal victimization, whereas the police also record types of crime that do not directly impinge on average citizens (e.g., burglaries into corporate buildings) (Umek, 2004).

Public punitiveness in Slovenia declined significantly in the immediate aftermath of the country's democratization, but seems to have risen again recently. In the Slovenian Public Opinion Survey conducted in the late 1980s, the Slovenian public was in this period in general rather unfavorable to the idea of milder punishment. The majority of respondents were in favor of imposing on perpetrators more severe punishments than was provided by the valid legislation, at least for criminal offences listed in this survey (common property offences, violent conduct, economic crime, pollution of environment, sexual violence, verbal political offences, traffic offences, violation of self-government rights, maltreatment of children, and domestic violence). The highest percentage of respondents were those who would inflict higher penalties for maltreatment of children and family violence (in 1988, 91.3 % of respondents), and the fewest were the respondents who would impose harsher punishment for traffic violations (see further Toš, 1997). A 2009 survey revealed that three-quarters of respondents were supportive of the introduction of life imprisonment in the criminal legislation of the country in 2008, while over half of the respondents believed that harsher sentences could help reduce crime levels in the country (see further Flander & Meško, 2011). At least part of the explanation for what appears to be a rise in public punitiveness in Slovenia in recent years relates to the ways in which the mass media of the country deal with crime and criminal justice. Not unlike in Europe and elsewhere, media representations

of crime are focused overwhelmingly on violent street crime in urban areas. Also, Roma communities and immigrants from the republics of former Yugoslavia (e.g., Montenegrins and Serbians) are commonly demonized as unpredictable and dangerous, at the same time a call for stricter policies of crime control were seen (see further Meško & Jere, 2012; Petrovec, 2009).

Police Training and the Police Educational System

The system of basic training of police officers in the former Yugoslavia reflected a military nature that reinforced the military aspects of the police organization. At the heart of the system was the Police Cadet School. Entry was reserved for young boys (at the age of 14 or 15, after finishing the elementary school) and the education lasted 4 years after which the graduates became police officers. In addition to the police cadet system, short police training for adult men who beforehand underwent military service and wanted to join the police force was also offered. Direct entry in the police force was limited to posts of criminal police which had a possibility to recruit people with college degrees from law, economics, and similar. This system was abolished in the mid 1990s and replaced by a Police Academy with a 18-month course offered to candidates who have previously finished high school and are at least 18 years old; it also opened the system to female candidates (before the mid 1990s, Slovenian police had an insignificant number of female officers, almost exclusively limited to the criminal police in the area of sexual and juvenile delinquency). The training lasts 18 months, and consists of 6 months of training in the Police Academy, 6 months of training in a police station, and the final 6 months on until graduation in the Police Academy. Besides the training course for first-line police officers, the Police Academy conducted also 2-year educational program for first-line managerial tasks within Higher Police School. This program was opened only to the experienced police officers, and after finishing it successfully they became inspectors either within

uniformed police or within criminal investigation department (Kolenc, 2003).

In 2012, the Slovenian police adopted new standards for police work in Slovenia. An entry level for first-line police post is going to be associate degree from Higher Police School and secondary education will not be sufficient any more. A new program combines the former 18-month course and the old Higher Police School curriculum and represents an attempt of Slovenian police to professionalize police work. According to the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998), the Police Academy will cooperate with Universities to develop educational programs for managerial positions. In addition to training for first-line police officers, the Police Academy also offers a variety of comprehensive on-the-job training courses—e.g., training in area of police management and leadership for first-line police supervisors, for middle and for top management, an initial course for criminal investigators, and a list of short courses in the area of police specialties and human resource development (Meško, Sotlar, Lobnikar, Jere, & Tominc, 2012).

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

As the changes in the political system were driven by demands of democratization and respect for human rights, societal changes brought about significant changes in the criminal justice system in general and policing in particular (see further Meško & Klemenčič, 2007). *First*, the 1991 Constitution (Ustava Republike Slovenije, 1991), put a high emphasis the protection of human rights and fundamental liberties (and included a number of right directly relevant for the police practices: *Miranda-type* rights, strong limitations on pretrial detention and search and seizure powers, *Habeas Corpus*, protection of privacy and fundamental rights in criminal procedure—the right to counsel, right to cross-examine hostile witness, etc.) (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007). *Second*, the new Constitution gave birth to two institutions, the Constitutional Court and the Ombudsman, which importantly influenced police practices in Slovenia. The Constitutional

Court during the 1990s ruled a number of laws and regulations governing different police powers and practices unconstitutional, especially in the areas of deprivation of liberty, covert surveillance, access to lawyers, use of physical force, stop and frisk, and checks of identity (Zupančič et al. 2000). These rulings further limited police powers and made them subject to more strict conditions and the principle of proportionality. On the other hand, the Ombudsmen, having unrestricted access to places of custody and persons in custody as well as to all official documents notwithstanding the level of confidentiality, has importantly contributed to the improvements of the legal and material conditions relating to police custody (Klemenčič, Kečanović, & Žaberl, 2002). *Third*, new legislation in 1995 on criminal procedure in particular pretrial investigation, introduced adversarial elements in pretrial and trial stage of procedure and strengthened judicial control over police powers through wide judicial powers (and mandate) of exclusion of illegally obtained evidence and strict warrant requirements. A telling, and in comparison to other countries, a rather unique example of this change is presented by the statistic regarding warrant requirements for search of premises: in the 1980s, on average of over 80 % of all searches of premises were conducted without a warrant under the “exigent circumstances” rule, while between 2001 and 2004, only 1 % of all searches were without a warrant (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007). *Fourth*, in 1993, when Slovenia became a member of Council of Europe and ratified the European Convention of Human Rights, the country became subject to the jurisdiction of the European Court and later to oversight by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture, which among others, has the power to conduct on-site inspection of places of police custody. *Fifth*, the Police Act of 1998 significantly changed basic police powers, limiting the powers of *stop and frisk*, abolishing preventive identification checks and preventive detentions as well as notably raising the threshold for the use of coercive measures. In 2012, new police legislation on police powers and police organization is being discussed in Government and Parliament—adding some new

police powers (e.g., on maintaining peace and order at sports events and lowering the possibilities to use arms by police), and introducing the mandate for police directors at regional level and for police chiefs at the police station. *Sixth*, in 2001, the criminal police have been put under stronger control of the public prosecutors in the process of investigating crimes, and while remaining within the institutional framework of the police organization, they have become operationally fully subordinated to the prosecution service. Given the nonpolitical and independent nature of the Prosecution Service this move, apart from contributing to the efficiency of criminal investigations, has arguably also symbolically strengthened the independence, professional status, and nonpolitical nature of the criminal police. However, this also had a broader negative consequence—shifting part of the accountability and responsibility to the Prosecutors' Service. A review of media reports discovers that following this new relationship between the police and prosecutors, when the former is asked to explain their actions in a particular case, the police rarely comment and refers all questions to the prosecutor's office. *Seventh*, the Police Act of 1998 introduced civilian oversight in the resolution of complaints against ill-treatment by the police. Following the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights in the cases of *Rehbock v. Slovenia* (2000) and *Matko v. Slovenia* (2006), a Department for Prosecution of Officials with special authorizations within the specialized department in the Office of the State Prosecutor General was established in 2007. This removed investigations of police officers suspected of committing criminal offences, from the police organization.

An inflation of legal changes, not followed by adequate in-service training, resulted in uncertainty among police officers about the scope and conditions of their coercive and investigative powers. A survey conducted in 1999 indicated an alarmingly low level of knowledge about legal conditions outlining the use of specific powers of ordinary police officers. Similarly, sometimes evidence was excluded in court as illegal, not because the police intentionally violated the rights of the suspect, but because they conducted investigative measures ignorant of the recent or

minor changes in the law. Furthermore, a stampede of legislative changes limiting police powers coupled with proactive institutional oversight mechanisms (the Ombudsman, courts and the civil society) have to some extent resulted in a situation which was participatory notable between 1998 and 2000, where omissions of the police to intervene and use its powers were as much of a problem as the excessive use of force (Klemenčič et al., 2002; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007).

Research Trends and Future Developments in Policing

The development of policing in Slovenia has been accompanied with research projects on policing in new democracies (Meško & Dobovšek, 2007; Meško & Fields, 2009), local and community policing (Gorenak et al., 1992; Meško, 2001; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005; Meško, 2000; Meško et al., 2012; Ministry of the Interior, 2010; Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001), police ethics, integrity and deviance (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2004; Rejč-Buhovac, Savič, Kerševan, Pevcin, & Meško, 2007), public opinion about the police (Černič, Makarovič, & Macur, 2009; Lobnikar et al., 2005), job satisfaction (Nalla, Rydberg, & Meško, 2011; Umek, Meško, Areh, & Šifrer, 2009), private policing (Nalla, Johnson, & Meško, 2009; Sotlar, 2009; Sotlar & Meško, 2009), police organization and education (Djurič & Meško, 1996; Rydberg, Nalla, & Meško, 2010) and legitimacy (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007; Reising, Tankebe, & Meško, 2012), police procedures and criminal investigation (Areh, Dobovšek, & Umek, 2007; Areh, Meško, & Umek, 2009; Maver, 2009), and European police cooperation (Meško & Furman, *in press*). In the following sections, selected research projects will be presented which, in our opinion, have impacted on the development of policing in Slovenia and policy making.

Police Training and Education

Djurič and Meško (1996) conducted a study of on-the-job police training in Slovenia, in which they surveyed police officers, instructors,

planners, and organizers involved in such training. The findings showed that the police need to tailor police training according to their practical professional needs. The most intriguing finding in respect of community policing is related to the fact that the police training center trained local community policing officers but not their superiors (police station commanders and regional community policing inspectors).

A study of male and female police trainees at the Police Academy revealed that the two dominant reasons for their decision to join the police were the diverse nature of work and the opportunity to help people. Furthermore, the opportunity to interact with people was very important (ranking third in the female and fourth in the male sample). A general attitude towards the police (respect for police officers, reputation, the image portrayed in movies and other media) contributed little to the reasons for police trainees' decisions to become police officers. While the respondents believed that the police in Slovenia were more disrespected than respected, and more bureaucratic than non-bureaucratic, they were inclined to believe that the Slovenian police were effective, responsive, helpful, approachable, and professional. In addition, they perceived police work as responsible, exciting, physically and intellectually challenging, and flexible (Pagon & Lobnikar, 1999). Comparing the results of both studies tellingly reflects the democratization process in general and also changes of the role of the police in society from the perspective of young police recruits. It also indicates the "clash of generations' values" common for transition societies. Indications of a professional cultural conflict between former police cadets (4-year police training) and new police recruits (18-month police training) who finished basic training in Police Academy seem to exist.

Rydberg et al. (2010) found that Slovenian police officers value experience over education, and thus believe that experience is far more beneficial to their work than college education. Although all groups of respondents believe that experience is preferable to education, and in terms of gender and education, female, college educated officers perceive experience as more

beneficial as compared to male, high school educated officers. Similarly, in terms of age and experience, younger and less experienced officers perceive experience as more beneficial compared to their older and more experienced colleagues, while patrol officers value experience more than investigators and border control officers.

