



Univerza v Mariboru

Fakulteta za varnostne vede

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward the provision of
safety/security in local communities in Slovenia

April, 2013

Maja Jere



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DOKTORSKA DISSERTACIJA

Stališča policistov in državljanov do zagotavljanja varnosti v lokalnih skupnostih v Sloveniji

April, 2013

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first debt of gratitude goes to my mentor, Dr. Gorazd Meško, Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor. He was encouraging, patient and supportive while providing the vision, inspiration and guidance I needed to complete the dissertation.

The good advice, help and support of my co-mentor, Dr. Mahesh Nalla, Professor at the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, has been invaluable and I am extremely grateful for all his efforts.

I would like to thank the members of my PhD committee, Dr. Branko Lobnikar and Dr. Zoran Kanduč for their constructive feedback – thoughtful and detailed comments.

I wish to express sincere appreciation to the Faculty of Criminal Justice, University of Maribor and its staff for the necessary academic and technical support and assistance in all stages of my doctoral study. My time at the Faculty of Criminal Justice was made enjoyable due to my colleagues and their generous willingness to help and advise me, for which I am very grateful. Our librarians, Nataša and Barbara, deserve a special acknowledgement for their help, kindness and assistance, especially in the final stages of completing the dissertation.

This dissertation would not have been possible without respondents, police officers and citizens, who took the time and responded to our survey questions. I extend my sincere thanks to all of them.

I also wish to thank my aunt Tjaša for taking the time out of her busy schedule for proofreading the dissertation.

Lastly, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my family for their love and constant encouragement.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Luka, in grateful thanks for his patience and endless support.

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Summary

Main purpose of the dissertation is to compare police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward various aspects of local safety provision, with the emphasis on community policing, which is currently the main philosophy of policing in Slovenia. Data for the study comes from a survey administered to a sample of police officers and citizens to assess their attitudes on a broad range of issues regarding the provision of safety on the local level as related to Slovene police in general, police effectiveness in various activities, legality of police work and citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police among others.

Within the comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes, areas of the highest and the lowest degree of concordance between attitudes were identified and examined. Attitudes of police officers and citizens were found to be most dissimilar regarding legality of police work, effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property, general perceptions of police and effectiveness in community policing. Overall level of concordance between attitudes of both groups was found to be low.

The foci of our further analysis were the factors which influence citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Effects of gender, age, education, fear of crime and residency characteristics on citizens' attitudes were examined, and effects of age, education, participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support on police officers' attitudes were examined.

Results of regression analysis showed that police visibility, trust in the government, age, fear of crime and length of residency affect citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, however these variables account only for 30.1 percent of the variance in citizens' attitudes toward community policing. Police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing are affected by age, education, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support. These variables were found to account only for 28.7 percent of the variance in police officers' attitudes toward community policing. Majority of the variance in both groups' attitudes toward community policing thus remains unexplained.

Suggestions for further research and policy implication are provided, focused on inclusion of additional variables into model of police officers' attitudes and model of citizens' attitudes. Variables found to affect citizens of both groups toward police effectiveness in community policing by the findings of present research should be taken into consideration by police administrators and local safety policy makers.

Key words: police officers' attitudes, citizens' attitudes, local safety provision, community policing, police-community relations, police-community cooperation, community policing officer, local safety council.

UDC: 351.74/.76(497.4)(043.3)

Razširjeni povzetek v slovenskem jeziku (Extended summary in Slovenian language)

Stališča policistov in državljanov do zagotavljanja varnosti v lokalnih skupnostih v Sloveniji

Glavni cilj pričujoče doktorske disertacije je primerjava stališč policistov in državljanov do nekaterih vidikov zagotavljanja varnosti na lokalni ravni, s poudarkom na policijskem delu v skupnosti, ki je bilo v Sloveniji uvedeno po letu 1990 kot del procesa demokratizacije in prenosa idej o policijskem delu z Zahoda (Lobnikar in Meško, 2010; Meško, 2009; Meško in Lobnikar, 2005a). Glavno raziskovalno vprašanje se tako glasi: *Kakšna je stopnja skladnosti med stališči policistov in stališči državljanov do zagotavljanja varnosti na lokalni ravni, s poudarkom na policijskem delu v skupnosti, ki zahteva dobršno mero sodelovanja med policisti in državljani?* Primerjali smo stališča policistov in državljanov glede različnih vidikov zagotavljanja varnosti na lokalni ravni, in sicer splošen vtis o policiji in njihovem delu; uspešnost policije pri varovanju življenja, osebne varnosti in lastnine; zakonitost policijskega dela; uspešnost policije pri odkrivanju in preiskovanju kaznivih dejanj; uspešnost policije pri policijskem delu v skupnosti; pripravljenost državljanov za sodelovanje s policijo; usmerjenost v skupnost in tradicionalna usmerjenost. Drugi del raziskave se nanaša na proučevanje dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na stališča policistov in državljanov do policijskega dela v skupnosti. Identifikacija dejavnikov namreč omogoča vpogled v oblikovanje stališč posamezne skupine z možnostjo vplivanja na spreminjanje stališč v želeni smeri.

V slovenskem prostoru obstajajo poskusi analize obstoječih oblik policijske dejavnosti v skupnosti, študije vpetosti policije v lokalne skupnosti ter študije partnerstva policije in lokalnih skupnosti pri ocenjevanju ter reševanju varnostnih problemov, vendar pa so proučevana le parcialno, ne celovito in v medsebojni povezavi, zato je neposredna primerjava stališč policistov in državljanov glede zagotavljanja varnosti na lokalni ravni predstavljala izziv za raziskovanje. Edino v okviru raziskave, ki sta jo leta 2001 med ljubljanskimi policisti in prebivalci izvedla Pagon in Lobnikar (2001), lahko najdemo primerjave stališč policistov in državljanov do nekaterih vidikov policijskega dela v skupnosti.

Pri pregledu tujih raziskav smo našli dve, ki zajemata tudi primerjavo stališč policistov in državljanov. Leta 1999 so Beck, Boni in Packer (1999) izvedli anketo med policisti in predstavniki javnosti v glavnih mestih dveh avstralskih zveznih držav (Queensland in Western Australia), Liederbach, Fritsch, Carter in Bannister (2008) pa so leta 2007 na podoben način izvedli anketo med policisti in prebivalci kraja Ft Worth v Texasu (ZDA).

Spremembe v mednarodnem varnostnem okolju in redefiniranje koncepta varnosti, ki je tem spremembam sledil, državnim in lokalnim oblastem predstavljajo nove izzive na področju zagotavljanja varnosti (Tominc in Sotlar, 2011). Kot kaže, predstavljajo globalne grožnje lokalni varnosti najočitnejšo povezavo med tesno povezano globalno in lokalno ravni (Meško, Bučar-Ručman, Tominc in Maver, 2007). Franko Aas (2007) ugotavlja, da so lokalni varnostni izzivi dandanes prepleteni z globalnimi transformacijami (mednarodne migracije, globalno poslovanje, deindustrializacija), kar je zagotavljanje varnosti na lokalni ravni spremenilo v iskanje lokalnih rešitev za globalno ustvarjene probleme. Opisan prepleten odnos med lokalnim in globalnim poimenujemo glocalizacija (Robertson, 1995), iz te perspektive pa sledi, da lokalnega in globalnega ni mogoče obravnavati kot dveh ločenih entitet (Franko Aas, 2007), pač pa lahko govorimo o dveh plateh iste medalje (Robertson in White, 2007). Navedenim spremembam so posledično sledile tudi korenite spremembe narave policijskega dela in preprečevanja kriminalitete v zadnjih dvajsetih letih. Policije ne dojemamo več kot edine odgovorne za zagotavljanje varnosti – vse bolj pomembni akterji na tem področju postajajo drugi javni in zasebni subjekti (Terpstra, 2008), ki primarno morda niso bili ustanovljeni za opravljanje policijskega dela, in sicer državno tožilstvo, carina, inšpekcijske službe, varnostno-obveščevalne službe, službe za izvrševanje kazenskih sankcij, redarske službe, zasebnovarnostne in detektivske službe (Sotlar in Meško, 2009). Nevladne organizacije lahko na tem področju odigrajo ključno vlogo, saj jim ljudje običajno zaupajo in jih zaznavajo kot ponudnike pomoči, hkrati pa so v stalnem stiku z lokalnimi prebivalci (žrtvami, storilci, strokovnjaki, uradniki, mediji) (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010). Ključni element učinkovite varnostne politike na državni in lokalni ravni je postalo sodelovanje civilne družbe pri pripravi in implementaciji varnostnih strategij (Kulach, Whiskin in Marks, 2006). Tesno sodelovanje z lokalnim prebivalstvom pa je tudi temeljni princip policijskega dela v skupnosti, ki mu Slovenija sledi od osamosvojitve leta 1991 (Meško, 2009; Meško in Klemenčič, 2007). V Sloveniji se policiji priznava vlogo glavnega akterja na področju zagotavljanja varnosti na lokalni ravni (Meško et al.,

2007), kar so pokazali tudi izsledki nedavne nacionalne raziskave o zagotavljanju varnosti na lokalni ravni (Meško, Sotlar, Lobnikar, Jere in Tominc, 2012). Slednja ugotovitev je glavni razlog za to, da se v pričujoči doktorski nalogi osredotočamo na stališča policistov in državljanov, kljub temu, da naj bi se z varnostjo na lokalni ravni ukvarjale različne formalne in neformalne institucije (ne le policija), ki bi sodelovale v okviru varnostnih svetov, kot predvideva trenutna zakonska ureditev (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007; Zakon o policiji, 1998).

Iz množice definicij policijskega dela v skupnosti, ki jih ponujajo različni avtorji, lahko izluščimo, da je glavno načelo policijskega dela v skupnosti sodelovanje med policijo in lokalno skupnostjo (Miller in Hess, 2002; Skogan in Hartnett, 1997; Trojanowicz, Kappeler in Gaines, 2002). Miller in Hess (2002), na primer, izpostavita dva elementa, ki sta skupna praktično vsem definicijam policijskega dela v skupnosti – že omenjeno sodelovanje med policijo in lokalno skupnostjo ter problemsko usmerjen pristop k policijskemu delu. Skogan in Hartnett (1997) dodajata še decentralizacijo policijske organizacije, sodelovanje pa dodatno razčlenita na vzpostavitev dvosmerne komunikacije med policijo in lokalno skupnostjo, odziv na varnostne izzive, ki jih identificira lokalna skupnost ter pomoč lokalni skupnosti pri reševanju teh izzivov. Kelling in Wycoff (2001) pojasnujeta, da so zaželeni rezultati policijskega dela v skupnosti naslednji: preprečevanje kriminalitete, zadovoljstvo državljanov z življenjem v skupnosti, rešene težave ter legitimnost in zakonitost policijskega dela. Drugi avtorji (Lobnikar in Meško, 2010; Meško, Fallshore in Jevšek, 2007; Trojanowicz in Carter, 1988) k rezultatom dodajajo še zmanjšanje stopnje strahu pred kriminaliteto. V okviru policijskega dela v skupnosti je reaktivni pristop zamenjan s proaktivnim pristopom k reševanju problematike kriminalitete, nereda in ostalih vznemirjajočih okoliščin, ki državljanom dokazano najbolj motijo (Meško, Fallshore in Jevšek, 2007; Schaefer Morabito, 2010). Če torej vzamemo za primerjavo tradicionalno policijsko delo, gre pri prvem za boj proti kriminaliteti, medtem ko je policijsko delo v skupnosti usmerjeno v izboljšanje kakovosti življenja prebivalcev. Prebivalce namreč najbolj skrbijo ogrožajoče dnevne situacije, kot so kršitve javnega reda in miru, hrup, nered in druge vznemirjajoče okoliščine. Pri tradicionalnem policijskem delu o rezultatih priča statistika, merilo uspešnosti policijskega dela v skupnosti pa je stopnja strahu pred kriminaliteto in kakovost življenja v skupnosti (Meško et al., 2007). Policijsko delo v skupnosti je tako del sekundarne preprečitve, saj je namenjeno preprečevanju nezaželenih pojavov, dejavnikov tveganja,

obvladovanju različnih rizičnih skupin in zagotavljanju splošne varnosti v skupnosti (Meško, 2001).

Kot pravi Pečar (2001) si policija z vključevanjem v lokalne skupnosti obeta največ prednosti v primerjavi z ostalimi državnimi organizacijami. Hkrati pa je uspeh nje same, kot državne službe, usodno povezan s skupnostjo in odvisen od prebivalcev skupnosti. Meško (2001) še dodaja, da policijsko delo v skupnosti vpliva tudi na javno mnenje in pripomore k ustvarjanju strpnih odnosov med policijo in javnostmi.

Pomemben dejavnik uspešnosti policijskega dela v skupnosti, ki ga še posebej poudarjamo, je skladnost stališč obeh partnerjev – stališč policistov do državljanov in obratno ter stališča obeh skupin do skupnih aktivnosti in ciljev (Beck, 2004; Brooks, Piquero in Cronin, 1993; Greene in Decker, 1989;). Slednja ugotovitev temelji na teoriji, imenovani *Normative sponsorship theory*, ki so jo razvili Sower, Holland, Tiedke in Freeman (1957) in se nanaša na vključevanje in sodelovanje skupnosti v različnih iniciativah. Trojanowicz (1972) je teorijo prenesel na področje sodelovanja med policijo in lokalno skupnostjo v okviru policijskega dela v skupnosti ter ugotovil, da določen program sodelovanja udeleženci sprejmejo le pod pogojem, da ustreza normam njihove skupine. To pomeni, da naj bi morala vsaka skupina ponotranjiti skupne cilje v okviru svojih lastnih vrednot, norm in ciljev, če želimo doseči uspešno sodelovanje. Bolj kot so torej vrednote, norme in cilji udeležencev skladni, lažje vsaka skupina ponotranji skupne cilje in sodelovanje je tako mogoče vzpostaviti. Še več, Sunshine in Tyler (2003a) ugotavljata naslednje: če državljeni verjamejo, da imajo policisti podobne moralne vrednote, kot jih imajo sami, potem se jim v večji meri podrejajo in z njimi bolj sodelujejo.

Sprejemanje novih oblik delovanja je tako na strani policistov kot tudi na strani državljanov lahko oteženo. Skogan in Hartnett (1997) opozarjata, da so policisti skeptični do iniciativ, ki prihajajo od strokovnjakov izven policije, saj med njimi velja prepričanje, da zunanji akterji ne morejo razumeti njihovega dela. Še posebej negativno so sprejete pobude, ki vključujejo zunanje presojanje njihovega dela, pri čemer je tovrsten odpor prisoten na vseh nivojih policijske organizacije. Tudi na strani skupnosti je možen odpor do sodelovanja, še posebej v revnih skupnostih in v skupnostih z visoko stopnjo kriminalitete, saj kriminaliteta in strah pred kriminaliteto botrujeta umiku prebivalcev od vključevanja v skupnost. Za slovenski prostor je bilo v eni od raziskav (Meško et al., 2000) ugotovljeno, da policijsko delo v skupnosti

nekateri policisti sprejemajo pozitivno, spet drugi ga zavračajo, ker naj bi ne imeli dosti skupnega s tradicionalnim »pravim« policijskim delom. Tudi nekateri državljani zaznavajo in obojajo pretirano prizanesljivost policistov do tistih, ki naj bi jih obvladovali in kaznovali, drugi pa policijsko delo v skupnosti dojemajo kot državljanom prijazno, policiste, ki ga izvajajo, pa dostopne in vidne v lokalni skupnosti.

Glavne ugotovitve doktorske disertacije se nanašajo na primerjavo stališč policistov in državljanov glede različnih vidikov zagotavljanja varnosti v lokalnih skupnostih. Stališča policistov in državljanov so v veliki meri različna, torej je stopnja skladnosti med stališči policistov in stališči državljanov do policijskega dela v skupnosti nizka. Področja, ki so s tega vidika najbolj »problematična«, so: zakonitost policijskega dela, uspešnost policistov pri varovanju življenja, osebne varnosti in lastnine, splošen vtis o policiji in njihovem delu ter uspešnost policistov pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Na tem mestu izpostavljamo zakonitost policijskega dela, kjer so stališča policistov in državljanov najbolj neskladna. Državljeni izražajo dvom v zakonitost policijskega dela, kar v praksi lahko pomeni veliko težavo, še posebej z vidika policijskega dela v skupnosti, ki temelji na sodelovanju prebivalcev – njihova pripravljenost je ob upoštevanju izraženega dvoma v zakonitost policijskega dela zagotovo vprašljiva.

Nadaljnja analiza se je nanašala na dejavnike, ki vplivajo na stališča prebivalcev in policistov glede uspešnosti policije pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Regresijska analiza je pokazala, da na stališča prebivalcev do policijskega dela v skupnosti vpliva prisotnost/vidnost policije, zaupanje v vlado, starost, strah pred kriminaliteto in čas bivanja v skupnosti. Natančneje, državljani, ki menijo, da so policisti dovolj prisotni/vidni, višje ocenjujejo njihovo uspešnost pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Bolj, ko državljani zaupajo vladi, višje ocenjujejo uspešnost policistov pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Mlajši in tisti, ki se počutijo bolj varne, uspešnost policistov pri policijskem delu v skupnosti ocenjujejo višje kot starejši in tisti, ki se počutijo manj varne. Prebivalci, ki v skupnosti prebivajo dalj časa, ocenjujejo uspešnost policistov pri policijskem delu v skupnosti nižje kot prebivalci, ki v skupnosti prebivajo krajši čas. Naštete spremenljivke pojasnjujejo zgolj 30,1 odstotka variance ocene učinkovitosti policijskega dela v skupnosti.

Na stališča policistov do učinkovitosti policijskega dela v skupnosti vpliva starost, izobrazba, organizacijska podpora, zadovoljstvo pri delu in podpora skupnosti. Natančneje, mlajši in manj izobraženi policisti višje ocenjujejo svojo uspešnost pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Bolj, ko policisti zaznavajo podporo skupnosti, višje ocenjujejo svojo uspešnost pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Več organizacijske podpore zaznavajo policisti in bolj so zadovoljni z delom, višje ocenjujejo svojo uspešnost pri policijskem delu v skupnosti. Za našete spremenljivke je bilo ugotovljeno, da predstavljajo le 28,7 odstotka variance ocene učinkovitosti policijskega dela v skupnosti. Tako pri stališčih policistov kot pri stališčih prebivalcev večina variance ostaja nepojasnjene.

Predlogi za nadaljnje raziskave in praktično uporabnost ugotovitev se nanašajo na vključitev dodatnih spremenljivk v model dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na stališča policistov in prebivalcev z namenom identifikacije ostalih dejavnikov, ki še vplivajo na stališča obeh skupin. Dejavnike, za katere je bilo ugotovljeno, da vplivajo na stališča obeh skupin, bi pri svojem delu in odločanju lahko upoštevali policijski šefi in snovalci politik zagotavljanja varnosti na lokalni ravni.

Ključne besede: stališča policistov, stališča državljanov, zagotavljanje varnosti na lokalni ravni, policijsko delo v skupnosti, odnosi med policijo in lokalno skupnostjo, sodelovanje policije in lokalne skupnosti, vodja policijskega okoliša, varnostni svet

1 Introduction

1.1 Statement of problem

Changes in the international security environment and the redefinition of the concept of security they have fostered, pose new challenges to state and local authorities in the field of security provision (Tominc & Sotlar, 2011). Global threats to local security seem to be the most obvious connection between closely linked global and local level (Meško, Bučar-Ručman, Tominc, & Maver, 2007). Franko Aas (2007) notes that local disorder issues are nowadays entwined with global transformations (as for instance transnational migration, global business, deindustrialization) and as a consequence local safety provision efforts have become search for local solutions to globally produced problems. This intertwined relation between local and global is termed glocalization (Robertson, 1995) and from this perspective local and global cannot be treated as two distinct entities (Franko Aas, 2007), but rather as different sides of the same coin (Robertson & White, 2007). Accordingly, the nature of policing and crime control has also changed fundamentally over the last two decades. The police are no longer perceived as the only bearer of the responsibility for provision of safety; other public and private agencies are also perceived as important actors in the process of prevention and control of crime, disorder and insecurity (Terpstra, 2008). These organisations, which might not have been primarily established for policing in a broader sense can be the following: the public prosecutor, the customs service, inspection services, intelligence-security services, services for the enforcement of criminal sanctions, local policing bodies, private security companies and private investigators (Sotlar & Meško, 2009).

Furthermore, participation of civil society in preparation and implementation of local safety strategies has become a crucial aspect of effective safety policy at both local and national level of government in charge of crime prevention and security (Kulach, Whiskin, & Marks, 2006). Close cooperation between the police and local community is also the principle element of community policing philosophy (Meško et al., 2007), which Slovenia at the declarative level has been following after gaining its independence in 1991 (Meško, 2009; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007). Recent research on community policing in Slovenia (Jere, Sotlar, & Meško, 2012) show that there are still many obstacles on the path to the implementation of a coherent community policing model.

The police are perceived as the main actor in local safety provision in Slovenia (Meško et al., 2007), which was confirmed also by results of the recent nationwide research on local safety provision (Meško, Sotlar, Lobnikar, Jere, & Tominc, 2012). This is the main reason why the present research is focused particularly on police officers' and citizens' attitudes, although local safety is supposed to be addressed by various formal and civil society institutions, joined within local safety councils¹ (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi [Local Self-Government Act], 2007; Zakon o policiji [The Police Act], 1998).

There is a comprehensive body of research on police officers' or citizens' attitudes toward various aspects of police work, including police training and education, professionalism and police ethics, legitimacy, police deviance, police procedures, plural policing, police organization, police stress, job satisfaction, police integrity and community policing in Slovenia. However, there is only one study focusing on comparison of police officers' and residents' attitudes toward some aspects of community policing. Furthermore, the study was limited to the area of Ljubljana and there was no follow up after 2001 (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001).

Among research conducted in other countries we have found two studies where police officers' and residents' views on various issues were measured simultaneously and compared. In 1999 Beck, Boni and Packer (1999) conducted a survey among police officers and members of the public in the capital cities of Queensland and Western Australia, and in 2008 Liederbach, Fritsch, Carter and Bannister (2008) similarly compared responses of police officers and citizens in Ft Worth, Texas (USA) regarding various community problems, community-oriented programs and strategies for improving police work.

Attitudes and perceptions of citizens toward police officers and vice versa have a major impact on the actual level of preparedness for cooperation in crime prevention and crime reduction programs (Beck, 2004; Brooks, Piquero, & Cronin, 1993; Greene & Decker, 1989), which is in accordance with normative sponsorship theory (Trojanowicz, 1972) arguing that a community program will only be sponsored when it is normative to all parties involved. Each of the parties involved must be able to justify and legitimize the common goal in the context of its own values, norms and goals. The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of participating parties are,

¹ Local safety councils are presented in detail in chapter 2.1.

the easier it is to agree upon common goals. Moreover, it was found that when negative attitudes toward the police already exist, they can be improved by community-oriented police initiatives (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998), thus it is important to identify negative attitudes as well as positive in order to improve overall relations.

Based on these findings, the following research question guides our study:

What degree of concordance exists between the attitudes of citizens and police officers in terms of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia with a focus on community policing that calls for a significant degree of cooperation between police officers and citizens?

First part of the research was focused on broad range of questions regarding provision of safety on the local level and includes:

- general perceptions of the police;
- police effectiveness;
- willingness to cooperate with the police and
- various aspects of police work.

Considering that in Slovenia police officers are the main providers of local safety with community policing as the main philosophy of policing, the second part of the research was focused on attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Many factors have been found to determine attitudes of both groups. Police officers attitudes toward community policing and other aspects of local safety provision can be influenced to some degree by participatory management, organizational support, community support, job satisfaction as well as by education, age and other factors. Findings from prior research indicate that gender, age, education, income, fear of crime, residency characteristics, police visibility, trust in government and other factors can influence citizens' attitudes toward the police. Some of these variables can be controlled and influenced in the desired direction (by factors such as support from police administrators, mayors, municipal councils, local safety councils among others). For instance participatory management style and organizational support as regards police officers, as well as fear of crime and residency factors as regards citizens are critical factors that shape attitudes of both providers and recipients. Therefore besides identifying the degree of concordance that may exist between the

attitudes of citizens and police officers it is important to identify factors that influence attitudes of both police officers and citizens in our study.

1.2 Organization of the study

This study focuses on three main components, outlined in Figure 1:

- citizens' attitudes toward provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia;
- police officers' attitudes toward provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia; and
- comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia.

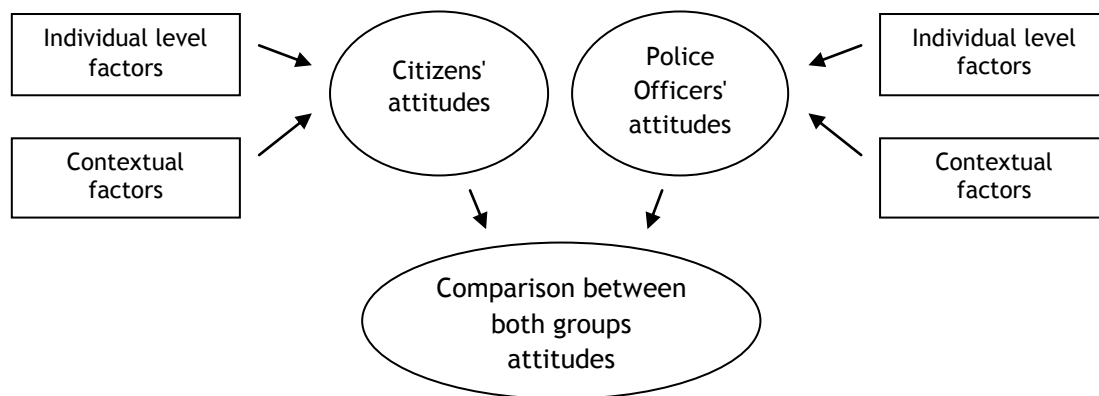


Figure 1: Outline of the present doctoral study

Several questions and statements are used to measure citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward various aspects of providing safety in local communities. Previous research and theoretical framework are reviewed and they provide a framework for the empirical part. This study first examines citizens' and police officers' attitudes separately and then focuses on the comparison between both groups' attitudes. Chapter 2 deals with a review of the provision of safety on the local level in general as well as from the legislative and policy perspective, and the role of police within the local safety provision. In Chapter 3, three modern approaches to policing are presented - community policing, problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing. Chapter 4 focuses on the definition of community policing, police-community relations, local community and community involvement. In Chapter 5, theoretical framework and previous research on both groups' attitudes are discussed along with contextual and individual level factors, which can influence citizens' and police officers' attitudes. In Chapter 6 basic information on Slovenia, Slovenes and Slovene national police are presented, with the emphasis on community policing in

Slovenia. In Chapter 7, research problem, limitations, hypotheses, methodological design, survey construction and analytic strategies are presented. Data analyses and findings are presented in Chapter 8, followed by the discussion of the findings and suggestions on further research in Chapter 9. The final chapter provides conclusions and addresses the broader policy implications of this research.

2 Provision of safety on the local level

Over the last two decades the nature of policing and crime control has changed fundamentally in many Western European countries. The police are no longer perceived as the only bearer of the responsibility for provision of safety, other public and private agencies are also perceived as important actors in the process of prevention and control of crime, disorder and insecurity (Terpstra, 2008). Nowadays states govern indirectly by mobilizing the knowledge, capacity and resources of other institutions, groups and individuals in the provision of security and other goods (Wood & Shearing, 2007).

The essence of the new crime prevention approach and also of the community policing is *responsibilization strategy*, which tends to extend the responsibility for governance of crime and safety to other non-state actors by linking state agencies up with local communities, citizens and businesses (Garland, 2001). Tasks that were formerly the monopoly of the police are now presented as the moral duty of other agencies and citizens, which is supported by moral and financial arguments (Franko Aas, 2007; Garland, 2001; Terpstra, 2008). This development seems to be a part of general change in many Western countries with a great number of state tasks being privatized or transferred to non-state agencies (Terpstra, 2008). Shearing (1992: 419) illustrates this change with the revision of studies, showing how “the political response to private involvement in policing has altered since 1950s when the state-centered view was virtually unquestioned.” He presents how state-centred, laissez-faire and pluralist discourses have shaped policing. State-centered perspective views policing as a fundamental function of government, while laissez-faire views promote private-public partnership. Pluralist conception is characterized by the blurring distinction between public and private, whereas the state loses its focal position (Shearing, 1992).

