# Serbian Police: Troubled Transition from Police Force to Police Service

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## 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 %, Romanies (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

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[1] The 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.

[2] The 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 ethnical 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.

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[3]Serbian 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 become 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 Rambulliet. 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:

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[4]The 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 Service[5] 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

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[5]Notorious *Resor državne bezbednosti*.

[6]See 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

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[7] Among 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
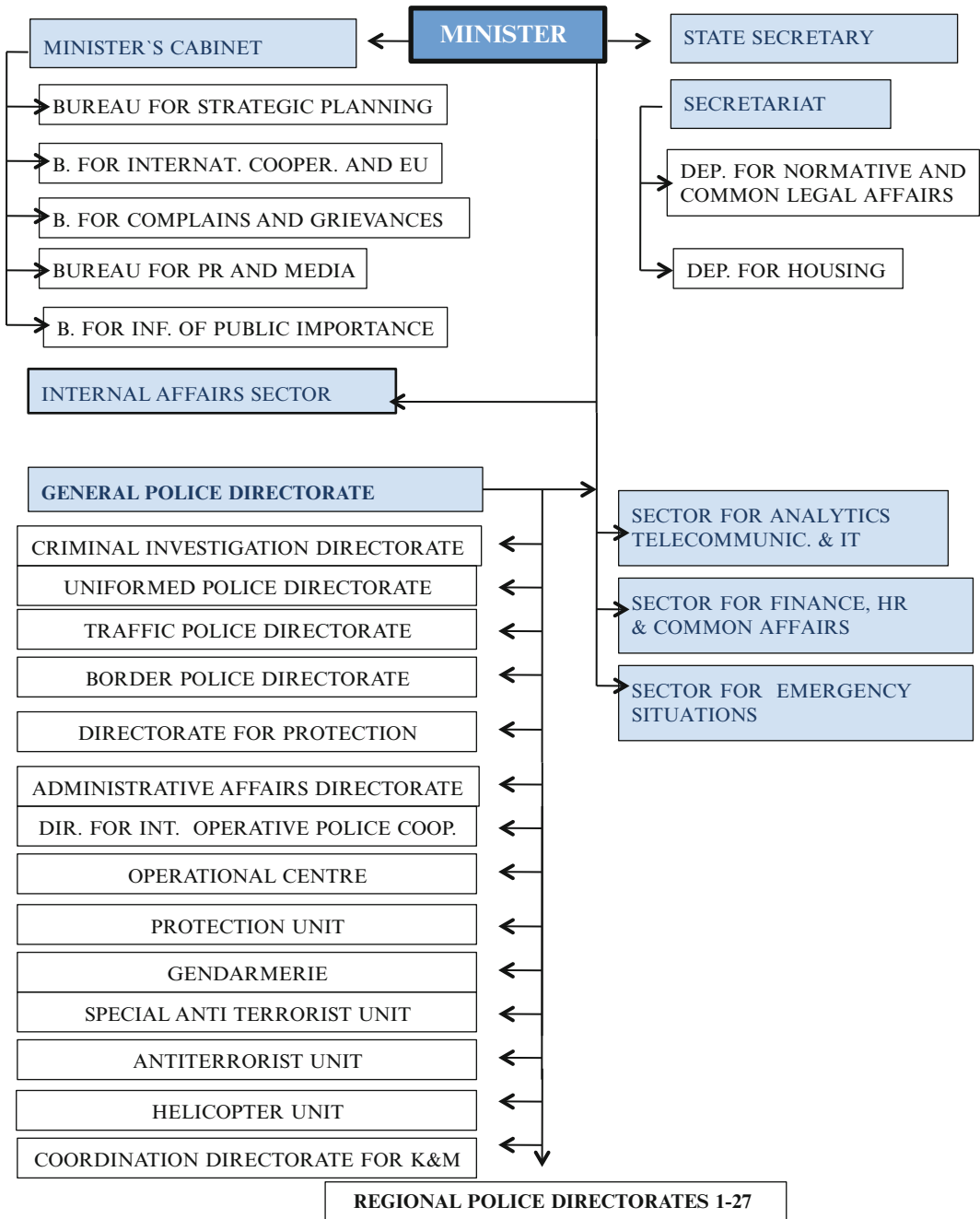
*Organogram of Serbian MoI January 2012*

