ROMA WOMEN AND MEN

AND SECURITY SECTOR REFORM IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

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How Roma Women and Men
Perceive Their Own Security
and the Functioning of
Security Sector Institutions

Belgrade, 2014

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

LAP   Local Action Plan

LGBT   Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgender

MMA   Military Medical Academy

MoD   Ministry of Defence

MoI   Ministry of Interior

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

OSCE   Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PD   Police Department

RNGO   Roma Non-governmantal organization

SAF   Serbian Armed Forces

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

FOREWORD

Roma women and men are one of the most vulnerable minorities in Serbia according to almost all indicators – poverty, social distance, discrimination, poor educational structure and employment. Position of this minority in Serbia has been recognized in the context of social exclusion, but the perception of their own security by Roma women and men, and their relationship with and to key security institutions – the Ministry of Interior/Police and the Ministry of Defence/Serbian Armed Forces – has not been investigated so far.

It is these issues that were the subject of the Public Policy Research Centre project **"Roma Women and Men and the Security Sector in Serbia"**, conducted with the support of the Democratization Department of the OSCE Mission to Serbia, in the period from August 2013 until June 2014. Insight into the ways in which Roma women and men perceived personal security and the two institutions, the research team obtained through the organization of 11 focus groups in Kragujevac, Niš, Vranje, Bujanovac, Subotica and Zemun, while the data on the relationship between the MoI and MoD with and towards the members of this vulnerable group were obtained through interviews and official letters by the representatives of these institutions. Within the project, the documents and the relevant literature were analyzed, Round table was organized where a wide range of stakeholders discussed the initial findings, an analysis of the media writing about the Roma was conducted, and the news related to the topic were published regularly on the website of the Center (www.publicpolicy.rs).

This project directly builds on earlier research of the Centre, "LGBT People and Security Sector Reform in the Republic of Serbia" (2011) and "Evaluation of Efficiency of the Local Mechanisms of Social Inclusion of Roma" (2012-2013), and is in line with program commitments of the Public Policy Research Centre to investigate the formulation and effects of public policies on vulnerable groups. We hope that these qualitative findings are a valuable supplement to existing public opinion polls, surveys among the public service employees and within the institutions of the security sector, and that it will serve as a basis for further research into the causes and consequences of human (in)security of the Roma and of the work of institutions within the security sector in Serbia.

Project team – Svetlana Đurđević-Lukić, project manager, Branka Anđelković, adviser for social policy, Jelena Radoman, lead researcher, Marina Tadić, researcher, and Tanja Jakobi, adviser for communication – would like to thank for the time and helpful suggestions to all the participants of this project: the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defence, Roma women and men who participated in the discussions, representatives of non-governmen-

tal organizations and Roma coordinators who helped in organizing these discussions, interviewed local stakeholders, all participants of the Round Table held on 2 April, 2014 in Belgrade, reviewers and donors – Democratization Department of the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The interest aroused by this study leaves us to believe that we have chosen to deal with the important topic for understanding the position of the Roma women and man, and that the recommendations that we have offered will be useful to policy makers in the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence and elsewhere, and thus contribute to improving the security of Roma women and men in Serbia.

SUMMARY

Following the Public Policy Research Centre's program focus regarding the position of vulnerable groups in the context of security sector reform, this project addresses the key security problems of the Roma women and men in Serbia. We tried to find out: firstly, what are the main security threats for the Roma population in Serbia; secondly, how Roma women and men perceive the work of the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the Ministry of Defence (MoD), and whether they have confidence in these institutions; and thirdly, what policies and measures have these two institutions adopted to address the specific security needs of the Roma population.

The Roma minority represents one of the most vulnerable and in multiple ways disabled social groups in Serbia, but in the previous studies this exclusion has not been viewed from the standpoint of the security perception by the Roma population itself and their relationship with the two institutions of the security sector - the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defence, which this study seeks to do.

Public Policy Research Centre approached the situation of the Roma population from the human security perspective. It is the concept of a broader and deeper understanding of security that goes beyond understanding it in the context of the national territory, order and physical security – and expands it to human, social, economic and cultural rights of the individual, and access to justice, while the violence is seen as structural and symbolic. Also, the perception of the security of the Roma women and men are viewed in the context of the "second generation reforms" of the security sector, which implies the acceptance of the practice of human rights and non-discrimination in everyday practice, appreciation and sensitivity to the special security needs of vulnerable groups. The necessity of such approach to the local communities in Serbia was generally accepted by adopting the Strategy of Community Policing in 2013, but whose operationalisation, and the adoption of the accompanying action plan, is yet to come.

Field research was conducted from the November 2013 until April 2014 in Vranje, Bujanovac, Niš, Kragujevac, Subotica and Belgrade municipality of Zemun (location Zemun Polje). There were 11 group discussions organized (focus groups), with a total of 124 participants - 57 women and 67 men. Also, there were 18 interviews conducted with representatives of the police and local stakeholders, and certain information was obtained from the Ministry of Defence.

The key perceived threat to the security of the Roma population, according to the statements from the focus groups is unfavourable socio-economic status, which is reflected in unemployment, problems with personal documents (mostly for refugees, internally displaced persons and their descendants) and the resulting problems of exercising rights (primarily the health and social care). Closely linked to the socio-economic conditions is observed discrimination, both institutional and one that comes from the majority population. The institutional discrimination includes: difficult access, for example of welfare rights; racist speech of officials; inaction of employed in schools where Roma children are endangered, rudeness, etc.