As Gilling (1997) notes, from the end of the 1980s the community safety rested upon a dual strategy - the combination of reason and ideology. At first the effort was focused on passing the responsibility down through the community to the individual resident and then followed by putting it in the context of multiagency structures, while the concept of partnership linked both.

Council of Europe (2003) defines community safety as a condition in which people are free from real and perceived risks arising from crime and related misbehavior; are able to cope with such risks in case they do experience them; or if they cannot cope with it unaided, are protected from the consequences of these risks, to lead normal lives. Community safety is therefore concerned with serious crime as well as minor crimes and regulatory offences – various phenomena that diminish the quality of life. The focus of community safety efforts mainly remains on the criminal other in public space, rather than on crime within the home or in the corporate sphere (Gilling, 2001).

Although national government holds the responsibility for setting up a legal basis for crime prevention as well as repression, it is at the local level where problems are most acutely felt and perceived (Council of Europe, 2002) and can be therefore best tackled by finding “local solutions to local problems” (Gilling, 2001: 385). Local governments are thus in the best position to understand citizens’ concerns, moreover, they are familiar with local community’s needs and strengths (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010). Public participation in local democracy is a two-way process that allows local self-government to respond to citizens’ needs or demands and to improve its services. With public participation, mutual trust could be developed and general quality of life could be increased (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012). Modern approaches to local safety provision rely upon partnerships which represent the new way to solve old problems and may be established between the central and local level; between the public and the private; and between criminal justice and social policy (Gilling, 2001).

According to the United Nations (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010) factors that increase risk for crime-related problems at the local level are:

- inadequate infrastructure along with inadequate fiscal and administrative powers,
- poor housing and neighborhood conditions,
- lack of facilities such as good education and health services,
- high unemployment,
- easy access to drugs or small arms.

Therefore, in order to develop resilience to crime, communities should strive for improvement in neighborhood services and facilities as well as for increasing social

capital and providing opportunities for education and training (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010). Community safety incorporates situational and social crime prevention; crime and disorder reduction as well as fear and insecurity reduction; working with (potential and actual) victims and offenders (Gilling, 2001).

Non-governmental organizations (hereinafter referred to as NGOs) can play an important role in provision of local safety. Because of their non-governmental status, NGOs usually enjoy high level of trust among people, work closely with residents (victims, offenders, professionals, officials and media) and are perceived as service providers (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010).

However, not everyone agree that local authorities are those who should share the function of community safety. Foster (2002) for instance notes that although inclusion of local authorities in local safety provision was supposed to broaden their accountabilities, the local authorities have generally allowed their safety strategies to be directed by the police. Garland (2001) critically explains the motivation behind responsabilization strategy - it is an opportunity for the government to rid itself of some burdensome functions, it is also cost-reducing opportunity for privatization of crime control and above all it is a new form of "governing-at-a-distance".

2.1 Provision of safety on the local level in Slovenia

Contemporary crime prevention and community safety trends in Slovenia have been characterized by the impact of Western societies' ideologies, especially by the concept of community responsabilisation (Garland, 2001) and involvement of local administration in the process of safety provision (Lobnikar & Meško, 2010).

Important element of the local safety policy and community policing in Slovenia are local safety councils, situated within local administration as a consultative body for crime and safety issues. The Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998) and Local Self-Government Act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) provide legal basis for the establishment of such councils, however these provisions are not binding, but merely recommendatory. Members of local safety councils are representatives of both public and private agencies - police officers, municipal wardens, mayors, members of municipal councils, local government civil servants, representatives of social service organizations, schools, local business, media, political parties and NGOs (Meško, 2004a; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b). Around one hundred and fifty-three local safety

councils have been established within municipalities in Slovenia. In most cases local safety councils were founded by mayors on the initiative of police (Meško, Nalla, & Sotlar, 2006, Police, 2010).

In 2003 and 2004 Meško and Lobnikar (2005b) conducted a study, focused on functioning of local safety councils in Slovenia and advantages and obstacles related to their work. The authors also reflected on the councils within a broader concept of democratization and inclusion of citizens in crime prevention and partnership-oriented local problem solving. A sample consisted of 178 representatives of local safety councils in several Slovenian towns. For the purpose of the study authors organized presentations for representatives of local authorities, the police force, local community groups and NGOs in each of these towns. The respondents were presented with the documents (including the European Urban Charter (Council of Europe, 1992) and Urban Crime Prevention Guide (Council of Europe, 2002)) and they discussed safety problems in local communities, identified the main local safety and crime prevention problems, and devised solutions to these problems. At the end of each session a questionnaire was administered to the respondents. Findings show that for local safety problems solving ad hoc approaches are used on the basis of a temporary partnership in which the police are the most active according to more than a half of the respondents. More than 80 percent (53 police officers and 89 other respondents) of respondents opine that the police perform well and the local administration should cooperate more closely in solving local safety problems and crime prevention. Among other findings, it was interesting to learn that more than a half of “non-police” respondents are not familiar with the idea of community policing. According to respondents, the police bear greatest responsibility for local crime control and safety problems, followed by the local city administration, individuals, schools, social services and family. Social crime prevention measures are recognized as necessary priorities, while the least appropriate preventive measures seem to be citizen’s patrols, private security at schools, police repression - strict law enforcement, designing out crime, private security, situational crime prevention and personal and property insurance. Respondents suggest that better policing in their communities is related to more police officers on the beat in local communities, greater visibility and approachability of police officers, better co-operation and communication between the police and local citizens as well as adequate police training in communication skills, and social and cultural diversity. To promote community policing, the respondents think it is necessary to pay more attention to

professional policing, developing skills for problems solving, stimulating sense of belonging to the community, and solving social problems (Meško and Lobnikar, 2005b).

In a study, conducted in 2003 (Kosmač & Gorenak, 2004) police station commanders estimated that police have adequate legal grounding for work in safety councils and that commanders themselves are also involved in the setting up of safety councils but they feel there is too little support from local communities for work in safety councils.

Under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior in 2010 analysis of safety council members' perspectives on various aspects of cooperation between local community, police and municipal warden service was conducted (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2010). At that time safety councils were established in 126 municipalities and 46 of them responded. Safety council members were asked who provides safety and in their opinion these are police (100 percent), municipal warden service (68 percent) and private security companies (44 percent). Two thirds of respondents (66 percent) are satisfied with police-citizen cooperation as well as with police-local administration cooperation (72 percent). Police relations with citizens are generally very well appraised - seventy-six percent of respondents are satisfied with them, while eight percent are unsatisfied. Vast majority of the respondents believe that safety councils contribute to the higher level of safety in the community.

Today most of the crime prevention efforts in Slovenia are directed towards partnership between various institutions on the local level. According to Meško and Lobnikar (2005b) efforts for local safety are still at an early stage in Slovenia. They see main obstacles in undefined role of local municipalities in the process of local safety provision, problems of centralized local institutions and consequently problems of the funding. Recent research on local safety provision showed that one of the main problems of the current practice is the lack of a common database for the creation of strategies and action plans. Instead of knowledge- and evidence-based approaches, crime prevention activities are often directed by action, despite the warnings that action without knowledge can even worsen the situation (Meško & Sotlar, 2012). In relation to the latter, we should mention public opinion-led policy making, a new phenomenon, which is leading to the exclusion of criminological expertise from crucial crime prevention issues (Meško, 2009). In the field of local

safety provision in Slovenia, the main challenges remain to establish cooperation between various actors or where it already exists, turn it into partnership (Sotlar & Meško, 2009).

2.1.1 Legislative and policy framework

The Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998) recommends the cooperation of police with local community in the areas related to crime prevention and other local security issues. Councils, committees, commissions or other similar forms of cooperation are established for the purposes of cooperation. Local Self-government act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) also allows the establishment of councils and committees as working bodies of municipal council. However both provisions are more or less recommendatory.

Just recently in 2013, the new police legislation was passed – Act on Police Organization and Work (Zakon o organiziranosti in delu v policiji, 2013) and Act on Police Tasks and Authorities (Zakon o nalogah in pooblastilih policije, 2013) were adopted, amending the existent Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998). Act on Police Organization and Work (Zakon o organiziranosti in delu v policiji, 2013) still determines the cooperation of police with local community in the areas related to crime prevention and other local security issues, as well as the establishment of Councils, committees, commissions or other similar forms of cooperation with the local community. Article 35, which includes these provisions, is explicitly titled “Partnership cooperation for safety provision”.

Article 21 of the Local Self-government act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) defines the tasks municipality performs to meet the needs of its residents. Among other tasks it is also responsible for the following:

- environmental protection (protection of air, soil, water; collection and disposal of waste; protection from noise pollution)
- legal regulation of the road traffic in the municipality
- municipality warden service
- control over local public events
- maintaining order in municipality
- fire safety and rescue assistance
- assistance and rescue in case of natural and other disasters

- defining minor offenses and penalties for minor offenses which violate the municipality regulations.

Act on Local Police (Zakon o občinskem redarstvu, 2006) requires yearly security plans coordinated between police and local community. Upon the proposal of mayor, the municipal council adopts municipal security program, based upon assessment of the security situation in the municipality. Purpose of the municipal security program is to systematically provide the quality of public space, which includes residents' satisfaction with their living and working environment as well as to establish partnership between police and municipal warden service in local safety provision (Gostič, 2007). The mayor and the head of the police organizational unit, responsible for the area of municipality, are in charge for regular cooperation between municipal warden service and the police (Zakon o občinskem redarstvu [Act on Local Police], 2006).

Municipal warden service is responsible for public safety and public order. Within its authority it monitors and regulates road traffic in the municipality, it maintains safety on municipal public roads as well as on recreational and other public areas. They are tasked with protection of public property, natural and cultural heritage (Zakon o občinskem redarstvu [Act on Local Police], 2006).

Policy guidelines for crime prevention in Slovenia are represented in Resolution of the National Plan on Preventing and Combating Crime for the period of 2012–2016 (Resolucija o nacionalnem programu preprečevanja in zatiranja kriminalitete za obdobje 2012-2016, 2012). It stresses the importance of systematic and co-ordinated implementation of all those activities performed by governmental institutions, civil society and citizens that can in any way contribute to crime prevention and control (Anželj, 2011). Fundamental goal of the Resolution is constant and long-term provision of safety for people in the Republic of Slovenia and consequently to ensure that people feel safe. One of the general objectives is to improve cooperation between law enforcement authorities, criminal justice authorities, state authorities, local communities, research organizations and NGOs (Resolucija o nacionalnem programu preprečevanja in zatiranja kriminalitete za obdobje 2012-2016, 2012).

Security on the local level is also addressed in the European Charter for urban areas, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1992 (The European Urban Charter, 1992). In the

document the role of local authorities is emphasized as they are the basis of tackling the root causes of crime by such measures as appropriate social development policy, reinstatement of social ties and development of mutual support structures along with partnership-based action programs. The chapter on crime prevention in urban environments includes eight principles that should be considered in the security provision on the local level. Specifically related to our topic is the second principle, which states that local security and crime prevention policies should be based on the statistical data and analysis of other indicators, including a detailed analysis of crime, local victimization studies, and data from other experts and NGOs. It is necessary to ensure the continuous process of monitoring the issues. The third principle reads that crime should be prevented in cooperation with all members of the community, since the main factors of crime are closely linked with alienation and problems of young people in the process of their identification with the culture, family, school and society as a whole. The fourth principle states that effective security policy in urban areas depends on the close cooperation between the police and the local community. In the context of coordinated participation of all local community members, the police should establish and maintain the dialogue with citizens (The European Urban Charter, 1992; Meško, 2004a).

Since the adoption of the European Urban Charter in 1992, the European cities have faced the necessity of adapting to new technological, ecological, economic and social conditions. As a response to these changes, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe reframed and updated the original European Urban Charter and in 2008 the European Urban Charter II – Manifesto for a New Urbanity was adopted. According to the principles set in the Charter, inhabitants of European towns and cities should be responsible, active and informed. With the support of citizens and other players in urban development, cities and towns should become sustainable, cohesive (inclusive, diversified, housing provision, promoting active solidarity) and knowledge-based. The importance of promoting social and spatial cohesion, social inclusion and sense of belonging is extensively emphasized in order to prevent urban violence, antisocial behaviour and insecurity (The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2008).

2.2 The Role of Police

Ancient idea of community responsibility for the well-being of society is the cornerstone of most modern approaches to policing. Police officers should be *a part*

of the community, not *apart* from it (Miller & Hess, 2002). Trojanowicz (1972) warned about the lack of a well-defined role of police officers which is one of the reasons why the public perceives the police as an authoritarian symbol of government.

It has been agreed upon that the police role has been expanded fairly beyond law-enforcement and “crime fighting”. Profound changes in policing in the past 30 years have shifted police organizations to more open policy and decision making and greater responsibility for their constituents’ needs. Police officers spend vast amount of their time on non-enforcement activities which involve service to the community (Green, 2000; Miller & Hess, 2002; Trojanowicz, Kappeler, & Gaines, 2002). Goldstein (1990) suggests that instead of clinging to the simplistic notion that the police role is defined by the criminal law, it should be realized that policing consists of dealing with various troublesome situations through development of most effective means, which often but not always include the use of criminal law.

Since the police have criminality as its main sphere of activity, their central role in the development of local crime prevention seems natural (Wikström & Torstensson, 1999). In Slovenia police is among all organizations the most involved in local efforts for providing security (Meško et al., 2007), which was confirmed by the results of the recent nationwide research² on local safety provision (Meško et al., 2012).

In their historical study, Kelling and Moore (1988) divided the development of policing in the United States of America into three eras, each characterized by its prevailing strategy of policing: the political era (from 1840's until the early 1900's), the reform era³ (early 1900's until the late 1970's) and the community problem solving era (from the late 1970's and early 1980's onward). The development can be continued, considering Kelling and Wycoff's (2001: 2) perspective, by the mid to late 1980's with community policing model being “pretty much in place”. By the

²Respondents (residents and police officers) were asked to rate their own expectations from various institutions (police, fire fighters, municipal warden service, mayor, municipal council, media, religious communities, local safety souncil, NGOs, schools and kindergartens, courts etc.) to contribute to local safety (on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “No expectations” (1) to “High expectations” (5)). They expect the most from the police, followed by fire fighters, civil protection and disaster relief and residents themselves (Meško et al., 2012).

³Often referred to as the progressive era (Miller & Hess, 2002).

beginning of the 1990's the main issue was how to manage the shift to community policing, while by the end of the millennium, knowing the necessity of community consent and collaboration, police were pulling urban government and other criminal justice agencies toward community policing models of practice. Oliver (2006; Ratcliffe, 2008) argues that since September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, a new era of American policing has begun, characterized by enhanced domestic security and adaptation of new policing style – homeland security.

Criticizing Kelling and Moore's study for incompleteness, Williams and Murphy (1990) supplemented it with the minorities perspective, arguing how importantly minorities⁴ have affected and improved the quality of policing in the United States in America in the past and will do so in the future. They emphasized how the riots in the late 1960's along with other factors stimulated solving of the police-community relations issue, thus contributing to the initiation of the community policing era. It seems that Kelling and Wycoff (2001) agree on this, stating that the change in American policing was driven by the very need to restructure the relationship between the police and communities, especially minority communities (also Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). Similarly, in the United Kingdom race riots in the early 1980s influenced the development of community policing as a guiding policing philosophy. More precisely, a turning point were the Brixton riots in 1981 (considered the worst outbreak of disorder in the United Kingdom in the past century) followed by the Lord Scarman's inquiry and his report, suggesting the improvement of relationships with the Black communities, less intimidating police work and dialogues with community representatives (Innes, 2003; Mackenzie & Henry, 2009; van Dijk, 1989).

⁴More specifically, Williams and Murphy (1990) reproach Kelling and Moore (1988) with failure to consider how slavery, segregation, discrimination and racism have influenced American policing, as they have influenced the history of the Nation too.

3 Modern approaches to policing

In the context of the perceived need for change among the police, scholars and the public, as well as in the context of the critiques to standard “fire brigade” or “reactive” (Tilley, 2008: 373) methods of policing, community policing, problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing developed (Weisburd & Braga, 2006). These are alternative models, aimed to reform policing in ways that will provide it with greater direction (Tilley, 2008).

In addition to the aforementioned models of policing, also other innovations in policing emerged and have been experimented with over the last few decades. Weisburd and Braga (2006) focus on police innovation and include in their analysis community policing, broken windows policing, problem-oriented policing, pulling levers policing, third-party policing, hot spots policing, Compstat and evidence-based policing. Greene (2000) and Oliver (2006), for instance, present three models of policing (plus the model of traditional policing): community policing, problem-oriented policing and zero-tolerance policing. Innes (2003) outlines community policing, zero tolerance policing and intelligence-led policing as contemporary policing philosophies, however he notes that plural policing perspective also importantly points to system-level changes in policing and has wider implications for understanding social control.

As we focus on modern models of policing which aim to replace and are critical of traditional (responsive) methods of policing, we will borrow Tilley’s (2008) division to three⁵ models - community, problem-oriented and intelligence-led policing. Carter and Carter (2008) agree that philosophical change in contemporary policing expands community policing and problem-oriented policing with the inclusion of intelligence-led policing philosophy.

3.1 Community policing

Underlying philosophy of community policing stems from the perception that police-community relations are not satisfactory. Police should broaden its focus to public safety, crime, fear of crime, and quality of life in the community, by seeing citizens

⁵Tilley (2008) warns that some might also include compstat policing, which would be wrong, as it is not a model but merely an accountability mechanism (he refers to Ratcliffe, 2008).

as partners in this process (Greene, 2000; Tilley, 2008). As Skogan (2006) notes the concept of community policing is so popular with politicians, city managers and the general public that no police chief wants to be caught without some program that can be called community policing.

Regarding the fact that community policing is currently the main philosophy of policing in Slovenia (see Chapter 6.2.2 for more detailed review of community policing in Slovenia), we will focus most intensively on community policing (see Chapter 4).

3.2 Problem-oriented policing

Problem-oriented policing has implications for all aspects of the police organization, its employees and its operations, with its central concern about the end product of policing (Goldstein, 1990). Problem-oriented policing redefines policing fundamentally by using the “problem” as a new unit of analysis for evaluating police actions (Eck, 2006). First there is the problem and its analysis which reveals the most efficient and effective as well as ethical solution to the problem (Tilley, 2008).

Goldstein (1990: 1) criticizes previous policing models for concentrating on means rather than ends which are “the effectiveness and fairness of the police in dealing with the substantive problems that the public looks to the police to handle”.

Eck (2006) presents three principles of problem-oriented policing:

- the empirical principle: public demands from police to tackle wide range of problems, while at the same time public is not attached to any particular form of means to solve the problems;
- the normative principle: it is expected from the police not simply to respond to incidents and apply criminal law, but rather to reduce problems;
- the scientific principle: police should base analytical approaches and interventions on theory and evidence, thus taking a scientific approach to problems.

In attempts to formalize a methodology for addressing problems within problem-oriented policing the SARA model (Scanning, Analysis, Response, Assessment) for problem solving has received the most attention. Problem first need to be identified through *scanning*, systematic and detailed *analysis* of the problem then provides

basis for a plausible *response* to address the problem, which is followed by the *assessment* of the response effectiveness in dealing with the problem (Greene, 2000; Miller & Hess, 2002; Tilley, 2008; Trojanowicz et al., 2002).

Braga and Weisburd (2006) warn that the practice of problem-oriented policing too often fails to follow the principles set up by Herman Goldstein (1990), the originator of problem-oriented policing (Miller & Hess, 2002). It is evidently not to be expected from line-level police officers to conduct in-depth problem-oriented policing within their daily routine (Braga & Weisburd, 2006).

Problem-oriented policing seems to have introduced police managers to the possible use of crime analysis to form operational strategies and solve problems, which was important for the eventual emergence of intelligence-led policing (Ratcliffe, 2008).

3.3 Intelligence-led policing

Intelligence-led policing is a business model and managerial philosophy where data analysis and crime intelligence are used to facilitate the reduction and prevention of crime and problems (Ratcliffe, 2008). According to Bureau of Justice Assistance (2005) intelligence-led policing is a collaborative initiative based on improved intelligence operations and community-oriented policing and problem solving. New dimensions of intelligence-led policing demand a close, interactive dialogue between law enforcement and the community (Carter & Carter, 2008). Intelligence-led policing incorporates “developing and maintaining a detailed and up-to-date picture of patterns of crime and criminality in order to intervene most effectively to disrupt networks and remove prolific offenders” (Tilley, 2008: 383–384).

Ratcliffe (2008) discusses factors that have driven a move toward intelligence-led policing:

- complexity in policing and the performance culture
- increasing need to manage risks,
- gap between demand and resource availability,
- limitations of the standard model of policing,
- organized and transnational crime - recent expansion,
- changes in technology.

In short, intelligence-led policing is focused on gathering and processing intelligence for identification of targets to assist in the reduction of incidents (Pepper & Pepper,

2009). One of the unique aspects of intelligence-led policing is the use of crime intelligence as a strategic resource for better targeting and managerial decision-making (Ratcliffe, 2008).

4 Defining Community Policing

Underlying philosophy of community policing is very close to the principles introduced by Sir Robert Peel who established the London Metropolitan Police in 1829 and stated: "The police are the public and the public are the police" (Miller & Hess, 2002: 15).

Philosophy of community policing is based on cooperation of police, people in the community and other institutions to identify problems, search for possible solutions and implement various measures (Meško, 2001). Miller and Hess (2002) add that community policing is also intended to reducing fear of crime, solving the problems associated with crime, and crime prevention. Trojanowicz et al. (2002) point out that community policing in its ideal form is not only a way of solving community problems, but the philosophy that changes traditional policing completely. It rests on the belief that only the police and citizens together can improve the quality of life in the community. Police officers are thus placed in the new role of consultants, facilitators and supporters of community initiatives.

Within the crime prevention, community policing represents a part of secondary crime prevention efforts, as it is intended to prevent undesirable events and risk factors, to manage various risk groups as well as provide general security in the community (Meško, 2001). Community policing should bring the police closer to citizens and encourage the development of new work strategies that include citizens' participation (Reiss, 1992). Moore (1992) notes that community policing changes the basis of police work legitimacy, which is therefore no longer based only on the police competence to reduce crime along with ensuring constitutional rights, but also on its ability to meet the needs and desires of the community. Or, as McConville and Shepherd (1992: 11) note – "community policing is intended to transform policing of the community into policing *for* the community". Community policing is based on the principle that the same police officers work within the same local communities for a long period of time to win the trust of community residents, which leads to cooperation in terms of providing information and assisting the police in reducing crime, disorder and fear of crime (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988). Meško (2001) adds that community policing has an impact on public opinion as well and helps creating a tolerant relationship between the police and the public. Halsted, Bromley and Cochran (2000) emphasize that the purpose of community policing is permanent

cooperation of police officers and citizens in joint efforts to crime reduction. The first and foremost important for the success of the community policing is the process of implementing the new philosophy, furthermore different authors suggest other important elements. Special training and education of police officers, for instance, is emphasized as the cornerstone of successful implementation and performance of community policing (Sadd & Grinc, 1996, Zhao, Thurman, & Lovrich, 1995).

Within the philosophy of community policing reactive model of traditional professional policing is replaced by a proactive approach to crime, disorder and other problems, using technological and community resources for seeking new solutions to old problems (Schaefer Morabito, 2010). Traditional police work, compared to community policing, is mostly about fight against crime, while community policing is directed to improving the quality of life. Citizens are the most concerned about threatening daily situations, such as violation of public order, noise, disorder and other upsetting circumstances. For measuring performance with traditional policing, statistical data is used, while with community policing, the fear of crime level and quality of life in the community is a measure of efficiency (Meško, Fallshore, & Jevšek, 2007). Therefore, serious changes are needed to implement community policing - a change in mission statement, internal organization, leadership style as well as the general approach to crime “fighting” (Miller & Hess, 2002).

Many authors agree, that although widely used, the definition of community policing has been a subject of considerable debate (Buren, 2007; Oliver & Bartgis, 1998; Seagrave, 1996; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). Marenin (2009) warns that “universal” solutions such as community policing are in jeopardy of becoming a meaningless phrase because it can be and has already been interpreted in a various ways. According to Miller and Hess (2002) there are at least two elements that are common to all community policing definitions: the cooperation of police and local communities, and problem-oriented approach to policing. Skogan and Hartnett (1997; also Somerville, 2009) add the organizational aspect, since community policing represents the organizational strategy that redefines the goals of police work and leaves the performance to the actors on the field. Activities within the concept of community policing include the decentralization of police, establishment of the two-way communication between the police and the local community, response to security issues identified by local community as well as help local communities to

address local security issues solving through local organizations and crime prevention programs (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997).

Seagrave (1996) conducted a research on interpretations of community policing among police leaders and police officers in Canadian province⁶. Respondents were asked about their own interpretations of community policing and both groups view it as a philosophy as well as they mention the establishment of partnership between the police and the community, while they ignore an element of internal organizational change. Findings of the nationwide survey of 1606 law enforcement agencies in the USA conducted by Wycoff and Skogan (1994) show that nearly half of the respondents (police chiefs and sheriffs) did not understand clearly what community policing meant.

Kelling and Wycoff (2001) found that there are certain elements of community policing which are broadly agreed on (Table 1⁷).

Table 1: Elements of community policing (adapted from Kelling and Wycoff, 2001)

Elements	Practice according to community policing
Authority...	...sought politically and through police relationship with communities
Function of police...	...broadened to proactive problem solving and crime prevention
Organizational structure...	...flattened, with decentralized authority
Administrative processes...	...focused on accountability and high level of collegiality
Demand for police service...	...received at lower levels of the organization (neighborhoods)
Relationship of the police with their environment...	...intimate, based on consent, cooperation
Police tactics...	...based on problem solving and collaboration
Outcomes...	...crime prevention, citizen satisfaction, solved problems, justice and legality of police conduct

⁶Interviews with 31 municipal police leaders were conducted in the summer of 1992 and the following year a survey was conducted among 144 police officers in British Columbia, Canada (Seagrave, 1996).

⁷For more illustrative review we created the table which is based on Kelling and Wycoff's writing (2001).

4.1 Defining Local Community

After analyzing various interpretations Seagrave (1996) summarizes that despite being in use within the social sciences for a long time, community can not be precisely defined as it exists as a group of concepts loosely linked together only by a general association. Christensen and Levinson (2003) described the term community as a diffuse concept which has both abstract and concrete meaning - in the abstract meaning it represents a sense of commonality and in the concrete it defines specific groups of people with common circumstances or interests.

Pečar (2001; 2002) differentiates between two aspects of community which reflect in its geographic and social organization – first is the territory and second is the ability of associating citizens to common living. The most essential components of the community are territory, people and their common needs, common activities to meet those needs as well as the internal dynamics within community.

Colquhoun (2004) uses the definition provided in Strategic Framework for Community Development (Standing Conference for Community Development, 2001: 4) according to which community is “the web of personal relationships, groups, networks, traditions and patterns of behavior that exist amongst those who share physical neighborhoods, socio-economic conditions or common understandings and interests”. According to the Local Self-Government Act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) the basic self-governing local community in Slovenia is a municipality, with at least 5,000 inhabitants. Municipalities have the authority to manage the municipality’s assets, facilitate conditions for economic development, plan spatial development, create conditions for building dwellings, manage local public services, establish primary and nursery schools, protect the environment, build and maintain local roads, promote the development of sports and recreation as well as cultural activities, organize municipal warden service, manage fire safety and organize rescue assistance.

Some understand the term community more loosely and in the context of Pečar’s (2001; 2002) social rather than geographic aspect. Somerville (2009: 261), for instance, defines communities as those who live, work or in any other way interact “in identifiable contexts such as neighborhoods”. Trojanowicz (1972: 412) defines community as “a group of people living within the geographical boundaries of a governmental unit who are dependent on services provided by that governmental unit”. Miller and Hess (2002: 55) define community as a specific geographic area

served by law enforcement agency, and individuals, organizations and agencies in that area.

Apparently, people have an elementary need to be a part of the community and at the same time a desire to be valued as unique - the intensity of conflict between both varies depending on the period of history and the culture (Christensen & Levinson, 2003). Communities are characterized by a feeling of belonging, described as “a sense of integration, a sense of shared values and a sense of “we-ness”.” The described sense is referred to as community⁸ cohesion (Buckner, 1988) and is considered as an important indicator of the capacity of residents to engage in informal social control (Pattavina, Byrne, & Garcia, 2006); cohesive neighborhoods are thus more crime resistant (Greene, 2000). Crank and Giacomazzi (2007: 111) describe community cohesion as the perception of neighborliness or similarity among neighborhoods and as the variable that “transforms geography into culture”.

