



## POLICING ROMA COMMUNITIES IN SLOVENIA: AN EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY POLICING APPROACH



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**Abstract:** Policing multicultural communities presents challenges for contemporary policing. Historically and currently, the interactions between police and multicultural communities are often strained due to language barriers, cultural misperceptions on both sides, fear of outside authority figures on the part of marginalised groups etc.

The Roma population, Europe's largest minority, is a target of persistent persecution from each and every power in history and even in the present times, not only in countries that lack democratic tradition, but also in countries which consider themselves cradles of democracy. The first record of the Roma people in Slovenia goes back to the 14th century. Statistics show that approximately 3 200 Roma people live in Slovenia, but the actual number varies between 11 000 and 12 000. In Slovenia, the Roma community is a minority community recognised by the Constitution as a special community or minority with particular ethnic and cultural characteristics (its own language, culture and history). The constitutional provision was realised by the adoption of the Roma Community in the Republic of Slovenia Act (2007). Slovenia is among those European countries that include Roma in the management of public affairs at the local level (as Roma councillors). The relation between the police and Roma communities is crucial in many ways. Roma are often the target of racially motivated discrimination and violence. Being one of the most exposed pieces of the state apparatus, the police are implicated in Roma issue. Locally, they deal with security issues involving Roma people being lawbreakers as well as victims on a daily basis. As in other countries, in Slovenia too, police have adopted community policing philosophies and practices. It is important to prepare and train those public servants who have regular contact

with members of the Roma community. In this context, training of police officers focuses on understanding and overcoming discrimination, prejudice and stereotypes. In 2003 in the Policy Academy started the project 'Policing in a multi-ethnic community'. The objectives of such training courses were to make police officers aware of their own prejudices, to introduce them Roma culture and traditions, (to understand the importance of a comprehensive approach, to evaluate ways of managing security events and to understand the importance of dialogue. The aim of the project was also to inform inhabitants of certain Roma settlements about legislative provisions concerning typical offences in certain areas and thus non-criminal incidents, causing discomfort to the neighbouring population. In the past years, more than 1950 police officers have participated in this training. Roma councillors and other representatives of the Roma population also participate actively in such training events. The results are manifold: fewer offences, fewer occasions when policemen were unable to carry out relevant procedures, more offences and crimes reported by Roma themselves, and joint management (within individual competencies) of complex security events that might, were they not resolved in a timely manner, become serious crimes.



## INTRODUCTION — ROMA COMMUNITIES IN SLOVENIA

Policing in diverse, multicultural communities presents challenges for contemporary policing. Historically and currently, the interactions between police and multicultural communities are often tense due to language barriers, cultural misperceptions on both sides, fear of outside authority figures on the part of marginalised groups etc. This is the case also with the Roma, Europe's largest minority. Roma were and are a target of persistent persecution from each and every power in history and even in the present times, not only in countries that lack democratic tradition, but also in countries which consider themselves cradles of democracy. Brearley (2001) excellently summarises the position of Roma in Europe in recent centuries:

'Roma/Gypsies, nomads newly arrived in Europe in the 1400s, endured expulsions, forcible removal of children, servitude in galleys or mines, death sentences for being Gypsy, and absolute slavery in the Balkans from the 16th century onward. Persecution stemmed from the highest authorities in State and Church. Following the murder of 200 000 to 500 000 Roma in the Holocaust, persecution persists, especially in Central and Eastern Europe where Roma form up to 10 % of the population (Bulgaria, Slovakia, Romania). Discriminated against under communism, their plight has dramatically worsened since 1989. Endemic problems (low life expectancy, high illiteracy, dire poverty, poor housing) are now heightened by massive, disproportionate unemployment. Unprecedented persecution has been unleashed by new state nationalism and easing of censorship. Roma are the new scapegoat for post-Communist society's ills. The media commonly stigmatise Roma.' (Lobnikar, Hozjan, Šuklje & Banutai, 2013).