One of the most important research findings is that the Roma population differently perceives security threats, depending on the local environment and the level of social integration. For example, there are areas where the Roma minority is subjected to racist attacks and direct threat to the physical integrity, such as the Zemun Polje, and the places where the coexistence of Roma with the majority population and other national and ethnic groups has a decade-long tradition that is not subject to sudden changes. These are examples of Vranje, Subotica and Bujanovac, despite the fact that in these areas Roma women and men perceive that they are discriminated against (but not as pronounced as in Zemun Polje).

The scale of perceived threats of different subgroups of the population whose security perceptions have been studied, significantly differ from each other. For the "domicile" Roma, characteristic is a high degree of integration into society, while the displaced Roma are faced with existential threats to their own security, such as substandard housing and lack of personal documents and destitute. This leads to situation where in the same local environment (Kragujevac) domicile and internally displaced Roma are expressing different list of major security threats, with the first groups primary concern being socio-economic care, while for the second is the access to personal documents. As a category that is from the security aspect vulnerable in multiple ways, Roma women and men who were internally displaced stand out, or on any other basis newcomers into a community.

Regarding the perception of their own security and the security of communities, gender differences are present. Roma women, regardless of local context in which they live are primarily concerned with the education and upbringing of children and the threats that are associated with it, such as the safety of children in schools and bullying.

Roma women and men perceive a threat of physical attacks by organized groups as primary at the present moment, but also as the primary threat that they anticipate in the future, for their own security and the security of their families. Such is the case in Zemun Polje where the main perceived threats are physical assaults and threats of assaults, as well as an atmosphere of fear and intimidation created by tensions and institutional discrimination that led to the Roma being a "second class citizens" (Niš).

There are two sets of observations on police work and expectations of the police – neutral and negative. Within the neutral group are perceptions that the police performs their

duties (eg. leaves for field work, notes the misdemeanour or criminal offense, makes a record), but the ability and possibility of the police service end here, which does not subsequently lead to an epilogue in the form of solving a particular problems. The negative perception of the police work moves from viewing the police as a repressive tool of the majority (Niš), beyond that it is itself a source of criminal activity and acts "brutally" (Niš, Kragujevac), to the view that it is a corrupt and inefficient service (Niš, Kragujevac) that behaves extremely discriminatory against the members of the Roma minority (Niš, Kragujevac, Bujanovac, Vranje).

If we compare the security problems whose resolution falls into the domain of police work which have been singled out in the focus groups by Roma women and men and the problems that have been identified by the police departments involved in the research in these local areas and have dealt within the local action plans, it can be concluded that the police are partially solving urgent security problems of this population.

Roma women and men who participated in the focus groups expressed confidence and respect for the institution of the Serbian Armed Forces (SAF), although they have almost no direct experience with the SAF nor understand the changes that SAF organization went through. As the reason for this trust, most often are cited cohesive and educational role, which according to respondents, had conscription. Unlike the police, who are generally regarded as a closed institution for Roma employment, the army was perceived as more egalitarian and open institution.

While the Ministry of Interior due to the nature of work and continuous contact of the police officers with civilian populations develops specific policies within the concept of community policing, the Ministry of Defence's position is that it cannot conduct a separate policy for the population of the Republic of Serbia, or part of the population, other than the ones implied within the current legal framework whose norms are applied to all members of the system. This ministry, therefore, does not consider any of the measures of positive discrimination nor does it record contacts with Roma population in the areas where their barracks are, or with Roma organizations on any matters.

Data on complaints of discrimination on national and ethnic grounds, submitted by members of the Roma minority serving in the MoD or SAF, do not exist. In addition, discrimination in the workplace does not occur even among the reasons cited for leaving the MoD and SAF service, at least during the last three years for which period these figures are available.

Among the participants of the field work research, the prevailing opinion is that a better representation of the Roma minority in the state institutions, especially in the security sector institutions, would contribute to facilitating the realization of rights, and the general social status of Roma women and men. However, despite the promotional activities of the MoI, as well as public and equal conditions for admission to study at the Military Academy and the Military Grammar School, Roma participation in these educational systems is almost imperceptible, which later almost completely transfers to the representa-

tion of employees in these institutions. As a major obstacle to education and employment of the Roma minority in security sector institutions, the interviewed members of security forces specify the low level of education of the Roma population.

Based on these findings, Public Policy Research Centre has formulated recommendations for the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defence, particularly in terms of treatment, education, training, employment in these two key security sector institutions, as well as in relation to the establishment of measures for monitoring and reporting on Roma women and men in accordance with existing legal obligations on minority representation in the state administration.

Given the importance of local context and a need of informing and coordination of multiple actors at the municipal and city level, it is recommended to specify the competences of local security councils to the places where they are formed, and for the councils to be formed in those municipalities where such bodies do not exist. It is necessary to include Roma NGOs in their work, as well as coordinators for Roma issues, and Roma NGOs dealing with Roma women and promoting their rights and needs.

The aim of these recommendations is to contribute to improving the security of the Roma women and men, and to complement existing measures envisaged by the Action Plan for the implementation of the Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma – where security problematique is not presented.