**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.

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

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[8]Although 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.
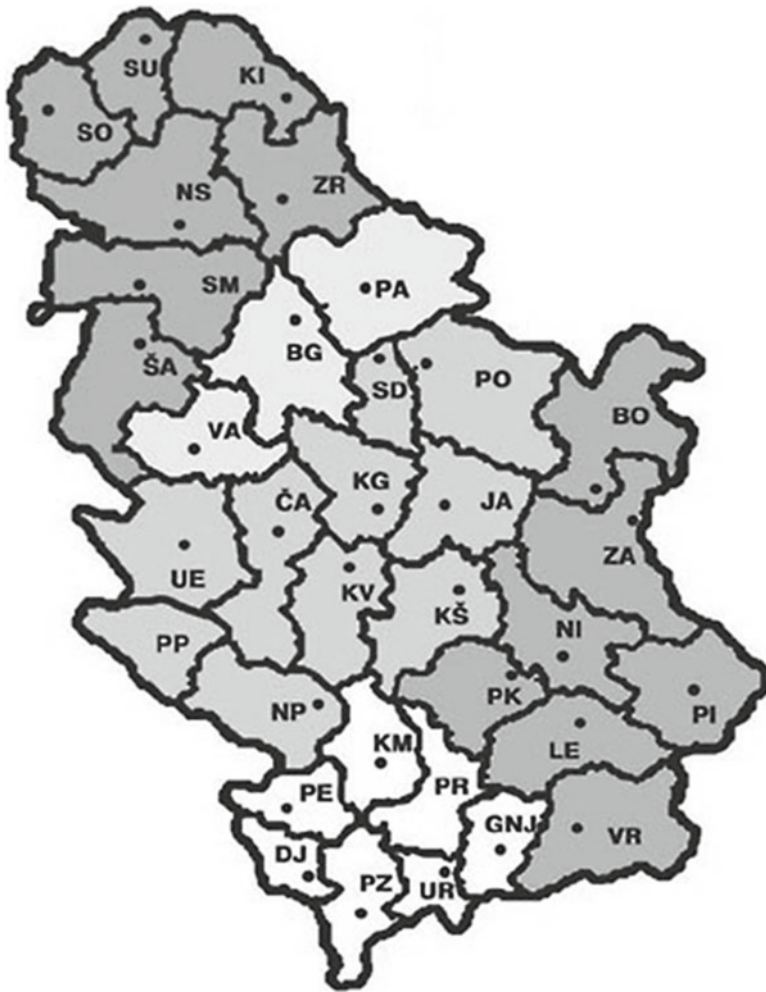
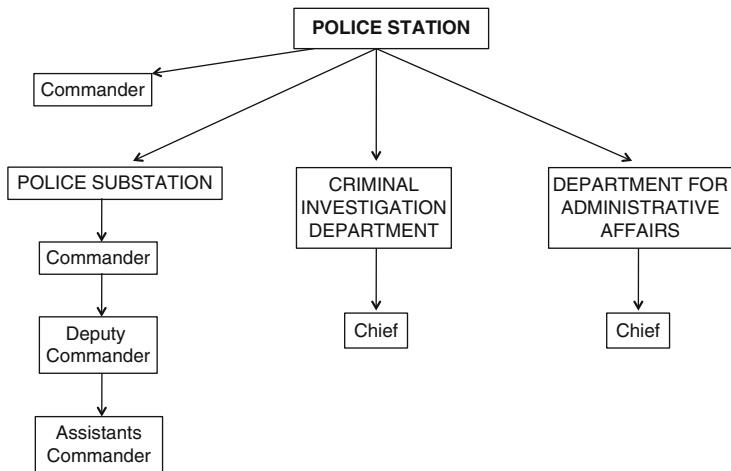**Fig. 2** Map of regional police directorates (*Source*: Ministry of Interior, 2012b)