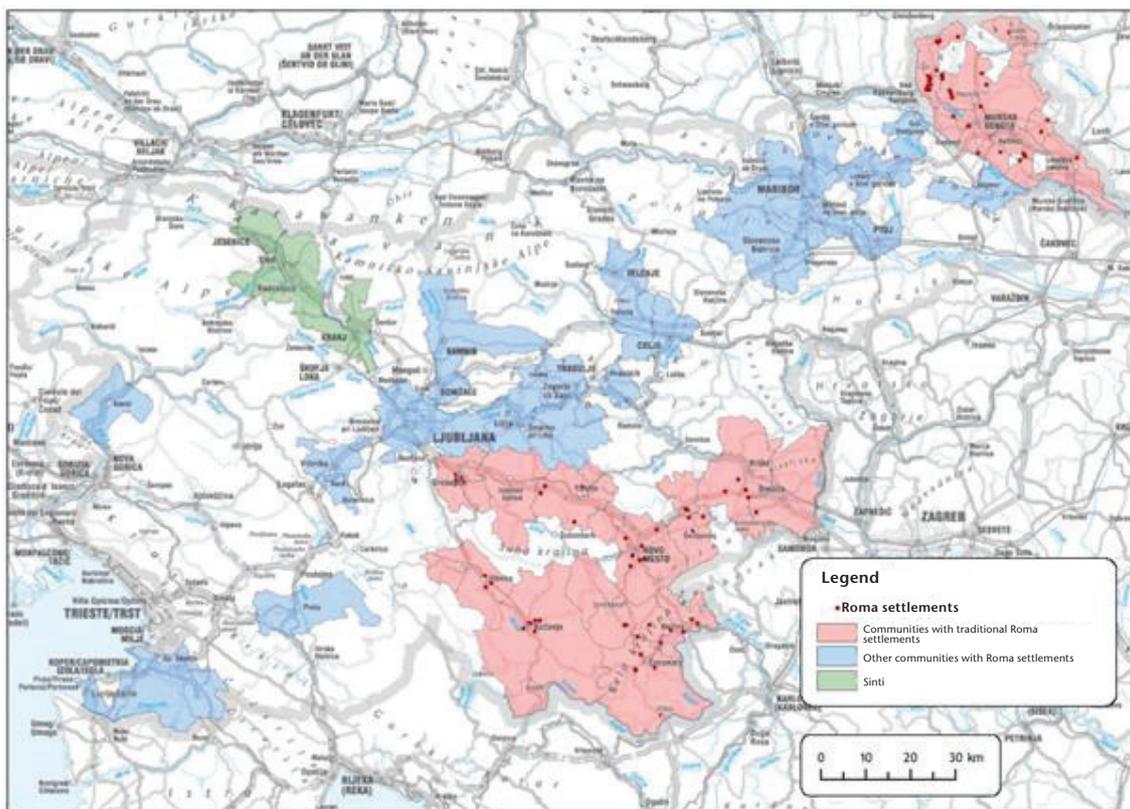
The Roma population originally comes from India. They started leaving India in 1192 (Djurić & Horvat Muc, 2010). Their nomadic lifestyle brought them through Afghanistan and Iran, to Turkey, Greece and toward Central Europe, while another part of the Roma population went through Egypt all the way to Spain (Horvat Muc, 2011; Novak, 2012a). The first record of the Roma people in Slovenia goes back to the 14th century. The fact that the official number of Roma living in Slovenia is different than the actual number is one of the

many challenges of current Roma issues. Statistics show that approximately 3 200 Roma people live in Slovenia. But the actual number varies between 11 000 and 12 000 (Banutai, Strobl, Haberfeld & Duque, 2011). These discrepancies occur due to many different factors, one of which is the disarray of the Roma settlements. Few settlements are legalised and houses are often not numbered; therefore, many Roma people can share a household with other Roma families.

There are four groups within the Roma population in Slovenia (Štrukelj, 2004): the Roma community in the Dolenjska region, Maribor, Gorenjska region, and Prekmurje region. Roma primarily live in one of the 130 settlements in the country, one-third of which are illegal by virtue of resting on private or municipal land. The Roma community in the Dolenjska region came from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. By occupation they were mainly horse breeders and blacksmiths (Štrukelj, 2004). This group of the Roma community is probably the least integrated into the majority population. Thus general security issues as well as differences and disagreements exist between the Roma and the larger community. The Roma community in Maribor came from Kosovo and the Republic of Macedonia and their religious orientation is Muslim. By occupation they were mainly tradesmen in different areas and they are very adaptable and competitive (Novak, 2012a). They are almost completely integrated into the population — the reason being that they did not have a chance to move together and create a so called 'ghetto' as the Roma in the Dolenjska and Prekmurje regions did (Novak, 2012a) — local authorities in Maribor always wanted them to live within city limits. The Roma in Gorenjska region — also called Sinti — came from the North, the territory of the former Habsburg monarchy. They are completely integrated into the population and do not live in closed societies and settlements (Novak, 2012a).