1. THE SUBJECT AND THE PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The project, "Vulnerable Groups and Security Sector Reform: Roma Women and Men and the Security Sector in Serbia", deals with the **major security problems of the Roma population** in Serbia. The focus is on Roma women and men, as well as additionally vulnerable subgroups within Roma population, perception of their own security and their experiences with main actors of the security sectors. Also, it is observed whether and in what way the security sector institutions – the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the Ministry of Defence (MoD), contribute now and could contribute to eliminate these problems. **There are three main questions that we give an answer to:**

▶ What are the major security threats for the Roma population in Serbia?

▶ How do Roma women and men perceive the work of MoI and MoD, and do they have confidence in these institutions?

▶ What are the policies and measures adopted by these two institutions in order to respond to specific security threats of the Roma population?

Our goal is to contribute with these findings to the corpus of existing research and publications on the position and problems of this vulnerable group in the Republic of Serbia, but also to the corpus of research and practical policy proposals that address the concerns of the so-called, "second generation" reforms of the security sector in Serbia. Most studies whose object of research is the position of the Roma minority are dealing with their socio - economic position and usually with this situation they causally relate inaccessibility and/or threat to basic human rights, such as the right to possession of identity documents, health care, basic housing conditions, and non-discriminatory treatment and

similar.[1] On the other hand, the Public Policy Research Centre questions the position of the Roma minority in the context of human security and security sector reform, and in that sense, this project has a special value.

Although **the concept of human security**, developed within the framework of the modern security studies, includes the access and the exercise of basic human rights as a legitimate security issue, so far there has been no research conducted in Serbia that directly responds to the question of how do the members of Roma population perceive their own security, understood in the broad context of human security. At the same time, the study answers the question of how the Roma population perceives the work of the security sector institutions and whether do they have confidence in these institutions.

The research also provides the information on **the policies of the security sector institutions towards the Roma population**, a vulnerable group singled out for the purposes of this study, in order to determine whether and to what extent the reforms carried out in this sector since 2000 until today can respond to the security threats of minority, especially so, the so called vulnerable groups.[2] MoI and MoD, and specifically the military and the police, have been singled out as the main actors in the sector, given that institutions in question are, based on the mission and the tasks envisaged by the National Security Strategy and Defence Strategy, in regular and direct contact with citizens.[3]

When it comes to the work of the Ministry of Interior, the concept of the community policing, and the activities carried out within it, should bring closer the activities of the police to everyday life and the needs of citizens, responding to direct and specific security threats in local environment. The Ministry of Defence has first received, with a new set of laws, a list of new missions and tasks, and then adopted and harmonized, with a

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1   Božidar Jakšić, Goran Bašić, *Umetnost preživljavanja: gde i kako žive Romi u Srbiji*, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd, 2005; Bogdan Đurović, „Socijalna i etnička distanca prema Romima u Srbiji", in: *Facta universitatis – series: Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology*, vol. 2, br. 9, 2002, str. 667–681; About the situation of Roma in the EU countries see: *The Situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States: Survey Results at a Glance*, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, UNDP, 2012. According to a survey on the perceptions of security threats in the OSCE participating States, in Slovakia, the Roma population is ranked among the biggest security threats, along with migration, economic instability, social and ethno-political conflicts. The most important causes for placing Roma minority as security threats are unbalanced demographic growth and unsuccessful social integration. *Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area*, OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, April 2014, Internet, http://www.osce.org/networks/118080?download=true.

2   The Public Policy Research Centre previously conducted a smaller survey with such methodology on the perception of their own safety and the perception of the police and the Army of RS as the main institutions of the security sector by the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. See: Jelena Radoman, Marija Radoman, Svetlana Đurđević-Lukić, Branka Anđelković, *LGBT people and security sector reform in the Republic of Serbia*, OSCE Mission to Serbia and the Public Policy Research Centre, Belgrade, 2011, Internet, http://publicpolicy. rs/publikacije/cddd7a3f395d923e21a917e70d457cb32ce539c9.pdf. According to the definition used by the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, vulnerable groups are groups that are excluded from individual or multiple aspects of social life, living in conditions of poverty, or are at risk of being excluded and fall into state of poverty. Internet,http://www.inkluzija.gov.rs/?page_id=935.

3   Special services, as well as civilian and military security services, and other stakeholders in the sector, were not a subject of this research.

Military Law, anti-discrimination standards that oblige the MoD and the Serbian Army to act indiscriminately during the admission to the education, training and employment of personnel in the system.

This research examines whether the reforms that are being implemented within the two key institutions of the security sector affected the way they are perceived by Roma women and men, as particularly vulnerable groups, as well as **multiple vulnerable groups within the Roma population, such as women, internally displaced persons, returnees on the basis of readmission agreements, and former detainees**, as well as whether these reforms have affected the trust of the community towards these institutions.