Forrest and Kearns (2001) identify five components of social cohesion:

- common values and a civic culture (residents share common objectives, moral principles, codes of behavior and support for political institutions; they participate in politics);
- social order and social control (absence of general conflict within community and of any serious challenge to the existing order, effective informal social control);
- social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities (harmonious development of society toward common economic, social and environmental standards, equal access to services and welfare benefits, willingness to help others);
- social networks and social capital (social interaction within communities and families, civic engagement);
- place attachment and identity (strong attachment to place, intertwined personal and place identity).

Community lacking cohesion are then marred by social disorder and conflict, disparate values, social inequality, low level of social interaction and low level of sense of belonging to place (Forrest & Kearns, 2011). Pursuant to the community policing philosophy informal social processes, rather than police activities, should

⁸ Some authors use the term neighbourhood cohesion (Hartnagel, 1979; Buckner, 1988; Forrest & Kearns, 2001)

maintain social order within communities, which is not possible in the absence of community cohesion (Rosenbaum, 1988; McKee, 2001).

4.2 Defining community involvement

Different terms can be found in the context of community involvement or community residents' involvement in establishing police-community relations. Citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969; Buren, 2007; Colquhoun⁹, 2004; Marschall, 2004;), citizen coproduction (Fenwick, 2012; Innes & Roberts, 2008; Scott, Duffee, & Renauer, 2003), community/citizen involvement (Grinc, 1994; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997; Skogan et al., 1999) and community engagement (Myhill, 2009; Trojanowicz et al., 2002) are some that are well documented in the literature.

Community engagement can be defined as the process whereby citizens are able to participate in policing by being provided with information, empowerment and support with the aim to identify local problems as well as implement solutions (Myhill, 2009). Buren (2007) summarized the elements that are common to most of the definitions of citizen participation:

- voluntary and active participation,
- fair and democratic participatory process and
- the ability to impact the final decisions.

In studying citizen participation the theory of coproduction has been developed in the 1980s. The concept determines service delivery as an arrangement and a process where citizens and government share responsibility for the production of public services (Marschall, 2004). In simple terms coproduction can be defined as “professional services and products that are co-developed with clients or service users” (Fenwick, 2012: 1) and as such it is often applied to public sector services as for instance health, policing and social care¹⁰.

In his work on community crime prevention Hope (1995) discusses two approaches - communitarianism and moral minimalism. Communitarianism is based on the belief that community crime problems can be solved primarily by local residents who

⁹Colquhoun uses both expressions participation and inclusion interchangeably (Colquhoun, 2004).

¹⁰Fenwick (2012) notes that the term “coproduction” was actually primarily used by Ostrom and Baugh (in Fenwick, 2012) - economists studying the Chicago police in the seventies.

establish representative self-management of the community. Improvement in quality of life, solution of crime and other problems depend on the local residents' endeavor and strong informal social control. In the Slovenian context Meško (2001) recognizes the former system of social self-protection, existing before 1991, as a representative form of communitarianism. Quite the opposite approach to maintaining social order can be moral minimalism - a strategy of social avoidance. Moral minimalism works in communities which are characterized by weak ties between residents, high mobility, lack of familiarity among residents and avoiding conflicts between residents. Privacy seems to be more important than communalism and police is perceived as an expert service who is obliged to carry out its mission paid for by the taxpayers (Hope, 1995; Meško, 2001).

According to Buren (2007) citizen can participate directly or indirectly in forms of various activities, programs and committees. Direct participation can encompass direct work with neighbors, police and other local agencies to address particular crime or disorder problems in the local area. Moon and Zager (2007) mention citizen police academies and volunteer community patrol schemes. Trojanowicz et al. (2002) itemize neighborhood watches, involving in sports or educational activities for disadvantaged youth, assisting NGOs and volunteering services to the police. As noted earlier, citizens can participate indirectly as well through various local bodies (associations, committees) by addressing problems specific to their communities (Buren, 2007). Within the theoretical concept of coproduction, for instance, broad range of activities is considered - discussion, involvement in non-political organizations and other activities of foremost supportive nature (Marschall, 2004). Within community engagement concept communities can also play more passive role with agencies providing citizens with information, reassurance and consulting (Myhill, 2009).

Arnstein (1969) emphasized that the idea of citizen participation is generally approved by everyone, since it is one of the cornerstones of the democracy. But she also warned that "participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless" (Arnstein, 1969:216).

Zhao et al. (1995) believe that police officers need to understand the basic ideas of community policing, with emphasis on ethnic and other particularities of the communities they work in. To effectively promote citizen participation in community

policing, police also need to perform programs and strategies to get citizens involved in their work. The most popular approaches comprise information sharing, sponsoring public events, organizing community forums, cooperation and promotion through media, designing and maintaining websites, volunteer programs, neighborhood watch, focused interventions, citizen oversight (Buren, 2007; Skogan et al., 1999). Ren, Zhao, Lovrich and Gaffney (2006) note that volunteer recruitment has become a very common element of community policing programs and has been on the rise during the past two decades. One common approach to gain citizen input is the community survey¹¹ (also called citizen survey) a tool for systematic gathering of public attitudes on the police and quality of life as well as self-reports of criminal victimization (Burckhardt and Ruiz, 2007; Reisig, 2002; Trojanowicz et al., 2002).

However, evaluations of community policing and community crime prevention activities show that getting community residents to participate is one of the major challenges (Grinc, 1994; Pattavina et al., 2006; Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). Modern society, also characterized as a 'risk society', involves significant changes in the structural and cultural positioning of its increasingly atomized members. Individuals are now less integrated in solid formal social structures, particularly in the domain of wage work or economic activities. Moreover, people are exposed to constant changes in the normative and value systems, which can lead to a sense of disorientation or confusion (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012).

Community residents are sometimes not confident in police ability or obligation to deal with their problems which are mostly related to social disorder and physical decay in their communities, because police officers traditionally respond to "serious crimes" (Skogan et al., 1999). As Skogan and Hartnett (1997) point out police officers and residents often have a history of antagonistic relationship, especially in poor and high crime communities, therefore police officers are not perceived as potential partners. Hope (1995) notes that there have been difficulties with initiating community organization in high-crime areas and difficulties with sustaining involvement in low-crime areas. Police organizations should therefore also encourage operational officers to perform non-crime related activities¹², which public finds of

¹¹Reisig (2002) also notes that critics warn about police officials sometimes relying too heavily on such "soft measures" (e.g. citizen satisfaction with police services).

¹²Examples of non-crime related activities are non-emergency help, giving crime prevention advice, compassionate responses to family disputes (Beck et al., 1999).

high priority (Beck et al., 1999). Colquhoun (2004) points out that, in order to convince them to participate, people must feel that change is possible and will occur, participants should be active, directed and they must experience a sense of achievement. In addition to aforementioned external programs, in order to effectively promote participation in policing, police executives must turn to internal structure - organizational management and organizational culture - to provide police officers with the right guidance, training and resources so they have the capacity to promote citizen participation (Buren, 2007).

To examine whether level of crime in the neighborhoods affects individual's willingness to cooperate in collective crime prevention efforts, Pattavina et al. (2006) conducted a survey among Boston residents¹³. The results show that residents of high-risk neighborhoods, those who feel they are a part of the community and those who believe that police get to know residents in their communities, were more likely to get involved in crime prevention activities.

Regarding the police inclusion into community some warn against the danger of invasion of politics into the police, thus threatening political neutrality of the police (Reiss, 1992; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997) and also against possible turning of crime prevention and local safety provision efforts into subtle supervision and formal social control nets widening (Meško, 2004b; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b). Grabosky (1992) argues that citizen participation beyond an optimal point may be undesirable and potentially threatening to privacy, interpersonal trust and the rights of minorities.

One of the important factors for the success of community policing that we especially emphasize are congruent attitudes of both partners - toward one another and toward common efforts, activities, goals (Greene & Decker, 1989; Brooks, Piquero, & Cronin, 1993; Beck, 2004). Attitudes and perceptions of one group toward another have a major impact on the actual level of preparedness for cooperation in crime prevention and crime reduction programs (Greene & Decker, 1989). Furthermore, Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998: 557) found that even when negative attitudes toward the police already exist, they can be improved with "well conceived community policing initiatives".

¹³Data was obtained in 1997 through telephone survey among 2,362 Boston residents (Pattavina et al., 2006).

5 Police Officers' and Citizens' Attitudes toward Local Safety Provision

The police and the community are the most important cornerstones of community policing philosophy. Oliver and Bartgis (1998) illustrate the impact of both elements on police behavior and how their performance is crucial for successful implementation of community policing. Changing crime rates along with social and political factors directly and indirectly bring pressure on the police, demanding increased efficiency and effectiveness in solving problems of the community. Their response defines whether and how organizational change can be brought about. Likewise, the community undergoes the same pressure (changing crime rates, social and political factors) and its response influences the potential changes in police behavior. As regards community policing implementation both variables and their impact on police behavior need to achieve balance (Oliver & Bartgis, 1998). Meško and Lobnikar (2005a) note that while performing any of their various tasks, police invariably serve the community.

As Pečar (2001) states, the police can expect the most from involvement in local community compared to other public organizations. At the same time, the success of police is fatally linked to community and depends on the community residents. Therefore, developing the relationship between police officers and citizens allows the needs and values of the community to transform into effective policing (Trojanowicz & Belknap, 1986). The flow of information between residents and police officers should thus be a two-way process, since the latter transmit the information to the police organization, which then focuses on the perceived problems and helps to improve the quality of life (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988). The police on the one hand should be able to understand and deal with the community's problems, while the community on the other hand should be aware of the role and difficulties that police face in this process (Mishra, 2011). Police duties ensue from the need of the community to be protected from unwanted disturbances, crime and fear of crime (Lobnikar & Meško, 2010).

As early as more than twenty years ago Trojanowicz, Gleason, Poland and Sinclair (1987) have stated that with the increasing reliance on technology, the police risk that people perceive their work as a far distant from community and responsive to

the problems only after they occur. Such perceptions can lead people into apathy and indifference. Similarly, Clear, Hamilton and Cadora (2011) believe that technological innovations create the gap between police officers and the community. As an illustration, use of automobiles decreased the frequency of the direct contacts with residents, the use of telephones and radios allowed residents to contact the police for assistance very easily and quickly thus reducing the amount of time that police officers were able to spend on crime prevention and establishing community relationship. The use of computers enabled the measurement of performance statistics, which led to the focus on crime statistics rather than public concerns.

It is important to realize that citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police and to accept community policing philosophy is not self-evident. Therefore the police need to inform citizens of police work, express willingness to cooperate and introduce security as a value, striven for by both police and citizens (Meško, 2001).

Findings of the study conducted by Sunshine and Tyler (2003a) support the argument that citizens cooperate with the police when they believe that police act in solidarity with the community and support and stands for community norms while performing their social regulatory actions. Moreover, when citizens believe the police share their moral values, they comply with the police more fully and cooperate with them more strongly. The authors therefore suggest that the police have two options to follow in order to gain citizens' compliance and cooperation. One is to work on gaining legitimacy and the other is to be perceived as a "prototypical representative of the group's moral values – that is, to manifest moral solidarity" (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003a: 163).

Trojanowicz (1972) introduces normative sponsorship theory as an approach for establishing more positive relations between the police and the community. The theory was developed by Sower, Holland, Tiedke and Freeman (1957) based on the extensive house-to-house health survey among 10,000 families in a midwestern county (USA) focusing on community involvement. In simple terms, pursuant to normative sponsorship theory a community program will only be sponsored when it is normative to all parties involved. Each of the parties involved must be able to justify and legitimize the common goal in the context of its own values, norms and goals. The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of participating parties are, the easier it is to agree upon common goals.

The existent body of research has mostly focused on measuring citizens' and police officers' attitudes separately and very few surveys have been conducted on both groups concurrently. Some are presented below.

In their survey among police officers and members of the public¹⁴ in the capital cities of Queensland and Western Australia, Beck et al. (1999) examined attitudes toward police priorities by comparing police and public perceptions of the police role as well as their perception of current and preferred priorities. The results show that there is a discrepancy in understanding of police work between the police officers and the public. For example, both groups of respondents put the highest priority to investigating crime, however public expressed that higher priority should be put to resolving family issues.

In 2000 Pagon and Lobnikar (2001) conducted a study on differences between police officers and citizens of Ljubljana¹⁵ regarding their attitudes towards community policing and citizens' willingness to cooperate with police. The results indicate that police officers as well as citizens are more in favor of community policing than traditional police methods. Opinions of both groups are divided regarding the importance of police tasks. Police officers give priority to crime investigation and suspect treatment, while citizens find crime prevention the most important task. It is noteworthy, that citizens are much more willing to cooperate with the police than the latter perceive. The most significant determinant of attitudes towards community policing is the respondents' gender, followed by their education and age. Women, more educated and younger people, have higher opinion of community policing than men, less educated, and older people.

In 2002 Liederbach et al. (2008) conducted a survey among police officers and citizens¹⁶ in Ft Worth, Texas with the intention of direct comparison between responses of both groups regarding various community problems, community-oriented programs and strategies for improving police work. They found that both groups generally agreed on which problems the police should address. Citizens generally assigned greater importance to all types of problems - police officers opine that

¹⁴1456 police officers and 1188 members of the public were included in the sample.

¹⁵95 police officers and 75 residents of Ljubljana were included in the sample.

¹⁶651 police officers and 400 citizens were included in the sample.

traditional crime problems and community disorder problems are the most important, while citizens believe the most important are the problems associated with community disorder. Citizens assessed community-oriented programs as very positive, rather different from police officers' assessments, which were quite low. Similarly, citizens were also more satisfied with the overall performance of the police department than police officers were. On the basis of the survey results, authors concluded that police officers still need to be convinced about how community policing can bring police closer to the community and also help them with performing "crime fighting" activities.

5.1 Police Officers' Attitudes toward Local Safety Provision

Over the past decades police have learned that traditional, reactive policing strategies alienated citizens and police from one another and today they are aware of the importance of public support. Consequently, police have changed the way of policing - officers were sent to foot patrols, cooperation with community leaders was reinstated, and other efforts were made to rebuild the citizens - police relationship (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003b).

As a typical conservative institution, with the introduction of police work in the community, police is facing many problems related to the change of philosophy, organization, mentality and attitudes toward work and clients (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b). The changing society likewise affects definition of role and expectations of police officers, thus contributing to the public perception of police officers as an authoritarian symbol of government. Perceived as such, police officers can often face citizens' hostility and resentment (Trojanowicz, 1972).

From police officers' point of view, public opinion on police is an important factor which influences police performance and citizen cooperation. The more pressure is being put on police, the more they tend to shut off from the public and perceive it as a source of threat (Meško, 2001). Thus even their job satisfaction is called into question, since it was found that police officers derive their job satisfaction from perceived citizen cooperation (Nalla, Rydberg and Meško, 2010¹⁷).

¹⁷Research was conducted in 2006 among Slovenian police officers (995 completed surveys) (Nalla et al., 2010).

As some previous research has shown, many police officers suppose that they are held in low regard by the public, criticized for every action some even believe that their constituencies are uncooperative and hostile (Mishra, 2011; Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001; Sun, 2002; Worden, 1989).

Some police officers accept community policing, but others refuse it because they believe it has nothing in common with the “real” police work (Meško et al., 2000). According to Skogan and Hartnett (1997: 12) community policing also gets labeled as “social work”, the job of “empty holster guys”, and not of “real police officers”. Police officers are usually skeptical toward the initiatives coming from outside the police because they believe that outsiders (civilians) cannot possibly understand their work. Particularly negatively accepted are the initiatives which include people from outside setting standards or valuing their performance.

Oliver and Bartgis (1998) warn that, despite the fact that community policing is communal endeavor of police and local community, line officers are the ones who may ignore, obstruct or sabotage the intentions of the police and the community. In their study of one of the community policing programs in the United States of America in 1996 Sadd and Grinc (1996) note that the reluctance of police officers to community policing, often results from a general resistance to reforms and changes coming from management.

Police officers’ attitudes toward community policing are proven to be affected by strain (officers exhibiting more strain were found to be less supportive toward community policing, while officers exhibiting less strain were found to be more supportive in their attitudes toward community policing)¹⁸, perceived administrative support and level of commitment (support and commitment were found to negatively affect strain, thus indirectly influencing officers attitudes) (Yates & Pillai, 1996¹⁹).

In their study on police officers’ attitudes toward community policing Lewis, Rosenberg and Sigler (1999²⁰) found the strongest relationship between the years of

¹⁸Authors explain that with police officers, strain usually arises from restraints the police are facing by legal codes that limit their capacity to enforce the law (Yates & Pillai, 1996).

¹⁹Study was conducted on population of police officers (335) in Fort Worth, Texas, USA.

²⁰Survey was conducted in 1997 on the population of police officers (163) in Racine, Wisconsin, USA.

service and attitudes toward community policing and the relationship was negative, meaning that police officers with more years of service tend to hold more negative attitudes toward community policing. Conversely, education seems to have very little effect on police officers' attitudes toward the community policing.

Education along with experience was also the focus of interest in the study on the perceived value of college education and experience to police work in Slovenia. Findings (Rydberg, Nalla, & Meško, 2010) show that Slovenian police officers value experience more than education and thus believe that experience are far more beneficial to their work than college education. Although all groups of respondents believe that experience is preferable to education, female and college educated officers perceive college education as more beneficial 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. Taking into account the new emphasis on community policing in Slovenia, authors suggest further research on the need for education and experience.

A study on police station commanders' perspectives on community policing was conducted in Slovenia in 2003²¹ (Kosmač & Gorenak, 2004). It was found that commanders are relatively satisfied with community policing officers work motivation, community policing strategy contents and crime prevention guidelines, but they are much less satisfied with the preventive work records keeping instructions. In their opinion community policing officers are well acquainted with community prevention documents and perform less repressive tasks.

In 2006 a study on police officers' perceptions on various elements that constitute democratic policing in three transitional countries, Slovenia, El Salvador, and Guatemala was conducted (Nalla, 2009). Findings indicate that clearly, Slovenian officers²² do not believe their primary goal is to serve the government, at the same time, only a third of the officers believe their primary goal is to serve citizens. More

²¹In 2003 there were 111 police station commanders in Slovenia - 63 questionnaires were administered and 53 completed surveys were received.

²²In Slovenia, 1100 survey questionnaires were distributed among police officers in eleven police directorates in nine large, medium, and small cities. Response rate was 90 per cent.

than a half of Slovenian officers (58 per cent) distinguish law enforcement as the most important responsibility of a police officer, but nearly a third of the Slovenian officers (30 per cent) is unsure about this issue. While slightly less than half of the Slovenian officers believe that police officers are accountable to citizens for their acts, a third of their colleagues remain neutral about this question. One third of Slovenian police officers (33 per cent) strongly agree or agree that citizens call the police if they see something suspicious. The answers are evenly divided (about a third) on each of the three categories - agree or strongly agree, neutral and disagree or strongly disagree. It appears there is some element of ambiguity or uncertainty regarding a citizens' relationship with the police. Only 22 per cent of police officers strongly agree or agree that citizens often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked about it by the police, while almost one half of the respondents remain unsure. Nearly a half of the police officers remain neutral about citizen's willingness to work with police to solve neighborhood problems, while one third agreed or strongly agreed. At the end, police officers were asked directly whether they think neighborhood crime prevention programs are a waste of time. Only a minor percentage of officers (7 per cent) find the program a waste of time; however one third of respondents remain unsure. Compared to El Salvador and Guatemala, two transitional countries in Central America, Slovenian police officers express less support of the democratic policing issues and were in many instances ambivalent. According to Nalla (2009), the findings may be masked, given the fact that sample includes state border officers²³ who have a specific role and are a part of the larger civilian police function.

Findings of the study conducted among police chiefs from midsize and large cities in USA on their attitudes toward current practice of community policing (Cheurprakobkit, 2008) show that police chiefs perceive support for community policing practice from outside and within their departments, however the lowest support²⁴ is exhibited by first-line officers. Police chiefs also emphasized the significance of the citizen (citizen input, face-to-face interaction, police-citizen partnership) and crime prevention (proactive and prevention orientation, problem-

²³State border officers are a part of uniformed civilian force tasked with protecting Slovenia's border and performing border control with the Republic of Croatia (Nalla et al., 2010).

²⁴Internal support measures included mid-management and first-line officers support, while politicians and public represented external support (Cheurprakobkit, 2008).

solving strategies) elements over the other elements (e.g. partnership with other agencies, leadership and management, geographic basis of assignment etc.).

In their case study²⁵ of officer perceptions of community policing and community building Glaser and Denhardt (2010) found that most officers believe that they can put community interests above personal interest, while 80 percent of them doubt that citizens are able to do so. Authors concluded that this finding is important, since those officers who doubt about citizens ability to rise above their personal interests, will be discouraged to promote community well-being.

Given the fact that community policing is a change in police philosophy administration and leadership are key factors for internal changes that affect police behavior. In order to change their behavior police officers should (Oliver & Bartgis, 1998):

- internalize new values,
- utilize participatory management,
- witness organizational changes supporting community policing (structure, training).

When we summarize findings from the previous research we can see that there are some variables which have been found to determine officers' attitudes toward community policing and other aspects of local safety provision. One possible division of different variables which affect police officers attitudes could be into *individual level factors* and *operational factors*.

Individual level factors

5.1.1 Age

In their study of Chicago's community policing program, known as the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) Lurigio and Skogan (1994) found that older officers were more favorable in their orientation toward community policing. Likewise, Moon and Zager (2007) in their study²⁶ on Korean police officers' attitudes

²⁵The research was conducted among more than 500 officers serving a Midwestern city, USA.

²⁶ Survey was conducted in 2002 on the sample of 434 Korean police officers. They examined how individual, organizational and beat variables affect officers' attitudes toward citizen support (Moon & Zager, 2007).

found that older officers were more likely to hold positive attitudes toward citizen support. Skogan and Hartnett (1997²⁷) also found that older officers were much more ready for change from traditional to community policing than younger officers.

Pagon and Lobnikar (2001) found that younger Slovenian police officers are more in favor of community policing than their older colleagues. According to the results of study conducted in 2006 among Slovenian police officers, younger officers also have a more positive view of “who it is they serve”²⁸ compared to older officers (Nalla et al., 2007).

5.1.2 Education

According to several studies education seems to have very little (Adams, Rohe, & Arcury, 2002; Lewis et al., 1999; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000; Sun, 2002; Worden, 1990) or no effect (Schafer, 2002) on police officers attitudes. However Brooks et al. (1993) found that police officers with at least some college tend to be more service-oriented and more likely to believe that the community supports them compared to their colleagues without any college at all.

According to the findings of the 2001 study among police officers, more educated officers are more favorable toward community policing (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001).

Operational Factors

When police organizations shift from the traditional model of policing to community policing it also includes a major shift in the strategic focus of a police agency (Greene, 2000), therefore the work environment must change (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997; Somerville, 2009). As noted before, the nature of community policing requires flattened organizational structure with decentralized authority (Kelling and Wycoff, 2001) and police officers in the role of consultants, facilitators and supporters of community initiatives (Trojanowicz et al., 2002). Hence follows that officers need more autonomy to perform proactive interactions with the community (Trojanowicz

²⁷ Data are drawn from the large-scale evaluation of community policing Chicago, conducted between 1992 and 1995.

²⁸ Respondents were asked five questions relating to police mandate and who they believe their job is to serve (e.g. *Officers in my unit know their primary duty is to serve the people of the community; Police officers have to be accountable to the citizens for their acts*) (Nalla et al., 2007).

et al. in Halsted et al., 2000; Zhao, Turman, & He, 1999), participatory organizational decision making (Adams et al., 2002; Lord and Friday, 2008; Wycof & Skogan, 1993, 1994), organizational support (Engel & Worden, 2003), community support (Worden, 1989; Brooks et al., 1993; Wells, Horney, & Maguire, 2005; Nalla et al., 2010) and, needless to say, they should be satisfied with their job (Halsted et al., 2000).

5.1.3 Participatory management

Findings of the three-year study of community policing in Madison, Wisconsin, conducted by Wycof and Skogan (1993, 1994²⁹) indicate that participatory management can influence the shift in police officers' attitudes from traditional policing toward community policing. Findings of other studies have similarly (Lord & Friday, 2008³⁰; Adams et al., 2002³¹) shown that participatory management is significant determinant of positive attitudes toward community policing.

5.1.4 Organizational support

Engel and Worden (2003³²) found positive relationship between organizational support and police officers attitudes toward community policing, moreover, even

²⁹ The study was focused on the Experimental Police District which was charged with the implementation of new organizational design to support community-oriented and problem-oriented policing. Madison police officers were surveyed before, one year after, and two years after the establishment of the Experimental Police District. Attitude of police officers working in the Experimental Police District were compared to those of officers working in the rest of the organization.

³⁰ Lord and Friday (2008) conducted a survey among police officers in Concord, North Carolina, USA, where community policing has been implemented in 2002. Officers were surveyed before the formal implementation (2002) and again three years later (2005).

³¹ In addition, findings of the study conducted by Adams et al. (2002) also indicated that officers who believe their agency has a participatory management style are more optimistic about the impact of community policing on police-community relations and more satisfied with their current assignment.

³² Engel and Worden (2003) analyzed data collected for the Project on Policing Neighborhoods (multi-method study of police patrol in two police departments-the Indianapolis, Indiana Police Department, and the St. Petersburg, Florida Police Department - both in the process of implementing community policing. Systematic social observation of patrol officers in the field was conducted during the summer of 1996 and the summer of 1997. In addition to observation, interviews with officers were also conducted.

officers who are in favor of community policing philosophy will rarely practice it if they miss organizational support they need, or if they are confronted with organizational impediments. Previous research has shown that management support is significant predictor of job satisfaction (Jaramillo, Nixon, & Sams, 2005; Johnson, 2012³³; Boke & Nalla, 2009³⁴).

Results of the 2006 study among Slovenian police officers show that they in general feel little organizational support (Nalla et al., 2007).

5.1.5 Job satisfaction

Halsted et al. (2000) note that if police officers³⁵ are not satisfied with their job, their willingness to accept and conform to the community policing ideals may be seriously jeopardized. Among organizational variables that were proven to strongly positively affect job satisfaction are innovative culture, trust in leadership (Yang & Kassekert, 2009) and job autonomy (Zhao et al., 1999; Johnson, 2012).

5.1.6 Community support

Perceived community support was found to be positively associated with service orientation (Brooks et al., 1993). Officers who perceive citizens as respectful are also found to be more pro-active compared to those who believe that citizens are disrespectful (Worden, 1989). As noted before, Nalla et al. (2010) found that officers derive job satisfaction from the perceived citizen cooperation, which means that officers who believe citizens are more cooperative, are more satisfied with their work (important effects of job satisfaction are described above). However, Wells et al. (2005) report that in their study there were no differences between attitudes

³³ The purpose of the study was to examine the impact of officer demographic characteristics, job task characteristics, and organizational characteristics on police officers' job satisfaction. Survey was conducted on the sample of 292 police officers from Phoenix, metro area, Arizona, USA (Johnson, 2012).

Organizational support was found to be weak but still important predictor of officer job satisfaction

³⁴ Study on police officers' perceptions about organizational factors of job satisfaction was conducted among 669 police officers from five cities in Michigan and Ohio, USA (Boke & Nalla, 2009).