The Roma population in Prekmurje arrived from Hungary and Austria. By occupation they were mainly musicians and farmers and were also very keen horsemen (Štrukelj, 2004; Horvat Muc, 2011). They speak a different Romani dialect than the Roma people in Dolenjska and Maribor (sometimes these groups do not even understand each other).





Picture 1: Roma community diversity in Slovenia <sup>(15)</sup>

Source: Geodetic institute of Slovenia

## LEGAL STATUS OF ROMA IN SLOVENIA

In Slovenia, the Roma community is a minority community recognised by the Constitution. It does not have the status of a national minority, but is a minority community specially mentioned in the Constitution and granted special protection by the law. It is recognised as a special community or minority with particular ethnic and cultural characteristics (its own language, culture and history) that may be preserved in accordance with constitutional provisions, taking into consideration the needs that the community itself expressly puts forward. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia considers the Roma as a special Romani ethnic community living in Slovenia, while the Slovenian

Constitution <sup>(2)</sup> employs the expression 'Romani community'. The legal basis for regulating their status is Article 65 of the Constitution, which specifies that the status and special rights of the Roma community living in Slovenia are governed by the law. This constitutional provision was realised by the adoption of the Roma Community in the Republic of Slovenia Act (2007). The protection of the Roma community is also provided for in other laws. Aside from legislation, care for the realisation of special rights of the Roma community and the improvement of its status is incorporated in numerous programmes, strategies and resolutions in different social areas (e.g. National Programme of Measures for Roma of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for the period 2010–2015).

As mentioned, on 30 March 2007, the Slovenian National Assembly adopted the

<sup>(1)</sup> The map is part of the Thematic Atlas of Roma settlements in Slovenia, which was constructed in the project aimed at increasing social and cultural capital in environments with Roma communities. The operation was partially funded by the European Union through the European Social Fund and the Ministry of Education and Sports under the Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007–2013.

<sup>(2)</sup> Official Gazette of the RS, Nos. 331/1991-I, 42/97, 66/00, 24/03, 69/04, 69/04, 69/04, 68/06.





Roma Community in the Republic of Slovenia Act (2007; hereinafter: ZRomS-1), which came into force on 28 April 2007. ZRomS-1 regulates the competences of national authorities and authorities of self-governing local communities concerning the implementation of special rights of the Roma community, the organisation of the Roma community at national and local levels, and funds for financing these activities. The Act provides that the Government, in cooperation with the self-governing local communities and the Roma Community Council of the Republic of Slovenia, shall adopt a programme of measures. This programme of measures shall include relevant regulations, the obligations and tasks to be carried out by competent ministries, other national authorities, and authorities of self-governing local communities. With ZRomS-1, Slovenia is committed to ensure special rights of the Roma community in the fields of education, culture, employment, territorial management and environmental protection, health and social care, information and co-decision in public matters that concern members of the Roma community, implementing regulations and regulations adopted by self-managed local communities, as well as special programmes and measures adopted by national authorities and organs of self-managed local communities.

Slovenia is among those European countries that include Roma in the management of public affairs at the local level. In the 20 municipalities where they have been present throughout history, members of the Roma community enjoy, in addition to the general right to vote, a special right to elect a representative to the municipal council (in 20 out of all 212 municipalities in Slovenia), to be exercised in local elections. In compliance with the legislation in force on the protection of personal data, ministries and other government bodies may not keep special records of persons based on national or ethnic affiliation, so the only demographics available are those gathered in official censuses under the auspices of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia. As the last official census in Slovenia was carried out back in 2002, the statistical data are somewhat out-dated. Due to this, we can expect some new municipalities with Roma council representatives to appear in the future (e.g. Škocjan, Brežice, Maribor).