The research is a key part of the project conducted by the Public Policy Research Centre in the period from August 2013 - June of 2014, supported by the Democratization Department of the OSCE Mission to Serbia, within the project "Consolidating the Democratization Process in the Security Sector in Serbia" funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

1.1. The Conceptual Framework of the Research - the Human Security, Social Exclusion and Security Sector Reform

The research is based on the understanding of the security developed within the security studies from the nineties of the last century - from the concept of human security. In contrast to state-centric and military-centric understanding of security that was prevalent during the Cold War, this concept has expanded the list of security challenges, risks and threats, and included in a discussion of the legitimate security issues a number of problems, such as environmental and identity problems. One possible definition of human security is offered by the Report on Human Development in 1994, according to which the concept includes two elements. The first relates to the absence of chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression, and the other to the absence of the threat of sudden changes in the conditions of life, whether it relates to housing, employment or the community life.[4] Changing the discourse on the security, the state, although still the primary actor in contemporary international relations is no longer the only referent object

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4   *Human Development Report*, United Nations Development Programme, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, p. 23, Internet,http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf.

of security – but we also have communities, societies, nations and individuals.[5] Therefore human security involves not only physical security, but also the ability of individuals to freely work on the realization of their potential and live a decent life. Understood in this way, human security has included to the corpus of legitimate security interests of the individuals their human, social, economic and cultural rights and access to justice and, as a result, it changed the definition of violence. The violence becomes redefined as any action, direct, cultural and structural, that produces physical or non-physical harm to individuals. Violence so widely understood is brought into line with the concept of poverty[6] and social exclusion,[7] but is treated as an explicit and extreme form of discrimination.[8] It should be noted that the concept of human security defined in this way was criticized on the grounds that it has "diluted" the understanding and deliberation of security and enabled the proliferation of security, i.e. securitization of not necessarily security issues,[9] allowing today for the epithet of "security threat" to be arbitrarily added to the political, economic or social problems, depending on the needs and interests of actors who control the public discourse.

From the standpoint of research of the security threats and perceptions of vulnerable social groups, which are also located in disadvantaged socio-economic position, the human security concept shows considerable overlap with the concept of social exclusion. Social exclusion is defined as the process by which individuals are alienated from full participation in social life (work, employment, membership in social networks), whether as a result of their poverty, or discrimination.[10] It is possible to define also a reversed process by which individuals are in the position to exercise their rights, develop capacity and satisfy

5   On the concept see: journal *Ljudska bezbednost/Human Security* 2004–2008; Svetlana Đurđević-Lukić, "Broadening Security Concept – From 'National' to 'Human Security'", *Međunarodni problemi/International Problems*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (2004), pp. 397–408; more specific for the region: Svetlana Đurđević-Lukić, Vojin Dimitirjević, "Human Security and Peace Building in the Western Balkans", in: Wolfgang Benedek, Christopher Daase, Vojin Dimitrijevic, Petrus Van Duyne, *Transnational Terrorism, Organized Crime and Peace-Building: Human Security in the Western Balkans*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 17–37.

6   Poverty as: „Individuals or families whose resources (goods, services and cash income from public and private sources) are so small as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life of the Member State in which they live." Council of EU, 1975.

7   Marija, Babovic, IvanaSuboticki, *Addressing Violence from the HS Perspective*, Orientation paper, Project: Citizens' Network for Peace, Reconciliation and Human Security, September 2013, Internet, http://cn4hs.org/wp-content/uploads/Addressing-violence-from-the-HS-perspective.pdf.

8   Goran B. Milošević (ed), *Rodna ravnopravnost i rodno zasnovano nasilje*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2012, p. 18.

9   See: Filip Ejdus, *Međunarodna bezbednost: Teorije, sektori, nivoi*, Službeni glasnik, Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku, Beograd, 2012, pp. 106–114.and 224–228.

10 *Joint Report by the Commission and the Council on Social Inclusion*, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 2004, Internet, http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/soc-prot/soc-incl/final_joint_inclusion report_2003_en. pdf

needs, but also to achieve at least a minimum acceptable standard of living in accordance with the standard of living in the society in which they live.[11]

Summary of social exclusion indicators in Serbia points to the fact that certain groups of the population (Roma, rural population, the unemployed, the elderly) are in a very high risk of poverty.[12] Although the position of (parts) of the Roma minority in Serbia today can best be described as a state of social exclusion, the introduction of the concept of human security allows us to consider the security perceptions of the minority in a broader framework, important for a better understanding of the situation of this vulnerable group. This concept, despite the inclusion of a large number of diverse threats to the security of individuals, allows a consideration of the immediate physical threats as the primary threat to their security. This threat is even more relevant to the discussion of security of the (part of) Roma community in Serbia today, and thus for the development and implementation of specific policies that should lead to improvements in the security of the population.

When it comes to the work of the security sector institutions, a conceptual framework in which this research is situated is the security sector reform.[13] Starting from the consensus in the community engaged in the research of the security sector, it is considered that the so called "first-generation" of security sector reforms is successfully completed in Serbia - during which the legislative and institutional framework was rounded and preconditions for democratic civilian control activities in this sector were created, so the research attention is now directed towards the problems of the "second generation" of reforms. The second generation of reforms deals with the questions of efficiency and effectiveness of the sector, the effectiveness of the control exercised by a number of legislative, executive and judiciary actors, the independent state institutions, media and civil society organizations, as well as the adoption of norms of democratic political culture. This involves the application of principles of strict respect for human rights, transparency and non-discriminatory treatment, both in the organizational and institutional solutions within the sector as well as in the relation of the institutional sectors with and towards the citizens.