**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
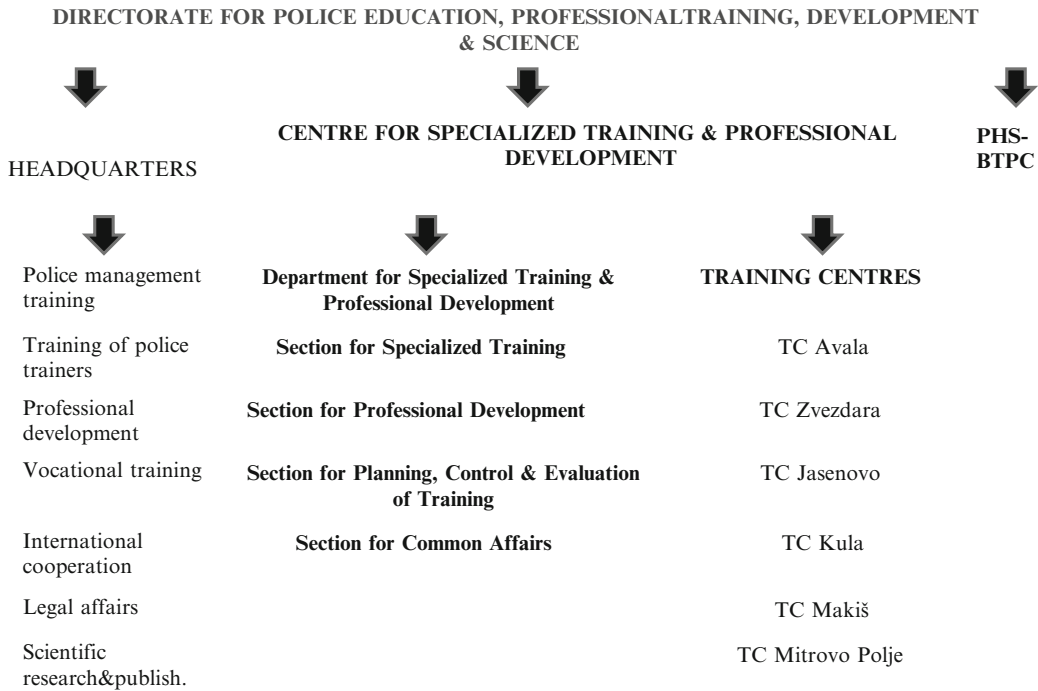
**DIRECTORATE FOR POLICE EDUCATION, PROFESSIONALTRAINING, DEVELOPMENT & SCIENCE**

| HEADQUARTERS | **CENTRE FOR SPECIALIZED TRAINING & PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT** | **PHS-BTPC** |
|---|---|---|

| Police management training | **Department for Specialized Training & Professional Development** | **TRAINING CENTRES** |
|---|---|---|
| Training of police trainers | **Section for Specialized Training** | TC Avala |
| Professional development | **Section for Professional Development** | TC Zvezdara |
| Vocational training | **Section for Planning, Control & Evaluation of Training** | TC Jasenovo |
| International cooperation | **Section for Common Affairs** | TC Kula |
| Legal affairs | | TC Makiš |
| Scientific research&publish. | | TC Mitrovo Polje |

**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,

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[9]More information on Directorate are available on http://prezentacije.mup.gov.rs/upravazaobrazovanje/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

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[10]Police High School and BPTC existed parallely till August 2009 when last generation finished their schooling in PHS.

[11]Information on Curriculum available on Center's website http://www.copo.edu.rs/English-59-2

[12]Minister 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.