³⁵ Actually, Halsted et al. (2000) refer to sheriffs' deputies, however their findings could be applied to police officers, as authors' theoretical background was mainly derived from the literature on police.

toward non-traditional police functions with police officers who received citizen feedback and those who did not receive it. Summary of findings on variables that affect police officers' attitudes is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of findings on variables that affect police officers' attitudes

Variable	Authors	Major findings
Age	Lurigio & Skogan (1994)	Older officers are more favorable toward community policing.
	Moon & Zager (2007)	Older officers are more likely to hold positive attitudes toward citizen support.
	Skogan & Hartnett (1997)	Older officers are much more ready for change from traditional to community policing than younger officers.
	Pagon & Lobnikar (2001); Nalla, Meško, Lobnikar, Dobovšek, Pagon, Umek, & Dvoršek (2007)	Younger police officers are more in favor of community policing than their older colleagues; younger officers also have a more positive view of "who it is they serve" (see footnote 28)
Education	Schafer, 2002	Education has no effect on officers' attitudes.
	Worden (1990); Lewis, Rosenberg, & Sigler (1999); Paoline, Myers, & Worden (2000); Adams, Rohe, & Arcury (2002); Sun (2002)	Education has very little effect on officers' attitudes.
	Brooks, Piquero, & Cronin (1993); Pagon & Lobnikar (2001)	Officers with at least some college are more service-oriented and more likely to believe that the community supports them than their colleagues without any college at all; more educated officers are also more favorable toward community policing.
Participatory management	Wycof & Skogan (1993, 1994)	Participatory management can influenced the shift in police officers' attitudes from traditional policing toward community policing.
	Lord & Friday (2008); Adams, Rohe, & Arcury (2002)	Participatory management is significant determinant of positive attitudes toward community policing.
Organizational	Engel & Worden (2003)	Positive relationship between organizational

support		support and police officers attitudes toward community policing
	Jaramillo, Nixon, & Sams (2005); Johnson (2012); Boke & Nalla (2009)	Management support is significant predictor of job satisfaction
Job satisfaction	Halsted, Bromley, & Cochran (2000)	If police officers are not satisfied with their job, their willingness to accept and conform to the community policing ideals may be seriously jeopardized
Community support	Brooks, Piquero, & Cronin (1993)	Perceived community support is positively associated with service orientation.
	Worden (1989)	Officers who perceive citizens as respectful are more pro-active compared to those who believe that citizens are disrespectful
	Wells, Horney, & Maguire (2005)	There are no differences between attitudes toward non-traditional police functions with police officers who received citizen feedback and those who did not receive it.

5.2 Citizens' Attitudes toward Local Safety Provision

Public attitudes toward the police are fundamental for successful policing, since the police are dependent upon the people to report and provide information about crime and to testify as witnesses in court proceedings (McConville & Shepherd, 1992). However, the public is divided regarding their attitudes toward the police, which is problematic as it hinders the police from functioning effectively (Sunshine & Taylor, 2003b).

Citizens may exhibit resistance to community policing initiatives especially in poor and high crime rate communities especially, as crime and fear of crime stimulate withdrawal from community life, instead of involvement in it (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997).

Gau's (2010) survey findings³⁶ contributed to well documented phenomenon that police officers' respectfulness toward citizens enhances their positive attitudes

³⁶The data for this study originate from a panel survey conducted in the Eastern District of a Pacific Northwest state. The first wave sample from 2003 consisted of 2879 residents and the final sample of usable panel cases was 1029.

toward the police. She notes that simple “thank you” and “please” take neither money nor additional manpower, but can contribute greatly to police-citizen relationship building. Cheurprakobkit (2002) argues that positive interactions with the police can even neutralize or improve citizens’ negative attitudes.

Main findings of the study conducted in 2000 (Meško et al., 2000), which among other issues focused also on citizens' perspectives on police preventive work, indicate that there are two particularly important factors regarding community policing efforts - community residents' needs and expectations and police officers' willingness to carry out their mission. Among citizens there are some that perceive community policing as citizen friendly and police officers as affable and visible in the community. Others sense and condemn police officers' indulgence towards those who they believe should be restrained and punished.

In 2005, a comparison between citizens' perceptions on current state and their expectations from the police was conducted on the territory of Maribor police directorate, Slovenia (Virtič, 2006). Results show that citizens are rather satisfied with the police work, but they do not meet citizens' expectations completely – above all, citizens expect more commitment to solving their problems. More than a half of respondents expressed their willingness to cooperate with the police.

In the beginning of 2010 Ministry of the Interior sponsored survey on public opinion of the police (Černič, Makarovič, & Macur, 2009). The level of public trust in the police is rather high – mean score is 3.50 in range from 1 to 5, with higher value indicating higher level of trust. One half of the respondents (52 per cent) trust or completely trust the police, while a little less than a half of the respondents (48 per cent) are satisfied or very satisfied with the police performance. Respondents are the most willing to cooperate in setting goals for police work in their communities (59 per cent) and the least willing to cooperate in police supervision (36 per cent). Almost a half of respondents (48 per cent) is willing to take part in safety councils and also a half of them (49 per cent) opine that police is visible enough, while more than a half of the respondents (55 per cent) believe that community policing officers cooperate with citizens well or very well.

The existing body of research on public attitudes toward police officers and police work shows that various individual level and contextual level characteristics of the

respondents more or less considerably influence their attitudes. A handful of prior research indicates that the following variables have been found to influence attitudes toward the police: gender, age, education, length of residency (*individual level variables*), fear of crime, community characteristics, police visibility and trust in government (*contextual level variables*). However, there remains a need for further research on these and other variables as well as on their interactive effects (Brown & Benedict, 2002).

Individual level factors

5.2.1 Gender

As O'Connor (2008³⁷) warns, further research on gender differences needs to be conducted, since some authors argue that there are no gender differences in respondents' attitudes (Benedict, Brown, & Bower, 2000; Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, 1995³⁸; Kusow, Wilson, & Martin, 1997³⁹), while some of the findings are ambiguous, at best. However, quite a few research found that women expressed more favorable attitudes toward police officers and their work than men (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008⁴⁰; O'Connor, 2008; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998⁴¹), while there are also some research findings proving the opposite (Brown & Coulter, 1983⁴²; Correia, Reisig, & Lovrich, 1996; Gourley, 1954).

³⁷Nevertheless, in his research on citizen attitudes toward the police in Canada (O'Connor, 2008), gender proved to be a significant determinant of respondent's attitudes, moreover women held more positive views than men.

³⁸The survey was conducted in 1990 among residents (538) of Santa Ana, California, USA (Jesilow et al., 1995).

³⁹Mail survey was conducted among 2420 respondents from a large Midwestern county, USA (Kusow et al., 1997).

⁴⁰Data from the International Crime Victimization Survey and the World Values Survey was used to examine the determinants of public support for the police in 28 countries (Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008).

⁴¹Their survey was conducted in 1995 among 365 residents of a small town in a northwestern state in the USA (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998).

⁴²They found statistically significant differences between female and male respondents regarding their satisfaction with police treatment - men were slightly more satisfied than women (Brown & Coulter, 1983).

In Slovenian context it was found that women express more favorable attitudes toward police officers and their work than men (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001⁴³; Černič, Makarovič, & Macur, 2009⁴⁴).

5.2.2 Age

Unlike the gender, age has been consistently found to determine citizens' attitudes toward the police, although there are also studies that do not support these findings (Gourley, 1954⁴⁵; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003⁴⁶; Smith & Hawkins, 1973⁴⁷). Most often, age is reported to be positively related to attitudes toward the police, with older people expressing more favorable attitudes (Gau, 2010; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Worall, 1999), which can be explained with the assumption that younger people perceive police as threatening to their independence (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998) or they may have more specific experiences with the police and can also be influenced by the youth culture (Smith & Hawkins, 1973). Nevertheless, there are some findings that suggest that younger respondents hold more positive attitudes toward the police (Larsen, 1968⁴⁸; Sims, Hooper & Peterson, 2002⁴⁹).

⁴³Compared to men, women also indicated more willingness to cooperate with the police (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001).

⁴⁴Interestingly, women indicated more trust in the police and were more satisfied with the police work than men, however men were more willing to cooperate with the police than women (Černič et al., 2009).

⁴⁵In his study Gourley (1954) found that concerning many items the attitudes of the youngest age group (17 and under) are more favourable than those of other respondents, however the most favourably inclined toward the police are people over 55 years of age, while people between the age of 18 and 44 expressed the least favourable attitudes.

⁴⁶In their research age was not a significant determinant of respondents' attitudes (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003).

⁴⁷Study was conducted as a community survey among citizens of Seattle. Findings indicate that young white people have more negative attitudes toward the police than older white people, but age has not proven to be the determinant of non-white people's attitudes toward the police (Smith & Hawkins, 1973).

⁴⁸The study was conducted among 103 students aged from 18 to 33 years, thus excluding all other age groups (Larsen, 1968).

⁴⁹Authors point out that the survey only reached people of 18 years of age or older, which might affect age-related findings.

Research among Slovenian citizens in 2001 showed that younger people have more favorable attitudes toward the police (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001), while in the research conducted in 2009, older people expressed more favorable attitudes toward the police (Černič et al., 2009).

5.2.3 Education

While the majority of researchers (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996⁵⁰; Correia et al., 1996; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; O'Connor, 2008) found no relationship between the level of education and attitudes toward the police, there are research findings supporting the assumption that less educated people are more favorable toward the police (Gourley, 1954) as well as the opposite - that higher level of education is related to positive attitudes toward the police (Jesilow et al., 1995). Gamson and McEvoy (1970), for example, found a positive relationship between education and opposition to police violence, while Webb and Katz (1997) reported that less educated respondents rated preventive community policing activities as more important.

Pagon and Lobnikar (2001) found that higher level of education is related to positive attitudes toward the police among Slovenian respondents, while research from 2009 showed, that less educated people exhibit more favorable attitudes toward the police (Černič et al., 2009).

Contextual factors

5.2.4 Fear of crime

In general, it has been found that the more people fear crime, the more likely they are to have negative attitudes toward the police and their performance. Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998) found that those residents who were more fearful held more negative attitudes toward police officers. Findings of Hawdon and Ryan's (2003) study also show that fear of victimization is inversely related to resident ratings of police effectiveness. Kutnjak Ivkovich's (2008) study findings confirmed that lower fear of crime is positively related to the public evaluations of the police ability to control crime. O'Connor (2008) also found that as a person's satisfaction with their level of

⁵⁰Study on confidence in the police was conducted on the sample of 934 residents of Cincinnati. Confidence in the police was measured by respondents' assessments of police responsiveness, caring about the neighborhood's safety, maintaining order and protecting residents against crime (Cao et al., 1996).

safety⁵¹ increases, they rate the police more favorably. Cao et al. (1996) concluded that fear of crime exert a larger effect on confidence in the police than do demographic variables. Xu, Fiedler and Flaming (2005) found that citizens' fear and perceived life quality significantly predict citizen satisfaction with the police. On the other hand, Smith and Hawkins (1973) found that threat of either property or personal victimization does not influence attitudes toward the police, which was supported by the findings of Skogan (1978) and Zevitz and Rettammel (1990).

Based on the data from International Crime Victimization Survey from 1992 (limited only to Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia) and 1997 (whole country), Pavlović (1998) found that citizens who feel safer, assess the quality of police work better.

5.2.5 Residency characteristics

The influence of urban/suburban areas on the perceptions of the police is not extensively studied, however some authors report, that residents of suburban areas hold more positive attitudes toward the police than urban residents (Kusow et al., 1997⁵²). Worall (1999), for instance, found that urban residents rated the ability of police to prevent crime lower than other residents⁵³. Gourley (1954) looked into the influence of length of residence on citizens attitudes toward police and findings show that those who resided in the city⁵⁴ for 10 years or longer held more positive attitudes toward the police than others, with the exception of those respondents, who have just moved there (and lived there up to one year) - they expressed slightly more favorable attitudes. Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998) also argue that long-term residents of well integrated and orderly neighborhoods rated police performance more favorably than short-term residents of less integrated and more disorderly

⁵¹Satisfaction with safety was used as an alternative to fear of crime (O'Connor, 2008).

⁵²In their study Kosow et al. (1997) examine whether and how race and residential location effect citizen satisfaction with the police. Their findings suggest that the residential location can best explain perceived attitudes toward the police, which is quite the opposite of the findings of previous studies that have indicated the race as the most important determinant of attitudes toward the police.

⁵³With the exception of preventing crime, residency was not the determinant of respondents attitudes toward the police in other contextual models (ability to solve crime and ability to protect one from crime) (Worall, 1999).

⁵⁴The study was conducted among residents of the City of Los Angeles (California, USA) and there was no urban/suburban classification, therefore the length of residency is the only variable we can discuss regarding residency.

neighborhoods. To the contrary, Jesilow et al. (1995) found no relation between length of residence and attitudes toward the police. Cao et al. (1996) found that community context is the most important determinant of public confidence in the police – especially residents’ perceptions of disorder seem to significantly affect their attitudes toward the police. Similarly, Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998) found significant differences concerning attitudes toward the police among residents who lived in well-integrated and orderly communities and those who lived in less integrated and disorderly communities. Crank and Giacomazzi (2007) also found that community-policing endeavors may be considerably more difficult in the low social cohesion communities compared to high social cohesion communities.

In Slovenia, Pagon and Lobnikar (2001) found that respondents who reside in the city (urban area) are the most willing to cooperate with the police.

5.2.6 Police visibility

Considerable body of research has shown that perceived police visibility positively influences attitudes toward the police. Kutnjak Ivkovich (2008) found that visibility of the police patrols is positively related to the public evaluations of the police ability to control crime. Skogan (2008⁵⁵) also found that recent police visibility led to increased confidence in the police. In their study on community policing in Chicago Skogan and Hartnett (1997) found strong positive effects of visibility on residents' assessments of the quality of police service. According to findings of Hawdon and Ryan's (2003) research, police visibility also appears to be critically important for residents’ perceptions of police effectiveness.

Among Slovenian citizens, Pavlović (1998) found that police visibility positively affects citizens’ assessment of police work. However, Meško, Fallshore, Rep and Huisman (2007) warn that public could perceive more visible police officers as a signal, that their community became unsafe. The latter can affect their feelings of safety and as stated above – the more people fear crime the more likely they are to have negatives attitudes toward the police and their performance (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Pavlović, 1998; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Xu et al., 2005).

⁵⁵ Data for his study are drawn from the residents surveys conducted within the evaluation of a community policing project in Houston, Texas in 1983 (Skogan, 2008).

5.2.7 Trust in government

Albrecht and Green (1977) argue that attitudes toward the police are a part of a broader complex and relate to the central and fundamental values of the larger legal and political systems. Findings of their study among various types of population in Utah, ZDA are supportive of this argument. Trojanowicz (1972) explains that the role and expectations of police officers, affected by changing society contribute to the public perception of police officers as an authoritarian symbol of government. Kutnjak Ivkovich (2008) also found that citizens' general support for the police is strongly related to their confidence in other government institutions. Cao and Zhao (2005) analyzed confidence in the police among citizens of Latin American countries and found that trust in the political system is the most important determinant of support for the police. Summary of findings on variables that affect citizens' attitudes is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Summary of findings on variables that affect citizens' attitudes

Variable	Authors	Major findings
Gender	Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, (1995); Kusow, Wilson, & Martin (1997); Benedict, Brown, & Bower (2000)	There are no gender differences in respondents' attitudes.
	Reisig & Giacomazzi (1998); Pagon & Lobnikar (2001); Hawdon & Ryan (2003); O'Connor (2008); Kutnjak Ivkovich (2008); Černič, Makarovič, & Macur (2009)	Women express more favorable attitudes toward police officers and their work than men.
	Gourley (1954); Brown & Coulter (1983); Correia, Reisig & Lovrich (1996)	Men express more favorable attitudes toward the police than women.
Age	Gourley (1954); Hawdon & Ryan (2003); Smith & Hawkins (1973)	Age is not found to determine citizens' attitudes toward the police.
	Gau (2010); O'Connor (2008); Reisig & Giacomazzi (1998); Worall (1999); Kutnjak Ivkovich	Older people express more favorable attitudes toward the police.

	(2008); Čerňič, Makarovič, & Macur (2009)	
	Larsen (1968); Pagon & Lobnikar (2001); Sims, Hooper & Peterson (2002)	Younger respondents hold more positive attitudes toward the police.
Education	Brown & Coulter (1983); Cao, Frank, & Cullen (1996); Correia, Reising, & Lovrich (1996); Hawdon & Ryan (2003); O'Connor (2008)	There is no relationship between the level of education and attitudes toward the police.
	Gourley (1954); Čerňič, Makarovič, & Macur (2009)	Less educated people are more favorable toward the police.
	Jesilow, Meyer & Namazzi (1995); Pagon and Lobnikar (2001)	More educated people hold more positive attitudes toward the police.
Fear of crime	Reising & Giacomazzi (1998); Hawdon & Ryan (2003); Xu, Fiedler & Flaming (2005); Kutnjak Ivkovich (2008); O'Connor (2008); Pavlović (1998)	The more people fear crime the more likely they are to have negative attitudes toward the police and their performance.
	Smith & Hawkins (1973); Skogan (1978); Zevitz & Rettammel (1990)	Threat of either property or personal victimization does not influence attitudes toward the police.
Residency	Gourley (1954); Reising & Giacomazzi (1998)	Long-term residents rated police performance more favorably than short-term residents.
	Jesilow, Meyer & Namazzi (1995)	There is no relation between length of residence and attitudes toward the police.
	Cao, Frank, & Cullen (1996); Reising & Giacomazzi (1998); Crank & Giacomazzi (2007)	Residents of well integrated and orderly neighborhoods rate police performance more favorably than those who live in less integrated communities; community-policing endeavors may be considerably more difficult in the low social cohesion communities.
	Cao, Frank, & Cullen (1996); Reising &	Residents' perceptions of disorder seem to significantly affect their attitudes toward

	Giacomazzi (1998)	the police.
Police visibility	Kutnjak Ivkovich (2008); Skogan (2008); Skogan & Hartnett (1997); Hawdon & Ryan (2003), Pavlović (1998)	Police visibility is positively related to the public evaluations of the police ability to control crime, confidence in the police, residents' assessments of the quality of police service and residents' perceptions of police effectiveness.
Trust in government	Albrecht & Green (1977); Cao & Zhao (2005); Kutnjak Ivkovich (2008)	Citizens' general support for the police is strongly related to their confidence in other government institutions.

Literature review leads us to conclude the following:

- responsibility for local safety provision has gradually shifted from the monopoly of the police down through the community to the individual community member;
- in Slovenia local safety councils were introduced to promote partnership between citizens, police and other multiagency structures;
- over the past 30 years police role has expanded from law enforcement and crime fighting to service to the community, which brought about new approaches to policing, including community policing;
- community policing is based on the belief that only close cooperation of police and citizens can improve the quality of life in the community;
- close cooperation is only possible when there is a high degree of concordance between the attitudes of police officers and citizens toward various aspects of safety provision;
- the common goal of both parties should be justified and legitimized in the context of each groups' values, norms and goals - the more congruent their values, norms and goals are, the easier it is to agree upon common goals;
- variables which have been found to determine police officers' attitudes toward community policing are age, education, years of service, participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support;
- variables which have been found to determine citizens' attitudes toward community policing are gender, age, education, fear of crime, residency (length of residency, perceived disorder, community cohesion), police visibility and trust in government;

- previous research mostly focused on police officers' and citizens' attitudes separately;
- two studies focused on examining and comparing perceptions of police officers' and citizens' attitudes - one was conducted in Australia (Beck et al., 1999) and the other in Texas, USA (Liederbach et al., 2008);
- in Slovenia only one study focused on comparing both groups' attitudes toward police and their work, however it was limited to Ljubljana, the capital city, and there was no follow up since 2001 (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001).

Present research fills the void with focusing on the direct comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward Slovene police in general, police effectiveness, citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police and some other aspects of police work. Moreover, factors which determine attitudes of Slovenian police officers and citizens are identified and examined.

6 Context of the Study: Slovenia

Slovenia is a Central European country covering 20,237 km² and bordering Italy to the west, Austria to the north, Hungary to the east, and Croatia to the south. As regards natural landscape, Slovenia is Alpine (the highest mountain is 2864 m high), Dinaric, Pannonian, and Mediterranean (with 46.6 km coastline by the Adriatic Sea). The Republic of Slovenia is a parliamentary democratic republic. National Assembly consists of 90 deputies – 88 of them are elected representatives of the parliamentary parties and two representatives are elected from the Italian and Hungarian national communities. National Council consists of 40 elected representatives of employers, employees, farmers, tradesmen, self-employed, non-commercial sector and local interest groups.

Throughout the history Slovenes were governed within various multi-national authorities: until 1918 within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and between the years 1918 and 1941 within the state of “Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs”, or, “The Kingdom of Yugoslavia”. During the Second World War (1941-1945) the territory of the present-day Slovenia was occupied by Germany, Italy, and Hungary. After the Second World War, Slovenia joined the new Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where it remained until 25 June 1991, when it gained its independence following the results of a plebiscite on the sovereignty and independence, when Slovenes overwhelmingly voted for independence. The declaration of independence was followed by a ten-day armed conflict between the combined Slovenian military and police forces on one hand, and the Yugoslav armed forces on the other. This conflict led to the departure of the Yugoslav People’s Army from Slovenia in October 1991. At the end of 1991, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia was adopted and in the following months Slovenia experienced wide international recognition. In the next two decades, Slovenia became a member of major global political, security, and economic organizations (United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Council of Europe (COE), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), etc.) and also presided over some of them (Statistical Portrait of Slovenia in the EU 2011, 2011; Government Communication Office, 2012b).

Gross domestic product per capita increased from 8,150 euros in 1995 to 18,437 euros in 2008, when Slovenia was at the peak of its GDP growth – in 2011 it was

17,620 euros (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012a). On January 1 2007 Slovenia joined the euro area and adopted the euro as its currency. Despite the fact that in times of global economic and financial crisis GDP growth nearly stopped, the number of unemployed doubled (from 4.4% in 2008 to 8.2% in 2011), and many people are already below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold (13.6% in 2011), some statistical indicators still do not perceive this (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012d). The human development index for 2011 puts Slovenia in 21st place in the world (United Nations Development Programme, 2011), and according to the Gini coefficient of inequality (0.24 in 2011⁵⁶), Slovenia is supposed to have the lowest level of social disparities in the European Union (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012).

6.1 Slovenia and its residents

According to population clock, Slovenia has 2.061.233 inhabitants, (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012b⁵⁷) the sex ratio is 1:1.02 in favor of women. According to the 2002 census, the ethnic composition of the population was as follows: Slovenians: 83.1 per cent, Croats: 1.8 per cent, Serbs: 2.0 per cent, Muslims (including Bosniaks): 1.6 per cent, Hungarians: 0.3 per cent, Italians: 0.1 per cent, others: 2.2 per cent, unknown: 8.9 per cent. The official language is Slovenian, and in the areas where indigenous minorities live the official languages are also Italian and Hungarian. The 2002 Census revealed that 58 per cent of inhabitants belong to the Roman Catholic religion. In Slovenia, there are 42 registered religious communities. The capital city is Ljubljana with 280,080 inhabitants (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012).

An average age of people living in Slovenia has grown from 32.0 in the sixties to 36.4 in 1991 and today people in Slovenia are on average 41.8 years old. From 2004 on the

⁵⁶The Gini coefficient is based on the comparison of cumulative proportions of the population against cumulative proportions of income and it ranges between 0 in the case of perfect equality and 1 in the case of perfect inequality. For comparison, in the countries of OECD Gini coefficient is 0.31 (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012).

⁵⁷Data as of October 9 2012. Data are estimated on the basis of the certain assumptions for third quarter of 2012. These are the following assumptions: a child is born every 23 minutes and 57 seconds, a person dies every 26 minutes and 16 seconds, and due to migration, the population increases by one person in 7 hours and 1 minute (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012b).

number of the elderly has been greater than the number of young people. In 2011 there were 17.5 percent people with tertiary education, one third of the population with finished technical or general upper secondary school, 23.1 percent with short-term vocational or vocational upper secondary and 24.7 people with basic education. Less than five percent of people in 2011 were without any education or with incomplete basic education. Slovenia is ranked fifth in the EU as regards the share of people aged 25–64 speaking at least one foreign language. About two thirds of people in Slovenia are fairly satisfied with their lives and 20 per cent are very satisfied, while about 13 percent of people are not satisfied.

There are 6031 settlements in Slovenia and more than a half of them (3801) are populated by 50–499 people. There are only two settlements populated with more than 50,000 people (the capital city Ljubljana and the second largest city Maribor). Population density in Slovenia (101.0 residents per km²) is lower than it is on average in European countries (116.6 km²). Half of people in Slovenia live in cities and suburban areas (Hren, 2011; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012e).

The Local Self-Government Act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) stipulates that the basic self-governing local community is a municipality, with at least 5,000 inhabitants. The authorities of a municipality comprise a mayor, a municipal council as the highest decision-making body, and a supervisory committee as a supervisor of the disposal of municipal property and public expenditure. The mayor is a directly elected official who represents and acts on behalf of the municipality, and presides over the municipal council (Government Communication Office, 2012a).

Slovenian municipalities (there are 211⁵⁸) are very heterogeneous in terms of the surface area – the smallest municipality is eighty times smaller than the largest (municipality Odranci with 7 km² versus municipality Kočevje with 555 km²), as well as in terms of the population - 312 people live in the smallest municipality (Hodoš), while 280,080 live in the largest (Ljubljana) (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2009; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012e).

⁵⁸Data as of July 1 2012 (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012c).

6.2 Slovenian National Police

The beginnings of the Slovenian police go back to the period of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when in 1849 the Gendarmerie Corps was founded. After the World War I and the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian Empire, Slovenia along with its existing gendarmerie, became a part of the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Between the years 1945 and 1991 the Slovenian police was a part of the Yugoslav police force called “Milica” (militia). At that time Slovenian police force was subordinated directly to the Slovenian Secretariat of Interior and was decentralized - police station commanders were appointed by local authorities with approval of the Secretary of the interior. After 1991, when Slovenia gained its independence, the period of institutional changes has begun - in 1992 the Militia was renamed to Police and in 1998 the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998) came into force, representing the legal basis for current police work (Kolenc, 2003; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007; Meško & Maver, 2010).

6.2.1 Police organization

Slovenian police force employs 8,808 personnel – 5,911 uniformed police officers, 1,720 non-uniformed police officers and 1,177 remaining police personnel, or one police officer for 267 inhabitants (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2012a; Police, 2012a). Slovenia belongs to the group of countries with 400–499 police officers per 100,000 inhabitants, which is a rather high police officer to population ratio (for comparison – Sweden and Finland belong to the lowest police officer to population ratio group, with the ratio under 200) (Killias et al., 2010).

According to the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998) the Slovenian police service is a body within the Ministry of the Interior and performs its tasks at three levels - national (General Police Directorate), regional (8 police directorates), and local (police stations), with its headquarters located in Ljubljana, the capital city of Slovenia. The police is headed by Director General of the Police who is a public servant, appointed and dismissed by the Government, upon the proposal of the minister of the interior. The Police Act introduced the post of Director General of the Police, while formerly the Minister of Interior was the head of police force. This position is now, at least on paper, reserved for a professional and not a political appointee (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007; Meško & Maver, 2010).

Bodies responsible for performing various tasks within General Police Directorate are Service of the Director General of the Police, Uniformed Police Directorate, Criminal Police Directorate, National Forensic Laboratory, Police Specialities Directorate, Police Academy and IT and Telecommunications Office. The Uniformed Police Directorate is responsible for coordinated, professional, efficient and lawful work of the uniformed police (Police, 2012e). The Criminal Police Directorate is a specialized division for fighting crime, which coordinates, monitors, analyzes and evaluates situations in the field of criminal offenses. It ensures effective and lawful implementation of activities against various forms of crime and cooperates closely with uniformed police officers (Police, 2012c). Within the Criminal Police Directorate, a National Bureau of Investigation was established in 2010, as a specialized criminal investigation unit with its mission to detect and investigate economic crime, corruption and other forms of serious crime. The Bureau will gradually employ around 80 investigators from within and outside the police (Jevšek & Meško, 2011; Police, 2012d).

Police stations are headed by commanders and classified according to the tasks they perform: 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). The area of each police station is divided into police districts, which comprise the jurisdiction of one or more municipalities, or only a part of the municipality. Police districts are headed by community policing officers who are responsible for preventive tasks within local communities and for implementing the social role of the police (Police, 2012b; Kolenc, 2003).

The responsibilities of the police are defined in Article 3 of the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998) and comprise the following: protecting life, personal safety and property of people; preventing, discovering and inspecting criminal offenses and minor offenses, discovering and arresting those committing criminal offenses and minor offenses, other wanted persons and their extradition to the authorized bodies as well as collecting evidence and investigating; maintaining public order; supervising and regulating traffic; protecting the state border and performing border control; performing tasks defined in aliens legislation; protecting particular persons, bodies, buildings and districts. According to the Code of Police Ethics (Police, 2008) police

officers serve the people - with this idea the list of values and virtues expressing the mission of the police begins.

6.2.2 Community policing in Slovenia

In Slovenia, community policing was introduced as part of the democratization process and the process of transferring ideas about police work from the West (Meško, 2009; Lobnikar & Meško, 2010).