Thematically speaking, the greatest success in the course of reform in Serbia has been made in completing the legal framework of action of the security sector institutions. The adoption of the Law on Police (2005), the Law on Defence (2007) and Law on the Serbian Armed Forces (2007), and finally the adoption of the National Security Strategy (2009) and Defence Strategy (2009), created the strategic and legal basis of action of security sector institutions that have, based on the changed political, social, economic and inter-

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11 "Social inclusion is defined as access to social resources, institutions and processes that enable the restoration and reproduction of group resources and individuals in society in a way that allows them to meet their needs, exercise their rights, increase their resources and develop their capacities and to achieve at least minimum acceptable standard of living in society and actively participate in community life".Slobodan Cvejić, Marija Babović, Gordana Pudar, *Studija o humanom razvoju – Srbija 2010: Izvori i ishodi socijalnog isključivanja*, UNDP Srbija, 2011, Internet, http://www.secons.net/ admin/app/webroot/files/publications/hdrbook.pdf.

12 Marija Babović (ur.), *Izazovi nove socijalne politike: Socijalna uključenost u EU i Srbiji*, SeConS, Beograd, 2010, 158.

13 Timothy Edmunds, "Security Sector Reform: Concepts and Implementation", in: Philipp Fluri, Miroslav Hadžić (eds), *Sourcebook on Security Sector Reform*, DCAF/CCMR, Geneva/Belgrade, 2004, pp. 45–60.

national conditions, set the tasks, goals and organization of the sectors activity. There has been progress made to increase the number of women employed in both institutions, although the gender gap is still very noticeable when it comes to command and high managing positions.[14] Such a shift, despite some efforts, has not been reached regarding the ethnic composition and representation of minorities. This is particularly important for the police, as an institution that is in daily contact with the citizens that is composed of almost invisible number Roma minority.[15] After dealing with the adopted institutional arrangements, within the sphere of interests of the "second generation" problems we deal with the good governance of the sector, transparency of decision-making and enforcement, anti-corruption measures, and respect for human rights for the employees in the sector as well as for the citizens who come into contact with the institutions, so the efforts of the sectors institutions and those involved in their control are turning in that direction. The position of the Public Policy Research Centre is that in this phase of reforms there is a need to develop a sensitivity to respect the security needs of vulnerable groups and the non-discriminatory treatment of citizens in everyday practice.

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14   See: *Položaj žena u oružanim snagama država Zapadnog Balkana*, SEESAC/UNDP, Beograd, 2014, Internet, http://www.seesac.org/res/files/publication/890.pdf.

15   Sonja Stojanović, „Policija", in: Miroslav Hadžić, Bogoljub Milosavljević, Sonja Stojanović, Filip Ejdus (eds), *Godišnjak reforme sektora bezbednosti*, Centar za civilno-vojne odnose, Beograd, 2009, pp. 165–211.

2. ROMA WOMEN AND MEN IN SERBIA TODAY

2.1. Social Exclusion

In Serbia, according to data from the Census in 2011 live 147,604 members of the Roma population, while unofficial estimates indicate that this number is up to 250,000.[16] Despite the improvement of the situation of the Roma minority in Serbia being one of the priorities of the various sectoral policies, and the strategic documents envisaged connecting of multiple sectoral areas where it is necessary to improve the situation of the Roma population in Serbia; many indicators suggest that this population is still the most disadvantaged social group today.[17] Among the most important factors that led to the adverse situation of the Roma population are institutional practices, available resources, and socio – political community engagement.[18]

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16   Strategija za unapređivanje položaja Roma u Republici Srbiji (Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma in the Republic of Serbia), Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, UNHCR, Misija OEBS u Srbiji, UNDP Srbija, Beograd, 2010, Internet, http://www.inkluzija.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Strategija-SR-web-FINAL.pdf.

17   The report of the Ombudsperson from 2013 makes the assessment that the Roma are in the worst position among the national minorities that belong to vulnerable groups, and a recent study by the Commissioner for Protection of Equality and CeSiD showed that Roma are (41.5%), just behind the women (42 %) on the discrimination exposure scale. In previous research of the Commissioner, Roma were recognized as the most discriminated group in Serbia, which indicates the consistency of this trend. *Redovan godišnji izveštaj Zaštitnika građana za 2013. godinu (Annual Report of the Ombudsperson 2013)*, Beograd, 2014, Internet, http://www.ombudsman. rs /attachments/3237_Godisnji%20izvestaj%20Zastitnika%20gradjana%20za%202013%20 %20 godinu.pdf; *Redovan godišnji izveštaj Poverenika za zaštitu ravnopravnosti za 2013. godinu* (Annual Report of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality 2013), Beograd, 2014, Internet, http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/images/files/ Poverenik %20za%20zastitu%20ravnopravnosti%20-%20Izvestaj%202013.pdf. The European Commission has been warning for several years about the very bad situation of Roma in Serbia, including the latest report on Serbia's progress in the European integration process: *Serbia 2013 Progress Report*, European Commission, Brussels, 16.10.2013, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement /pdf/key_documents/2013/package/sr_ rapport_2013.pdf.Similar reviews were found in a recent report on Human Rights of the U.S. Department of State: *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, U.S. Department of State, Internet, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/ index. htm#wrapper.

18   Slobodan Cvejić, *Faces and Causes of Roma Marginalization: Experiences from Serbian Local Communities*, manuscript, October 2013.