Professionalism and Ethics in Policing

Meško (1997) examined police personality characteristics and police officers' attitudes towards marginal social groups. He found that the following factors are typical for police officers' personality and attitudes: real-self (emotional instability, anxiety, neuroticism, and femininity), pro-social orientation (extraversion and sociability), professional self (toughness, rigidity, physical power, and self-control), attitudes towards deviants (feelings of inability, "respecting" criminals and a belief that crime pays, inefficient criminal justice system, and too few police powers), and cynicism (bitterness, spontaneous aggressiveness, distrust of police chiefs, and a "them and us" mentality). The most intriguing finding was related to the positive attitudes displayed by police officers towards criminals and the negative ones presented to victims of crime. These findings call for the reconsideration of police professionalism and the policing role in society. The avoidance strategies of police officers in cases of conflict, on the one hand, and potential aggressiveness, on the other, were also significant results of this study. Attitudes towards marginal groups were found to be quite positive but attitudes towards victims of crime were much more negative than those towards criminals. These findings indicate questionable police professionalism in Slovenia.

Dvoršek, Meško, and Viltušnik (1998) addressed some organizational aspects of policing and the values of police officers in Slovenia during a time of huge change to the police organization. Some models offered for organizational changes have, due to lack of interest and funding, been promoted though coercion. The results of their survey show that police chiefs who work at regional and state levels shared many characteristics

(such as, setting priorities in solving local problems, perception of local public safety and crime problems, understanding of a local police officer's duties and the necessary tools/skills for performing everyday policing) with local police chiefs. This indication can, on the one hand, be considered as positive since it implies that regional and state level police chiefs are aware of local police problems while on the other hand, such local mentalities maintained at regional and state levels implies a lack of strategic management and decision-making skills. The authors also emphasize problems such as motivation for work and career, trust among police officers, lack of specialization, tendencies to undermine workplace behavior and a lack of "sound competition," organization of work at all three levels of police organization, and a low level of professional ethics. The study emphasizes a need for both a serious reconsideration of the values of the police as an organization, and the role of the police in Slovenian society. The study also implies that police chiefs should receive extra training in strategic management prior to assuming positions at the regional and state levels.

Umek, Meško, and Abutovič (2000) conducted an extensive study of police officers' attitudes towards different social groups and the attitudes held by police officers in respecting their colleagues, based on their ethnic origin. The results of this study reflect the findings of many similar studies on police prejudice (Ainsworth & Pease, 1987) and reveal the negative attitudes and prejudice of police officers towards ethnic minorities and socially marginalized groups. It is important to stress that police officers are not any more prejudiced than the majority of the population in the area where they live and work. It simply means that police officers reflect the attitudes and prejudices characteristic of their environments. The study (Umek et al., 2000) shows that police officers in Slovenia share the same attitudes as the sample of Slovenes studied in Toš's (1994) public opinion survey, but with a small distinction. The studied sample of Slovene police officers is even more negatively extreme in their attitudes towards the same social and ethnic groups as the representative sample of the Slovene

population. If we try to explain such attitudes, we can reflect upon the so-called police personality but the authors expressed doubts about its existence. One of the central characteristics of the "police personality" should be fanaticism, which can be recognized by extreme (positive or negative) attitudes and prejudice. This explanation implicitly assumes that police officers reflect the characteristics of their environments and society. Prejudice against former Yugoslav ethnic groups could be attributed to police officers' experience in high crime areas in Slovenia, the more frequent contacts with the deviant members of such immigrant groups, and the political changes that have taken place over 10 years after the independence of Slovenia from Yugoslavia in 1991. Police officers should be taught about different cultures, habits, and customs of people living in Slovenia. Teaching such subjects does not directly impact on the prejudice of police officers but helps them to understand different, underprivileged, and marginalized people.

In his study conducted on police investigators in Slovenia, Maver (2000) found that actions taken by police officers or investigators during a criminal investigation (as well as their attitude towards suspects, victims, and witnesses) depend on the level of sophistication of a police officer's or investigator's conception of what is ethically right or wrong. The nature of the investigative process can be subject to ethical conflicts. Even though the principle of "equality of arms" is not completely valid during the investigative procedure, investigators are bound to face many obstacles and difficulties, which are not imposed on offenders. This occurs despite the fact that investigators often find themselves caught between ethical principles and the requirements of efficiency, necessitating a walk along the sharp edge between the legal and the illegal, and between criticism and sanctions. Investigators have to respect human rights in general, as well as more specific ethical principles. The more frequently that the situations faced by police officers during investigations are studied and analyzed, as well as the reasons for and the manner of their reactions under such conditions, the more one will be able to suppress inappropriate or unethical

decisions and actions, or “at least” one will be able to understand and control such temptations.

Dvoršek (2000b) discussed the ethical dilemmas associated with the investigation of organized crime in Slovenia. He addressed undercover investigative methods, which are indispensable in the successful suppression of organized crime and pose new challenges to criminal investigators. These methods are largely performed out of the public eye and, similarly, there is often limited scope for such investigations to be directed by police chiefs and prosecutors. Moreover, the pressure on investigators to be both successful and effective is very high. Criminals try to entice organized crime investigators into criminal activities in various ways. Organized criminals try to reveal criminal investigators’ identities by means of new defense strategies such as presenting themselves as instigators of the criminal activity. Their own mistakes can cost criminal investigators their life or the life of a colleague. Their contribution to a successfully concluded investigation remains hidden and if they cross the thin line between legal and illegal conduct, they cannot avoid public condemnation. With limited funds criminal investigators have, as effectively as possible, been able to protect the witnesses who incriminate the offenders.

The above circumstances cause various ethical dilemmas for undercover investigators. An adequate security mechanism can only be established by highly professional ethical standards. In addition to undercover agents, prosecutors, and judges are often faced with ethical dilemmas as well. They have few opportunities to acquaint themselves with the findings of criminal investigation methods, which are necessary for a correct evaluation of the facts and evidence pertaining to a particular case. Contrary to ethical principles, it is a fact that criminal proceedings are conducted by jurists with insufficient knowledge of criminal investigation. The author supports the idea that criminal investigation, as a subject, should occupy a more prominent role in the curricula of law schools since it is often the case that criminal investigators who finish police training or training at the Faculty of Criminal Justice have a more detailed knowledge of the criminal investigation of

sophisticated forms of crime than state prosecutors (Dobovšek & Meško, 2005).

Over the last few years, several research projects in Slovenia revealed the possibility of negative encounters between the police and victims of crime (Dobovšek, Meško, & Umek, 2000; Dvoršek, Maver, & Meško, 2006). These studies focus on victims of property crime and their satisfaction with police work. Importantly, they can serve for the improvement of police practice in dealing with victims of property crimes, which are the most frequently reported to the police. Both of the aforementioned studies are examples of victimology in practice, and led to an initiative whereby a group of psychologists were employed by the police to prepare a booklet for both the police and victims of crime about emotional responses of victimized people and victims’ rights in police procedures.

The research among Slovene police officers shows that employees find it very important for their leaders to have a high level of integrity (Šumi, 2007). Studying police integrity is especially important due to the specificity of police work and the ability of the police to encroach upon individual’s rights and freedoms. In the late 1990s, research in this field has shifted from studying individual’s integrity (or corruption as its antipode) to studying organizational-cultural factors of police integrity (Pagon, Kutnjak-Ivkovich, & Lobnikar, 2000).⁴

Nalla et al. (2011) examined how organizational culture, police enforcement strategies, and occupational roles affect job satisfaction of Slovenian police officers. The findings suggest that organizational and environmental factors determine job satisfaction strongly and more consistently than socio-demographic characteristics; officers who perceive their work as more challenging tend to be more satisfied with their job than those who found their work simple or repetitive. From the perspective of police administrators, these findings present room for improvement, since organizational and environmental

⁴The Code of Police Ethic was adopted by the Slovene police in 2008. For more, see: <http://www.policija.si/eng/images/stories/Publications/Kodeks.pdf>.

factors, unlike socio-demographic, are among those which can be controlled and influenced. However, no relationship was found between management support/supervision and job satisfaction, which can indicate that recent reform measures had (at least yet) no measureable impact on cultural change in the police organization.

In the study conducted in 2011 on the population of adult high school students from two Slovenian cities, Reisig et al. (2012) tested process-based model of policing to examine procedural justice, police legitimacy, and public cooperation with the police. Results show that the police can count more on citizen participation in dealing with crime when citizens perceive legitimacy, derived from police officers exercising their authority in a fair and just manner. Hence it follows that police administrators should strive for developing training curricula that teach and encourage fair practices.

Criminal Investigation and International Police Cooperation

Maver (2009) notes recently that less effective police practice of detection and investigation of serious economic and organized criminal offences has been observed in Slovenia. From the research aspect, it is evident that far less research has been done in the field of criminalistics in Slovenia compared to criminology, criminal law, and other fields of criminal justice. However, it can be stated that Slovenian experts have been creative in some quite innovative fields of criminal investigation, especially under the auspices of Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security though their publications have failed to have much impact at an international levels not many papers in this fields have been published internationally but there were some exceptions (Dvoršek, 2000a; Maver, 2009; Meško, Maver, & Klinkon, 2010).

Slovenia is a member of EUROPOL (European Police Office) with the Slovenian Liaison Office located at the Europol headquarters; in 2009, Slovenia became a full member of INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization), and in April 2009, integrated INTERPOL's databases

into the national police system and since that time, Slovenian police have been able to access all available international police databases. The Slovenian police cooperate also with CEPOL (European Police Academy—College Européen de Police and MEPA—Central European Police Academy, *Mitteeuropäische Polizeiakademie*). Police cooperation in the European Union includes a variety of political, legislative, organizational, systemic, and operational measures. In the past 20 years, this cooperation has gone mainly towards continuous improvement in the exchange of police information and intelligence. On the contrary, the field of transfer of investigative and police powers to the authorities of other Member States or the European Union institutions was neglected. It can be expected that the trend in police cooperation at the European Union level will go further in the direction of simplification of rules and a bottom-up approach, which would allow develop a more efficient instruments of cooperation. The establishment of the Standing Committee on operational cooperation on internal security (COSI) is one of promising measures. Faced with preparing for the new multiannual program for the harmonious development of the area of freedom, security, and justice, the question about the nature and intensity of powers are needed to ensure internal security in the European Union (Meško & Furman, *in press*).

Community Policing

Recent studies of community policing in Slovenia (Jere, Meško, & Sotlar, *in press*; Jere, Sotlar, & Meško, 2012; Meško, 2001; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005; Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001) show that there are still many obstacles to the implementation of a coherent community policing model. The problems are largely related to a lack of flexibility in solving problems in complex situations and a rigid and legalistic mentality amongst the majority of police officers and changes in priorities in policing.