[13]See 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]

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[14]Slavko 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).

[15]The 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/police officers 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

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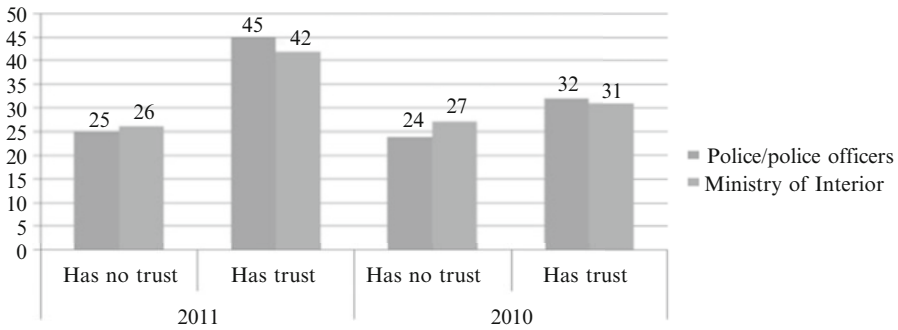[16] *Police reform survey*, Ipsos Strategic Marketing, October 2010.

**Fig. 5** Trust into police and MoI, comparative ( %) (*Source*: CESID, 2011)



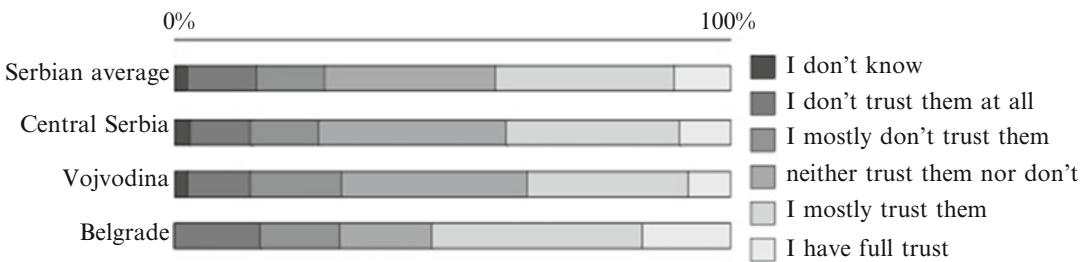**Fig. 6** Trust in MoI by regions (*Source*: CESID, 2011)

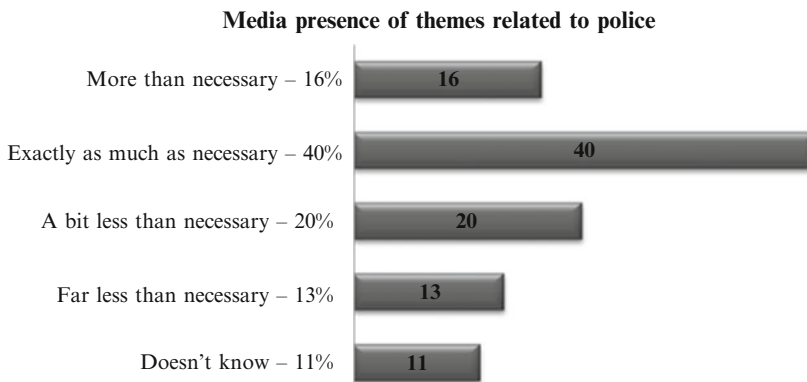**Media presence of themes related to police**