New policies, and actions based on them, are essential if we bear in mind that only 29% of Roma population of working age is participating in the labour market, and when they do work, they earn on average a 48% of the average salary in Serbia. Only 12% of Roma have secondary education, and 19% are illiterate. More than 60% of the Roma has no income, whereas this is especially the case for women, while more than 40% of the area inhabited by Roma housing is considered as emergency accommodation.[19] The number of poor in Serbia after the outbreak of the economic crisis has started to grow again and "Survey on Income and Living Conditions" from 2013 shows that the risk of poverty in Serbia is significantly more pronounced compared to other European countries. Although this survey does not provide specific data for the Roma population, it can be concluded with a high probability that it remains the most vulnerable part of the overall population, as shown by data from the 2008 according to which half of this population is poor, 6 % is in a state of extreme poverty, and recorded food consumption is below the hunger level.[20] The most disadvantaged members of the community live in informal settlements, and there is no unified and reliable data with numbers, structures, living conditions and other indicators from these areas.[21]

Following from this, the life expectancy, as the main social indicators of the health status of the population of Roma women and men, is shorter by 10 years than in the rest of the population, and infant mortality is high, with a high degree of chronic diseases.[22] The position and the life of the Roma population in Serbia is further aggravated by discriminatory treatments that are sporadically shown by the state and local institutions, as well as a high degree of social distancing by the citizens of Serbia towards them.[23] The Roma population considers the discriminatory attitude to be most frequently exhibited in the provision of health and social care as well as the labour market.[24] Research confirms that Roma women and men are the groups most exposed to indirect and direct discrimination

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19   Branka Anđelković, Marko Obradović, Jelena Radoman, *Evaluation of Efficiency of the Local Mechanisms of Social Inclusion of Roma*, Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit, Public Policy Research Centre, Belgrade, 2013, Internet,http://publicpolicy.rs/publikacije/1994c357e0a0b17e430d4f98d02a0781333cd535.pdf.

20   The number of poor in 2010 increased by about 2% compared to 2009, while from 2008 until 2009 it increased by 0.8%.At-risk-of-poverty rate in 2012 was about 24%. Source: *Anketa o potrošnji stanovništva*, Saopštenje broj 117, Republički zavod za statistiku, 2011, Internet, http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/Website/ repository/documents/00/00/32/05/LP20.pdf; *Anketa o prihodima i uslovima života*, Saopštenje broj 366, Republički zavod za statistiku, Internet, http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/ repository/documents/ 00/01/25/90/PD10_366_srb.pdf; Marija Babović (ed), *Izazovi nove socijalne politike*, op. cit., p. 147.

21   *Doprinos socijalnoj inkluziji i borbi protiv diskriminacije marginalizovane populacije u Srbiji*, Praxis, Beograd, 2013, str. 37. More on Roma living conditions: Jakšić, Bašić, *Umetnost preživljavanja: gde i kako žive Romi u Srbiji*, op. cit.; *Regional Report on Housing Legalization, Settlement Upgrading and Social Housing for Roma in the Western Balkans*, OSCE/ODIHR, Warsaw, February 2014.

22   Slobodan Cvejić et al., *Studija o humanom razvoju*, op. cit. p. 115.

23   According to the research done at the end of 2013, Roma people faces significant social distance, while this social group is seen by the Serbian citizens to be among the most discriminated. *Redovan godišnji izveštaj Poverenika za zaštitu ravnopravnosti za 2013.*, op. cit., p. 25–28.

24   Slobodan Cvejić et al., *Studija o humanom razvoju*, op. cit., str. 115.

in the labour market, in other words a group that is excluded by the affirmative action measures designed to increase employment.[25]

2.2. Improving the Legal Framework

A Serbian political commitment to improve the situation of the Roma population is confirmed by numerous signed documents that deal with this issue. Serbia is primarily a signatory of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, and it chaired this initiative from 2008-2009. The main strategic document of the Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma until 2015, passed in 2009, identified the following as the main areas where further incentives are necessary: education; housing; health and employment. Among the priorities are the fight against discrimination, poverty reduction and the reduction of gender differences between Roma women and men.[26] However, implementation of the strategy was marked by numerous problems, such as delayed adoption of the Action Plan[27] and the abolition of the Office for Roma integration,[28] which is supposed to be the key body for the implementation and follow-up measures of the Strategy. Also, according to experts from the Office of the Ombudsperson, who followed the implementation of strategies in the areas of: employment; education; housing; health and social welfare and status of returnees under readmission agreements, the Strategy has contributed to the establishment of normative preconditions, but not to the removal of social and economic barriers to the integration of Roma. Among the main reasons for failure were poor management implementation strategies, action plans weaknesses, as well as the unwillingness of the state to design and implement measures that would substantially contribute to improving the situation of the Roma population lives. Insufficient progress is evidenced by the attitudes of Roma from 47 settlements and 30 local authorities across Serbia, as 81% of respondents said they had not experienced improvement of the status of their families during the period of implementation of the Strategy, 26% believe that Roma are integrated into society, while the rest note that there is overt or covert discrimination and segregation.[29]

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25 B. Anđelković et al., *Evaluation of Efficiency of the Local Mechanisms of Social Inclusion of Roma*, op. cit., pp. 23-27; *Doprinos socijalnoj inkluziji i borbi protiv diskriminacije marginalizovane populacije u Srbiji*, op. cit., str. 31–37.