After Slovenia gained its independence in 1991, the old practices of social control were

abandoned and various reforms were implemented which would introduce the Slovenian police to western concepts of policing. As in many other postcommunist countries, Slovenia at the declarative level followed the concept of community policing along the lines of United States and Great Britain models (Meško, 2009; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007). In 1992, the police began to implement new foundations of police prevention and community policing with the project of "Public Safety," which in 1995 became the "Police Project." One of the basic characteristics of preventative police work should be constant active communication with the public with the goal of increasing public safety awareness and involving other public services and citizens in controlling disruptive and dangerous occurrences. In the process of reorganizing the police at the local level in 1992, from the existing 635 safety districts there emerged 318 newly created police districts (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005). At the same time, however, the police want to practice community policing by appointing certain police officers as "community level" police officers with no reactive duties, but only preventative ones. It is no wonder that community policing is perceived by the Slovenian police as just another technique within the framework of traditional policing, rather than a completely new and organization-wide philosophy of policing (Meško, 2004; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005; Pagon, 2004). Similar problems were identified in other Eastern European countries (Beck, 2004).

As community policing was established as a priority for the police in Slovenia, the Ministry of the Interior funded a project entitled "Feelings of threat and ensuring safety in local communities." Results indicate that in assessing police effectiveness, police officers evaluated their own performance better than citizens in all fields of work. Police station commanders and community policing officers notice differences between large and small police stations, especially regarding the scope and the nature of community policing officers' work. Local safety councils do not seem to perform as they were supposed to, in most cases the police are the initiator, promoter, suggest solutions to the problems, and usually do all

the work alone. Police officers stressed the need for more training on community policing (Meško et al., 2012).

Community policing as a promising police strategy and philosophy has been developed to some extent in Slovenia. It usually works in communities without problems and doesn't in the communities overwhelmed with disorder and crime problems. This is so because the majority of community policing activities have not been characterized by sustainability but sporadic attempts to solve local safety and security problems. In addition, the prevailing mentality in the police force does not appreciate community policing officers as the right officers but as semi-social workers. Despite clear directives from the top management, local police chiefs require community policing officers to be involved in repressive activities which leads to a shortage of time for community policing and maintaining contacts with communities. More or less, community policing is becoming a lip service. In the times of economic crisis punishment of traffic offenders is more important for the police that keeping piece in local communities. The same trend is observed in local warden services which should cooperate in community policing activities and implement the annual security plan together with the police. The annual security plans are just "dead words on paper," and both state and local police forces are becoming more punitive (Flander & Meško, 2011; Meško et al., 2012). A promising idea of community policing requires additional awareness for the police and the public. In addition, community policing needs to develop beyond just a tool in everyday policing.

Plural Policing

In the following sections, we will present some of the major organizations of plural policing, which are divided into public and private. Public organizations include the police (which have already been discussed in previous sections), municipal warden services (local police), customs and judicial police, while private organizations include private security and private

detective activities. According to available data on the number of employees in organizations of plural policing, it is evident that in police, supervisory, investigative, or security activities there were at least 16,577 people or 1 person per 124 inhabitants employed. The most numerous are police officers, but the number of private security officers is not far behind, and their numbers are increasing at a faster rate. The ratio between the number of police officers and private security officers is approximately 1.18, or 0.84 private security officer per one police officer (see further Sotlar, 2010; Sotlar, Dvojmoč, & Meško, [in press](#)).

Municipal Warden Services

In 1993, the Local Self-Government Act (*Zakon o lokalni samoupravi*, 2007) was passed which defined the basic tasks of a municipality. Among other things, this included autonomous organization and managing of municipal warden services as a task which was important at a local and public level (Sotlar et al., [in press](#)).

The basic tasks of the municipal warden services are defined in the Act on Local Police (*Zakon o občinskem redarstvu*, 2006), while other laws make these tasks more specific and give municipal warden services powers within the defined tasks. This is in accordance with the hierarchy of normative legal acts of Slovenia, in which the executive act or municipal decree can define the specific tasks of municipal wardens in more detail. Tasks arising from the umbrella law are as follows: monitoring safe and smooth road traffic in residential areas; protecting the environment and roads in settlements and on municipal roads outside settlements; taking care of safety on municipal public roads, and recreational and other areas; protecting public property and the natural and cultural heritage, and maintaining public order and peace. Recent trends in performing this task seem to vary significantly from the intent of the legislators when municipal wardens tasks for the regulation of road transport were planned local authorities increasingly understand these activities as an economic category, with primary purpose of filling the municipal budget (Sotlar et al., [in press](#)).

The organization of the municipal warden services in Slovenia is based on Article 2 of the Act on Local Police (*Zakon o občinskem redarstvu*, 2006), which requires that municipalities set up municipal/city warden services, and that two or more municipalities may jointly establish inter-municipal warden services. In 2011, a survey of compliance with the Act on Local Police (*Zakon o občinskem redarstvu*, 2006) was performed in all 210 municipalities in the Republic of Slovenia. The survey found that 7 city warden services and 14 municipal warden services existed; 169 municipalities organized inter-municipal warden services, while 20 municipalities did not meet the legal requirements for establishing municipal warden services. There was a total of 148 municipal wardens (Dvojmoč, 2007; Sotlar et al., [in press](#)).

Customs

The customs service was established primarily as a financial instrument for the protection of the domestic economy, but because of its executive functions and powers, is also very important to the internal security system (Sotlar, 2010). The Customs Administration of the Republic of Slovenia is affiliated with the Ministry of Finance. It consists of the General Customs Directorate (at the state level) and ten Customs Directorates at the regional level. In 2010, a total of 1,654 employees worked for the Customs Administration, but the number of operational customs officers at border crossings is logically significantly lower (Customs Administration of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011).

Among the many tasks of the customs service, “the prevention and detection of customs and excise offences and other criminal offences” is one of the most important (Customs Administration of the Republic of Slovenia, 2011: 44). In order to be able to perform these tasks, customs officers are given special powers, similar to those of police officers (e.g., to stop, search, and seize), which describes the Customs service as “non-police police organization.” In cooperation with the police or alone, it plays a very important role in monitoring, detecting, and preventing crimes and offences related to

trafficking drugs, weapons, human materials, nuclear materials, and other materials necessary for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. The Customs Administration has well-organized, trained, and equipped mobile units that perform inspections of passengers, vehicles, and goods, and together with the police, they participate in prearranged and coordinated tasks of arresting smugglers at border crossings (Sotlar, 2010).

Judicial Police

The Prison Administration of the Republic of Slovenia, affiliated with the Ministry of Justice, is responsible for the management and control of six prisons and correctional facilities for minors and young adults. Within the prisons, a form of a micro-security system is created that is carried out by prison guards (Sotlar, 2010). With Act Amending the Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions Act (*Zakon o spremembah in dopolnitvah zakona o izvrševanju kazenskih sankcij*, 2008), prison guards were renamed “judicial police officers” and the Judicial Police were created. In December 2011, there were 539 such officers (Prison Administration of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012) who also provide security to the Ministry of Justice, courts, and to the office of the state prosecutor. In fact, they are not just called “police officers,” but they actually have similar tasks and powers to those of police officers. For example, they can give orders; conduct a strip-search of a prisoner, search his or her prison cell and luggage; determine identity, conduct security checks, and luggage searches of visitors to prisons and other facilities that belong to the Ministry of Justice; use physical force and coercive means, including nonlethal weapons, etc. (Sotlar, 2010).

However, the primary tasks of judicial police officers are still to prevent prisoners from escaping and to maintain order and security within the prison, to prevent criminal offences related to drug smuggling and bringing other illegal items into the prison, and to prevent possible connections between prisoners and organized crime groups or potential influences and threats to witnesses from within the prison. Briefly stated, they aim to prevent prisoners and detainees from

continuing illegal actions. In addition to this direct impact, it is necessary to mention the indirect effect. The Prison Administration of the Republic of Slovenia has on the security of society, which is seen as a prisoner rehabilitation process. If successful, this process can substantially prevent new criminal offences, committed by ex-offenders (Sotlar, 2010).

Private Security

The term “private policing” is rarely used among experts in Slovenia and even more rarely in public discourse. This is not surprising, since the terms “private security” and “private policing” are usually used synonymously worldwide. In Slovenia, the generic term of “private security” is used (Sotlar, 2010). This term covers a whole range of security activities and services that are not provided by the state and, as such, relates to De Waard’s (1999: 144–145) “private security industry,” covering a wide range of activities such as private security firms, performing activities on a professional basis for third parties; private in-house security services, performing functions for their own firm; private central alarm monitoring stations, performing functions for third parties on a professional basis; and private security transport firms, transporting limited quantities of cash and other valuables for third parties on a professional basis.

According to the Private Security Act (*Zakon o zasebnem varovanju*, 2011), eight forms of private security exist in Slovenia and all of them require licenses which are granted by the Ministry of the Interior. Private security firms may apply for one or all of eight licenses for the following forms of private security (protection of persons—bodyguarding; protection of people and property; transportation and protection of currency and other valuables; security of public gatherings; security at events in catering establishments; operation of security control center; design of technical security systems; and implementation of technical security systems).

In November 2011, there were 117 registered private security firms (Ministry of the Interior, 2012) employing around 6,500 private security officers. Private security officers are granted

“special” powers that go beyond the powers of regular citizens. In special circumstances as defined by the Private Security Act (*Zakon o zasebnem varovanju*, 2011), private security officers may (in the area they protect): warn a person; give verbal orders; determine the identity of the person; examine the surface tops, the inside of the vehicle, and baggage of the person entering or leaving the protected area; prevent a person entering or leaving the protected area; detain a person who has been found committing an offence; use physical force; use “coercive means” (firearm, handcuffs, gas sprayer, service dogs); use other measures if this is prescribed by law in the field of security of airports, casinos, and nuclear facilities, and use technical security systems (e.g., video surveillance systems). Private security personnel perform various jobs, as security officers (including bodyguards), security technicians, security control center operators, authorized security system engineers, and security managers. For all of these jobs, a training program is prescribed by the state that dictates both the content and duration (Sotlar, 2010; Sotlar & Meško, 2009).

Private Detective Activity

Private detective activity in Slovenia developed simultaneously with private security, but is much less prevalent. Detective activity is regulated by the Detective Activities Act (*Zakon o detektivski dejavnosti*, 2011), which defines it in the second Article as a “gathering, processing, and conveying of information and advice regarding crime prevention, performed for customers’ needs by detectives who are granted license in accordance with the Detective Activities Act.” Detective activity is a regulated economic activity, which is regulated by the Republic of Slovenia “in order to protect public order, public security, personal security, and the dignity of clients, third parties, and the detective who directly performs the activity.”

Detectives perform their activities as individual professionals, but they can also work in detective firms or be employed in other firms that have registered detective activity in the Slovenian Business Register. At the end of 2011, there were 84 registered detectives (among them 15 women) and 5 detective firms (Detective Chamber of the

Republic of Slovenia, 2012). Detectives perform their activities solely on the basis of written authorization, which describes the area for collecting information, the purpose of collecting information, and the scope of authorization. Detectives are entitled (powers/methods of work) to: collect information from people or from publicly available sources; collect information from records; use personal perception (observation, “surveillance”); use technical means for gathering information (photo and video camera, alcohol meter, audio recorder, etc.) (*Zakon o detektivski dejavnosti*, 2011: article 26–27).