## PUBLIC OPINION ON ROMA

The best description of an average Slovenian's attitude about Roma in Slovenia came recently from Tanja Fajon, European Parliament MP from Slovenia. She introduced her essay on the issue with a statement:

'We used to call Roma people 'Gypsies', but to my knowledge as a teenager they were nomads or were living in little ghettos; they had their own traditional culture and we did not have any close encounters with them, except that we had a great Roma singer, Oto Pesner, who conquered our hearts and the world stage. Therefore, I believed that 'gypsies' had a great sense for music' (Fajon, 2011).

However, as in any other place, there are many prejudices and stereotypes among the majority population about the Roma. They became even stronger in recent times of economic crisis with beliefs among non-Roma population that unemployed Roma have a better income than others who have to work hard to make a decent living. The media often add fuel to the fire; they portray Roma as being deviant and a threat to the majority population, they represent the cultural differences in a negative way, make generalisations and perpetuate stereotypes about the Roma population (Erjavec, Hrvatin & Kelbl, 2000).

Roma people are also aware of the negative prejudices of the majority population. That is what is driving assimilation — the process in which a great number of the Roma people are taking the first and last names of the non-Roma people who live in the same area. A survey in Slovenia (Šuklje & Banutai, 2012) showed that many Roma change their surname due to the stigmatisation of local community, making it difficult to find the accurate statistical data on this ethnic minority. In the Prekmurje region there are scarcely any changes, as opposed to the Dolenjska region where these name changes are very common (Novak, 2012a). Reasons for these circumstances can be found in the actual state and conditions of the Roma population and its relationship to the non-Roma population. According to overall estimations, the situation is much worse in the Dolenjska and Posavska regions than in the Prekmurje region.



The general public often wonders why there are such differences between status, relationship to the majority, and behaviour of the Roma in different Slovenian regions, for example in the Prekmurje vs. Dolenjska regions (Šuklje & Banutai, 2012). Novak (personal interview, 20. 4. 2012) explains that the main reason for such difference is that most Roma from the Prekmurje region own the land and farms they live on, Roma in the Dolenjska region, on the other hand, are in most cases still not rightful owners of the land they live on. Novak adds that the situation depends on local politics and local inhabitants' will to deal with these shifts. Of course we should not forget the historical background of the area. People living by the Mura River have become accustomed to the constant shifting of rulers and authorities, which was accompanied by mass migrations. The main reasons for the differences between various 'Roma groups' are the (in)ability to legally own property, interests of local community, politics and the functioning of the government. Other reasons relate to the attitude of the majority — acceptance of fellow inhabitants that are different and higher tolerance thresholds (Šuklje & Banutai, 2012).

Fajon (2011) suggests that activities that empower Roma communities produce results, stressing the example of city of Murska Sobota, the administrative centre of Pomurje region, where the Roma are better integrated into society than elsewhere. Murska Sobota had the first ever Roma representative in a Slovene city council and has a Commission for Roma questions to deal with their actual problems. Several programmes have been put in place providing social and pedagogical assistance to families, supporting integration into society, and organising sport and cultural activities. The Pušča settlement nearby the Murska Sobota is the best example of cooperation and cohabitation of Roma and non-Roma communities in Europe today (Fajon, 2011: 114). In Fajon's view, the small village is important for Slovenia and for the European Union in that it demonstrates that the cooperation and integration of Roma into society is possible and models the way to accomplish it. In Pušča there is a kindergarten, Roma have their own fire brigade and they are involved in many associations that promote their interests. They also plan to open a music school for Roma and non-Roma kids.

## POLICING THE ROMA COMMUNITIES IN SLOVENIA

The relation between the police and Roma communities is crucial in many ways. As we have seen, Roma are often the target of racially motivated discrimination and violence. They need to be able to fully rely on the police for protection against, and the full investigation of, hate-motivated crimes. At the same time, the police face the challenge of effectively policing Roma and Sinti communities that often view such efforts with suspicion and mistrust, due to a long history of abuse and discrimination at the hands of various state authorities (OSCE, 2010). Being one of the most exposed pieces of the state apparatus, the police are implicated in the previously mentioned Roma issue. Locally, they deal with security issues involving Roma people being lawbreakers as well as victims on a daily basis. Unofficial estimates suggest that patterns of law violation vary according to ethnic category in some parts of Slovenia (Strobl, Habersfeld, Banutai & Duque, 2012). The role of police in security issues related to the Roma population can be limited to the tasks that are regulated by law. On the other hand, it can be understood more broadly as providing versatile help to other organisations and partnerships among Roma people and the local community (Ogulin, Brodarič, Ribič & Gorenak, 2005).