However, some elements of community policing existed in the Slovenian police since the end of the World War II. According to the Act on national militia from 1946 the basic unit of national police was a militia station, and the area of the station was divided into patrol districts. Despite the centralized management one of the tasks of the militiamen was to get to know people and the environment of their station. In 1950 the combined patrolling was introduced, which enabled militiamen to be more self initiative. This form of work also influenced the establishment of information networks in patrol districts, which was important for obtaining information even when militiamen were not on the beat. In 1953 a new form of field service was introduced - the sector service. A sectoral militiaman performed work in his sector according to his own discretion, in addition to the traditional repressive tasks, he performed preventive tasks and cooperated with residents. In the sixties the area of militia station was divided into new patrol districts, which coincided with the area of newly established local communities - parts of the municipalities. Head of the patrol district was primarily responsible for public safety with an emphasis on broader and more genuine partnership with citizens in the local community. After 1976, the head of security district (former patrol district) took over a set of new tasks mostly related to the development of social self-protection and provision of public safety within his district (Police, 2012f). Described factors of the social self-protection system in the seventies represented the beginnings of the current role of community policing officer and partner cooperation in the field of security provision. Such preventive role of the police did not fully come to life at that time probably because it was institutionalized, ideologically oriented and regulatory imposed form of self-protective behavior (Kolenc, 2002; Police, 2012f).

After Slovenia gained its independence in 1991, the old practices of social supervision were abandoned and Slovenian police started to implement new foundations of police prevention and community policing. Like in many other post-communist

countries, at the declarative level the concept of community policing in Slovenia was followed along the lines of the United States and Great Britain. However, it seems that the implementation of the community policing has not been satisfactory (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007), especially its beginnings were accompanied by organizational, personnel and substantial issues (Pečar, 2002), as a consequence of the haste and the lack of understanding of the underlying philosophy and basic requirements, in particular legal regulations that do not give the police such wide discretion as in the countries of the origin of community policing (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007; Meško, 2009).

The police started to implement new foundations of police prevention and community policing in 1992 with the project of 'Public Safety', followed by the 'Police Project' in 1995. The cornerstone of the preventative police work should be constant active communication with the public which seeks to raise public safety awareness and involvement of other public services and citizens in controlling disruptive and dangerous occurrences (Žaberl, 2004). As a result of the reorganization, from 635 safety districts, 318 newly created police districts emerged in 1992 (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b; Žerak, 2004).

Before being defined in the legislation, community policing was defined in some strategic and operational documents of the Ministry of the Interior and the police. The document entitled Basic guidelines for the preparation of a medium-term plan for police development and work for the period from 2003 to 2007 (Temeljne usmeritve za pripravo srednjeročnega načrta razvoja in dela policije za obdobje od leta 2003 do 2007) (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2003b) explicitly states that the guiding principle of the Slovenian police is to perform community policing, while its mission is to help people, take care of their safety and the safety of their property, and its vision is to provide a safe life for people through partnership with individuals and communities. In the Annual work plan of the police in 2003 (Letni načrt dela policije za leto 2003) (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2003a) the strategic goal is to develop partnerships with individuals and communities, while minor goals include the establishment and development of partnership relations between the police and citizens in all local communities, constant consideration of the direction of policing in communities, and directions for implementing preventative work and the development of prevention programs for community safety.

Current Basic Guidelines for the preparation of medium-term plan for police development and work for the period from 2013 to 2017 (Temeljne usmeritve za pripravo srednjeročnega načrta razvoja in dela policije v obdobju 2013-2017) (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2012b) comprise seven strategic goals that are considered to be of key importance for further development of the police. One of the goals - establishment of co-responsibility for security provision together with local communities – stresses the preventative police work and development of partnerships with the community, along with the increased police visibility. It is emphasized that without cooperation and help from the citizens, the police is less successful, since the problems cannot be solved solely by repressive work. The current Guidelines and mandatory instructions for the preparation of the annual plan of the police work in 2012 (Usmeritve in obvezna navodila za pripravo letnega načrta dela policije v letu 2012) (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2011), similarly, dictate that the annual plan of the police work should reflect the strengthening of preventative activities and community policing as a priority, further emphasizing the need to increase police visibility and police-community partnership.

At criminal policy level, community policing in the Republic of Slovenia has been mentioned in 2006 in the Resolution on the prevention and suppression of crime (Resolucija o preprečevanju in zatiranju kriminalitete, 2006). It is stated in this document that for crime at the local level, situational preventive tasks may be successfully accomplished by the police who years ago began implementing a strategy of community policing. The emphasis is on methods and forms of work, such as consultancy, working in consultative bodies, working in police offices, the education of children and adults, and the informal ways of socializing and connecting with people. The role of the community policing officer is especially important. To achieve a greater sense of security among citizens and de-motivation of potential offenders, police officers should be physically present at the local level, and they should be integrated into the local environment (awareness of problems, personal contact with problematic people, particularly young people, verbal counseling, and warning), as well as being a good example to others. The Resolution on the national program of prevention and suppression of crime for the period 2012–2016 (Resolucija o nacionalnem programu preprečevanja in zatiranja kriminalitete za obdobje 2012-2016, 2012) states that community policing currently represents one of the central concepts in the (police) prevention of crime and reducing fear of crime.

As regards the legislative level, the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998), the Act on Local Police (Zakon o občinskem redarstvu, 2006) and the Local Self-Government Act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) deal with some aspects of the community policing and will therefore be presented. The article 21 of the Police Act (Zakon o policiji, 1998) states that the police should cooperate with local authorities, and other organizations and institutions in areas related to improving safety in local communities. The Act on Local Police (Zakon o občinskem redarstvu, 2006) dictates that municipal councils should adopt a municipal security program which is based on assessed security conditions and determines the types and scope of tasks of the local police. The article 9 provides that municipal wardens, in accordance with their tasks and powers, cooperate with police officers.

The Local Self-Government Act (Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, 2007) represents the enactment of the possibility to establish the formal form of police-local community partnership, since the article 29 enables mayors to set up consultative bodies for dealing with problems in the local community (municipality). For this purpose, councils, advisory committees, commissions, and other forms of cooperation may be established. Within several municipalities in Slovenia, there are 153 local safety councils. In most cases, mayors are the founders of local safety councils in which police officers, representatives of schools, social services, private-security companies, associations, NGOs, and private companies also cooperate (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2010). Local safety councils are part of the strategy of community policing and represent an organized way of setting priorities for crime prevention and provision of safety at the local level (Meško, 2004a; Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b; Meško, Nalla, & Sotlar, 2006).

The local safety council should be a body that unites the local community, the police, and other local interest groups in search for common solutions to improve safety at the local level. While Slovenian police has contributed a lot to the operation of local safety councils and community policing in general, the main challenge remains how to attract citizens to take part in addressing common security issues in their local communities (Meško, 2006a). Local safety councils deal with traffic safety, maintenance of public order and peace, and crime prevention. Their operation includes the analysis of the security situation in the local community, the development of safety strategies, the implementation of projects, fund raising for their own operation (since the funding for their operation is not formally guaranteed,

individual councils draw funds from the state budget, receive donations, contributions from businesses, organizations, and individuals (Kolenc, 2003)), setting up working groups at neighborhood level (e.g. residential quarters), the issue of preventative materials (leaflets, posters), organization of round tables and public forums, and raising public awareness on their work (Kolenc, 2003).

The bearers of the community policing are the community policing officers, who are responsible for cooperation with other police officers, residents, representatives of local communities, associations, organizations, businesses, institutions, bodies, and other interest groups (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b). In the scope of their own actions, which are mostly of preventive nature, they also cooperate in preventing and detecting criminal offences and offenders, identifying and monitoring crime hot spots, raising awareness of crime and violations, reminding and advising citizens on the crime prevention, lecturing in schools and kindergartens, visiting injured parties and victims, returning found or seized items, and obtaining information through interviews (Kolenc, 2003). Community policing officers' duties are defined in Police rules, Strategy of community policing, Guidelines for the implementation of preventative work, Measures to improve community-oriented policing, Basic guidelines for the preparation of a mid-term plan for police development and work for the period 2003 to 2007 (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b; Virtič & Lobnikar, 2004).

Community policing officer is considered a safety partner of the citizens, to whom he is available for advice and help. The community policing officer post is usually reserved for police officers with years of experience and communication skills. The official site of the Slovenian police⁵⁹ includes the names of all 317 community policing officers and their districts⁶⁰, basic information of their duties, their contact information, and an appeal to citizens to help create favorable safety conditions in local communities (Kolenc, 2003; Lobnikar & Meško, 2010).

Community policing is also a subject of basic police training as well as part of a special training for community policing officers, which is attended by community policing officers and police stations commanders (Meško, 2001; Mikulan, 1997)

⁵⁹<http://www.policija.si/eng/index.php>

⁶⁰A police district is a basic geographic area where community policing officers perform their duties (Kolenc, 2003).

6.2.3 Findings of research on community policing in Slovenia

As noted before, it seems that the implementation of community policing in Slovenia has not been entirely satisfactory (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005b; Meško & Klemenčič, 2007). At the very beginning, implementation process was marked by organizational, staffing, and content related problems (Pečar, 2002) and later on impeded by the poor adaptation of the imported model to Slovenian legal and social context as well as by the conceptual problems in the philosophy of community policing (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007).

In Slovenia community policing existed even before 1991, but it was more ideologically oriented, in terms of the comprehensive social and political control of citizens. During the political system of socialism all former Yugoslavia states shared the so-called System of General People's Defence and Social Self-protection. The latter can be understood as a form of the socialist community policing with cooperation between the police and local community as a crucial element of public security provision (Meško, Tominc, & Sotlar, in print). The experiences and memories of the communist regime can thus positively influence public's willingness to participate (or as Seagrave (1996: 5) states – the term community policing brings up “warm romantic images of policing from the past when police officers were viewed in a positive light”), but they can also dissuade people from participating. Particular practices are redolent of total state control, while others are commonly accepted as basic factors of community safety and the maintenance of public order (Meško & Klemenčič, 2007; Meško, 2009).

The proposals of citizens for more effective community policing refer primarily to police patrols in the local environment, the presence and accessibility of police officers in the streets, improvement of communication and cooperation between police officers and the local population, development of communication and interpersonal skills, and the improvement of the skills of police officers in cultural diversity.

These findings are derived from research on community policing in Slovenia, conducted on various samples of police officers, citizens, mayors and municipality council members from 1998 onward (Table 4). Findings illustrate an outline of Slovenian community policing development and indicate problems emerging in the process of implementation.

Table 4: Review of research on community policing in Slovenia (Jere, Sotlar, & Meško, 2012)

Title and authors	Year	Sample	Subject of research
Strah pred kriminaliteto, policijsko preventivno delo in javno mnenje o policiji [Fear of crime, police preventive work and public opinion on police] (Meško et al., 2000)	1998	Residents of Metlika, Severna Primorska region and Ljubljana (n = 343)	Fear of crime; threatening occurrences; attitudes toward police preventive work
V skupnost usmerjeno policijsko delo v mestu Ljubljana: ugotavljanje potreb za ustanovitev mestne policije ali redefiniranje dela državne policije [Community-oriented policing in the city of Ljubljana: assessment of needs to establish municipal police or to redefine state police work] (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001)	2000	Police officers (n = 95) and citizens of Ljubljana (n = 75)	Attitudes toward community-oriented policing; citizens' willingness to cooperate and perception of willingness to cooperate with the police.
Zagotavljanje varnosti v lokalni skupnosti [Security provision in local community] (Meško, 2006a)	2003 2004	Members of local safety councils (n = 178)	Establishment, performance and role of local safety councils; responsibility for solving local security issues; role of the police in crime prevention on the local level; partnership; feelings of insecurity and fear of crime.
Stališča komandirjev policijskih postaj do policijskega dela v skupnosti [Police station commanders' attitudes toward community policing] (Kosmač & Gorenak, 2004)	2004	Police station commanders (n = 53)	Satisfaction with particular work segments; satisfaction with the content of basic community policing documents; assessment of community policing officers' performance.
Raziskava o ocenah in stališčih prebivalcev obmejnih območij do dela policistov na bodoči schengenski meji	2005	Residents of Slovenian-Croatian border region (n = 533)	Attitudes toward police work - trust and satisfaction with police work; feelings of security; willingness to cooperate with the police.

[Research on residents' attitudes toward the work of police officers on future Schengen border] (Lobnikar et al., 2005)			
Razhajanje med oceno stanja in med pričakovanji ljudi do policije z območja PU Maribor [Discrepancy between citizen' assessment of the current state and their expectations from the police of Police directorate Maribor] (Virtič, 2006)	2005	Residents from the area of Police directorate Maribor (n = 1006)	Assessment of police work; feelings of security; trust in police; assessment of police legitimacy; satisfaction with police work.
Policing in a post-socialist country: critical reflections (Meško, 2006a)	2006	Police officers (n = 847)	Police professionalism; police culture; management support; communication within police organization; police perception of citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police; job satisfaction; attitudes toward community policing.
Raziskava stanja na področju v skupnost usmerjenega policijskega dela - stališča občinskih varnostnih svetov [Research on community policing - attitudes of local safety councils members] (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve [Ministry of the Interior], 2010)	2010	Municipalities where local safety councils are established (n = 117)	Community policing; members' attitudes toward cooperation between local community, police and municipality warden service.
Javnomnenjska raziskava o ocenah in stališčih prebivalcev Republike Slovenije o delu policije 2010	2010	Adult residents of Slovenia (n = 2007)	Trust in police; satisfaction with police work; opinion on police oversight; assessment of police performance; willingness to cooperate with the police; assessment of

[Public opinion survey on police work] (Černič et al., 2009)			police cooperation with local community; assessment of preventive actions.
Zagotavljanje varnosti v lokalni skupnosti [Security provision in local community] (Gorenak & Gorenak, 2011)	2010	Mayors and local safety council members (n = 520)	Assessment of police work; willingness to cooperate with the police.
CRP - Občutki ogroženosti in zagotavljanje varnosti v lokalnih skupnostih [Feelings of safety and the role of police in local security provision] (Meško et al., 2012)	2012	Police officers (581), citizens (961), police chiefs (24), mayors (24)	Extent of police engagement within local communities, police and local community partnership in the process of security issues identification and solving, existent forms of community policing, performance of local safety councils in police response to threats perceived by citizens.

In 1998 a survey was conducted among the residents of Metlika, Severna Primorska region and Ljubljana who reported their attitudes toward preventive work of the police. Findings indicate that people expect the police to cooperate with them and are also willing to participate in police work - they expressed willingness to help police officers and provide information, but they would not let police officers enter their home (Meško et al., 2000).

Finding from the study on differences between police officers and citizens of Ljubljana regarding their attitudes towards community policing and citizens' willingness to cooperate with police indicated that police officers as well as citizens are more in favor of community policing than traditional police methods. It is noteworthy, that citizens are much more willing to cooperate with the police than the latter perceive (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001).

A study on police station commanders' perspectives on community policing was conducted in 2003 (Kosmač & Gorenak, 2004). It was found that commanders are relatively satisfied with community policing officers work motivation, community policing strategy contents and crime prevention guidelines, but they are much less satisfied with the preventive work records keeping instructions. In their opinion community policing officers are well acquainted with community prevention documents and perform less repressive tasks. They estimate that police have adequate legal grounding for work in safety councils, commanders themselves are also involved in the safety councils setting up, but they feel there is too little support from local communities for work in safety councils.

Meško and Lobnikar (2005b) in their study on local safety councils found that establishing local partnership through local safety councils is a great progress toward success, however it has not yet yielded desired outcomes. The greatest burden of responsibility for problem solving still lies on the police. According to respondents, the police are seen as having the greatest responsibility for local crime control and safety problems, followed by the local city administration, individuals, schools, social services and family. Respondents are of the opinion that impediments for successful performance of local safety councils are related to unclearly defined roles of the participants, incomprehension of partnership, lack of interest and centralization. Authors also found that preventive activities on a local level have more effect on the

reduction of fear of crime than on actual reduction of crime and disorder in local communities.

In 2005 a survey on attitudes toward police work was conducted among residents of Slovenian-Croatian border region (before the implementation of Schengen regime). Respondents expressed the need for better cooperation, communication and help from the police. Findings show that respondents are generally quite willing to cooperate with the police, with the exception of activities that traditionally do not involve citizen cooperation - joint patrols, assessment of effectiveness and legitimacy of police work (Lobnikar et al., 2005).

Findings of a study on discrepancy between citizen' assessment of the current state and their expectations from the police conducted in 2005 among residents from the area of Police directorate Maribor show, that people are satisfied with the work of police, but police officers still do not entirely meet their expectations. However, more than one half of respondents are willing to cooperate with the police (Virtič, 2006).

The results of the study on the professionalism of the Slovenian police (Meško, 2006b) show that almost two thirds of police officers in a sample of more than 900 police officers responded that community policing is not a waste of time and is useful for the police and people in the communities. All community policing officers answered positively to this question. The problems they mentioned were that there are few people willing to cooperate with the police in solving problems in the neighborhoods where they live (28 per cent) and even less people are willing to cooperate in providing information in the investigation of crime (21 per cent), but in somewhat greater numbers they are ready to call the police and inform when they see something suspicious (35 per cent). The problem reported by the community policing officers is the lack of police officers at police stations, which means that the community policing officers also perform other police functions and therefore have limited time for community policing.

In the beginning of 2010 Ministry of the Interior sponsored survey on public opinion of the police (Černič et al., 2009), which results are similar to those of previous public opinion surveys and show that citizens are satisfied with the police-local community cooperation. Police officers' effort in problem solving is rated very high, while police

visibility received the lowest rates. Cooperation between community policing officers and residents is satisfying and the level of public trust in the police is rather high (3.50 in range from 1 to 5, with higher value indicating higher level).

Under the auspices of Ministry of the Interior in 2010 analysis of safety councils members' perspectives on various aspects of cooperation between local community, police and municipal warden service was conducted (Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve, 2010). Members of local safety councils reported that they usually meet from once to three times a week, in their opinion police is the first in line to provide safety on the local level, followed by municipal warden service and private security companies.

In 2010 a study on local security provision was conducted among mayors and local safety council members from 42 Slovenian municipalities. Among various areas (satisfaction with police work, police effectiveness, feelings of safety, willingness to cooperate with the police, police-community cooperation, interpersonal competencies of police officers) they rated willingness to cooperate with the police very high, while police-community cooperation and feelings of safety received lower ratings (Gorenak & Gorenak, 2011).

In 2012 a nationwide research among Slovenian citizens and police officers was conducted on quality of life in local communities, perception of threats, community policing and various aspects of local safety provision. Both police officers and citizens perceive factors of uncertainty (unemployment, poverty), illegal drugs and alcohol, organized crime and threats to traffic safety as the most threatening to the local safety, however citizens in general feel safe. Citizens exhibit the highest level of trust in their families and friends, fire fighters and rescue services, while police officers trust the police the most. Based on the interviews with police chiefs, community policing officers and mayors it was found that cooperation between police and municipality administration exists mainly on informal bases, depending on the willingness of individual mayor, police chief, community policing officer and others. Mayors rate community policing very high, while police chiefs and community policing officers stress that community policing should be the priority of all police officers not only community policing officers (Meško et al., 2012).

In summary, research on various aspects of police work in Slovenia include police training and education, professionalism and police ethics, legitimacy, police

deviance, police procedures, plural policing, police organization, police stress, job satisfaction, police integrity and community policing. However, what is not addressed is the comparison of police officers' and residents' attitudes toward police work and local safety provision. The study from 2001 (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001) is the only exception, but yet it was limited to the area of Ljubljana and there was no follow up since then. Thus, the focus of the dissertation is to compare police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward various aspects of local safety provision, with the emphasis on community policing. We pose the main research question: *What degree of concordance exists between the attitudes of citizens and police officers in terms of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia with a focus on community policing that calls for a significant degree of cooperation between police officers and citizens?*

7 Method

This study examines police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward various aspects of local safety provision in Slovenia. It focuses on three main components:

- citizens' attitudes toward provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia;
- police officers' attitudes toward provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia; and
- comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia.

The following research question guides our study:

What degree of concordance exists between the attitudes of citizens and police officers in terms of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia with a focus on community policing that calls for a significant degree of cooperation between police officers and citizens?

Within the comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes, areas of the highest and the lowest degree of concordance between attitudes are identified and examined. The foci of our further analysis are the factors which influence citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Effects of gender, age, education, fear of crime and residency characteristics on citizens' attitudes will be examined; and effects of age, education, participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support on police officers' attitudes will be examined.

7.1 Limitations

Group of respondents consisted of police officers from police stations throughout Slovenia and residents of municipalities, which are under the jurisdiction of individual police station. All the respondents participated in the survey only on a voluntary basis, which limits the knowledge acquired from this research to those respondents who were willing to participate, and their individual motivation. Empirical part of the study is conducted among residents of Slovenia, which limits the generalization of the results to Slovenian national context.

Among possible methodological limitations it is worth mentioning that Slovenian municipalities are very heterogeneous in terms of the surface area – the smallest

municipality is eighty times smaller than the largest, as well as in terms of the population - 312 people live in the smallest Slovenian municipality, while 280.080 live in the largest (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2009; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012e).

Very limited number of studies, dealing with direct comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes presented a challenge in defining common areas to conduct reasonable comparisons of both groups' attitudes.

Despite the extensive body of international research on police officers' and citizens' attitudes respectively, there is a lack of data on attitudes of Slovenian police officers and citizens toward various aspects of local safety provision. This was acknowledged as a significant obstacle in finding a meaningful relationship between predictor variables and outcome variable for a specific national context. It presents the need for further research on possible determinants of Slovenian police officers' and citizens' attitudes.

7.2 Hypotheses

On the basis of the literature review and previous research findings three groups of hypotheses are proposed:

- hypothesis regarding comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes;
- hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on citizens' attitudes, and
- hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on police officers' attitudes.

7.2.1 Citizens' and police officers' attitudes

As early as in 1829, when Sir Robert Peel established the London Metropolitan Police, he was already aware that “the police are the public and the public are the police” (Miller & Hess, 2002: 15). When citizen believe the police share their moral values, they comply with the police more fully and cooperate with them more strongly (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003a). According to normative sponsorship theory, developed by Sower et al. (1957) and linked up with police-community relations by Trojanowicz (1972), a community program will only be sponsored when it is normative to all parties involved. Each of the parties involved must be able to justify and legitimize

the common goal in the context of its own values, norms and goals. The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of participating parties are, the easier it is to agree upon common goals. Based on this theoretical background, we hypothesize that police officers and citizens have similar attitudes toward various aspects of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia (H_1).

H_1 : High degree of concordance exists between the attitudes of citizens and police officers toward various aspects of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia.

7.2.2 Determinants of citizens' attitudes

The existing body of research on public attitudes toward police officers and police work shows that various individual level and contextual level characteristics of the respondents more or less considerably influence their attitudes. A handful of prior research indicates that the following variables have been found to influence attitudes toward the police: gender, age, education, length of residency (*individual level variables*), fear of crime, community cohesion, disorder in community, police visibility and trust in government (*contextual level variables*) (hypothesis H_2). However, there remains a need for further research on these and other variables as well as on their interactive effects (Brown & Benedict, 2002).

H_2 : Gender, age, education, length of residency, perceived disorder, community cohesion, fear of crime, police visibility and trust in the government are the variables that affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Although some of the previous research findings on the effects of gender on attitudes toward the police are ambiguous, there are quite a few studies which found that women express more favorable attitudes toward police officers and their work than men (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998), including studies among Slovenian citizens (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001; Černič et al., 2009). Based on these findings, hypothesis H_{2a} was generated.

H_{2a} : Women exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than men.

Age has been consistently found to determine citizens' attitudes toward the police and most often in a positive direction, which means, that older people express more favorable attitudes (Gau, 2010; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Reisig &

Giacomazzi, 1998; Worall, 1999;). Findings of two Slovenian studies are mixed – study among Slovenian citizens in 2001 showed that younger people have more favorable attitudes toward the police (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001), while in the research conducted in 2009, older people expressed more favorable attitudes toward the police (Černič et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the assumptions of why younger citizens hold less positive attitudes toward the police seem very reasonable. Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998) suggest that younger people perceive police as threatening to their independence and Smith and Hawkins (1973) note that young people may have more specific experiences with the police or can also be influenced by the youth culture. These ascertainments led to the hypothesis H_{2b}.

H_{2b}: Older citizens exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than younger citizens.

Quite a few previous research findings, proved no relationship between the level of education and attitudes toward the police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao et al., 1996; Correia et al., 1996; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; O'Connor, 2008). However, two Slovenian studies reveal adverse effects of age. Pagon and Lobnikar (2001) found that higher level of education is related to positive attitudes toward the police among Slovenian respondents, while research from 2009 showed, that less educated people exhibit more favorable attitudes toward the police (Černič et al., 2009). As our outcome variable relates to community policing, we took into consideration the work of Webb and Katz (1997), who reported that less educated respondents rated preventive community policing activities as more important. Based on these findings, hypothesis H_{2c} was generated.

H_{2c}: Less educated citizens exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than more educated citizens.

Most of the previous research findings, including the study among Slovenian citizens (Pavlović, 1998) show, that the more people fear crime, the more likely they are to have negative attitudes toward the police and their performance (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998). Hypothesis H_{2d} was generated based on abovementioned findings.

H_{2d}: Citizens who feel safe in their communities exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than citizens who do not feel safe.

Among other community-level variables, length of residency has been found to positively affect citizens' attitudes toward police and their work (Gourley, 1954; Reisig and Giacomazzi, 1998). This is perhaps connected to the fact that becoming a coherent part of community takes time and lack of perceived community cohesion is related to less favorable attitudes toward police (Cao et al., 1996; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Crank and Giacomazzi, 2007). Similarly, residents of disorderly communities tend to hold less positive attitudes toward police and their work (Cao et al., 1996; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998). Hypotheses H_{2e}, H_{2f} and H_{2g} are generated based on these findings.

H_{2e}: Long-term community residents hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than short-term residents.

H_{2f}: Citizens who perceive disorder in their communities hold less positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than those who believe they live in orderly communities.

H_{2g}: Residents of high social cohesion communities tend to hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than residents of the low social cohesion communities.

Police visibility has consistently been found to positively influence citizens' attitudes toward the police (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; Skogan, 2008; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997), also in the Slovenian context (Pavlović, 1998).

H_{2h}: Citizens who believe the police are visible hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than those who do not perceive the police as visible.

Albrecht and Green (1977) argue that attitudes toward the police are a part of a broader complex and relate to the central and fundamental values of the larger legal and political systems. Accordingly, citizens' support for the police is strongly related to their confidence in other government institutions. This assumption has been supported by the findings of their own (Albrecht & Green, 1977) and other studies (Cao and Zhao, 2005; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008). Hypothesis H_{2i} is based on these findings.

H_{2i}: Citizens who exhibit high levels of trust in the government hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than those who exhibit low levels of trust in the government.

7.2.3 Determinants of police officers' attitudes

Police officers' attitudes toward community policing have been studied quite extensively and were found to be affected by various factors. While some police officers accept community policing, others refuse it, as they believe it has nothing in common with the "real" police work (Meško et al., 2000). It also gets labeled as "social work", the job of "empty holster guys", and not of "real police officers". Skogan and Hartnett (1997: 12). Police officers are usually skeptical toward the initiatives coming from outside the police because they believe that outsiders (civilians) cannot possibly understand their work (Oliver & Bartgis, 1998). The reluctance of police officers to community policing, often stems from a general resistance to reforms and changes coming from management (Sadd & Grinc, 1996). Given the fact that community policing is a change in police philosophy administration and leadership are key factors for internal changes (Oliver and Bartgis, 1998).

Based on the findings from previous research it can be concluded that age, education, participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support may determine police officers attitudes toward community policing (hypothesis H₃).

H₃: Age, education, participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support are the variables that affect attitudes of Slovene police officers toward police effectiveness in community policing.

It was found that older police officers hold more favorable attitudes toward community policing (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994) and citizen support (Moon & Zager, 2007). Older police officers were also found to be much more ready for the change from traditional to community policing than their younger colleagues (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). Based on these findings, hypothesis H_{3a} was generated.

H_{3a}: Older police officers exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than their younger colleagues.

Brooks et al. (1993) found that police officers with at least some college tend to be more service-oriented and more likely to believe that the community supports them compared to their colleagues without any college at all. According to the findings from a study, conducted in 2001, the same holds true for Slovenian police officers – more educated police officers express more favorable attitudes toward community policing (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001). These findings represent the basis for hypothesis H_{3b}.