In general, Slovenian detectives find market niches and specialize according to the type and range of demand in the marketplace (e.g., investigation of sick-leave, travel costs, insurance fraud, violation of competition clause, checking the effectiveness and credibility of a potential business partner, preventing the leak of confidential information, especially hi-tech data, and even prevention of classical economic espionage) (Sotlar, 2010).

The development of plural policing needs further research including international comparative studies due to the rapidly developing market of security services in European countries. In addition to plural policing activities, a perspective of public–private partnership in policing needs to be studied closely as ideas on public–private partnership have recently been presented by the minister of justice and public administration (for building new prisons) as an option to reduce consequences of the economic crisis in the country (Tičar & Meško, 2008). A significant challenge is still cooperation between different members of the plural policing family, especially between the police and private security officers (Nalla et al., 2009; Sotlar & Meško, 2009).

Research on police and policing has had a significant impact on drafting the National crime prevention and crime control program and policing strategies, especially in the fields of community policing (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012b; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005) intelligence-led policing (Potparič & Dvoršek, 2011), conservation of the natural environment and criminal investigation of crimes against the environment (Meško, Dimitrijević, & Fields, 2011).

Police, Public Opinion of the Police, and the Media

According to Slovenian public opinion polls (Toš, 1999, 2004, 2009), public trust in the police varied greatly between 1991 and 2009. The level of trust in the police was the lowest in 1993, when only one-fifth of Slovenian citizens trusted the police. In 1994, almost 60 % of respondents expressed trust in the police; however, in 1995 the level of trust was declined again; less than one-third trusted the police. This trend continued until the year 2000, when more than one-half of the respondents indicated a high level of trust in the police. It has been quite constant since with only minor deviations. The results of recent research on residents' opinion about the police (Meško et al., 2012), show that one-third of respondents still fully trust the police. This percentage is higher than the percentage of people who trust the government and media, which is less than 10 % in both cases, and courts (16.4 %). More than three-thirds of respondents reported high or very high expectations from the police regarding the police role in the local security provision.

By exposing certain issues to the public, the media shapes public opinion and therefore plays an important role in affecting public perceptions of crime as well as in the creation of myths of crime. At the same time, the process works the other way around, since the media form their agenda according to public opinion. Police effectiveness is estimated by the public on the basis of media reports about police activities, which are usually relating to specific crime occurrences and description of police efforts to solve them. For their ability to reach a wide audience, the media often have played important roles in informing people about safety campaigns or different threats to their safety and also for reporting police request for information from the public. The media reporting on the police and policing influences public opinion regarding police officers, portraying them as poorly equipped, under-trained and reproaching the police force with not employing enough officers.

This kind of reporting can lead to more authoritative policing and emphasizes the crisis of legitimacy and effectiveness of criminal justice system (Bučar-Ručman & Meško, 2006).

In addition, the police publicize information on the Slovenian police, policing and crime prevention on their web site www.policija.si and publish the *Journal of Criminal Investigation and Criminology* (orig. *Revija za kriminalistiko in kriminologijo*) which is a leading criminology journal in the country. The journal is included in the *Social Science Citation Index* (Criminology and Penology). Police scholars have been present in the media commenting on criminal cases, and national and international crime trends.⁵

Trends in Policing: Challenges for Research

As compared to other criminological issues, The Slovenian government does not equally support research into policing issues. Priorities are still being given to other criminological research, such as criminological theory, juvenile delinquency, juvenile justice, penology, crime reduction policy, victimology, criminal investigation, and specific issues of social control (Meško, 2004; Šelih & Meško, 2011). Even when the Ministry of the Interior or the police force were interested in researching policing issues, projects tended to be low budget and short-term. Nevertheless, The College of Police and Security Studies (now the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor) has conducted a number of research projects on policing, criminological issues related to policing, and security matters,⁶ especially in co-operation with partners from other universities. Since 1996, the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security has organized nine

⁵The media coverage of the University of Maribor has been characterized by prime time interviews with professors from the Faculty of criminal justice and security who comment on crime, criminality, deviance, and a variety of aspects of (formal) social control.

⁶For more see: <http://www.fvv.uni-mb.si/en/research/researches.aspx>.

international conferences on policing,⁷ and the papers presented at these conferences have been very well publicized and published in postconference publications. The conferences not only focused on policing in the Central and Eastern European context, but also encompassed a wider and international dimension with participants coming from all five continents. The topics discussed have largely been about comparing contemporary western and eastern knowledge and research on policing, managerial and human resource issues in police, ethics, integrity and human rights, deviance, violence and victimization, dilemmas of contemporary criminal justice, critical reflections on policing in emerging democracies, practice and research of social control in contemporary society, and social control of unconventional deviance and influenced Slovenian research on police and policing. In addition to the conferences on policing, a national conference on criminal justice and security⁸ organized by the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security has been held annually since 2000 which acts as a forum for the discussion of problems of policing in Slovenia and the development of collaborative and constructive relationships between practitioners and academics.

Šelih and Meško (2011) explain that in the mid 1990s, a rebirth of research on police and policing occurred in Slovenia as associates of the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security⁹ have published extensively on many policing-related topics, both in Slovene and other languages. The conferences on policing¹⁰ have made it possible for many Slovenian and other Central and Eastern European scholars and police practitioners to publish their research results and reflections in English. Publishing in English is becoming increasingly important, as “the world of criminology” does not exist, to any great extent, outside of the main international languages, especially English. Consequently, writing in “exotic” Slavic and other

languages does not get the attention of western criminologists. Accordingly, the biennial conference on policing in Central and Eastern Europe has built a bridge between Eastern and Central Europe and the rest of the world. Slovenian criminological and criminal justice research entered a period of intense activity during the mid 1990s. Police-related research has continually been challenged by new and international developments and, in particular, through international research co-operation.

Joutsen (1995) highlighted a number of problems associated with the criminal justice systems of Central and Eastern Europe (such as, a belief that “crime pays,” police ineffectiveness in crime-fighting, the leniency of judges, a backlog of unprocessed cases, problems of formal social control, and excessive personnel turnover in the police forces and problems with training, among others). These are still present in Slovenia. Such problems influence the quality of life of people in a new democracy. Reducing the likelihood of such problems poses a huge challenge for politicians, policy makers, criminal justice professionals, police management and police officers, as well as society in general. In this respect, research contributions of Slovenian scholars have been fruitful, as have been their contributions to significant discussions regarding subjects such as professionalism, ethical conduct, respect of human rights and human dignity in policing.

Concluding Remarks

Over the last two decades, policing in Slovenia has changed significantly, both in conceptual and formal-organizational terms. It is important to understand that after two decades of Slovenian independence, changes in the field of police work are still occurring. In conclusion, our aim is to emphasize areas that seem to be crucial for understanding the nature of policing in Slovenia also in the future.

Slovenian police are trying to balance the two (often conflicting) concepts of policing. The first approach is community policing. Two decades ago, police officers perceived community policing as a foreign concept and this is why the resistance

⁷For more see: <http://www.fvv.uni-mb.si/conf2012/PrevConferences.html>.

⁸For more see: <http://www.fvv.uni-mb.si/DV2012/>.

⁹For more see: www.fvv.uni-mb.si/en.

¹⁰For more see: www.fvv.uni-mb.si/conf2012.

to strengthening the decentralization of policing was endemic. Recent studies concluded that police officers and police chiefs increasingly perceive community policing as the leading model of police work in local communities, which is followed by various organizational measures (such as empowerment of local police stations to plan and perform police work without rigid involvement in the centralized hierarchy of police organization). This approach contributed to strengthening the efforts to prevent crime and disorder as well as the involvement of other stakeholders in policing (e.g., municipal warden service, NGOs, and local politics). This trend, however, has a tendency towards the centralization of policing and strengthening of repressive measures, particularly in the field of criminal investigation. Introducing concepts such as intelligence-led policing and the creation of specialized investigative institutions (e.g., the National Bureau of Investigation), affect politicians and the public to perceive the police as primarily repressive whose main purpose is to provide excellent evidence for effective prosecution. The latter is particularly enhanced during the present economic crisis. Slovenian police will have to find a balance between these two opposing (which in fact are complementing) concepts, while much will depend largely on the opinion of the police top management where the Director General of the Police stresses importance of community policing. This affects the strengthening of partnerships in local safety provision, on the other hand the Director General of the Police requires and effective criminal investigation. In these circumstances we witness increased punitiveness, especially in the area of traffic control.

Research on the police financed by the Ministry of the Interior shows openness and benevolence of the police for scientific contributions over the last two decades. For this reason, it can be argued that the Slovenian police, as well as other stakeholders from the plural policing family, have more and more high-quality research for the design of knowledge-based policing. The development of police studies is the foundation for the professionalization of policing, which is also reflected in the raising of educational standards for basic police work. After two decades, the Slovenian police decided to increase the

educational criteria for police profession, which was changed from upper secondary level to post-secondary vocational level. These changes in education are also supported by the basic and on the job training of police officers (e.g., police integrity training) and for police chiefs (e.g., in management and administration). We observe that this trend is also followed by the plural policing family, primarily by the municipal warden services, as well as by private security.

During the present economic crisis, the state level of police organization trends of strengthening the repressive approaches are perceived while on the other hand, at the local level municipal authorities seem to understand policing as an economic category. In the two largest Slovenian cities, the work of municipal wardens is also evaluated from the perspective of revenue generated for the municipal budget provided through the fines they impose. In the second largest Slovenian city, the municipal government went a step further. In the context of public-private partnership, a new traffic speed control system has been set up, where a private company set up and invested in the control system of the entire road network and municipality pays for the investment from the imposed and collected traffic fines. Violation of traffic rules has therefore become a profitable activity of a municipality and the private company, with security provision becoming of a secondary importance.

While in the early 1990s, it was typical for policing in Slovenia to be within the exclusive domain of the national police; currently, after two decades, we find that various entities exist in the field of providing safety. The challenge for the future is to ensure their interdependent work and above all to encourage citizens to contribute to safe life. Pluralization of policing is faster than the changes in public opinion on who and in what way should policing services be provided. Residents still believe that this is primarily a task of the national police while private security is developing and adjusting to the needs of the security market. After two decades of rapid development of democratic policing, it is possible that the economic crisis and austerity measures will lead to the lowering of the quality of public policing and seeking for less costly forms of social control, be

it public–private partnership in specific tasks of policing or the establishment of more local police forces (now local warden services).

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A New Concept of the Police and Policing in Republika Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Mile Šikman and Velibor Lalić

Introduction

On 9 January 1992 Republika Srpska was declared a state entity verified by the Dayton Peace Agreement and Peace Treaty signed in Paris on 14 December 1995, which marked the end of a 3-years and a half old war (1992–1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H).¹ Republika Srpska occupies 49 % of the B&H territory, covering over 24,858 km², and according to the estimates in 2010, the population numbered 1,433,038 (Republički zavod za statistiku [RZS], 2012). The capital is Banja Luka, which is the administrative, economic, and cultural center of Republika Srpska.