As in other countries, in Slovenia police have adopted community policing philosophies and practices. The key figure of community policing within the framework of the Slovenian police is the community policing officer (hereinafter: CPO) (Police, 2012). Police officers with long-standing experience and communication abilities are usually appointed for CPOs. The official web page of the Slovenian police (Police, 2012) includes the names of all 317 CPOs in Slovenia as well as basic information about the tasks of CPOs, instructions on when to call for a CPO and an appeal to help create favourable security conditions (Lobnikar & Meško, 2010). CPOs' tasks are defined in Police rules, Strategy for community-oriented policing, Guidelines for prevention work and Measures for the improvement of community-oriented policing (Meško & Lobnikar, 2005; Vrtič & Lobnikar, 2004) and the late one from 2013 Community Policing (Police, 2013). Community policing is a subject covered during basic police training at the Police Academy and later at CPO trainings. CPOs as well as heads of police



stations participates in these trainings. Novak emphasised that it is important to prepare and train those public servants who have regular contact with members of the Roma community. A fine example of good practice is the police training for work in a multicultural community (Novak, 2012a, 2012b).

## TRAINING PROGRAMME ON POLICING IN A MULTI-ETHNIC COMMUNITY

In 2003 the Policy Academy began the project 'Policing in a multi-ethnic community', an intensive training programme for staff from police directorates of Ljubljana, Krško, Novo mesto, Maribor and Murska Sobota. Training focused on issues linked to working with Roma. The objectives of such training courses were (a) to make policemen aware of their own prejudices against a certain group or individual and the negative impact such prejudices have on their professionalism, (b) to introduce them to Roma culture and traditions, (c) to understand the importance of a comprehensive approach, (d) to evaluate ways of managing security events, and (e) to understand the importance of dialogue (Novak, 2012b). Then the programme was upgraded, aiming to bring the police and the Roma community together. So the joint-training programme was designed. The programme involves the coming together of police with local and national Roma leaders, aiming to address the public safety and policing needs of the Roma minority in the country (ibidem).

Objectives of this programme include educating officers on human rights and working with ethnic differences in order to better cooperate with local Roma populations through educating them about police powers and responding to their needs. The programme also aims to train officers in learning the basics of the Roma language. Participation of non-governmental organisations and Roma community leaders is an integral part of the training, as well as a decentralised approach which aims to directly introduce the police to the local Roma communities they will work with in the future. The training dialogues' goals are to help police officers understand the globalised environment in which they operate, the importance of being aware of their own image and personality, the societal effects of

negative ethnic stereotypes, the precepts of human rights, and the importance of using dialogue to resolve conflicts. Officers then learn the means of implementing police practices in light of these dimensions (Strobl, Banutai, Duque & Haberfeld, 2013; Novak, 2012b).

Before the training begins, the trainers from the Police Academy in Ljubljana connect with police supervisors and community police officers in the local police stations where the training will occur. The purpose of reaching out is to obtain information as to the criminal offences that some members of the Roma community are believed to be engaged in, the degree that community police have routine contact with Roma not in connection with a specific investigation or inquiry, and the policies and procedures the local police have in place to handle complaints filed by Roma inhabitants. In addition, the trainers contact a local Roma leader to ask for their participation and any other members of their community who may be interested. The trainers explain the nature of the programme, the importance of Roma participation, and the benefits that a developing a relationship with the police might have for them, for example, giving them personal contacts in the event their community needs police assistance. Once the participating police and Roma leaders have been organised, the parties come together in dialogue to plan the 2-day training seminar (up to 16 hours) which will include rank-and-file officers, and additional members of the Roma community in some cases (Strobl, Banutai, Duque & Haberfeld, 2013).

When evaluating the seminar, Strobl and colleagues (2013: 9-10) described the training details. The training of the police officers, who are selected based on the extent to which they have routine contact with Roma, takes place in a conference room at a police station.