26 Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma in the Republic of Serbia, op. cit. For the improvement of Roma population position relevant are also Strategy for Poverty Reduction (2003–2009), National Employment Strategy (2005–2010. i 2011–2020), Strategy for Reintegration of Returnees according Readmission Agreement(2009), Strategy of Public Health (2009), Strategy of Continuous Improvement of Quality of Health Protection and Patients' Safety (2009),as well as local strategies relevant for the issue.

27 After 2011, when the Action Plan expired, two years were spent before adoption of a new for period 2013–2015.

28 Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina has established Council and Office for inclusion of Roma. Government of the Republic of Serbia has in 2013 established Council for improvement of the position of Roma and for the implementation of the Decade of Roma inclusion.

29 *Izveštaj o sprovođenju Strategije za unapređenje položaja Roma sa preporukama*, Zaštitnik građana, Belgrade, 2014.

Residence Law from 2011 and the Amendment Law of the Non-Contentious Proceedings Law from the 2012 has alleviated an access to personal documents as well as the process of subsequent registration in the register of births, which reduced the number of "legally invisible" persons. For the Roma community legislative reforms in education undertaken since 2009 until 2013 are significant, as well as the adoption of the Law on foundations of the education system, which created a legislative framework for inclusive education, introduced pedagogical assistants, and enabled the enrolment of children from vulnerable groups in primary school and without having basic documents.[30] Despite this, the segregation of Roma children has not ceased, facilitated by the legal possibility of the parents, during the enrolment of children into primary school to opt for a school that does not have to be in the territory of their residence - which allows them to avoid the enrolment of children in schools with a higher number of Roma students. Also, although the term "special school" was replaced by the term "primary school for students with disabilities," the problem of registration of Roma children in this school exists.[31] Since 2003, the measures of positive discrimination have been applied in the process of enrolment of Roma candidates in high schools and universities, which have led to some improvement of the educational profile of the population.[32]

Amendments to the Health Insurance Act and the Health Care, has classified Roma population as a separate group of policyholders and facilitated their access to health insurance and possession of health cards, while the health care was made available to persons who do not have identity documents. However, later identified regulation has created stricter requirements to access to health care, to the detriment of "legally invisible" persons.[33] Although the Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma right set goals in the fields of housing, an area of great importance for the Roma population in Serbia, the Roma remain the group most often subjected to forced evictions, and particularly vulnerable are Roma women and men who are internally displaced people from Kosovo and Metohija. The lack of a unified database of housing conditions of Roma and their settlements is an initial problem that prevents a precise and sustainable planning.[34] Since 2003 within local governments there are coordinators for Roma issues engaged, which should help in formulating a strategic approach to improving the lives of the Roma community in the local area. Their task is to monitor and assist the implementation of sectoral policies in

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30 *Doprinos socijalnoj inkluziji i borbi protiv diskriminacije marginalizovane populacije u Srbiji*, op. cit., p. 15.

31 On the problems faced by Roma children in education, especially during enrollment in "special schools" look at: *Još uvek daleko od cilja – Izveštaj Evropskog centra za prava Roma: Prezastupljenost romske dece u „specijalnim školama" u Srbiji*, Evropski centar za prava Roma, Budimpešta, januar 2014, Internet, http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/serbia-izvestaj-obrazovanje-jos-uvek-daleko-od-cilja-13-march-2014.pdf.

32 *Izveštaj o sprovođenju Strategije za unapređenje položaja Roma sa preporukama*, op. cit., pp. 93–119.

33 As a condition for fullfilling the right to health care, proof of certificate of registration or identity card is required. Ibid., p.119–37.

34 More: Ibid., str. 74–93; *Analiza glavnih prepreka i problema u pristupu Roma pravu na adekvatno stanovanje*, Praxis, Beograd, 2013, Internet, http://praxis.org.rs/images/praxis_downloads/Izvestaj_pravo_na_adekvatno_stanovanje.pdf.

the part referring to Roma population.[35] Also, since 2008, Ministry of Health hired health mediators that have systematic and valuable database on the health status of Roma – users of health insurance, and they strive to get as many members of the community as possible into the system. As noted above, the Ministry of Education has since 2007 introduced pedagogical assistants intended to increase the inclusiveness of education in Serbia and to facilitate the access of Roma children to educational institutions as well as to increase their success rate in within them.[36]

Although progress has been made in the area of fulfillment of the right of access to personal documents, especially with the adoption of the new Law on Permanent and Temporary Residence in November 2011, the problem with the lack of personal documents, and with it the associated lack of realization of certain rights, as well as the problem of further generating legally invisible persons, remains.[37] This is especially true for people with the status of internally displaced persons who are unable to exercise their right to residence registration at the address of the competent social work centre, which is actually allowed due to a modified law. The reason is mainly the fact that those people already have residence on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, and a further problem is exacerbated by the fact that a number of birth registers from the territory is not available. Application of the law was significantly delayed by the instructions that were given to the social work centres, which require that, in order to secure the right envisioned by the law and to be registered at the social work centre address, Ministry of Interior has to issue certificates that those persons have no other legal basis for obtaining permanent residence.[38] The adoption of the new guidelines, in June 2013, on the conduct of police departments and centres for social work in these cases, as well as mandatory guidelines for the social work centres regarding the implementation of the acts of the Amendment Law of the Non-contentious proceedings Law for the purpose of determining the time and the place of birth, should contribute to the facilitation of the provisions of the law. However, the problem of personal documents for a particular part of the Roma population still exists, as evidenced by the findings of this research.