According to Annex 11 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, recognizing the importance of establishing professional democratic police forces that

respect international standards, human rights and fundamental freedoms, UN Security Council Resolution 1,035 (21 December 1995) articulated the mandate for the International Police Task Force (IPTF). In response to the Dayton Peace Agreement, the IPTF developed a three-point plan, which concentrated on: restructuring a post-communist and post-paramilitary police force; reforming the police through training, selection, certification, and decertification procedures; democratizing the police forces by establishing a depoliticized, impartial, accountable, multiethnic police force, that abides by the principles of

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¹ Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Bosnia and Herzegovina spreads on 51,209,2 km². According to the last census in 1991, there were 4,377,033 people—43.48 % Muslims/Bosniaks, 31.18 % Serbs, 17.36 % Croats, 5.52 % Yugoslavs, and 2.56 % other ethnic groups (Zavod za statistiku Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, 1993). However it is estimated that there are 3.8 million people living today in BiH (Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine, 2010). Bosnia and Herzegovina is defined by the Dayton Peace Agreement as a complex state union which consists of two entities (Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) and an independent territorial unit—the District (Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina). The entities, Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are territorial units with a certain degree of independence when it comes to the execution of legislative, judicial, and administrative government. Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina has a special political status in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

community policing (King, 2001). Reconstruction of the police after the war was the priority of the international community.² That was necessary in order to create the right conditions for sustainable peace and stability (Simonović & Pena, 2010; Vejnović & Lalić, 2005; Wisler, 2007). The United Nations Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, during its mandate, accomplished much in establishing a peace building process (UN Security Council, 2002: 1–5). During this period, accreditation of the Ministry of the Interior of Republika Srpska (MoI RS) was conducted by the United Nations Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which meant that the MoI RS had met the international accepted standards in doing police work (Jovičić, 2008).³ On 1 January 2003, the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) replaced the UN's IPTF. The EUPM is tasked with monitoring and training B&H's police, and, as such, represents the Union's debut in foreign operations. Police mission of the European Union in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first mission conducted under the European security and defense policy. The mission mandate was finished on 30 June 2012 (European Union Police Mission [EUPM], 2012).

²During the first 10 years of their mandate, the civil police mission significantly evolved—from “easy” questions such as training and monitoring, to “difficult” questions related to reorganization and more importantly to restructuring, which implied the redistribution of police tasks authorities from entity to state level and establishing of new institutions that necessarily led to the Dayton Peace Agreement changes (Wisler, 2007). Thus, the international civil police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina represented a radical case of international intervention where police reform was used for changing the Dayton Peace Agreement, which is also the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

³Namely, this was a process which was executed in the last year of the UN Mission mandate, and which implied the certification of police members, and afterwards the accreditation of the Ministry. This was a complex and extensive activity which implied the analysis of the Ministry on the whole. The accreditation document was given to the Minister of the Interior of Republika Srpska by the Secretary General of the UN mission Mr. Jacques Paul Klein on 1 October 2002 (Jovičić, 2008).

This kind of complex and politically motivated union led to the establishment of a specific security system. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina states that security affairs and internal affairs are under the authority of entities; although after signing of the Peace Treaty, some authority was delegated to the state level.

At the state level, there is a Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina which consists of police agencies that perform police tasks (Zakon o ministarstvima i drugim organima uprave Bosne i Hercegovine, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2009). These include the Directorate for Coordination of Police Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Agency for Police Support, and the Agency for Forensics and Agency for Education. The status of administrative organizations in the Ministry of Security, with broad operational independence, is also given to the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA), State Border Police of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Foreign Affairs Offices.

Apart from agencies at the state level, there are Ministries of the Interior in the entities. In Republika Srpska, there is an MoI RS and in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina there is a Ministry of the Interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a territorially and politically complex entity, has a complex police structure (Zakon o unutrašnjim poslovima FBiH, 2005). Accordingly, most of police tasks and authorities in security area are conducted by ten cantonal Ministries of the Interior.⁴ District Brčko has a separate police structure, which in the territorial district executes its police tasks (Zakon o policiji Brčko Distrikta Bosne i Hercegovine, 2009).

⁴The authorities of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Federal Police Administration) are prescribed by the Law on internal affairs of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the authorities of cantonal Ministries of the Interior are prescribed by cantonal Laws on internal affairs in accordance with the federal Law on internal affairs.

Police Organization, Structure, and Function

The MoI RS, is an administrative organization and a police agency, whose authorities are prescribed by the Law on internal affairs of Republika Srpska (*Zakon o unutrašnjim poslovima Republike Srpske*, 2012).⁵ The MoI RS is run by the Minister of the Interior, while the operational police sector is supervised by the Police Director. The headquarters of MoI RS are in Banja Luka. There are six administrative bodies within the Ministry: Police Administration, Administration for Crime Police, Administration for Information and Communication Technologies, Administration for Legal and Personnel Affairs, Administration for Material and Financial Affairs, Administration for Police Education. Republic Administration for Civil Protection also falls within the Ministry of the Interior. The Special Police Unit⁶ is also an organizational unit of the Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srpske [MUP RS]*, 2012).

The Ministry is organized into five regional Public Security Centers which cover the whole of

Republika Srpska. These include the Public Security Centers in Banja Luka, Doboj, Bijeljina, Istočno Sarajevo, and Trebinje. Within the Public Security Centers, there are numerous precincts, and a special trained police unit which helps the criminal police in executing its tasks, maintaining public peace and order at public gatherings of high risk, giving support to regular police forces in securing particular persons and facilities and other complex tasks. In 2011 there were 6,853 employees within the MoI RS (MUP RS, 2012: 45) (Fig. 1).

Police tasks executed by the Ministry are operational-expertise tasks and other internal affairs.

Operational-expertise tasks include: life protection, personal protection, human rights and freedoms, protection of constitutional order from violent endangerment and changes and security of the Republic in accordance with the law; protection of all forms of property; prevention of all forms of property; prevention of criminal acts, detection of criminal acts, tracking down, arresting and handing in the perpetrator of criminal acts to the authorities; maintaining public peace and order; protection of specific persons and facilities; securing public gatherings, manifestations, cultural and sporting events, and other allowed forms of mass gathering of citizens; security and control of traffic on roads, specific forms of security in other traffic fields and giving assistance for the purpose of eliminating consequences which pose a threat to the safety of persons and property on a larger scale; providing assistance and help to other bodies, as well as protection against fires, preventive technical protection, traffic, use, and storage of hazardous materials. Other internal affairs units that fall under the authority of the Ministry are: administrative-legal and property affairs, analytic-informational affairs; communication affairs and connections; material-financial and property affairs; education and professional training; control of procurement, keeping and carrying of weapons and munitions; identification number; place of residence; registration of motor and additional vehicles.

⁵ MoI RS was established on 4 April 1992 when, after the division of the MoBiH, a part of the then Ministry started to function on the today's Republika Srpska territory. In the meantime, a lot of new and innovated regulations were prescribed which changed the organization and systematization of the Ministry. The most significant change took place in 1998 when the Department for Security ceased to function, and its tasks and assignments were taken over by the Intelligence Agency, as an expert service outside the internal affairs body (Pena, 2006).

⁶ Special Police Unit executes specific tasks and assignments for the purpose of securing maximum safety of citizens and their property, also providing support to regular police forces in executing police operations which fall outside the authority of their professional capacity and training. Primarily, this relates to the fight against terrorism at the tactical and operational level, dealing with hostage crises, giving assistance to the Administration for Crime Police and Public Security Centers in arresting dangerous criminals and criminal groups, especially in situations where resistance through use of firearms is expected.

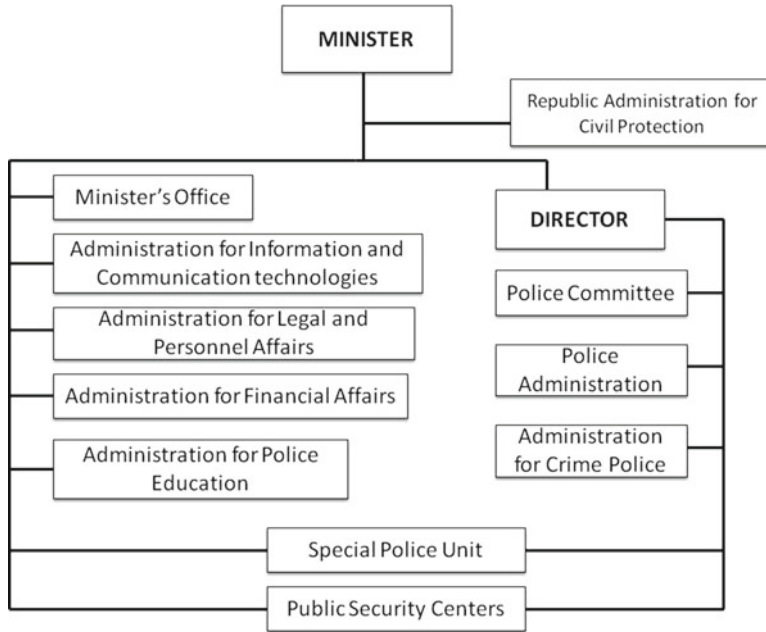


Fig. 1 The structure of the Ministry of the Interior of Republika Srpska (Source: MUP RS, 2012)

Police tasks are performed by police officers and other tasks are performed by officers and employees at the Ministry. The aforementioned police tasks the Ministry employees perform in accordance with the Law on internal affairs, Law on police officers, Law on criminal procedure, Criminal law, Law on public peace and order, Law on citizens’ gathering, Law on traffic safety, and other laws.

Crime and Disorder Trends in the Last 20 Years

The war in B&H (1992–1995) caused many human casualties and material destructions. It is estimated that the total number of killed and missing soldiers, and civilians totaled 100,000 (Tabeau & Bijak, 2005).

Due to the war, about one-third of the population of B&H left their place of residence. According to the data proved by the Ministry for human rights and refugees of B&H, an estimated

124,593 registered displaced persons in the country still want to return to their homes (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, & Human Rights, and Labor, 2010).

During the war, the most severe criminal acts were executed against humanity and international law. The United Nations established the International criminal court in 1993 for the former Yugoslavia (MKJS) in the Hague, for the purpose of prosecuting war crimes committed during the conflict on the Balkans in the 1990s. The breakdown of social, economic, and political structures as consequences of war led to the expansion of different forms of organized crime. The disintegration of society led to a free tactical space for criminal groups to exploit institutional weaknesses for the realization of their criminal goals. Organized crime is mostly related to economic crime, drug trafficking, trafficking in human beings and money laundering, and other transnational crimes (Council of Europe, 2005: 59). Violence among members of organized crime groups or their affiliates is quite common.

Violent crimes, including machine gun attacks, car bombings, and an increasing number of grenade attacks, are often committed with war-era munitions (United States Department of State & Bureau of Diplomatic Security, 2012).