H_{3b}: Police officers with higher level of education exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

The nature of community policing requires flattened organizational structure with decentralized authority (Kelling & Wycoff, 2001) and police officers in the role of consultants, facilitators and supporters of community initiatives (Trojanowicz et al., 2002). Findings of the three-year study of community policing in Madison, Wisconsin, conducted by Wycoff and Skogan (1993, 1994) indicate that participatory management can influence the shift in police officers' attitudes from traditional policing toward community policing. Findings of other studies have similarly (Lord & Friday, 2008; Adams et al., 2002) shown that participatory management is significant determinant of positive attitudes toward community policing. Hypothesis H_{3c} is based on these theoretical and empiric ascertainments.

H_{3c}: Police officers who believe their agency utilizes participatory management style exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Given the fact that community policing is a change in police philosophy administration and leadership are key factors for internal changes that affect police behavior (Oliver and Bartgis, 1998). Engel and Worden (2003) found positive relationship between organizational support and police officers attitudes toward community policing, moreover, even officers who are in favor of community policing philosophy will rarely practice it if they miss organizational support they need, or if they are confronted with organizational impediments. Hypothesis H_{3d} was generated according to abovementioned findings.

H_{3d}: Police officers who perceive organizational support exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Halsted et al. (2000) note that if police officers are not satisfied with their job, their willingness to accept and conform to the community policing ideals may be seriously jeopardized (hypothesis H_{3e}). Among organizational variables that were proven to strongly positively affect job satisfaction are innovative culture, trust in leadership (Yang & Kassekert, 2009) and job autonomy (Zhao et al., 1999; Johnson, 2012).

H_{3e}: Police officers who are satisfied with their job exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Perceived community support was found to be positively associated with service orientation (Brooks et al., 1993). Officers who perceive citizens as respectful are also found to be more pro-active compared to those who believe that citizens are disrespectful (Worden, 1989). Nalla et al. (2010) found that officers derive job satisfaction from the perceived citizen cooperation, which means that officers who believe citizens are more cooperative, are more satisfied with their job. Hypothesis H_{3f} was generated on the basis of these findings.

H_{3f}: Police officers who perceive community support exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

7.3 Survey Construction

For the purposes of this research two questionnaires were designed; one for police officers and one for citizens. First part of both questionnaires was constructed to ask several questions about attitudes toward various aspects of local safety provision and these questions are the same for both police officers and citizens. Broad range of questions regarding provision of safety on the local level includes:

- General perceptions of the police:

Respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with five statements on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Police effectiveness in protecting life:

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property (4 items) on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “Insufficient” (1) to “Excellent” (5).

- Legality of police work:

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness in ensuring legality of their work (4 items) on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “Insufficient” (1) to “Excellent” (5).

- Police effectiveness in detecting and investigating crime:

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness in detecting and investigating crime (6 items) on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “Insufficient” (1) to “Excellent” (5).

- Police effectiveness in community policing:

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness in various fields of their work, which can be defined as community policing activities (7 items) on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “Insufficient” (1) to “Excellent” (5).

- Willingness to cooperate in basic police activities:

Citizens were asked to rate how willing they are to cooperate with the police in basic police activities (6 items) and police officers were asked to rate how they believe citizens are willing to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “Not at all willing” (1) to “Very willing” (5).

- Willingness to cooperate in community building:

Citizens were asked to rate how willing they are to cooperate with the police in community building activities (5 items) and police officers were asked to rate how they believe citizens are willing to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Not at all willing” (1) to “Very willing” (5).

- Willingness to cooperate in oversight and guidance of police activities:

Citizens were asked to rate how willing they are to cooperate with the police in oversight and guidance of police activities (4 items) and police officers were asked to rate how they believe citizens are willing to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Not at all willing” (1) to “Very willing” (5).

- Community orientation:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree regarding various community oriented police activities (5 items) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Traditional orientation:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree regarding various “traditionally” oriented police activities (4 items) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

In the second part of the questionnaire for citizens, respondents were asked about the following:

- Feelings of safety/fear of crime:

To measure how safe they feel in their communities respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement *I feel safe in this community* on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Community cohesion:

Respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with several statements regarding community cohesion (5 items). Responses ranged from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of perceived community cohesion.

- Disorder in community:

Respondents were asked to rate whether a certain phenomenon is an issue in their community and how serious it is (5 items) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Not an issue at all” (1) to “Very serious” (5).

- Police visibility:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement *Slovene police are just enough visible* on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Trust in government:

Respondents were asked to express the level of their trust in government on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Completely distrust” (1) to “Completely trust” (5).

In the second part of the questionnaire for police officers, respondents were asked about the following:

- Participatory management:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with various statements regarding participatory management (5 items) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Organizational support:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with various statements regarding organizational support (6 items) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Community support:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with various statements regarding community support (7 items) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

- Job satisfaction:

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement *I am satisfied with my job* on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

In the last part, both questionnaires contained questions on demographics:

- Gender
- Age
- Education
- Monthly income
- Work status (citizens only)

- Length of residency on the current address (citizens only)
- Size of the community (citizens only)
- Time on the police force (police officers only)

7.4 Data collection

To measure police officers' and citizens' attitudes, two surveys were conducted in the period between November 2011 and January 2012 - one among police officers and one among citizens. Before filling out the survey, all respondents were informed that their participation was voluntary and that the information they provided was completely anonymous.

To conduct survey among police officers we asked each selected police station commander to arrange a meeting with police officers at their police station where they would fill in the questionnaire after our basic explanation and instructions. It was then agreed to conduct survey among police officers during their regular working meetings in order to ensure their presence and avoid time pressure they might experience when completing the questionnaire.

Questionnaires for citizens were administered among random residents of selected municipalities. After our basic explanation and instructions, questionnaires were left with the respondents for some time (from few hours up to one day) and then picked up as previously agreed with each respondent.

7.5 Sample

Our sample of citizens comprises Slovenian residents aged 18 and over, and a random sample of police officers was drawn from the population of all Slovenian police officers. Strata are defined by the areas of (8) police departments and by the municipality type (one small, one medium and one large municipality), meaning that the sample comprises police officers from 24 police stations and residents of 24 Slovenian municipalities, which are under the jurisdiction of individual police station. Within selected municipalities 1200 questionnaires were administered and selected police stations employ 1216 police officers. Nine hundred and fifty-nine citizens completed the questionnaire, representing 80 percent response rate and five hundred and eighty-one police officers returned completed questionnaires, representing 48 percent response rate. Overall, 1540 useable questionnaires were received from both groups of respondents, representing 64 percent response rate.

The respondents' socio-demographic characteristics are presented in Table 5. The proportions of police officers regarding gender, education and age match the structure of Slovenian police organization - there are 14.6 percent of female police officers in our sample, the majority of respondents (almost three quarters) have finished high school and one quarter have more than a high school education, a half of respondents report their monthly income is much or partly lower than average monthly income in Slovenia and one third of them report it is approximately equal. Three quarters of the respondents is between 21 and 40 years old. Socio-demographic characteristics of citizens approximately match the census of Slovenian residents - about half of respondents are female, more than a half have finished high school, one third have more than a high school education, a half of respondents report their monthly income is much or partly lower than average monthly income in Slovenia, while a little less than one third report it is partly or much higher. Sixty percent of respondents are between 21 and 50 years old.

Table 5: General characteristics of respondents (Police Officers and Citizens)

Variable	Value	Police (%) (N = 581)	Citizens (%) (N = 959)
Gender	1 Male	85.4	45.3
	2 Female	14.6	54.7
Education	1 Unfinished elementary school	0.2	0.4
	2 Finished elementary school	0.3	9.7
	3 Finished high school	72.6	54.2
	4 Higher vocational education	8.7	10.0
	5 First cycle professional and academic education	16.7	24.1
	6 Second and third cycle (Master and Doctor of Science)	1.6	1.6
Monthly Income	1 Much lower	25.3	21.0
	2 Partly lower income	25.5	27.3
	3 Approximately equal	32.6	18.3
	4 Partly higher	12.1	17.5
	5 Much higher	1.2	13.3
	6 do not want to answer	3.3	2.7
Age	1 20 years and younger	0.0	10.6
	2 21–30	35.0	28.3
	3 31–40	41.3	15.3
	4 41–50	22.0	18.6
	5 51–60	1.8	13.7
	6 61–70	0.0	8.3
	7 71–80	0.0	4.6
	8 81 years and older	0.0	0.6
Length of residency	1 5 years or less	/	6.6
	2 6–15 years	/	10.0
	3 16–25 years	/	29.9
	4 26–35 years	/	21.3
	5 36–45 years	/	13.4
	6 46 years or more	/	18.9

7.6 Analytic Strategy

Study is based on quantitative methodology and analyses were supported by SPSS 21.0 software. Since the sample contained a large number of units we first performed factor analysis to reduce the number of variables. A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on selected items with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO⁶¹) measure was used for the sampling adequacy for the analysis and Bartlett's test of sphericity was used to indicate whether the correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. Reliability analysis was used to measure the consistency of a questionnaire by running separate reliability analyses for all subscales of the questionnaire (considering the value of Cronbach's alpha⁶²). In addition to the value of factor loadings, tables contain factor and variables means, standard deviations along with value of KMO and Cronbach's Alpha. As we are foremost interested in the existence and extent of statistically significant differences between police officers' and citizens' attitudes, we performed t-test to compare the actual difference between both groups' means in relation to the variation in the data.

To explore the effects of different factors (variables) on citizens' and police officers' attitudes respectively, multiple regression was conducted. The predictor variables were chosen on the basis of theory and previous research findings and we had no intention to enter the variables in a certain order, so we used forced entry as a method of regression, because it enables all predictors to be forced into the model simultaneously. Independent errors assumption is tested with Durbin-Watson statistics and the assumption of no multicollinearity is assessed by variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance statistics (Field, 2009).

7.7 Description of the variables

Independent and dependent variables are presented in the following chapters. In the first part of the present research, we compare citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward Slovene police in general, police effectiveness in various activities, willingness to cooperate with the police and various aspects of police work.

⁶¹ According to Kaiser (in Field, 2009) and Hutcheson and Sofroniou (in Field, 2009) the KMO statistic varies between 0 and 1 with bare minimum of 0.5, values between 0.5 and 0.7 are mediocre, values between 0.7 and 0.8 are good, values between 0.8 and 0.9 are great and values above 0.9 are superb.

⁶² Cronbach's Alpha values around 0.8 are satisfactory (Field, 2009).

In the second part we examine the impact of various factors on citizens' and police officers' perceptions of community policing respectively.

To compare citizens' and police officers' attitudes, the analysis included 50 items that formed 10 scales measuring both groups' attitudes toward police in general, police effectiveness, citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police and various aspects of police work.

General perceptions of the police

Respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with five statements on a 5-point Likert scale (1-Strongly disagree; 5-Strongly agree). Items are related to police successfulness in protecting people, considering people's needs, informing public, police role in security provision and their motivation for solving people's problems. Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in

Table 6.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.85 and reliability – with Cronbach's alpha of 0.86.

Table 6: General perceptions of the police

SLOVENE POLICE:			
Variables	FL	Mean	SD
...successfully protect people.	0.87	3.23	1.06
...take account of people's needs and concerns.	0.82	3.02	1.11
...objectively inform the public.	0.80	3.05	1.03
...have the leading role in security provision.	0.80	3.56	1.17
...are motivated for solving people's problems.	0.72	3.07	1.03

KMO - 0.85 ; α - 0.86

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

Effectiveness in protecting life

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness (on a 5-point Likert scale; 1-Insufficient; 5-Excellent) in various fields of their work comprising protecting life, personal safety and property, which are among tasks defined by Police Act (Zakon o

Policiji, 1998). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 7.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.81 and high reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.90.

Table 7: Police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property

PROTECTING LIFE, PERSONAL SAFETY AND PROPERTY		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.46	0.92
Protecting personal safety	0.93	3.48	1.02
Protecting life	0.92	3.67	1.01
Protecting people’s property	0.88	3.22	1.01
Quick response to emergency calls	0.81	3.49	1.12
KMO – 0,81 ; α – 0,90			

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

Legality of police work

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness in ensuring legality of their work (on a 5-point Likert scale; 1-Insufficient; 5-Excellent). Scales comprises items relating to respecting human rights, lawful conduct, complaints resolution and transparency of police operations. Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.76 and high reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.89.

Table 8: Legality of police work

LEGALITY OF POLICE WORK		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.33	0.89
Respecting human rights	0.87	3.45	1.08
Lawful conduct	0.87	3.49	1.02
Complaints resolution procedure	0.86	3.18	1.06
Providing transparency of their operations	0.84	3.19	0.94
KMO – 0,76; α – 0,89			

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

Effectiveness in detecting and investigating crime

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness (on a 5-point Likert scale; 1-Insufficient; 5-Excellent) in various fields of their work comprising detecting and investigating crime, which are among tasks defined by Police Act (Zakon o Policiji, 1998). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.85 and high reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.88.

Table 9: Police effectiveness in detection and investigation

DETECTION AND INVESTIGATION		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	2.98	0.74
Detecting and arresting offenders	0.87	3.10	0.92
Investigation of crime	0.85	3.12	0.89
Evidence collection	0.85	3.10	0.87
Detecting and arresting wanted persons	0.81	3.11	0.88
Detecting of corruption	0.71	2.70	1.03
Economic crime investigation	0.70	2.73	0.99
KMO – 0,85; α – 0,88			

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

Police effectiveness in community policing

Respondents were asked to rate police effectiveness (on a 5-point Likert scale; 1-Insufficient; 5-Excellent) in various fields of their work, which can be defined as community policing activities (this scale is more extensively described in chapter 7.7.1). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 10.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.87 and high reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.88.

Table 10: Perceptions of community policing

COMMUNITY POLICING		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.15	0.74
Reducing fear of crime	0.81	3.14	0.96
Cooperation with people in local community	0.81	3.13	1.02
Preventing vandalism	0.78	2.97	0.94
Crime prevention	0.79	3.27	1.03
Reducing the number of repeated calls from the same address	0.72	2.96	0.91
Preventing drug abuse	0.73	2.94	0.98
Assisting in civil protection and disaster relief	0.70	3.62	0.97
KMO – 0,87; α – 0,88			

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

Willingness to cooperate in basic police activities

Citizens were asked to rate how willing they are to cooperate with the police and police officers were asked to rate how they believe citizens are willing to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Not at all willing” (1) to “Very willing” (5). Basic police activities are defined in the Police Act (Zakon o Policiji, 1998). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 11.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.85 and high reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.88.

Table 11: Willingness to cooperate with the police in basic police activities

BASIC POLICE ACTIVITIES		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	2.92	0.83
Cooperate in preventing minor offences (e.g. traffic offences)	0.87	2.95	1.10
Cooperate in preventing criminal offenses	0.86	3.01	1.12
Cooperate in maintaining public order	0.86	2.93	1.10
Cooperate in crime investigation	0.78	2.69	1.12
Patrol together with the police	0.68	2.28	1.18
Cooperate in crime prevention	0.67	3.15	1.09
KMO – 0.85; α - 0.88			

1=Not at all willing; 5=Very willing

Willingness to cooperate in community building

Citizens were asked to rate how willing they are to cooperate with the police and police officers were asked to rate how they believe citizens are willing to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Not at all willing” (1) to “Very willing” (5). Community building scale comprises identification of security related problems in community, neighborhood watch, police-community partnerships, community policing projects and informal gathering of police and community in sport or culture events. Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 12.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.84 and high reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.90.

Table 12: Willingness to cooperate with the police in community building

COMMUNITY BUILDING		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.07	0.91
Cooperate in identification of security problems in the community	0.86	3.08	1.03
Cooperate in neighborhood watch	0.85	3.03	1.10
Cooperate in establishment of police-local community partnership	0.85	3.04	1.04
Cooperate in promotion of community policing projects	0.84	3.02	1.09
Cooperate in informal gathering of community and police (sport, culture)	0.83	3.20	1.11

KMO – 0.84; α – 0.90

1=Not at all willing; 5=Very willing

Willingness to cooperate in oversight and guidance of police activities

Citizens were asked to rate how willing they are to cooperate with the police and police officers were asked to rate how they believe citizens are willing to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Not at all willing” (1) to “Very willing” (5). Items comprising this scale are based on the ideas borrowed from the study on community policing in Ljubljana, conducted by Pagon and Lobnikar (2001). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 13.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.78 and reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.87.

Table 13: Willingness to cooperate in oversight and guidance

OVERSIGHT AND GUIDANCE		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	2.90	0.99
Cooperate in oversight of police work	0.89	2.92	1.26
Cooperate in police performance evaluation	0.88	2.94	1.18
Cooperate in defining objectives of police work in local community	0.86	2.99	1.08
Cooperate in local safety council	0.77	2.76	1.11

KMO – 0.78; α – 0.87

1=Not at all willing; 5=Very willing

Community orientation

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree regarding various aspects of police work on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5). Items comprising Community orientation scale (*Quality of police work significantly influences the quality of life in community; Police officers have to be accountable to the citizens for their acts*) are based on a study among Slovenian police officers in 2006 (Nalla et al., 2007; Nalla, 2009; Nalla et al., 2010) and on the study conducted by Halsted et al. (2000) (*Community crime problems can be solved by cooperation between law enforcement and local non-criminal justice agencies; Police officers should try to solve the non-crime problems identified by citizens; Assisting citizens in need is just as important as enforcing the law*)

Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 14.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.76 and reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.72.

Table 14: Community orientation

COMMUNITY ORIENTATION		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.61	0.71
Assisting citizens in need is just as important as enforcing the law.	0.74	4.12	0.94
Police officers should try to solve the non-crime problems identified by citizens.	0.73	3.40	1.06
Quality of police work significantly influences the quality of life in community.	0.72	3.52	0.96
Police officers have to be accountable to the citizens for their acts.	0.71	3.61	1.20
Community crime problems can be solved by cooperation between law enforcement and local non-criminal justice agencies.	0.54	3.40	0.99
KMO - 0.76; α - 0.72			

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

Traditional orientation

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree regarding various aspects of police work on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5). Items comprising Traditional orientation scale (*If police officer is friendly, people take advantage of him; Enforcing the law is by far a police officers’ most important responsibility; The best police officers are repressive*) are based on a study among Slovenian police officers in 2006 (Nalla et al., 2007; Nalla, 2009) and on studies conducted by Brooks et al. (1993) and Sunshine and Tyler (2003a) (*If we give enough power to the police, they will be able to effectively control crime*).

Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 15.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.62 and reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.66.

Table 15: Traditional orientation

TRADITIONAL ORIENTATION		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	2.90	0.77
Enforcing the law is by far a police officers' most important responsibility.	0.75	3.13	1.09
The best police officers are repressive.	0.67	2.37	1.11
If we give enough power to the police, they will be able to effectively control crime.	0.67	3.40	1.11
If police officer is friendly, people take advantage of him.	0.65	2.70	1.17
KMO - 0.62; α - 0.66			

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

7.7.1 Citizens' attitudes

Considering that in Slovenia police officers are the main bearers of local safety efforts with community policing as the main philosophy of policing, the goal of second part of the research is to examine the impact of various factors on citizens' perceptions of community policing, more specifically - their attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Within the philosophy of community policing reactive model of policing is replaced by a proactive approach to crime, disorder and other upsetting circumstances (Meško et al., 2007; Schaefer Morabito, 2010), which were found to concerned citizens the most (items in Table 16: *preventing vandalism; crime prevention; reducing the number of repeated calls from the same address; preventing drug abuse; assisting in civil protection and disaster relief*). The main principle of community policing is cooperation between police and local community (Miller & Hess, 2002; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997; Trojanowicz et al., 2002) (item in Table 16: *cooperation with people in local community*). Community policing efforts should lead to reducing crime and disorder as well as the level of fear of crime, which is also a measure of community policing efficiency (Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988; Meško et al., 2007; Lobnikar & Meško, 2010) (item in Table 16: *reducing fear of crime*).

Therefore, the *dependent variable* in the analysis consists of a seven item Likert scale asking respondents to rate police effectiveness in community policing activities. Responses ranged from "Insufficient" (1) to "Excellent" (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of positive perceptions of community policing across all items. Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 16, with KMO of 0.86 and Cronbach's alpha of 0.87.

Table 16: Citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing

COMMUNITY POLICING		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	2.92	0.70
Reducing fear of crime	0.78	3.14	0.96
Cooperation with people in local community	0.79	3.13	1.02
Crime prevention	0.77	3.27	1.03
Preventing vandalism	0.75	2.97	0.94
Reducing the number of repeated calls from the same address	0.72	2.96	0.91
Assisting in civil protection and disaster relief	0.70	3.62	0.97
Preventing drug abuse	0.69	2.94	0.98
KMO – 0,87; α – 0,87			

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

The first set of *independent variables* comprises individual level factors: gender, age, education and length of residency (Table 5). The second set of independent variables measures fear of crime, community cohesion and disorder in the community. To measure fear of crime respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement *I feel safe in this community*. Frequencies (in percent) are presented in Table 17.

Table 17: Fear of crime

Variable	Value	Citizens (%) (N = 961)
I feel safe in this community	1 Strongly disagree	2.4
	2 Disagree	6.2
	3 Neither	19.8
	4 Agree	33.9
	5 Strongly agree	37.7

Community cohesion consists of 5 item Likert scale asking respondents to express their agreement or disagreement with several statements. Responses ranged from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of perceived community cohesion. Scale is borrowed from McKee’s (2001) community policing evaluation survey (*If I were sick, I could count on my neighbors to shop for me at the supermarket, go to the drug store, etc.; When I am away from*

home, I can count on some of my neighbors to keep their eyes open for possible trouble; If I had to borrow 25 € for an emergency, I could turn to my neighbors; The people in this area work together to solve problems; People in this community know each other well enough to ask each other a favor). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 18, with KMO of 0.88 and Cronbach's alpha of 0.94.

Table 18: Community cohesion

COMMUNITY COHESION			
Variables	FL	Mean	SD
		3.46	0.88
People in this community know each other well enough to ask each other a favor.	0.88	3.53	1.15
When I am away from home, I can count on some of my neighbors to keep their eyes open for possible trouble.	0.88	3.52	1.18
If I were sick, I could count on my neighbors to shop for me at the supermarket, go to the drug store, etc.	0.88	3.45	1.19
People in this area work together to solve problems.	0.85	3.29	1.13
If I had to borrow 25 € for an emergency, I could turn to my neighbors.	0.87	3.59	1.26
KMO – 0.88; α – 0.92			

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

Disorder in community consists of 5 item Likert scale asking respondents whether a certain phenomenon is an issue in their community and how serious it is. Responses ranged from “Not an issue at all” (1) to “Very serious” (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of disorder in community. Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 19.

Table 19: Disorder in community

DISORDER	FL	Mean	SD
Variables		2.76	0.84
Illegal street sale	0.64	2.53	1.20
Juvenile delinquency	0.62	3.04	1.04
Vandalism	0.59	2.84	1.09
Smoking marihuana in public places	0.52	3.03	1.22
Graffiti	0.42	2.38	1.11
KMO – 0.83; α – 0.80			

1= Not an issue at all; 5= Very serious

To measure police visibility respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement *Slovene police are just enough visible*. Responses ranged from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of agreement with the statement. Frequencies (in percent) are presented in Table 20.

Table 20: Police visibility

Variable	Value	Citizens (%) (N = 954)
Slovene police are just enough visible.	1 Strongly disagree	11.2
	2 Disagree	25.3
	3 Neither	37.1
	4 Agree	20.1
	5 Strongly agree	6.3

Respondents were also asked to express the level of their trust in government. Responses ranged from “Completely distrust” (1) to “Completely trust” (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of trust in government. Frequencies (in percent) are presented in Table 21.

Table 21: The level of trust in government

Variable	Value	Citizens (%) (N = 954)
Trust in government	1 Completely distrust	29.9
	2 Distrust	35.5
	3 Neither	25.8
	4 Trust	7.0
	5 Completely trust	1.9

7.7.2 Police officers' attitudes

The goal of second part of the research is to examine the impact of various factors on police officers' perceptions of community policing. The *dependent variable* in the analysis consists of a seven item Likert scale asking respondents to rate police effectiveness in community policing activities (scale is extensively described in the chapter 7.7.1). Responses ranged from "Insufficient" (1) to "Excellent" (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of positive perceptions of community policing across all items. Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 22, with KMO of 0.85 and Cronbach's alpha of 0.85.

Table 22: Police officers' perceptions of community policing

COMMUNITY POLICING		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.53	0.66
Reducing fear of crime	0.77	3.59	0.84
Cooperation with people in local community	0.77	3.57	0.95
Crime prevention	0.73	3.76	0.99
Preventing vandalism	0.78	3.29	0.88
Reducing the number of repeated calls from the same address	0.70	3.22	0.98
Assisting in civil protection and disaster relief	0.58	4.00	0.84
Preventing drug abuse	0.74	3.26	0.89
KMO – 0,85; α – 0,85			

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

Age and education were used in the analysis as *independent variables* (Table 5) along with operational factors as a second set of independent variables measuring participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community

support. Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with various statements on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (5).

Items comprising Participatory management scale (*My role is considered important within this institution; I contribute to decisions that affect my work; I have considerable freedom in negotiating my work priorities*) are influenced by Metcalfe and Dick’s (2000) study on police commitment and the study conducted by Halsted et al. (2000) on job satisfaction among sheriffs' deputies (*My job assignment permits me to decide on my own how best to do my job; My job gives me considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how to do the work*).

Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 23.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.85 and reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.89.

Table 23: Police officers' perceptions of participatory management

PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.13	0.89
I have considerable freedom in negotiating my work priorities.	0.88	3.11	1.10
My job assignment permits me to decide on my own how best to do my job.	0.87	3.19	1.07
I contribute to decisions that affect my work.	0.86	3.29	1.05
My job gives me considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how to do the work.	0.79	3.09	1.07
My role is considered important within this institution.	0.76	2.99	1.05

KMO - 0.85; α - 0,89

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

Organizational support scale items (*My supervisor gives credit to people when they do a good job; My supervisor is cooperative and a good team player; I am satisfied with support I receive from my supervisors*) are borrowed (and modified) from study among Slovenian police officers in 2006 (Nalla et al., 2007; Nalla, 2009; Nalla et al., 2010) and Metcalfe and Dick’s (2000) study on police commitment (*There is openness and honesty between different grades; There is good communication between co-workers and supervisors*). Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 24.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.87 and reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.91.

Table 24: Police officers' perceptions of organizational support

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT			
Variables	FL	Mean	SD
My supervisor gives credit to people when they do a good job.	0.78	3.44	1.18
My supervisor is cooperative and a good team player.	0.89	3.33	1.13
I am satisfied with support I receive from my supervisors.	0.89	3.15	1.13
We are encouraged to attend community policing training.	0.88	3.08	1.09
There is openness and honesty between different grades.	0.68	2.88	1.05
There is good communication between co-workers and supervisors.	0.84	3.09	1.04
KMO - 0.87; α - 0,91			

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

Items comprising Community support scale (*Citizens often call the police if they see something suspicious; Citizens often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked by police; Citizens are willing to work with the police and try to solve neighborhood problems; Police officers have reason to be trustful of most citizens*) are based on a study among Slovenian police officers in 2006 (Nalla et al., 2007; Nalla, 2009; Nalla et al., 2010) and Brooks et al. (1993) (*Most of the time the media report fairly on police; Most people in this community respect police officers*).

Items, factor loadings, means and standard deviations are presented in Table 25.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, with KMO of 0.83 and reliability – with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.84.

Table 25: Police officers' perceptions of community support

COMMUNITY SUPPORT		Mean	SD
Variables	FL	3.01	0.68
Most of the time the media report fairly on police.	0.58	2.73	0.97
Most citizens have a positive opinion about police officers and their work.	0.68	2.89	0.99
Most people in this community respect police officers.	0.75	3.02	0.94
Citizens often call the police if they see something suspicious.	0.69	3.09	0.98
Citizens often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked by police.	0.76	3.02	0.96
Citizens are willing to work with the police and try to solve neighborhood problems.	0.78	3.15	0.93
Police officers have reason to be trustful of most citizens.	0.74	3.14	0.94

KMO – 0.83; α – 0.84

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

To measure police officers' job satisfaction respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement *I am satisfied with my job*. Responses ranged from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (5), with higher values indicating higher levels of job satisfaction. Frequencies (in percent) are presented in Table 26.