The first day the police training occurs without the Roma participants. The police officers wear plain clothes and sit in a circle. Fifteen to twenty officers are trained at a time in order to foster a cohesive unit of those trained and aware of Roma-related issues. The group is intended to be heterogeneous with reference to their years of employment. After a brief introduction, the trainer introduces a self-reflective exercise in which the police describe and analyse their own individual social and economic position within Slovenian society. Participants are then given a lecture on the United Nations' and European



Declarations of Human Rights and Slovenian documents related to the protection of minorities in the country, and a module on the importance of non-violent conflict resolution skills. In this module, participants describe a perceived dilemma about policing in relation to the Roma minority, followed by a separation of those things which can be dealt with but the police and those which cannot, according to Slovenian law. For example, the problem of Roma driving without a licence, would be a situation that the police would be empowered by law to handle directly. However, infrastructural problems, such as a settlement which lacks proper sanitation, could be assisted by the police, but not without the cooperation of other government agencies. During the first day of training, there is also a role-playing exercise in which the police officers pretend to be a member of the Roma minority and the trainers act as Slovenian police so that the police officers can experience the limitations the Roma may have in getting in contact with the Slovenian police (Strobl *et al.*, 2013).

The Roma participants are brought into the training on the second day. Because the training is joint in nature, Roma leaders, whether from the Roma Union of Slovenia (for more see [www.zveza-roma.si](http://www.zveza-roma.si)) or the Forum of Roma Councillors (for more see [www.romsvet.si](http://www.romsvet.si)), are brought into this stage of the seminar in order to initiate cooperation between the local police and Roma in a direct way. On this day, another role-playing occurs during which two teams debate each other over a local issue, with one team representing the Slovenian majority and the other representing the Roma community. The actual make-up of the groups is heterogeneous as to whether they are police and Roma, but the groups are instructed to represent one or the other community. Then, the police officers learn basic communication in a local Romani dialect from members of that community directly. The Roma leaders, along with the one self-identified female Roma police officer in the national force, provide basic language training, usually in a dialect that is spoken widely in the Dolenjska region. The two groups together also discuss Roma culture and what police can expect when visiting a Roma settlement or home. A PowerPoint presentation has been jointly developed by participants which explains such Roma customs as how Roma read individuals' auras when they meet them and what it means in their culture, the customs related to the birth of a new child, and information about and examples of music and dance traditions.

In turn, the police explain their legal powers to the Roma participants and give them a sense of what to expect from a police encounter, how to get assistance from the police at a local station, contact information for the community policing officers who cover their particular geographic areas, and other helpful information (Strobl *et al.*, 2013: 10). In the past years, more than 1 950 police officers have participated in this training (Novak, 2012a; 2012b).

One of the follow-up steps of the above training courses was an introductory course in the Roma language (40 lessons) and a project to inform inhabitants of certain Roma settlements about legislative provisions concerning typical offences in certain areas and thus non-criminal incidents, causing discomfort to the neighbouring population. A total of 47 policemen voluntarily participated in a course in Romani, the Roma dialect spoken in Dolenjska, carried out jointly by the Police and the Roma Union of Slovenia. Training courses are on-going and have become a continuous form of work. (Novak, 2012a; 2012b; Strobl *et al.*, 2013).

## EVALUATION OF THE TRAINING

As already mentioned, Strobl, Banutai, Duque and Habermeld evaluated this programme in 2013. Members from Roma communities believe the programme fostered progress in reducing community tension. One Roma informant explained that he had for the first time ever felt morally comfortable with helping the police apprehend a violent member of his community because he believed that the police could now be trusted to handle him fairly and according to the law. The researchers reported that three Roma leaders explained that of all governmental agencies and officials, the police were the most fair and respectful in dealing with them (Strobl *et al.*, 2013: 18). Overall, although some specific skills such as language, communication techniques, and cultural sensitivity were imparted to police through the training, the biggest boon, according to Strobl and colleagues, to policing that the training offered was the relationship-building between the police and the Roma community. Examples have emerged that some Roma leaders who participated in the programme have engaged in mediation-like activity with the police in order to respond to a variety of community tensions,



from disputes over housing to intra-ethnic rivalry (ibidem). To summarise, the results of described training are manifold: fewer offences, fewer occasions when policemen were unable to carry out relevant procedures, more offences and crimes reported by Roma themselves, and joint management (within individual competencies) of complex security events that might, were they not resolved in a timely manner, become serious crimes (Novak, 2012b).