In B&H, including Republika Srpska, as in other countries in Southeastern Europe, economic crime accounts for a significant number of cases linked to organized crime, in particular in relation to tax and customs fraud, public procurement, privatization, bank fraud, and counterfeiting of legal products. In 2003, B&H reportedly losses of hundreds of millions of Euros annually to “organized economic crime” (Council of Europe, 2005: 14).

When it comes to trafficking in human beings in B&H, it would seem that while in the past the country was primarily one of transit and destination, now it is also a country of origin of human trafficking victims. Exploitation, in particular through prostitution, is shifting from night bars to hotels and private houses. B&H is also an important transit country for people smuggled in from south-eastern Europe (Council of Europe, 2005: 34).

When it comes to terrorism in Republika Srpska, there were no such cases. However, B&H on the whole is not without elements willing to participate in the support and financing of terrorist organizations. Extremist groups, which may have ties to terrorist support structures and financing, do exist (United States Department of State & Bureau of Diplomatic Security, 2012). There have been a couple of terrorist attacks in B&H. The last one was an armed attack on the American Embassy in Sarajevo which took place on 28 October 2011. The attack was executed by a Muslim extremist, a member of the Vehabia movement, Melvedin Jašarević. During the attack on the American Embassy, Jašarević blocked the entire city center for 45 min until he was shot in the leg by a sniper of the MoI Sarajevo Canton. During the 50-min attack, Jašarević fired more than 105 bullets on the Embassy. On that occasion, he managed to wound a police officer who was in charge of the outdoor security of the American Embassy in Sarajevo (Jašareviću odgođeno suđenje zbog bolesti, 2012). In addition, in 2007 the first verdict in B&H was given

to the persons charged with an attempt to commit terrorism in B&H or other European countries, with the aim of forcing the B&H authorities and other country governments to withdraw their forces from Iraq and Afghanistan (Sud BiH, 2007). Also, in the first half of December in 2009 the Prosecutors’s Office of B&H charged five persons for being accomplices of an organized group on B&H’s territory, from November 2007 to November 2009, with an attempt to carry out a terrorist attack on an identified object, i.e., a desired target with the aim of serious frightening of people and destabilization of constitutional, political, economic, and social structures (Sud BiH, 2009). Political violence in Republika Srpska, however, is rare.

Reported general crime in Republika Srpska is also very low. There is no estimation regarding the “gray area of crime.” However, it is to be expected that the real crime rate is larger than presented in official statistics.

Table 1 shows that general crime, in the last 10 years, was on the rise until 2006 when the number of committed crimes started to continually decline. It is also clear that the total number of solved cases is constantly rising, the same in the number of unknown crime act perpetrators.

Table 2 shows that all of these parameters are on the rise, which can be expected considering the increase in this form of crime. In the context of confiscating drugs and persons involved, marijuana is the most widespread drug on the illegal market, followed by synthetic drugs, while the influx of heroin occurs through different channels in the regional countries.

Criminal offences of economic crime in the last 10 years have recorded different trends, with the notion that the total number of criminal offences is on the rise. The most common forms of criminal offences include misuse of authority or position, and money counterfeiting (Table 3).

Regarding traffic safety, there were 9,378 recorded traffic accidents on Republika Srpska roads in 2011 (MUP RS, 2012), resulting in 163 persons killed in traffic accidents, 702 persons seriously injured, and 2,517 person slightly injured (MUP RS, 2012).

Table 1 General crime in Republika Srpska 2001–2011 (Source: MUP RS, 2012)

No.	General crime	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
1	Number of criminal offences	7.585	8.416	10.538	12.891	12.864	12.240	11.726	11.588	10.979	9.518	9.066
2	Number of reports	6.328	7.249	9.546	11.978	11.503	10.693	10.479	10.294	9.782	8.479	8.058
3	Number of registered persons	4.410	5.034	5.850	7.284	9.308	8.935	8.562	7.709	7.669	7.440	7.346
3a	Minors	512	542	577	884	787	859	872	781	837	705	488
3b	Recidivists	773	898	941	1.381	2.042	2.225	2.125	2.071	2.101	2.143	2.304
4	Total number of solved criminal cases	61.9	61.8	52.3	50.0	61.4	67.5	64.2	61.6	64.97	71.7	72.7
5	Number per N.N.	49.1	48.8	34.2	32.6	47.5	53.1	43.1	41.7	47.1	57.0	58.7

Table 2 Misuse of narcotics in Republika Srpska 2001–2011 (Source: MUP RS, 2012)

No.	Criminal offences	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
1	Number of criminal offences	126	107	136	128	199	167	204	193	197	213	219
2	Number of reports	102	94	125	113	187	147	183	171	170	192	193
3	Number of registered persons	131	127	129	150	245	205	235	238	288	393	329
4	Misdemeanor charges	165	186	279	181	256	209	194	110	183	162	71
5	Registered persons	165	186	279	181	256	209	194	116	186	404	77
6	Persons deprived of liberty		303	370	276	571	532	610	495	592	761	512

Table 3 Economic crime in Republika Srpska 2001–2011 (Source: MUP RS, 2012)

No.		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
1	Total number of criminal offences	591	649	544	726	851	790	793	644	661	701	722
2	Number of reports	479	394	404	515	616	587	560	446	503	494	478
3	Number of registered persons	619	542	500	640	675	803	828	619	681	739	716

Police Training and Police Educational System

Human resources are the basis of every organizational system, especially of the state administration system and the police subsystem. This was the primary goal and motive in establishing the contemporary educational system, improvement and development of human resources, bringing the realization of basic goals of this important state administration subsystem (Šikman & Amidžić, 2011). Education and training of human resources of the police consists of two methods—theoretical and practical preparation for police service (Milosavljević, 1997). Police education in Republika Srpska is of public interest and it is entrusted to the MoI RS.⁷ The Administration for Police Education is in charge of police education, which is the basic organizational unit in the

headquarters of MoI RS (Šikman & Amidžić, 2011).⁸ The Administration for Police Education provides education and professional training of personnel for work in the Ministry. Tasks and assignments of the Administration for Police

⁷Namely, the MoI RS, according to the Law on internal affairs and Law on police officers, is in charge of education and specialized training of its employees.

⁸Police education in Republika Srpska has been present since the establishment of the MoI RS and has gone through a lot of organizational and institutional transformations in the last 20 years. First, in 1992 High School of Internal Affairs was established which was in charge of education and specialized training of the personnel. Then, in 1994 Center for the Education of Internal Affairs personnel was established, whose primary function was education and specialized training of the personnel for work at the Ministry through regular schooling and courses for police officers in period of 6 months. After that, in 1995 Advanced School of Internal Affairs was established, which lasted five semesters and with the completion of School students earned a degree of a law bachelor of internal affairs. Furthermore, in 1999 Police Academy was established, and in 2002 School of Internal Affairs was transformed into College for Internal Affairs. Finally, in 2002 the School Center was transformed into Administration for Police Education, which remains today. Hence, constant trend of this change was followed by a permanent improvement of basic police education activity, which today has a complete system of basic, high, specialized, and permanent police education (Šikman & Amidžić, 2011).

Education are performed by four internal organizational units, and they are: College for Internal Affairs, Unit for basic and specialized training—Police Academy, Division for specialized training, and Division for logistics and boarding services.

The College for Internal Affairs is a police college, whose primary function is the education of highly educated personnel fitting the needs of the MoI RS as well as the needs of other police and security agencies in Republika Srpska and B&H.⁹ The College is organized with a science teaching unit, scientific research unit, and students' office, and it has four departments: The Department for general education studies, the Department for legal studies, the Department for security-police studies, and the Department for criminal studies. The studies at the College for Internal Affairs, according to the new curriculum, is completely in accordance with the Bologna Process, and is organized in one cycle which lasts from six to eight semesters. The College for Internal Affairs has been a member of the University of Banja Luka since 2008, and all academic issues are under its authority.¹⁰ More than 900 students graduated from the College for Internal Affairs, and currently there are more than 581 active students in all years of study (MUP RS, 2012).

The Unit for basic and specialized training, the Police Academy, is in charge of professional training of the personnel through basic training, which consists of two levels. The first level is basic police training that lasts 12 months and it consists of three phases. The first phase is theoretical with practical exercises and situation

teaching, it lasts 7 months, and is located in the Administration for Police Education. The second phase is practical training, where students have practical training at the Public Security Center in the region of Republika Srpska, which lasts 4 months. The third phase is situational teaching and taking the final exam.

The second level of basic police training is for those students who are preparing themselves to perform the police tasks with a bachelor degree, but who lack police education. This training lasts 18 weeks.

As of 2012, 1,009 cadets have finished the Police Academy, and currently there are 50 cadets at the Academy (MUP RS, 2012). The Division for Professional Training deals with specialized and professional training of the personnel at the Ministry RS. It also organizes and offers courses, seminars, and other forms of specialized training.

Police education is an integral part of the MoI RS. This model of organization, taking into account all its advantages and disadvantages, is satisfactory since it completely meets the needs of the Ministry and development and affirmation of police education in Republika Srpska and B&H (Šikman & Amidžić, 2011).

Changes in Policing in the Last 20 Years

MoI RS has gone through many phases of organizational and functional changes in the last 20 years, all of which have been directed towards the improvement of police work and adjusting the police organization to these needs. In that sense, there are several processes which need to be pointed out, such as police professionalization, implementation of contemporary police standards and methods in confronting social negative phenomena and integral police development (Jovičić, 2008; MUP RS, 2011; Pena, 2006).

Police professionalization is a requirement which was particularly emphasized in the previous period, but which continues even today. The professionalization process was directed towards awareness about continuing education throughout the whole professional career, which allows an individual to maintain his professional status,

⁹College for Internal Affairs is the only high education institution of this kind in Bosnia and Herzegovina which primarily focuses on high police education. Note, only students who graduate from the College for Internal Affairs can work in police agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina without additional education, given the fact that the School was certified by the United Nation Mission, in regard to necessary requirements for personnel education in police institutions.

¹⁰College for Internal Affairs has a good cooperation with police institutions in the region countries, including the Criminal and Police Academy in Belgrade, the State University of Internal Affairs of Lviv, Ukraine and Faculty of Security at the University Bitola in Skopje.

and the police to perform their social tasks. This issue also involves building of professional police morality, where police officers need to be aware of their ethical responsibilities and to fulfill the highest possible standards of professional police work. Modernization of police work implies adoption and implementation of new technologies, because they represent a prerequisite for the development of the police organization. The development of IT and information technologies in the MoI RS began with a desire for efficient managing of these social systems.¹¹ Police democratization is one of the basic principles which has marked police work in the recent period¹² and in Republika Srpska was realized with the introduction of a system for evaluation of work, promotion, appointing and discharging, salary, praise, and reward and punishment, followed by union improvement and social partnership. Police transformation (of the MoI RS) was in the center of attention and the main question was: How to deal with growing social changes?¹³

¹¹ Namely, it is known that those systems which have faster and more efficient flow of information are more successful at all levels and that they have better managing systems due to organized flow of information. As it became clear that timely and true information is the key to management and control for the purpose of achieving the goal, IT developed as well. This development has been most obvious in the last decade, so today literacy is associated with information literacy, i.e., today all social areas have prefix "e." Ministry of the Interior of Republika Srpska, within its powers, is trying to apply contemporary technologies to all work areas.