Table 26: Job satisfaction

Variable	Value	Police officers (%) (N = 581)
I am satisfied with my job.	1 Strongly disagree	2.4
	2 Disagree	9.8
	3 Neither	31.3
	4 Agree	39.1
	5 Strongly agree	17.4

8 Results

8.1 Comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes

First part of the research is focused on comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes regarding various dimensions of local safety provision:

- General perceptions of the police
- Police effectiveness:
 - Protecting life, personal safety and property
 - Legality of police work
 - Detection and investigation
 - Perceptions of community policing
- Citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police:
 - Basic police activities
 - Community building
 - Oversight and guidance
- Various aspects of police work:
 - Community orientation
 - Traditional orientation

T-test results are presented in the tables and further analyzed in the text, with the emphasis on most similar and most dissimilar attitudes of police officers and citizens.

8.1.1 Slovene police – general perceptions

In the first set of questions, measuring respondents' general perceptions of Slovenian police, they were asked to express their attitudes toward various aspects of Slovenian police on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly disagree" (1) to "Strongly agree" (5).

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 27 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all five items which capture various dimensions of community policing, with police officers exhibiting more positive attitudes than citizens.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 17.64$) was observed in relation to the statement *Slovene police take account of people's needs and concerns*, with police officers expressing much higher levels of agreement compared to citizens.

Table 27: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward community policing characteristics

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Strongly Agree/Agree (%)	Mean/SD	Strongly Agree/Agree (%)	Mean/SD	
SLOVENE POLICE:					
...take account of people's needs and concerns.	20.5/36.7	3.61/1.04	3.6/15.6	2.66/1.00	17.64**
...successfully protect people.	23.4/40.0	3.74/0.99	4.7/20.6	2.92/0.98	15.79**
...have the leading role in security provision.	43.8/30.0	4.05/1.07	14.3/28.8	3.26/1.12	13.73**
...objectively inform the public.	13.4/37.7	3.45/1.00	4.2/18.1	2.81/0.98	12.12**
...are motivated for solving people's problems.	13.9/34.9	3.40/1.03	4.8/19.1	2.87/0.98	9.96**

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

* p < 0.05, 2-tail probability

** p ≤ 0.001, 2-tail probability

8.1.2 Police effectiveness

To find out how police officers and citizens assess police effectiveness in various activities, respondents were asked to use school grades from “Insufficient” (1) to “Excellent” (5) to assess police effectiveness in various tasks they perform.

Four scales are presented below:

- *Police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property;*
- *Legality of police work;*
- *Police effectiveness in detection of crime and criminal investigation;*
- *Perception of community policing*

Police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 28 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all five items forming Police effectiveness in protecting life scale, with police officers assessing police effectiveness higher than citizens.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 22.67$) was observed in assessment of quick response to emergency calls, with police officers using higher grades compared to citizens. Police officers also assessed their effectiveness in protecting life much higher than citizens ($t = 20.37$), followed by assessment of effectiveness in protecting personal safety ($t = 18.95$) and effectiveness in protecting people's property ($t = 16.75$).

Table 28: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	
How effective is Slovene police in activities listed below?					
Protecting life	43.4/39.9	4.24/0.79	10.7/32.2	3.32/0.97	20.37**
Protecting personal safety	31.4/45.7	4.03/0.84	7.9/26.5	3.14/0.98	18.95**
Protecting people's property	18.9/44.1	3.72/0.90	4.5/19.0	2.91/0.94	16.75**
Quick response to emergency calls	40.9/40.4	4.18/0.84	8.1/26.8	3.07/1.06	22.67**

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

Legality of police work

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 29 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all four items forming *Legality of police work* scale, with police officers assessing police effectiveness higher than citizens.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 28.45$) was observed in assessment of respecting human rights, with police officers using higher grades compared to citizens. Police officers also assessed their effectiveness in lawful conduct much higher than citizens ($t = 27.78$), followed by assessment of effectiveness in complaints resolution procedure ($t = 24.42$) and assessment of effectiveness in providing transparency of police operations ($t = 17.38$).

Table 29: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in ensuring lawful conduct

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	
How effective is Slovene police in activities listed below?					
Complaints resolution procedure	25.6/43.7	3.89/0.87	1.8/16.8	2.75/0.92	24.42**
Providing transparency of their operations	13.8/46.5	3.68/0.81	2.6/19.4	2.89/0.89	17.38**
Respecting human rights	45.6/38.9	4.27/0.81	3.8/22.2	2.96/0.91	28.45**
Lawfulness of police work	39.8/47.2	4.25/0.73	3.7/24.9	3.03/0.89	27.78**

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

Police effectiveness in detection of crime and criminal investigation

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 30 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all six items forming *Police effectiveness in detection and investigation* scale, with police officers assessing police effectiveness higher than citizens.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 14.09$) was observed in assessment of detecting and arresting offenders, with police officers using higher grades compared to citizens. Police officers also assessed their effectiveness in detecting and arresting wanted persons much higher than citizens ($t = 13.97$), followed by assessment of effectiveness in evidence collection ($t = 13.90$).

Table 30: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in detection and investigation

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	
How effective is Slovene police in activities listed below?					
Investigation of crime	6.2/43.2	3.46/0.76	2.8/21.3	2.92/0.90	12.04**
Evidence collection	6.6/43.4	3.47/0.77	1.9/18.8	2.87/0.86	13.90**
Detecting and arresting offenders	7.6/44.6	3.50/0.79	2.2/21.0	2.86/0.90	14.09**
Detecting and arresting wanted persons	8.8/41.4	3.49/0.80	2.1/19.7	2.88/0.85	13.97**
Detecting of corruption	7.2/25.0	3.00/1.05	2.0/11.1	2.51/0.96	9.32**
Economic crime investigation	4.6/25.0	2.91/1.02	2.1/14.6	2.61/0.96	5.79**

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

Police effectiveness in community policing

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 31 indicate that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all eight items forming *Perceptions of community policing* scale, with police officers assessing police effectiveness in community policing higher than citizens.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 15.32$) was observed in assessment of directing attention to recidivists, with police officers using higher grades compared to citizens. Police officers also assessed their effectiveness in crime prevention much higher than citizens ($t = 15.18$), followed by assessment of effectiveness in cooperation with people in local community ($t = 13.89$).

Table 31: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	Excellent/ Very good (%)	Mean/SD	
How effective is Slovene police in activities listed below?					
Assisting in civil protection and disaster relief	30.3/44.1	4.00/0.84	12.0/34.7	3.39/0.96	12.95**
Crime prevention	25.0/37.6	3.76/0.99	4.6/23.1	2.98/0.94	15.18**
Cooperation with people in local community	16.0/38.9	3.56/0.95	4.7/19.1	2.86/0.97	13.89**
Reducing fear of crime	12.4/43.2	3.59/0.84	3.0/20.6	2.87/0.93	12.24**
Preventing drug abuse	6.7/33.4	3.26/0.89	4.1/15.6	2.75/0.98	10.13**
Preventing vandalism	7.1/34.3	3.29/0.88	2.7/17.7	2.78/0.93	10.60**
Reducing the number of repeated calls from the same address	8.5/31.0	3.22/0.80	2.3/13.7	2.81/0.84	8.38**

1=Insufficient; 5=Excellent

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

8.1.3 Willingness to cooperate with the police

We were interested in how willing citizens are to cooperate with the police and how police officers perceive citizens' willingness to cooperate with them. Citizens were therefore asked to express their willingness to cooperate with the police on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Not at all willing" (1) to "Very willing" (5). Police officers were asked to express how they perceive citizens' willingness to cooperate with them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Not at all willing" (1) to "Very willing" (5).

Three scales are presented below:

- *Willingness to cooperate with the police in basic police activities;*
- *Willingness to cooperate with the police in community building and*
- *Willingness to cooperate with the police in community policing activities.*

Willingness to cooperate with the police in basic police activities

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 32 show that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding four out of six items forming *Willingness to cooperate with the police in basic police activities* scale, with citizens expressing more willingness to cooperate than police officers perceive.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 6.94$) was observed in willingness to cooperate in preventing minor offences. Citizens also seem to be more willing to cooperate in preventing criminal offenses ($t = 6.76$) as well as to cooperate in maintaining public order ($t = 5.62$) and cooperate in crime prevention ($t = 5.26$) than police perceive them to be. However, both groups of respondents agree regarding citizens' willingness to patrol together with the police and to cooperate in crime investigation - reported as well as perceived willingness to cooperate is low for both items (mean scores below 3).

Table 32: Comparison of police officers' perceived and citizens' actual willingness to cooperate with the police in basic police activities

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Very willing/ Willing (%)	Mean/SD	Very willing/ Willing (%)	Mean/SD	
How willing are you (/do you think are the citizens) to cooperate with the police in following activities?					
Cooperate in crime prevention	10.5/31.7	3.33/0.93	11.3/23.9	3.04/1.16	5.26**
Patrol together with the police	1.6/10.3	2.29/1.00	8.4/9.7	2.27/1.28	0.40
Cooperate in crime investigation	1.4/14.9	2.67/0.87	9.4/17.9	2.70/1.25	-0.70
Cooperate in preventing criminal offenses	3.1/17.9	2.78/0.91	14.9/24.9	3.15/1.20	-6.76**
Cooperate in preventing minor offences (e.g. traffic offences)	3.1/14.3	2.72/0.89	13.7/23.3	3.09/1.19	-6.94**
Cooperate in maintaining public order	2.8/16.9	2.74/0.91	12.3/23.5	3.04/1.18	-5.62**

1=Not at all willing; 5=Very willing

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

Willingness to cooperate with the police in community building

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 33 show that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding three out of five items forming *Willingness to cooperate with the police in community building* scale, with citizens expressing more willingness to cooperate than police officers perceive.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 6.85$) was observed in willingness to cooperate in neighborhood watch. Citizens also seem to be more willing to cooperate in identification of security problems in the community ($t = 5.21$) as well as to cooperate in establishment of police-local community partnership ($t = 5.18$) than police perceive them to be. However, both groups of respondents agree regarding citizens' willingness to cooperate in informal gathering of community and police, and to cooperate in promotion of community policing projects.

Table 33: Comparison of police officers' perceived and citizens' actual willingness to cooperate with the police in community building

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Very willing/ Willing (%)	Mean/SD	Very willing/ Willing (%)	Mean/SD	
How willing are you (/do you think are the citizens) to cooperate with the police in following activities?					
Cooperate in informal gathering of community and police (sport, culture)	6.2/28.7	3.17/0.90	16.5/26.7	3.21/1.22	-0.86
Cooperate in promotion of community policing projects	3.5/25.9	3.06/0.86	12.6/21.6	3.00/1.21	1.11
Cooperate in neighborhood watch	2.6/19.6	2.81/0.90	14.2/27.6	3.17/1.19	-6.85**
Cooperate in identification of security problems in the community	2.9/19.6	2.91/0.86	12.5/26.6	3.18/1.12	-5.21**
Cooperate in establishment of police-local community partnership	2.8/17.0	2.88/0.83	11.7/27.5	3.14/1.13	-5.18**

1=Not at all willing; 5=Very willing

* p < 0.05, 2-tail probability

** p ≤ 0.001, 2-tail probability

Willingness to cooperate with the police in community policing activities

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 34 show that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all four items forming *Willingness to cooperate with the police in community policing activities* scale, with citizens expressing less willingness to cooperate than police officers perceive.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 8.91$) was observed in willingness to cooperate in oversight of police work. Citizens also seem to be less willing to cooperate in police performance evaluation ($t = 5.11$) as well as to cooperate in local safety council ($t = 4.38$) and cooperate in defining objectives of police work in local community ($t = 2.39$) than police perceive them to be.

Table 34: Comparison of police officers' perceived and citizens' actual willingness to cooperate in oversight and guidance of police activities

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Very willing/ Willing (%)	Mean/SD	Very willing/ Willing (%)	Mean/SD	
How willing are you (/do you think are the citizens) to cooperate with the police in following activities?					
Cooperate in police performance evaluation	8.7/25.3	3.12/0.98	11.8/19.3	2.83/1.27	5.11**
Cooperate in oversight of police work	11.8/29.5	3.25/1.04	12.7/15.8	2.71/1.33	8.91**
Cooperate in defining objectives of police work in local community	4.1/23.3	3.07/0.83	10.6/23.1	2.94/1.20	2.39*
Cooperate in local safety council	2.6/21.8	2.91/0.87	8.5/17.5	2.67/1.23	4.38**

1=Not at all willing; 5=Very willing

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

8.1.4 Police work

To compare police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward police work, respondents were asked to express their (dis)agreement with statements regarding various aspects of police work on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly disagree" (1) to "Strongly agree" (5).

Three scales are presented below:

- *Community orientation*;
- *Traditional orientation*;
- *Community support*.

Community orientation

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 35, show that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding two out of five items forming *Community orientation* scale.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 10.68$) was observed in the level of agreement with the statement *Police officers have to be accountable to the citizens for their acts*, with citizens expressing higher levels of agreement than police officers.

Citizens also exhibited higher levels of agreement with the statement *Police officers should try to solve the non-crime problems identified by citizens* than police officers ($t = 3.39$).

Both groups agreed that assisting citizens in need is just as important as enforcing the law (mean scores above 4) and that quality of police work significantly influences the quality of life in community (mean scores above 3.5) as well as that community crime problems can be solved by cooperation between law enforcement and local non-criminal justice agencies (mean scores above 3).

Table 35: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' community orientation

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Strongly Agree/Agree (%)	Mean/SD	Strongly Agree/Agree (%)	Mean/SD	
Community orientation					
Community crime problems can be solved by cooperation between law enforcement and local non-criminal justice agencies.	12.9/31.7	3.40/0.95	15.2/29.4	3.39/1.01	0.23
Quality of police work significantly influences the quality of life in community.	13.1/38.2	3.53/0.88	17.8/32.6	3.52/1.00	0.22
Police officers should try to solve the non-crime problems identified by citizens.	13.1/29.9	3.29/1.06	18.3/31.6	3.48/1.05	-3.39**
Police officers have to be accountable to the citizens for their acts.	17.4/24.9	3.19/1.25	36.2/27.4	3.86/1.09	-10.68**
Assisting citizen's in need is just as important as enforcing the law.	45.4/30.3	4.16/0.92	42.1/32.1	4.09/0.95	1.32

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

* p < 0.05, 2-tail probability

** p ≤ 0.001, 2-tail probability

Traditional orientation

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 36 show that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding all three items forming *Traditional orientation* scale.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 9.11$) was observed in the level of agreement with the statement *If police officer is friendly, people take advantage of him*, with police officers expressing higher levels of agreement than citizens.

However, citizens seem to agree more than police officers with the statement that the best police officers are repressive ($t = 6.57$) and that enforcing the law is by far a police officers' most important responsibility ($t = 4.87$).

Table 36: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' traditional orientation

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Strongly Agree/Agree (%)	Mean/SD	Strongly Agree/Agree (%)	Mean/SD	
Traditional orientation					
If police officer is friendly, people take advantage of him.	9.1/24.3	3.03/1.08	6.8/12.6	2.50/1.18	9.11**
Enforcing the law is by far a police officers' most important responsibility.	7.9/21.8	2.97/1.06	15.1/23.9	3.24/1.11	-4.87**
The best police officers are repressive.	4.1/6.5	2.13/1.11	3.9/10.8	2.51/1.08	-6.57**
If we give enough power to the police, they will be able to effectively control crime.	24.7/32.6	3.67/1.04	14.0/27.7	3.23/1.12	7.49**

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

Community Support

Results of T-tests, presented in Table 37 show that there are statistically significant differences between attitudes of citizens and police officers regarding six out of seven items forming *Community support scale*.

The largest statistical difference ($t = 12.97$) was observed in the level of agreement with the statement *Most of the time the media report fairly on police*, with citizens expressing higher levels of agreement than police officers (levels of agreement were low - mean scores are below 3).

Police officers seem to agree more than citizens with the statement that most citizens have a positive opinion about police officers and their work ($t = 6.28$). Citizens also agree more with the statement that they often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked by police, compared to police officers ($t = 5.17$). Attitudes of both groups differ also regarding the statement that most people in their community respect police officers, with citizens expressing higher levels of agreement than police officers ($t = 4.31$). Both groups agreed that police officers have reason to be trustful of most citizens – police officers and citizens exhibited low levels of agreement (mean scores just above 3).

Table 37: Comparison of police officers' and citizens' community support

Variable	Police Officers		Citizens		t-value
	Strongly Agree/ Agree (%)	Mean/SD	Strongly Agree/ Agree (%)	Mean/SD	
Community support					
Most citizens have a positive opinion about police officers and their work.	5.7/27.8	3.09/0.97	3.8/17.3	2.77/0.98	6.28**
Most of the time the media report fairly on police.	1.9/9.1	2.33/0.99	3.9/20.5	2.98/0.87	-12.97**
Most people in this community respect police officers.	3.1/22.2	2.89/0.93	5.9/26.8	3.10/0.94	-4.31**
Citizens often call the police if they see something suspicious.	7.4/29.8	3.21/0.93	7.2/23.5	3.02/1.01	3.72**
Citizens often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked by police.	3.3/19.3	2.86/0.90	7.3/26.9	3.12/0.97	-5.17**
Citizens are willing to work with the police and try to solve neighborhood problems.	4.1/24.4	3.05/0.86	8.8/29.2	3.22/0.96	-3.68**
Police officers have reason to be trustful of most citizens.	5.7/26.5	3.10/0.92	6.8/28.3	3.16/0.95	-1.08

1=Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

8.1.5 Overall comparison of citizens' and police officers' attitudes

To compare overall attitudes of both groups, t-tests were conducted for all scale. T-values indicate how both groups' attitudes differ and show the size of existent differences. As it is evident from Table 38, the largest differences are found in attitudes toward ensuring lawful conduct (t = 31.26), followed by attitudes toward police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property (t = 23.51), attitudes toward police effectiveness in public order and traffic (t = 17.84), and attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing (t = 17.39).

Citizens and police officers hold similar attitudes only toward traditional orientation.

Table 38: Overall comparison of citizens' and police officers' attitudes

SCALE	Police Officers	Citizens	t-value
	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	
Legality of police work	4.02/0.63	2.91/0.75	31.26**
Protecting life, personal safety and property	4.05/0.70	3.11/0.85	23.51**
General perceptions of the police	3.65/0.76	2.91/0.81	17.76**
Community policing	3.54/0.66	2.91/0.69	17.39**
Detection and investigation	3.31/0.66	2.77/0.71	14.70**
Oversight and guidance	3.09/0.73	2.79/1.10	6.43**
Community orientation	3.52/0.68	3.67/0.72	-4.05**
Community building	2.96/0.73	3.14/1.00	-3.94**
Basic police activities	2.75/0.70	2.88/0.97	-3.03*
Traditional orientation	2.71/0.83	2.75/0.81	-0.82

* p < 0.05, 2-tail probability

** p ≤ 0.001, 2-tail probability

8.2 Determinants of citizens' attitudes toward community policing

In regression analysis we used gender, age, education, length of residency in the community, disorder, fear of crime, community cohesion, police visibility and trust in the government as *predictor variables*, and attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing as an *outcome variable*. Forced entry was used as a method of regression, as it enables all predictors to be forced into the model simultaneously (Field, 2009). The predictor variables were chosen on the basis of theory and previous research findings and we had no intention to enter the variables in a certain order. Results are presented in

Table 39: Regression of citizens' attitudes toward community policing

	B	SE B	β
Constant	1.24	0.16	/
Gender	0.07	0.04	0.05
Age	0.01	0.00	0.17**
Education	0.02	0.00	0.05
Length of residency	0.00	0.00	-0.09*
Disorder	-0.04	0.02	-0.04
Fear of crime - feelings of safety	0.08	0.02	0.11**
Community cohesion	0.03	0.02	0.04
Police visibility	0.27	0.02	0.41**
Trust in government	0.15	0.02	0.21**

Note: $R^2 = 0.301$

* $p \leq 0.05$

** $p \leq 0.001$

According to regression results, gender, age, education, length of residency in the community, disorder, fear of crime, community cohesion, police visibility and trust in the government account for 30.1 percent of the variance in citizens' attitudes toward community policing.

ANOVA tells us that the model is a significant fit of the data overall ($p < 0.001$) and there is an assumption of autocorrelation, as Durbin-Watson statistics is close to 2 (1.784⁶³). To assess the assumption of no multicollinearity⁶⁴, we looked at the VIF (variance inflation factor) and tolerance statistics. The largest VIF is 1.758 which is well below 10 and all tolerance levels are well above 0.1.

The following predictors are making a significant contribution to the model:

- police visibility ($\beta = 0.408$)
- trust in the government ($\beta = 0.214$)
- age ($\beta = 0.110$)
- fear of crime ($\beta = 0.110$)
- length of residency ($\beta = -0.088$).

⁶³ As a general rule of thumb, Field (2009) suggests that values less than 1 and greater than 3 are cause for concern, while the closer to 2 the value is, the better.

⁶⁴ According to Field (2009), VIF value above 10 and tolerance value below 0.1 are cause for concern.

Gender, education, disorder and community cohesion do not contribute to the model. Regression results show that citizens who believe police are visible assess police effectiveness in community policing higher. Similarly, the more citizens trust the government, the higher are their ratings of police effectiveness in community policing. Older citizens and those who feel safe in their communities believe the police is more effective in community policing, than younger citizens and those who do not feel safe. Length of residency is negatively related to attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, meaning that the longer citizens live in the community, less positive their attitudes are toward the police.

8.3 Determinants of police officers' attitudes toward community policing

In regression analysis we used age, education, organizational support, participatory management, community support and job satisfaction as predictor variables, and attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing as an outcome variable. Forced entry was used as a method of regression, the same as with citizens sample in the previous chapter. The predictor variables were chosen on the basis of theory and previous research findings. Results are presented in Table 40.

Table 40: Regression of police officers' attitudes toward community policing

	B	SE B	β
Constant	2.46	0.18	/
Age	-0.01	0.00	-0.16**
Education	-0.10	0.03	-0.13**
Organizational support	0.16	0.04	0.22**
Participatory management	-0.00	0.04	-0.01
Job satisfaction	0.13	0.03	0.20**
Community support	0.31	0.04	0.30**

Note: $R^2 = 0.287$

* $p \leq 0.05$

** $p \leq 0.001$

According to regression results, age, education, organizational support, participatory management, job satisfaction and community support account for 28.7 percent of the variance in police officers' attitudes toward community policing.

ANOVA tells us that the model is a significant fit of the data overall ($p < 0.001$) and there is an assumption that errors in regression are independent, as Durbin-Watson statistics is

close to 2 (1.977). To assess the assumption of no multicollinearity, we looked at the VIF (variance inflation factor) and tolerance statistics. The largest VIF is 2.075 which is well below 10 and all tolerance levels are well above 0.1.

All predictors, except participatory management, are making a significant contribution to the model. Community support exhibits the greatest importance in the model ($\beta = 0.312$), followed by organizational support ($\beta = 0.220$), job satisfaction ($\beta = 0.195$), age ($\beta = -0.158$) and education ($\beta = -0.125$).

The more community support police officers perceive, more effective they believe the police are in community policing activities. Similarly, more organizational support they perceive and more satisfied they are with their job, higher they assess police effectiveness in community policing. As regards age and education, younger and less educated police officers assess police effectiveness in community policing higher than their older, more educated colleagues.

8.4 Verification of the hypotheses

After literature review and empirical analysis (t-tests and multiple regression), next chapters focus on verification of proposed hypotheses, divided into three subgroups:

- hypothesis regarding comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes;
- hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on citizens' attitudes, and
- hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on police officers' attitudes.

To test hypothesis regarding comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes t-tests were conducted, comparing separate items comprising scales and at the end comparing also scales overall. T-tests enabled the comparison of actual differences between both groups' means in relation to the variation in the data and also provided the significance level of existing differences.

Hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on citizens' and police officers' attitudes respectively were tested using multiple regression analysis, which showed whether and how strongly predictor variables predict both groups attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

8.4.1 Hypothesis regarding comparison between citizens' and police officers' attitudes

H₁: High degree of concordance exists between the attitudes of citizens and police officers toward various aspects of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia.

To compare overall attitudes of both groups, t-tests were conducted for each of the ten scales:

- General perceptions of the police
- Police effectiveness:
 - Protecting life, personal safety and property
 - Legality of police work
 - Detection and investigation
 - Perceptions of community policing
- Citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police:
 - Basic police activities
 - Community building
 - Oversight and guidance
- Various aspects of police work:
 - Community orientation
 - Traditional orientation

T-values indicate how both groups' attitudes differ and show the size of existent differences. As it is evident from Table 41 (t-values are written in bold) there are statistically significant differences between citizens' and police officers' attitudes regarding nine out of ten fields of comparison.

Table 41: Comparison of citizens' and police officers' attitudes

SCALE	Police Officers	Citizens	
	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	t-value
Legality of police work	4.02/0.63	2.91/0.75	31.26**
Protecting life, personal safety and property	4.05/0.70	3.11/0.85	23.51**
General perceptions of the police	3.65/0.76	2.91/0.81	17.76**
Perceptions of community policing	3.54/0.66	2.91/0.69	17.39**
Detection and investigation	3.31/0.66	2.77/0.71	14.70**
Oversight and guidance	3.09/0.73	2.79/1.10	6.43**
Community orientation	3.52/0.68	3.67/0.72	-4.05**
Community building	2.96/0.73	3.14/1.00	-3.94**

Basic police activities	2.75/0.70	2.88/0.97	-3.03*
Traditional orientation	2.71/0.83	2.75/0.81	-0.82

* $p < 0.05$, 2-tail probability

** $p \leq 0.001$, 2-tail probability

Attitudes of both groups are concordant only regarding traditional orientation ($t = -0.82$). In all other fields of comparison, attitudes of both groups are statistically significantly different, therefore hypothesis H_1 is *rejected*.

8.4.2 Hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on citizens' attitudes

Hypothesis H_2

H_2 : Gender, age, education, length of residency, perceived disorder, community cohesion, fear of crime, police visibility and trust in the government are the variables that affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Results of multiple regression analysis showed that police visibility, trust in the government, age, fear of crime and length of residency affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Other four predictor variables - gender, education, disorder and community cohesion do not affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Moreover, predictor variables account only for 30.1 percent of the variance in citizens' attitudes toward community policing, which means that 69.1 percent of the variance remains unexplained. Since the proposed predictor variables only account for 30.1 percent of the variance, there must be other variables that affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward police effectiveness in community policing. Hypothesis H_2 is thus *rejected*.

Hypotheses H_{2a} , H_{2c} , H_{2f} and H_{2g}

H_{2a} : Women exhibit more favorable attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than men.

H_{2c} : Less educated citizens exhibit more favorable attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than more educated citizens.

H_{2f} : Citizens who perceive disorder in their communities hold less positive attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than those who believe they live in orderly communities.

H_{2g}: Residents of high social cohesion communities tend to hold more positive attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than residents of the low social cohesion communities.

Based on the rejection of the hypothesis H₂, the hypotheses H_{2a}, H_{2c}, H_{2f} and H_{2g} are *rejected*, as they are related to gender, education, disorder and social cohesion, which are predictor variables that do not affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward police effectiveness in community policing. Results presented in Table 42 show b-values, standard errors and beta values for all variables (variables which do not contribute to the model are written in bold).

Table 42: Regression coefficients – attitudes of Slovene citizens toward police effectiveness in community policing

	B	SE B	β
Constant	1.24	0.16	/
Gender	0.07	0.04	0.05
Age	0.01	0.00	0.17**
Education	0.02	0.00	0.05
Length of residency	0.00	0.00	-0.09*
Disorder	-0.04	0.02	-0.04
Fear of crime - feelings of safety	0.08	0.02	0.11**
Community cohesion	0.03	0.02	0.04
Police visibility	0.27	0.02	0.41**
Trust in government	0.15	0.02	0.21**

* $p \leq 0.05$

** $p \leq 0.001$

Hypotheses H_{2b}

H_{2b}: Older citizens exhibit more favorable attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than younger citizens.

From Table 42 we can see that age significantly contributes to the model. The coefficient (b-value) reveals whether the relationship between age and citizens' attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing is positive or negative. The value of coefficient is positive (b = 0.01), which indicates positive relationship between age and citizens' attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded, that older citizens exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than younger citizens. Hypothesis H_{2b} is *accepted*.

Hypotheses H_{2d}

H_{2d}: Citizens who feel safe in their communities exhibit more favorable attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than citizens who do not feel safe.

From Table 42 we can see that variable fear of crime - feelings of safety significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is positive ($b = 0.08$), which indicates positive relationship between feelings of safety and citizens' attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded, that citizens who feel safe in their communities exhibit more favorable attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than citizens who do not feel safe. Hypothesis H_{2d} is *accepted*.

Hypotheses H_{2e}

H_{2e}: Long-term community residents hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than short-term residents.