## DISCUSSION

In 2013, Lobnikar, Hozjan, Šuklje and Banutai (2013) conducted a survey on community policing implementation in a municipality of Lendava. Lendava was one of the places where described multi-ethnic training was conducted. The aim of the survey was to analyse the quality of police work in a multi-ethnic community in the municipality of Lendava (municipality is located in the north-eastern part of Slovenia near Murska Sobota). Policing responsibilities in Lendava are delegated to police officers from Lendava Police Station Lendava differs from other towns in Murska Sobota region in that Lendava is a more diverse multicultural environment with four autochthonous communities: Slovenes, Hungarians, Roma and Croats. This presents an even greater challenge for day to day policing and local governance. Authors hypothesised that if community policing programmes, including the described programme on policing in multi-ethnic environment, are effective, they should be perceived as such also by the Roma community in Lendava. In the analysis (Lobnikar *et al.*, 2013), researchers started from substantively interdependent areas associated with the community policing paradigm: (a) quality of contact between the police and local residents, (b) the perception of the level of crime and disorder, (c) fear of victimisation, and (d) level of community cohesion.

These factors are connected. The level of crime and disorder, as perceived by the population, has a direct and strong impact on the quality of life in a community. Contacts between the police and local residents are important as well. What the local residents think of the police has a direct impact on the possibility of a partner relationship between the police and the community and can influence the willingness of the population to act in conformity with the law. Fear of

victimisation weakens community cohesion, which consequently loosens and annuls informal mechanisms of social control. One of the main premises of community policing is that informal control mechanisms, and not police, assure order in the neighbourhood/community. If community cohesion is weak, the community as such cannot act as a control agent. Therefore, if we seriously want to study the possibility of community policing, we also have to focus some attention on community cohesion (McKee, 2001).

Data was collected among the citizens of the municipality of Lendava and members of the Roma population living in the area of the municipality (in the Roma settlement in Dolga vas and in the Lendava area). The statistical analysis included 212 citizens of the municipality of Lendava, of which 51 were members of the Roma population. The results (for more see Lobnikar, Hozjan, Šuklje and Banutai, 2013) show that there are hardly any considerable differences between the local Roma and non-Roma community regarding the perception of police work in the community. In the case of the Roma community, this is a good result — the gap between the Roma community and the majority is narrowing in all areas traditionally associated with community policing: attitudes toward police, fear of being victimised, and the perception of crime and disorder. The result is important for local police organisation in particular, but in it we can also find a more generalised lesson. With planning, effort, and time, and appropriate training, policing Roma communities gives the anticipated results. In Pomurje (the north-eastern part of Slovenia) at least, police training on the Roma issue coupled with empowering projects introduced by local governments bring the Roma community out of societal margins. This lesson could be used in other parts of Slovenia, especially in the Dolenjska region, where police are facing larger problems with policing Roma communities. The lesson is simple: the police cannot do the work by themselves; support by local authorities and especially by the Roma communities, is of utmost importance.

One of the findings of the survey in Lendava was also that the Roma community is not as integrated into the local community as non-Roma residents are. Sure, this discrepancy virtually cannot be directly influenced by the police as an institution, but it has an influence on the quality of the police work. We should know that one of the basic premises of community





policing is that informal control mechanisms, and not the police, guarantee order in the community. If community cohesion is weak, the community as such cannot implement control mechanisms. Therefore, if we want to study the possibility of implementing community policing seriously, some attention must also be devoted to strengthening community cohesion. This is above all a task for local authorities.

Conditions for efficient policing in the Roma communities are multifaceted. First, the state is responsible for the legal protection of Roma communities. Under this protection, the basic conditions for the preservation of the particular ethnic and cultural characteristics of Europe's largest minority on the one hand, and sufficient integration into society on the other, are created.

Second, the local level involvement of Roma municipality councillors in decision-making processes provides a good connection between a relatively closed community and the larger community in which they live. If we include projects for the empowerment of the Roma community carried out by local authorities, we are getting closer to success. All this is a necessary precondition for the training of police officers to work in a multicultural environment to be effective. As we see in the case of Slovenia (Strobl *et al.* 2013) and the Municipality of Lendava (Lobnikar *et al.* 2013), such training gives results. This compels us to echo the opinion of Tanja Fajon (2011:114) that in all of this can be found an example for Europe — an example of good cooperation and co-habitation of Roma and non-Roma communities.

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