¹² The ability to carry out democratic standards cannot be realized without the adoption of these standards within its own organizational structure. Democratic organizational structure is characterized by a dialog culture, free flow of information, the right and the opportunity for participation in decision-making of all those affected by these decisions, openness, and sincerity, taking responsibility for one's own actions, establishing interpersonal relations, and solidarity and empathy. Implementation of organizational culture is a long process (Pena, 2006).

¹³ Traditional organizational models and ways of work are not effective any more. The police are exposed to an increasing public pressure. The solution lies within a new approach of police role in society. The belief that the police are the only one who are responsible for social safety is no longer true. It is necessary to raise awareness that except the police, who are the main factor in public safety, other subjects in society are also responsible.

In that regard, a new concept was established which meant that instead of being the only guardian of law and order with a predominantly reactive mode of action, the MoI RS became a public service for citizens to assist them in solving many problems, which are essential to their quality of life. This concept was applied through a strategy called "Community policing," which is accepted in many developed countries. The police in Republika Srpska adopted a new philosophy of police work and new strategies of police action, and in the future this practice needs to be more intensively and methodically developed. The primary objective of police depoliticization in the recent period has been to avoid government influence on police work and police actions, which was proclaimed as the principle of police political neutrality. The MoI RS completely adopted this principle, which implied several interrelated things: (1) police independence within law limits, (2) police autonomy in undertaking actions that fall under its authority and which it is obliged to execute, (3) the impossibility of using the police for political purposes, and (4) no police officer can be a member of a political party (the principle of depoliticization of police personnel). As a result, the MoI RS established the positions of police director and deputy police director who cannot be members of a political party or be involved in one in any way, or be a member of an executive or legislative body at any level.

Implementation of contemporary police standards and methods in confronting negative social phenomena is based on the assumption that efficient crime confrontation is not possible to realize with traditional methods, but it is essential to use contemporary methods based on scientific and technical advancements, which need to be legal and approved. This standard had already been used in the MoI RS, but it is also a continuous principle. In the end, a significant change in the last 20 years is present in an ongoing integral development of the MoI RS. Integral development implies designing and implementing of all organizational and business programs and projects in all work areas in the MoI RS.

Current Trends in Policing

Keeping in mind the key objectives of the RS Government, which are related to EU integrations, fight against organized crime and corruption, strengthening of economic and social responsibility, the MoI RS has directed all its potential towards their positive realization. In that regard, the MoI RS is putting all its efforts on creating modern, strong, professional, technically equipped, and staffed police. Current reforms are executed with the aim of creating the police ready to, within the law, decisively protect everyone from all forms of endangerment and enable efficient and rapid realization of human rights and freedoms. There are many strategic documents and action plans which define future involvement of the MoI RS in confronting security challenges, risks, and threats. Initial strategic, normative, organizational, material, and personnel conditions for the realization of these goals have been established. In addition, the MoI RS carries out intensive normative activities as a basic prerequisite for realization of all reform processes, with a primary goal of adjusting legal regulations in this area with standards and legal EU heritage¹⁴ (MUP RS, 2011).

Current trends in police work is contained an annual report of the MoI RS for 2011¹⁵ (MUP RS, 2012). The MoI RS activities in this period were primarily directed towards the improvement of total security status and maintaining a stable security ambiance in Republika Srpska, i.e., they were focused on the following:

- Undertaking measures and activities for the improvement of organizational capacities and working methodology, obtaining quality inter-agency, regional and international cooperation, contacts and cooperation with citizens, the media, NGOs, and other subjects.
- Continuing activities on updating, processing, and systematization of documentation on committed war crimes and prosecuting the perpetrators of these acts.
- Strengthening the fight against organized crime and other forms of serious crime, more efficient exchange of intelligence and operational knowledge, joint inquiries and strengthening of regional and international cooperation.
- Detecting, police investigation and documentation of serious and complex criminal offences of economic crime.
- Undertaking measures for detection and prevention of all forms of corruption and misuse of authority.¹⁶
- Collection of operational information about persons, groups, and organizations whose actions are related or can be connected to religious or ethnically motivated terrorism, and in order to prevent terrorist actions in Republika Srpska or the use of territory of Republika Srpska for preparation and execution of these actions on the B&H territory and other countries.
- Prevention of all forms of misuse of narcotics and spreading of drug addiction, detecting and prosecuting organized criminal groups and individuals involved in drug trafficking, detecting and interception of drug smuggling.
- Maintaining a favorable and stable public peace and order.
- Continuous monitoring of law enforcement effects and other regulations in the traffic security area for unobstructed and safe road traffic.

It is also important to mention the growing private security sector in Republika Srpska,

¹⁴Changes to the legal framework will continue to be of utmost importance so the legal work bases are in accordance with European standards and obligations under ratified international conventions. In this regard, it is necessary to develop capacities to deal with these issues, bearing in mind the obligations of harmonization with the legal EU order regarding the membership negotiations.

¹⁵Namely, the MoI RS in 2011 functioned within its legal framework and authority, in accordance with annual Work program, strategic and other planned documents, with clearly defined priorities regarding operational and other work areas, and in accordance with realistically evaluated security movements.

¹⁶With the introduction of strategy for fighting corruption, the MoI RS has undertaken important steps in realizing program activities given by the Strategic prevention of corruption in Republika Srpska.

which was formally established in 2002 when the Parliament passed the Law on Private Security. This law regulates the entire field of private security and it contains dispositions relative to licensing of private security companies, legal powers of private security personnel, licensing of private detectives and their legal powers, and supervision over the private security sector. It is estimated that about 2,500 people work in the private security sector in Republika Srpska.¹⁷ The majority are employed by private security agencies as security guards, security managers, or residential security specialists. The area of private detection is underdeveloped, with only a few private detectives registered in Republika Srpska (Vejnović, Lalić, & Šikman, 2009).

Fragmentation and diversification of policing is a widespread trend in liberal democratic societies. Different actors with different roles and responsibilities in delivery of policing and security services make up the networked or plural policing (Loader, 2000). Global social changes in liberal democratic societies have influenced B&H, and thus Republika Srpska as well. In Republika Srpska, as well as in B&H, there is pluralism of *police providers* at all levels. There are state police agencies which are accessible to coordination and cooperation, and there is also international police cooperation with other police agencies. The presence of the IPTF and the EUPM in B&H have been an important factor in the reconstruction, training, and monitoring of local police forces. The implementation of the Project *Community policing* in Republika Srpska has brought to an increased role of the citizens in cooperation with the police. The private security sector is on the rise and it has become an important factor and partner in providing police and

security services. It is necessary to develop the concept of *plural policing* in Republika Srpska in the sense of communication between different actors for the purpose of greater efficiency in providing policing services and security.

Police, the Media, and Public Opinion on Police

Transparency in the work of the MoI RS is one of the key principles and in that regard a significant improvement has been made in the recent period. The MoI RS continually, for the purpose of timely and objective informing of the public, informs the public about security events which were registered in Republika Srpska, and gives a lot of service and current information.¹⁸ On the MoI RS website (<http://www.mup.vladars.net>) there are also daily activities of the Ministry, service information, strategic projects, and results of police actions which are organized with the aim of preventing organized and other forms of crime, as well as other forms of negative security occurrences, issues of interest for citizens, with special view of protection of personal information about citizens and way and volume of information access at the disposal of the Ministry, but in accordance with the Law on information access of Republika Srpska.¹⁹ In accordance with strategic goals of the MoI RS, there are different events organized for the media with purpose of promotion and showing commitment of the Ministry to European integrations

¹⁷There is no centralized data system on the number of these companies, their capacities, business running, number of employees, etc. In this context, it would be very important to collect the mentioned data and other information as well, such as the impact of the private security sector on economy, annual revenues, and its percentage in GDP. Due to lack of data, it is unable to determine the ratio between the employees in the private security sector and the police in Republika Srpska (Vejnović et al., 2009).

¹⁸For example, in 2011 there were 1,024 public announcements, 845 interviews were given to TV networks, NGOs, citizens, and other individuals and organizations, and 344 conferences were organized for the press (usual and special), as well as other events that were covered by the media. There were several media and TV show appearances by the Minister, Police Director, the executives of basic organizational units, and other representatives of the Ministry (MUP RS, 2012).

¹⁹Huge interest shown by the media and the citizens for this form of informing confirms the fact that on the MoI RS website in 2011 there were 220,277 visits, out of which 173,490 domestic, and 33,534 from Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Slovenia and other EU countries, and the USA.

and international cooperation, and realization of projects important for the MoI RS, as well as for the social community.²⁰

Still, the fact is that the public's perception of the work of the Ministry's and the police is based on two factors—direct contact with a police officer and the image that the media portrays. In that regard, the MoI RS is putting a lot of effort in the communication between the police officer and the citizens. Good communication needs to contribute to the development of partnership with the community and building trust in the police work. Respecting the employee Code of the MoI RS and Police ethics can lead to this goal. Availability, timely reaction, sending a clear message, and taking over a proactive role are key in building good relations with the media. It is also necessary to involve the media in those segments of police work which will not jeopardize its work and results, but contribute to partnerships (missing persons search and similar efforts). In order to improve public relations, i.e., improving the image of the Ministry in the eyes of the public, it is necessary to introduce in practice the application of public opinion and surveys in the Ministry, whose results will be applicable in practice.

²⁰For example, in 2011 there was a continuation of work on the project "Community policing," and public campaigns of preventive character were organized for education of children and adults about the harmful effects of misuse of pyrotechnics and illegal use of weapons during holidays, prevention of juvenile delinquency, abuse of narcotics, abuse of the Internet, prevention of peer violence, freewill blood donation, open doors and other preventive actions as well as those related to the safety of children in traffic. During the whole year there was an ongoing action which advocated that citizens, owners of registered weapons for personal protection should replace armed sheets within the legal deadline. Cooperation with the Public Relations Department was continued and with the media of the European Police Mission in BiH (EUPM) with which the Ministry organized in 2011 a public campaign called "Stronger, faster, better" and two summer campaigns "Don't let the thief summer in your home" and "Not faster than life." In cooperation with the TV network Republika Srpska in August there was a campaign "Let's prevent fires" with the intent of informing the citizens about the dangers from big fires that are frequent in the summer (MUP RS, 2012).

Some public opinion research in Republika Srpska show that the public trust the police of Republika Srpska. Ipsos Strategic Marketing research in 2012 found that 63 % of people in Republika Srpska trust the police, which is the highest percentage of trust the citizens have shown.²¹

Recent Trends in Research on Policing

The MoI RS through the scientific research unit in the College for Internal Affairs organizes scientific activity within the framework of the College for the needs of the School, the Ministry, and other subjects and institutions. In that regard, there are research projects, scientific gatherings, counseling, and round tables among others. Since 2002, the MoI RS has organized nine international scientific conferences which involved participants from different countries. A collection of papers was published after each conference, including Table 4.