From Table 42 it is evident that length of residency significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is negative ($b = -0.00$), which indicates negative relationship between length of residency and citizens' attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded, that long-term community residents hold less positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than short-term residents. Hypothesis H_{2d} is *rejected*.

Hypotheses H_{2h}

H_{2h}: Citizens who believe the police is visible hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than those who do not perceive the police as visible.

From Table 42 it is evident that police visibility significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is positive ($b = 0.27$), which indicates positive relationship between police visibility and citizens' attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded, that citizens who believe the police is visible hold more positive attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than those who do not perceive the police as visible. Hypotheses H_{2h} is *accepted*.

Hypotheses H_{2i}

H_{2i}: Citizens who exhibit high levels of trust in the government hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than those who exhibit low levels of trust in the government.

From Table 42 it is evident that trust in government significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is positive ($b = 0.15$), which indicates positive relationship between trust in government and citizens' attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded, that citizens who exhibit high levels of trust in the government hold more positive attitudes toward effectiveness of the police in community policing than those who exhibit low levels of trust in the government. Hypotheses **H_{2i}** is *accepted*.

8.4.3 Hypotheses regarding the effects of various variables on police officers' attitudes

Hypothesis H₃

H₃: Age, education, participatory management, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support are the variables that affect attitudes of Slovene police officers toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Results of multiple regression analysis showed that all predictors (age, education, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support) except participatory management (written in bold in Table 43) affect attitudes of Slovene police officers toward police effectiveness in community policing. However, predictor variables account only for 28.7 percent of the variance in police officers' attitudes toward community policing, which means that 71.3 percent of the variance remains unexplained.

Since the proposed predictor variables only account for 28.7 percent of the variance, there must be other variables that affect attitudes of Slovene police officers toward police effectiveness in community policing. Hypothesis **H₃** is thus *rejected*.

Table 43: Regression coefficients – attitudes of Slovene police officers toward police effectiveness in community policing

	B	SE B	β
Constant	2.46	0.18	/
Age	-0.01	0.00	-0.16**
Education	-0.10	0.03	-0.13**
Organizational support	0.16	0.04	0.22**
Participatory management	-0.00	0.04	-0.01
Job satisfaction	0.13	0.03	0.20**
Community support	0.31	0.04	0.30**

* $p \leq 0.05$

** $p \leq 0.001$

Hypothesis H_{3a}

H_{3a}: Older police officers exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than their younger colleagues.

Regression results in Table 43 show that age significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is negative ($b = -0.01$), which indicates negative relationship between age and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded that older police officers hold less positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than their younger colleagues. Hypotheses **H_{3a}** is *rejected*.

Hypothesis H_{3b}

H_{3b}: Police officers with higher level of education exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Regression results in Table 43 show that education significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is negative ($b = -0.10$), which indicates negative relationship between education and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Therefore, it can be concluded that police officers with higher level of education hold less positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than their less educated colleagues. Hypotheses **H_{3b}** is *rejected*.

Hypothesis H_{3c}

H_{3c}: Police officers who believe their agency utilizes participatory management style exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Participatory management does not affect attitudes of Slovene police officers toward police effectiveness in community policing at all. This is evident from the results presented in Table 43 (participatory management is written in bold). Hypothesis **H_{3c}** is thus *rejected*.

Hypothesis H_{3d}

H_{3d}: Police officers who perceive organizational support exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Results presented in Table 43 show that organizational support significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is positive ($b = 0.16$), which indicates positive relationship between organizational support and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Therefore, we can conclude that police officers who perceive organizational support exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Hypotheses **H_{3d}** is *accepted*.

Hypothesis H_{3e}

H_{3e}: Police officers who are satisfied with their job exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Results presented in Table 43 show that job satisfaction significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is positive ($b = 0.13$), which indicates positive relationship between job satisfaction and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Therefore, we can be conclude, that police officers who are satisfied with their job exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Hypotheses **H_{3e}** is *accepted*.

Hypothesis H_{3f}

H_{3f}: Police officers who perceive community support exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

Results presented in Table 43 show that community support significantly contributes to the model. The value of coefficient is positive ($b = 0.31$), which indicates positive relationship between community support and police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in

community policing. Therefore, we can conclude that police officers who perceive community support exhibit more favorable attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Hypotheses H_{3f} is *accepted*.

8.5 Summary of findings

In the first part of research our purpose was to compare police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward general perceptions of the police, police effectiveness, citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police and various aspects of police work. To accomplish this goal, t-tests were conducted and the results show, that attitudes of both groups are rather dissimilar, with the exception of attitudes toward traditional orientation - citizens and police officers hold similar attitudes toward traditional orientation. Dissimilarities are the largest between citizens' and police officers' attitudes toward legality of police work, police effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property, general perceptions of police and police effectiveness in community policing.

Second part of the research aimed at determining the factors which influence citizens' attitudes and factors which influence police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Results of regression analysis showed that police visibility, trust in the government, age, fear of crime and length of residency affect citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, however these variables account only for 30.1 percent of the variance in citizens' attitudes toward community policing. Police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing are affected by age, education, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support. These variables were found to account only for 28.7 percent of the variance in police officers' attitudes toward community policing. Majority of the variance in both groups' attitudes toward community policing thus remains unexplained. Summary of findings is presented in Figure 2.

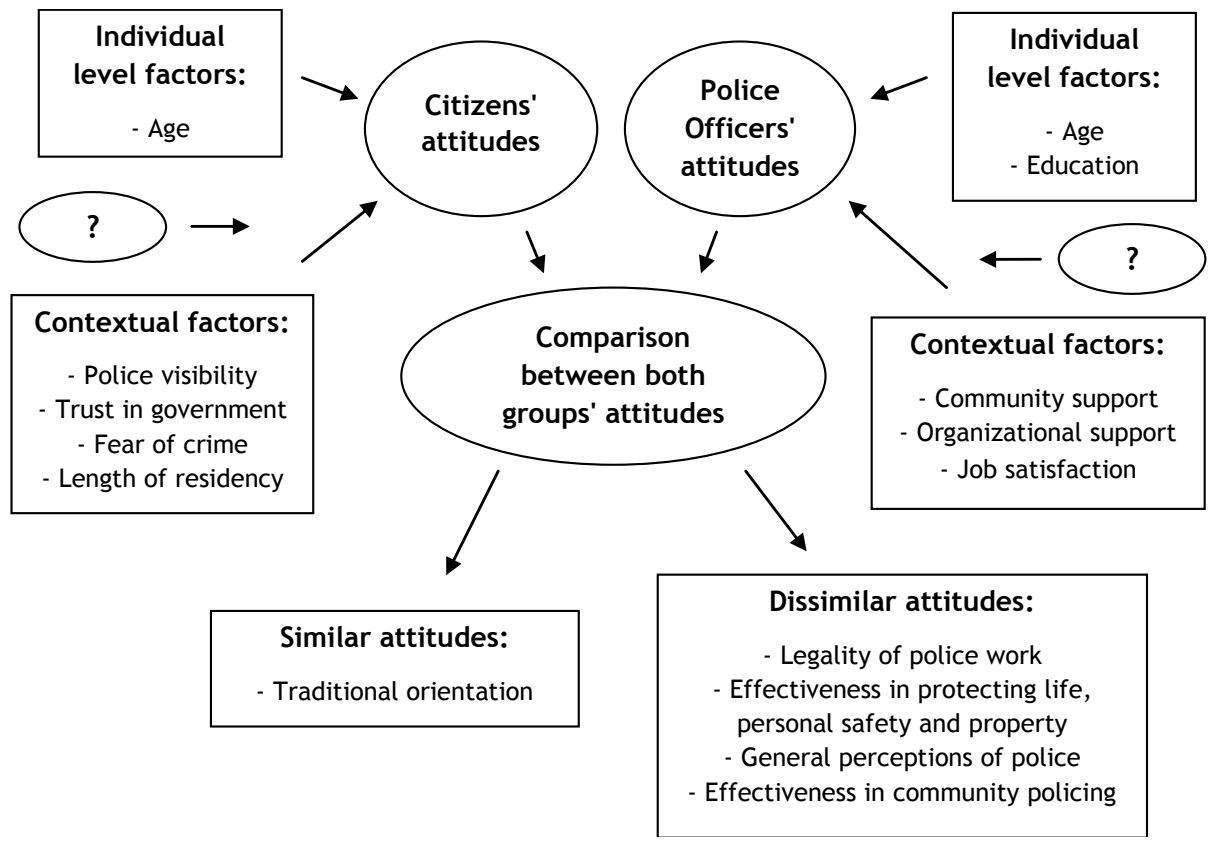


Figure 2: Summary of research findings

9 Discussion

Basic research question, guiding the present study was *What degree of concordance exists between the attitudes of citizens and police officers in terms of provision of safety in local communities in Slovenia with a focus on community policing that calls for a significant degree of cooperation between police officers and citizens?*

The answer was sought within four main research fields - comparison of both groups' attitudes toward Slovenian police in general, toward police effectiveness, citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police and toward some specific aspects of police work (traditional versus service orientation). Attitudes were compared on ten scales altogether and we were especially interested in scales where police officers' and citizens' attitudes were the most similar and the most dissimilar.

9.1 Police officers and citizens – comparison between attitudes

Attitudes of both groups were the most congruent in relation to traditional orientation, which was actually the only scale where the difference between both groups' attitudes was not statistically significant. Citizens exhibit higher level of agreement with two out of four items comprising traditional orientation scale. They seem to agree that *Enforcing the law is by far a police officers' most important responsibility* with a higher level of agreement than police officers. Nevertheless, both groups exhibit quite low levels of agreement with this statement (police officers' mean: 2.97; citizens' mean: 3.24). Compared to police officers citizens also expressed higher levels of agreement with the statement *The best police officers are repressive*, although both groups actually disagree with it (both groups' means are below 3.0).

In all other examined fields, statistically significant differences were found between police officers' and citizens' attitudes. Dissimilarities are the largest regarding legality of police work. Within legality of police work scale, the largest dissimilarity was observed in assessment of respecting human rights, with police officers using higher grades compared to citizens. Police officers also assessed their effectiveness in lawful conduct much higher than citizens, followed by assessment of effectiveness in complaints resolution procedure and assessment of effectiveness in providing transparency of police operations. It is worth noting that citizens' assessments were very low - mean values for items were below 3 (on the scale ranging from 1 to 5, with higher values indicating higher assessment), with the exception of lawfulness of police work, where the mean value was 3.03.

To discuss findings on legality of police work, where the largest dissimilarities between both groups' attitudes were found, we will first turn to the concept of procedural justice. Past studies have demonstrated that fair, respectful and dignified treatment has more influence in forming the citizens' impressions of justice than a favourable outcome has. The phenomenon is called the "procedural fairness effect" (Goodman-Delahunty, 2010: 404). Richard (1994) explains that procedural justice relates to the fairness of the manner information is gathered and decisions are made, while it does not relate to the fairness of the decisions themselves. According to Tyler (2004) authorities can effectively engage in their social regulatory roles only when people are willing to accept their decisions. When group members voluntarily support the empowerment of authorities and defer to the decisions of authorities and follow social rules, the efficiency and effectiveness of rules and authorities are enhanced. The willingness to defer to social rules arises from judgments that authorities are legitimate and ought to be obeyed. People judge how legitimate authorities are, primarily by assessing the fairness of their decision-making procedures. If people see or experience that the authorities make decisions fairly, they view them as legitimate. Over time, from legitimacy deference evolves, which then becomes independent of the favourability of decisions. Hence, procedural justice promotes the belief that authorities are legitimate and consequently it promotes deference to social rules. Therefore, providing people with procedural justice is an important mechanism for gaining deference to decisions (Tyler, 1997, 2004). As Meško (2006) summarizes Tyler's work *Why People Obey the Law* (Tyler, 2006), he notes that people disobey the rules set by those who they not perceive as legitimate and respectable. People trust the police officers' decisions when they respect their personal integrity and treat them with dignity. Tyler (1997) notes that deference to authorities is linked to the social bond between group members and the group, furthermore, people defer to authorities if they feel valued and respected.

Bearing this in mind - it seems unreal to expect citizens who do not even perceive police work as legal to find it legitimate or even defer to their authority. It is even more unlikely to expect their willingness to cooperate with the police in community policing programs. This particular finding points out the questionable success of community policing which is currently the main philosophy of policing in Slovenia.

Purpose of the second part of the research was to determine the factors which influence citizens' attitudes and factors which influence police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing. Some warn (Maguire & Katz, 2002; Rosenberg, Sigler,

& Lewis, 2008) about the constraint on interpreting the findings of studies on community policing, since the term itself is characterized by definitional difficulties, which is evident also from the literature review. We agree with others (Buren, 2007; Oliver & Bartgis, 1998; Seagrave, 1996; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997) who found that although widely used, the definition of community policing has been a subject of considerable debate and confusion.

In order to overcome this constraint, the scale comprising several items was developed to measure attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, instead of using simple one-item question (e.g. How effective is police in community policing?). In seek of meaning and reasonable items for measuring attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, several definitions were taken into account. Most authors agree that the main principle of community policing is cooperation between police and local community (Miller & Hess, 2002; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997; Trojanowicz et al., 2002). Skogan and Hartnett (1997) add decentralization of police, establishment of the two-way communication between the police and the local community, response to security issues identified by local community as well as help local communities to address local security issues solving. According to Kelling and Wycoff (2001) desired outcomes of community policing are crime prevention, citizens' satisfaction, solved problems and justice and legality of police conduct. Within the philosophy of community policing, reactive model of policing is replaced by a proactive approach to crime, disorder and other upsetting circumstances (Meško et al., 2007; Schaefer Morabito, 2010), which were found to concern citizens the most. Besides reducing crime and disorder, community policing efforts should lead to reducing the level of fear of crime as well (Lobnikar & Meško, 2010; Meško et al., 2007; Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988).

Taken these and other ascertainments into consideration, we believe that the definitional indistinctness of community policing was avoided at least to some extent. In the following subchapters, factors which influence citizens' attitudes and factors which influence police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing are discussed.

9.2 Citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing

Based on the existing body of research and theory on public attitudes toward police officers and police work, we hypothesized that gender, age, education, length of residency, perceived disorder, community cohesion, fear of crime, police visibility and trust in the government are the variables that affect attitudes of Slovene citizens toward

police effectiveness in community policing. After the regression analysis it is evident, that only the following variables influence Slovenian citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing (in order of the size of items' contribution to the model - from the greatest importance to the smallest importance):

- police visibility,
- trust in government,
- age,
- fear of crime and
- length of residency.

More precisely, citizens who believe police are visible assess police effectiveness in community policing higher. Similarly, the more citizens trust the government, the higher are their ratings of police effectiveness in community policing. Older citizens and those who feel safe in their communities believe the police is more effective in community policing than younger citizens and those who do not feel safe. Length of residency is negatively related to attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, meaning that the longer citizens live in the community, less positive are their attitudes toward the police.

Although gender was found to influence citizens attitudes toward the police in various contexts (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Correia et al., 1996; Gourley, 1954; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998), even among Slovenian citizens (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001; Černič et al., 2009), our findings support the group of studies, which found no influence of gender (Jesilow et al., 1995; Kusow et al., 1997; Benedict et al., 2000). We agree with O'Connor (2008) who warned that further research on the effects of gender is necessary as current findings are ambiguous, at best.

Similarly, education was found to have no influence on citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, despite the fact that in studies among Slovenian citizens from 2001 (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001) and 2009 (Černič et al., 2009), education was related to citizens' attitudes. Present research thus contributes to the body of research that found no relationship between education and citizens' attitudes toward the police and their work (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao et al., 1996; Correia et al., 1996; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; O'Connor, 2008).

The lack of perceived disorder effects on citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing is rather difficult to explain and so is the lack of community cohesion effects. These two variables can be discussed together, as they both are important factors within community context. There are theoretical and empirical grounds to expect the influence of perceived community disorder on citizens' attitudes toward the police. Cao et al. (1996) found that community context itself is the most important determinant of public confidence and especially citizens' perceptions of disorder seem to significantly affect their attitudes toward the police. Reisig and Giacomazzi (1998) found significant differences concerning attitudes toward the police among residents who lived in orderly communities and those who lived in disorderly communities. Crank and Giacomazzi (2007) found that community-policing endeavors may be considerably more difficult in the low social cohesion communities compared to high social cohesion communities

One possible reason for this unanticipated finding of the present research could be the selection of items comprising community disorder and community cohesion scale, although it was based on the theoretical grounds and statistical analysis (factor analysis) as well. In the future research endeavors within Slovenian context, more attention should be paid to perceived disorder and community cohesion in general, and their influence on citizens' attitudes.

Another important perspective of the analyzed data is the fact that variables, which do influence Slovenian citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, only account for 30.1 percent of the variance in citizens' attitudes toward community policing. This means that 69.1 percent of the variance remains unexplained. We can only speculate which other factors may influence citizens' attitudes and further research is needed to test possible models. Some researchers, for instance, studied the influence of an individual's income on their attitudes toward the policing and ended up with inconsistent findings. Some showed that higher income is a determinant of positive attitudes toward the police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao et al., 1996; Frank, Smith, & Novak, 2005; Lord, Kuhns, & Friday, 2009; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998), while very few findings indicate converse effect (Johnson, 1993) or argue that there is no relationship between these two variables (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; O'Connor, 2008; Scaglione & Condon, 1980; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Brown and Benedict (2002) summarized the findings from more than hundred pieces of previous research on perceptions of the police and they came to the conclusion that there are four variables, which have consistently been proven to influence perceptions of the police – age, contact with the police, neighborhood and race.

Age and neighborhood (in our research the term community has been used) were found to affect citizens' attitudes in the present research as well, while contact with the police and race are not examined. In Slovenian context, taking the race into consideration would perhaps not make much sense, as Slovenian population is racially homogeneous, even when we look into ethnical differences. According to the 2002 census the majority of population is Slovenian (83.1 per cent), while other ethnicities (Croats, Serbs, Muslims, Hungarians, Italians, Roma and others) represent less than two per cent each (Government of the Republic of Slovenia, 2012). Contact with the police is the variable that reportedly has stronger influence on the attitudes toward police than age, race and socioeconomic status (Scaglione & Condon, 1980). Ceurprakobkit (2002: 325) found that "positive police experience not only yielded positive attitudes toward the police, but also neutralized or ameliorated the negative attitudes of citizens". In Worall's (1999) study, respondents who rated police contacts higher, held more positive views about the police. Moreover, contact was found to be the most pervasive and significant predictor of respondents attitudes toward the police and their work. Similarly Lord et al. (2009) report that citizens who had direct and recent contact with police exhibited more satisfaction with the police.

For future research on exploring the determinants of Slovenian citizens' attitudes toward the police and their work, the main suggestion would be to include the following variables:

- 1) Variables that were found to influence citizens' attitudes in this research - age, length of residency, fear of crime (feelings of safety), police visibility and trust in government.
- 2) Community context variables - as discussed above, perceived disorder and community cohesion are proven to significantly affect citizens' attitudes toward police and their work, although present research findings do not support this. We recommend the in-depth exploration of both variables and their conceptual background within Slovenian context specifically, before including them in the model.
- 3) Police contact variables - according to extensive body of research, police contact is one of the significant variables of influence on public attitudes toward police and their work, therefore it should be considered in future research.

9.3 Police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing

Previous research and theoretical background on police officers' attitudes toward community policing and other aspects of police work, guided us to hypothesize that age, education, organizational support, participatory management, community support and job satisfaction determine police officers' attitudes toward community policing.

Regression analysis showed that all predictors except participatory management are making a significant contribution to the model. More precisely, the more community support police officers perceive, more effective they believe the police are in community policing activities. Similarly, more organizational support they perceive and more satisfied they are with their job, higher they assess police effectiveness in community policing. As regards age and education, younger and less educated police officers assess police effectiveness in community policing higher than their older, more educated colleagues.

Despite previous research findings about participatory management, indicating that it can influence the shift in police officers' attitudes from traditional toward community policing (Wycof & Skogan, 1993, 1994) and determines positive attitudes toward community policing (Lord & Friday, 2008; Adams et al., 2002), we found no relationship between participatory management and Slovenian police officers' attitudes toward community policing. Again, the reason can be related to poorly selected items comprising participatory management, although the selection was based entirely on previous research and theory.

It was found that younger police officers assess police effectiveness in community policing higher than their older colleagues, which contradicts some previous research findings (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994; Moon & Zager, 2007; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997), but supports findings from two Slovenian studies. Pagon and Lobnikar (2001) found that younger Slovenian police officers are more in favor of community policing than their older colleagues. Younger police officers also have more positive view of "who it is they serve" compared to older officers (Nalla et al., 2007).

According to results of regression analysis Slovenian police officers with higher level of education hold less positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing than their less educated colleagues. This finding is in contradiction with some previous research findings, indicating that more educated police officers hold more favorable

attitudes toward community and are also more service-oriented (Brooks et al., 1993; Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001). However, findings on effects of education are inconsistent, some also revealing very weak (Adams et al., 2002; Lewis et al., 1999; Paoline et al., 2000; Sun, 2002; Worden, 1990) or no relationship between education and police officers' attitudes (Schafer, 2002).

It is necessary to point out that variables, which were found to influence Slovenian police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, only account for 28.7 percent of the variance in police officers' attitudes toward community policing, leaving 71.3 percent of the variance unexplained.

Further research is needed to test possible models and identify variables which influence police officers' attitudes, in addition to those identified by present research. There are some factors that were examined in previous research and can serve as a starting point. For instance, Sadd and Grinc (1996) note that the reluctance of police officers to community policing often results from a general resistance to reforms and changes coming from management. Yates and Pillai (1996) found that police officers' attitudes toward community policing are proven to be affected by strain (officers exhibiting more strain were found to be less supportive toward community policing and vice versa) and level of commitment, measured by how much they agree with laws. Lewis et al. (1999) found negative relationship between years of service and attitudes toward community policing, meaning that police officers with more years of service tend to hold more negative attitudes toward community policing. Likewise, Brooks et al. (1993) found that officers with less than five years of service are more service-oriented and more inclined to believe that the community cooperates with them compared to their more experienced colleagues (with five or more years of service). Dejong, Mastrofski and Parks (2001) also report that officers with less than 10 years of experience were more inclined to spend time for problem solving compared to their more experienced colleagues. Adams et al. (2002) found that long-time officers exhibit less optimism regarding the impact of community policing on crime.

For Slovenian police officers it was found that officers with more years of service are less optimistic about who it is they serve (Nalla et al., 2007; see footnote 28) and are also more in favor of traditional paramilitary police organization (Pagon & Lobnikar, 2001).

In future research additional variables need to be taken into account along with examining their possible interactive effects. For example, management support is proven to be significant predictor of job satisfaction (Boke & Nalla, 2009; Jaramillo et al., 2005; Johnson, 2012;), while Nalla et al. (2010) also found that officers derive job satisfaction from the perceived citizens' cooperation, to mention but a few.

The following suggestions for further research arise from present research findings:

- 1) Model of variables that were found to influence police officers' attitudes in this research should be complemented with the following variables: level of acceptance of organizational reforms and changes (tested by Sadd & Grinc, 1996), level of commitment to laws they enforce (tested by Yates & Pillai, 1996) and years of service.
- 2) Participatory management should be first examined as the concept, considering potential specific context of Slovenian police organization and only then included into the model.
- 3) Although job satisfaction was found to contribute to the model, its interactive relationship with other variables (for instance innovative culture, trust in leadership (Yang & Kassekert, 2009), job autonomy (Zhao et al., 1999; Johnson, 2012), perceived citizen cooperation (Nalla et al., 2010) and management support (Boke & Nalla, 2009; Jaramillo et al., 2005; Johnson, 2012;)) needs to be further explored as abovementioned variables were proven to strongly affect job satisfaction.

10 Conclusion

Basic research question is related to the level of concordance between police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward various aspects of local safety provision, therefore some form of answer to this question should be the main point of conclusion. The answer is that there is a low level of concordance between attitudes of both groups. The most "problematic" (i.e. most dissimilar) aspects are:

- Legality of police work
- Effectiveness in protecting life, personal safety and property
- General perceptions of police
- Effectiveness in community policing

As already emphasized, pursuant to normative sponsorship theory a community program will only be sponsored when it is normative to all parties involved. Each of the parties involved must be able to justify and legitimize the common goal in the context of its own values, norms and goals. The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of participating parties are, the easier it is to agree upon common goals (Trojanowicz, 1972). Moreover, when citizens believe the police share their moral values, they comply with the police more fully and cooperate with them more strongly (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003a). Therefore congruent attitudes of police and community - toward one another and toward common efforts, activities and goals - are important factors for the success of community policing (Beck, 2004; Brooks et al., 1993; Greene & Decker, 1989). This explains why we find abovementioned low level of concordance between attitudes of both groups problematic and believe these are the aspects of police work that deserve special attention in the future.

It should be emphasized again how important and worrying are the findings on perceived legality of police work - citizens' assessments are very low. We believe that, along with other aspects of low concordance in both groups' attitudes, this particular finding calls into question the success of community policing in Slovenia.

In order to influence citizens' attitudes, variables which were found to affect them should be considered and possibly controlled. Findings show that police visibility, trust in the government, age, fear of crime and length of residency affect citizens' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing, however these variables account only for 30.1 percent of the variance in citizens' attitudes toward community policing. This is why our

suggestion is to reexamine community context variables - perceived disorder and community, before testing them again. Furthermore, police contact variables should be considered in future research.

Police officers' attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing are affected by age, education, organizational support, job satisfaction and community support. These variables were found to account only for 28.7 percent of the variance in police officers' attitudes toward community policing, leaving majority of the variance unexplained. We suggest to test additional variables – level of acceptance of organizational reforms and changes, level of commitment to laws they enforce and years of service. Furthermore, participatory management should be examined as the concept and then included into the model, while job satisfaction and its interactive relationship with other variables need to be further explored.

Considering citizens' attitudes, some of the analyzed variables can be controlled and influenced in desired direction, therefore possible implications for policy and practice can be drawn from the research findings. Age and residency are individual level variables and can not be controlled, however fear of crime, police visibility and trust in the government could perhaps be controlled and influenced, at least to some extent. According to the results of research conducted by Xu et al. (2005) citizens' perceptions of police commitment to their community are significantly related to less fear of crime. When these results are compared to other findings, indicating that fear of crime is related to the public evaluations of the police and their work (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003; Kutnjak Ivkovich, 2008; O'Connor, 2008; Pavlović, 1998; Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998; Xu et al., 2005) interesting relationship is revealed between fear of crime and community policing. Community policing positively influences citizens' feelings of safety and at the same time feelings of safety positively affect citizens' attitudes toward police and their work. It can be concluded that police should continuously strive for improving community policing strategies, which, along with other known positive effects, are proven to positively influence citizens' feelings of safety and thus consequently improve their attitudes toward police and their work. Ensuring police visibility is another factor which can be influenced by police administrators and policy makers, however it is probably more complicated and delicate from the perspective of desired outcome. For instance, Meško et al. (2007) warn that more visible police officers might have the opposite effect, especially on fear of crime – public could perceive them as a signal, that their community became unsafe. However,

according to present research findings, Slovenian citizens who perceive police as visible hold more positive attitudes toward police effectiveness in community policing.

In practice, present research findings might be useful for police administrators, as most of the factors that were found to influence police officers' attitudes toward community policing can be controlled. Above all things, level of organizational support is entirely in the hands of police management. As already mentioned, the nature of community policing requires flattened organizational structure with decentralized authority (Kelling and Wycoff, 2001) and police officers in the role of consultants, facilitators and supporters of community initiatives (Trojanowicz et al., 2002). Job satisfaction is also a significant factor of influence on police officers' attitudes and should be strived for in any case and in any organization (Halsted et al., 2000).

Community support is quite complicated or even impossible to control directly. However, among other sources it is also derived from perceived citizen cooperation (Nalla et al., 2010), which leads us back to the beginning of this research - to normative sponsorship theory (Trojanowicz, 1972). Citizens will only cooperate with the police when they are able to justify and legitimize the common goal in the context of their own values, norms and goals. The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of police and community are, the easier it is to agree upon common goals. Once again we point out that attitudes and perceptions of one group toward another have a major impact on the actual level of preparedness for cooperation in crime prevention and crime reduction programs (Greene & Decker, 1989). Therefore, even community support can be influenced, at least to some extent, by police organization and its "well conceived community policing initiatives" (Reisig & Giacomazzi, 1998: 557).

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