**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'
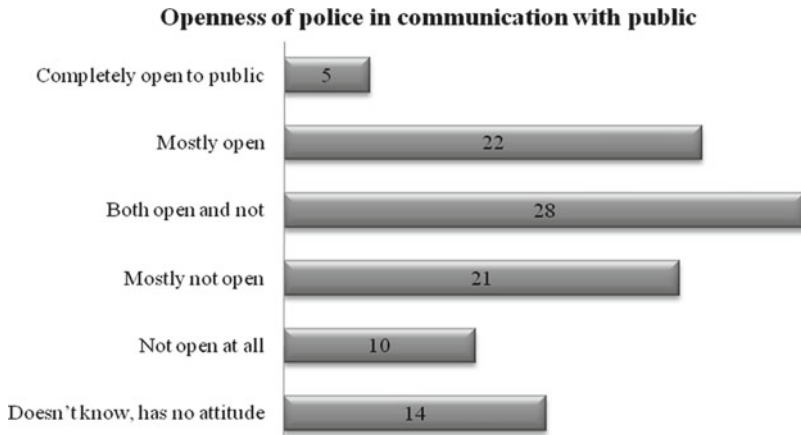
## Openness of police in communication with public



**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.

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[17] Interviewees 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.
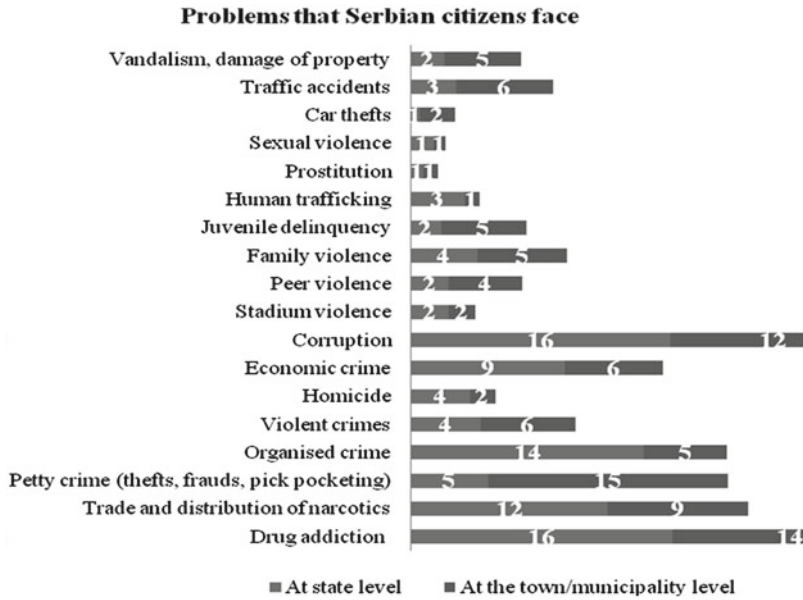
**Problems that Serbian citizens face**



**Fig. 9** Citizens perception of the most important security/safety problems (*Source*: CESID, 2011)

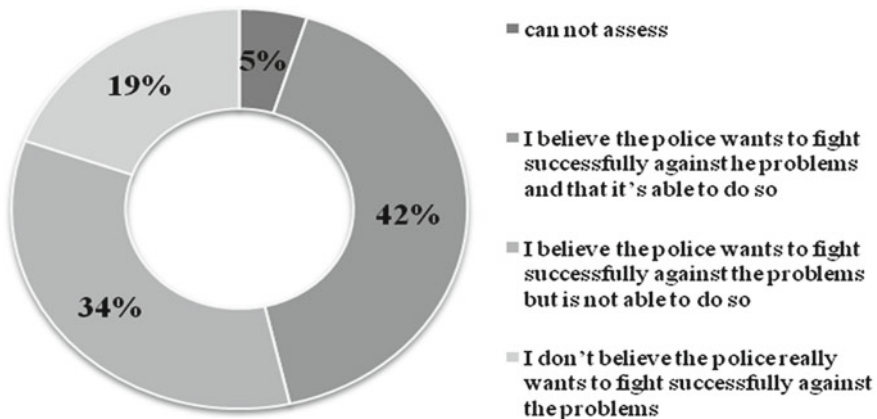**Existence of will in police to fight the security/safety challenges**



**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).

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[18]The 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 demeanors.

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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