In addition, the MoI RS is also involved with publishing (textbook publishing and other publications for the needs of the College, Police Academy, the Ministry, and other institutions, and it also monitors the status of publishing activity in the security area),²² organizing participation at book fairs and similar manifestations, coordinating the work of college teachers, scientific workers, associates, and students in research

²¹People in Republika Srpska, when it comes to institutions, most trust the police, the RS President, and the University. These data come from the public opinion research which was done by the Ipsos Strategic Marketing and published in "Glas Srpske." The research was published in the period 16–21 May 2012. Sixty-three percent of people trust the police, 61 % the RS President, and 54 % the University. On the other hand, 34 % of people don't trust the police, 30 % the University, and 38 % the President. The police and the President were given higher percentages in relation to the University, but the University has the lowest number negative marks (Gavrilović, 2012).

²²So far, there have been 33 publications, including textbooks, monographs, and other publications. In addition, since 2005 the MoI RS has been publishing theoretical journal called "Security-police-citizens," which is published twice a year.

Table 4 International conferences hosted by the MoI RS

Conference	Year
Terrorism in contemporary circumstances	2002
Police and education	2002
Criminal law reform	2003
Criminology in theory and practice	2005
Community policing	2006
Juvenile delinquency as a form of socially unacceptable of the young	2008
Methodology of building up integrity system in institutions for preventing corruption	2010
Fight against terrorism—international standards and legal regulation	2011
Crime prevention and European integrations with the view of high-tech crime	2012

Table 5 Realized research projects by the MoI

Research projects	Duration
Community policing	3 April 2006 to 12 December 2006
Establishing a model for education and profile of the bachelors at the College for Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska	5 February 2007 to 31 August 2007
Juvenile delinquency in Republika Srpska—analysis of attitudes and opinions of relevant social groups and factors on juvenile delinquency	20 August 2008 to 11 November 2008
Methodology of building up integrity system in the Republika Srpska institutions on preventing corruption	1 May 2009 to 22 November 2010
Peer violence	Is being realized at the moment

projects, and cooperation with scientific research units from the domain of official education of countries in the region. So far, the following research projects have been realized (Table 5).

The Project *Community policing* analyzes a modern *community policing model*, so the research results of the Project are implemented in the MoI of Republika Srpska by introducing this model to the Republika Srpska police. The Project *Establishing a model for education and profile of the bachelors at the College for Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska* contains a comparative analysis

of comparative models of high police education, as well as establishing of the optimal model of police education in Republika Srpska. The Project results were used in the creation of the syllabus of the College for Internal Affairs, which has been in use since 2007/2008. With the scientific project *Juvenile delinquency in Republika Srpska—analysis of attitudes and opinions of relevant social groups and factors on juvenile delinquency* an analysis of attitudes and opinions of relevant social groups and factors on juvenile delinquency was conducted and the results were published in a special report. These results were used in the establishment of legal and sublegal provisions for juvenile delinquency in Republika Srpska. In the end, the most extensive research to date has been *Methodology of building up integrity system in the Republika Srpska institutions on preventing corruption*, and it was realized in three stages which contain a descriptive analysis of corruption in Republika Srpska conducted by surveying target groups. The total score of corruption was then determined through defined methodology, and the third stage implied making of the Integrity plan. The basic Project result is making and implementing of the Integrity plan in the MoI of Republika Srpska, which was introduced by the Minister's decision in April 2012. Besides these projects, there is a project in progress called *Peer violence*, whose results will be presented at the conference in May 2013.

Future Developments in Policing

A strategic approach to the development of the MoI RS is seen as one of the key priorities and elements for European integrations, because the candidate countries for the EU membership are expected to fulfill the requirements through adequate adjustment of administrative structures. Because of that, the key areas of strategic importance are defined for further development and reform of the MoI RS with clearly emphasized values and principles the MoI RS uses in realization of strategic goals and which need to be fulfilled in daily work by all the representatives of the Ministry (MUP RS, 2012). This approach

needs to secure the development of the MoI RS as an institution which is flexible and innovative, whose approach to maintaining security is integral and directed towards the citizens.²³ It is necessary to develop the management of the Ministry which can enable efficient work, optimal use of budget funds, transparency and responsibility in work, and simpler approach of citizens provided by the Ministry. Strategic analysis needs to provide prerequisites for defining and realization of established strategic goals. In the context of normative system, it is necessary to adjust the entire system of legal regulations necessary for the functioning of the MoI RS with international standards which all EU members have adopted and implemented.²⁴ In the sense of organizational processes, it is necessary to realize that technology development, knowledge, education, and increasingly important globalization processes have become growth generators in all developed countries, which cause constant social changes that everybody has to adjust to (MUP RS, 2011).

For the purpose of future development of police organization and work, the MoI RS had adopted a strategic document called "Development trends of the Ministry of the Interior of Republika Srpska for the period 2012–2016." This document contains strategic goals for security and strategic plans for the advancement of police organization (MUP RS, 2011). Strategic goals regarding security plans include the following goals: developed capacities protection of specific persons and objects; developed capacities for maintaining public peace and order; developed capacities for increasing traffic security on roads; developed

capacity for protection of specific persons and objects; developed practice of community policing; and, developed capacities for acting in crisis situations and for stronger cooperation with agencies of law enforcement (at both internal and international level). Strategic goals regarding the improvement of police organization include: developed normative framework coordinated with international standards and regulations; developed police management and strategic administration and management; developed system for financial management and control; developed and improved police schooling and personnel training; integrated information and communication system; and developed and improved communication with the public and partner relations with social community. There are two strategic goals: developed capacities for prevention of crime, and developed police management and strategic management and administration.

The realization of goals in the development of capacities for prevention of crime implies, first of all, identification and evaluation of status and risk in the environment, and domestic weaknesses. Having said that, it is necessary to improve institutional and operational development for the adjustment within the European structures and in accordance with international conventions, agreements and recommendations, and domestic laws. It is necessary to establish interinstitutional and international cooperation in the fight against organized crime and comprehensive understanding of crime with organizational marks (unauthorized production and trafficking of drugs, vehicle thefts and their legalization, human trafficking, smuggling of people and goods, extortion, ban robbery, organized fraud, etc.). It is necessary to intensify activities in research, processing, prevention, and detection of possible factors and their connections on a global plan and criminal offences which indicate or can be associated with terrorist movements. In the future, it is necessary to improve the activities in financial investigations and detection of property obtained through a criminal offence and detection, police investigation, and documentation of criminal offences in economic-financial management, organizational

²³This implies strengthening of capacities in the fight against crime, efficient use of information technologies, as well as developing of new knowledge and skills of the employees. It is very important to obtain long-term sustainability and constant improvement of reform measures, introduced in the previous period, and apply contemporary accomplishments from theory and practice, management in public administration.

²⁴The regulation system needs to be comprehensive, transparent, clear, and coherent and available to the public and its use needs to be unique. With the adoption of EU standards, the normative system of internal affairs needs to contain and reflect all traditional traits and historical experience, and the areas it refers to.

marks and greater material damage. It is also important to continue with the dynamics of capacity development in this area and devote attention to extra education, improvement, and obtaining highly sophisticated equipment which can satisfy necessary technical standards and conditions.²⁵ An essential component in the work of the criminal police is the development of a crime-technical center which would provide the level of work that enables the use of evidence based on EU standards and sustainable development of forensic capacities. It is especially important to develop all forms of preventive work in cooperation and partnership with other bodies and the civilian sector, and adopt the crime prevention strategy. In that sense, it is necessary to develop the concept of police work as the most advanced part of crime prevention which is realized in the framework of proactive action in the local community and neighborhood, through partnership and joint actions with the citizens. In the sense of proactive police action, it is necessary to develop and improve crime-intelligence analysis and increase the quality and expand security-interest data.²⁶ For the successful prevention of crime, it is necessary in the future, at the level of the MoI RS, to create several programs for prevention of organized crime, detection of property obtained through criminal offences, terrorism, high-tech crime, corruption and crime in economic-financial management, prevention of drug abuse, trafficking and smuggling of people, and prevention of juvenile crime and domestic, minority, and social violence.

²⁵The MoI RS is, in relation to other security structures, an important step forward in the fight against high-tech crime.

²⁶Furthermore, there is a widespread understanding that the whole approach in preventing organized crime (crime strategy) implies its predicting and forecast (crime and criminology prognostics). When it comes to planning of specific preventive and repressive measures for crime prevention, it is necessary, among others, to first realistically view the volume, consequences, and the level of social danger of crime or some of its forms, and to get a real image at the national level or within international frameworks.

There is awareness in the MoI RS that the old authoritarian hierarchy system of management, which is used by the police, is an obstacle to the development of a modern democratic police organization. The police in Republika Srpska strive for modern police organization standards and in that sense, strive to overcome former methods of management and introduction of new modern methods of police management. The MoI RS has set a clear priority which implies the realization and design of programs for training of all police managers at all levels for the purpose of modern police management, because this is a necessary prerequisite for a stable transformation of the entire police system in Republika Srpska. Given activities represent a precondition for building a successful system of managing human resources based on EU standards. In that regard, the emphasis needs to be put on the way of selecting police officers, training and securing their development based on social needs and changes which are evident. Aside from that, given the fact that job satisfaction and the feeling of belonging to the organization are important motivational factors, we have to build a system of management of available human resources which will completely understand this. The Ministry of the Interior also needs to improve its strategic management and secure long-term planning and prioritizing in the key work areas, through the development of methodology, practice, and expertise necessary for adoption, implementation, and evaluation of successful strategic decisions. It is necessary to develop capacities for strategic analysis, form teams for the implementation of strategic goals, institutionalize horizontal communication and team work within the Ministry, and secure reporting about the level of fulfilled defined goals with modern managerial decisions and practices. Strengthening the capacities for strategic management and administration will enable a clearer authority division and the coordination of reform actions in all organizational units. The Ministry will develop capacities and knowledge for managing changes and risks, team management, and quality and project management.

Conclusion

The MoI RS, as a relatively young police agency, has reached a distinguished level of organizational and structural development. It is evident that this Ministry performs all the police work, including the protection of public order and peace, control and regulation of traffic on roads, prevention and suppression of crime, information-communication affairs, administrative-legal affairs, police education, protection and rescue, as well as other internal affairs. Such a wide scope of authority requires a complex organization of the Ministry. Therefore, the Ministry is organized in such a way that in the line of duty it responds to the abovementioned affairs by forming special organizational units in charge of particular areas. In addition, the Ministry is also organized, in the territorial sense, through the establishment of five regional centers of public safety which perform police work on the entire Republika Srpska territory.

A general conclusion is that this police agency has developed into a modern and well-organized police agency which can meet the challenges it faces. The processes which have been conducted in the last 10 years or so, such as police professionalization, modernization, democratization, transformation, depolitization, application of contemporary police standards, and methods in confronting socially negative occurrences and integral police development, have given a new quality to the MoI RS and thus to the safety of Republika Srpska and B&H. It can also be stated that there is a need for further development of the organization and function of the MoI RS. These facts especially relate to further strengthening of the Ministry's capacities for prevention of contemporary forms of crime such as high-tech crime and new forms of organized crime.

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