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35   Their position, responsibilities and scope of work in the municipalities differ significantly. The success of the Roma coordinators is affected by several factors, wherein they do not have the budget available and therefore no ability to affect the key factors of social exclusion of the Roma population. More on this: B. Anđelković et al., op. cit., pp. 11–16.

36   More on this: Branka Anđelković et al., *Evaluation of Efficiency of the Local Mechanisms of Social Inclusion of Roma*, op. cit.

37   See: Marina Simeunović, *Possession of Identity Documents as a Requirement of Social Integration of Young Roma in the Settlement of Veliki Rit in Novi Sad (Serbia)*, ODIHR, January 2013, Internet, http://bpri-odihr.org/documents.html; *Izveštaj o položaju pravno nevidljivih lica u Republici Srbiji*, Zaštitnik građana, Beograd, 2012, Internet, http://www.ombudsman.rs/attachments/2222_Izvestaj%20o%20polozaju%20%20pravno%20nevidljivih%20u%20RS.pdf.

38   *Doprinos socijalnoj inkluziji i borbi protiv diskriminacije marginalizovane populacije u Srbiji*, op. cit.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research was conducted by using a qualitative methodology and research techniques of focus groups and interviews, which are widely used when researching the views of different social groups, particularly those marginalized – because they provide direct insight into the way in which certain groups see their reality, while allowing their voices to be better heard. Focus group technique is most suitable for obtaining data on the attitudes of participants in the group as well as the origins and interdependence of these attitudes. In addition, by asking sub - questions and related questions researchers are able to obtain information on potential changes in attitudes over a period, as well as on the factors that have influenced the formation of pronounced views of respondents.

Field research was conducted in the period from November 2013 until December 2013 in six selected cities and municipalities: Vranje, Bujanovac, Niš, Kragujevac, Subotica and Belgrade municipality of Zemun (location Zemun Polje). Two additional control focus groups were conducted in April of 2014 in Kragujevac. The survey covered the places that had administrative status of town and municipality[39] while at the same time striving to cover as much of Serbia territory as possible. Due to research placing a special focus on multiple vulnerable groups (women, internally displaced persons of Roma origin, and Roma asylum seekers and returnees under readmission agreements, etc.), the municipalities, inhabited by refugees and displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija,[40] were included, as well as

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39   Cities are Vranje, Nis, Kragujevac and Subotica, and municipalities are Bujanovac and Zemun.

40   According to data from 2010, the proportion of IDPs from Kosovo municipalities in Serbia in relation to the local population: Bujanovac 10,19%, Kragujevac 7,27%, Zemun 7,06%, Vranje 6,69%, Niš 4,34%, Subotica 3,17%. Source: Table of refugees and internally displaced persons from Kosovo according to municipalities in Serbia in relation to the local population, the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, Internet, http://www.kirs.gov.rs/docs/statistika/Statistika%20-%20IZB%20i%20IRL%20u%20odnosu%20na%20 domicilno%20stanovnistvo%20u%20Srbiji.pdf. According to data from 2013, in Kragujevac and Vranje there is one formal collective center, and in Bujanovac three, while there is no data on the ethnic structure of accommodated. Source: Overview of the Formal Collective Centers in Serbia, the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, March 2013, Internet, http://www.kirs.gov.rs/docs/izvestaji/kolektivni_centri _pregled_stanja_2013.pdf. Data from January 2014, available on the website of the Commissariat, Internet, http://www.kirs.gov.rs/articles/centri.php?lang=SER.

those in which there are returnees under the readmission agreement.[41] In all the selected cities and municipalities the percentage of the Roma population is higher than 2.05 %, which is the national average,[42] except in the city of Kragujevac (0.83 %).

Kragujevac has further been under the scrutiny of researchers due to developed coop- eration of local institutions, especially the police department, the local Roma NGOs, and the fact that it was in the group of first municipalities that in 2002 got involved in the initial phase of the pilot project of the MoI, the "Community Policing in the local commu- nity and safe communities in Serbia", so it represents one of the municipalities in Serbia where the concept of community policing is longer being developed.[43] For the purpose of this research, a total of 11 focus groups in six cities and municipalities were conducted, with a total of 124 participants, of whom 57 were women and 67 were men. The focus groups lasted from 60 to 120 minutes. The focus group mediators used the guide that contains 29 questions and is divided into three categories. The first category of ques- tions relates to the perception of their own security, security of family, community and the local environment, and the anticipation of future security threats. The focus group participants were not offered a list of possible security threats to choose from but were asked open-ended questions, which allowed the researchers to indirectly acquire data on the perception of their security and security threats. The second group of questions were related to the experiences of physical violence and threats of violence, either personally or indirectly (experiences of family members, community members). This group of ques- tions lead researchers to data on the experiences of the most explicit security threat, as well as the knowledge of exposure to this type of threat in different local environments. In addition to data that were obtained, regarding the speed of response of actors in such situations and whether the members of the community have higher expectations of infor- mal networks and institutions, responses to these set of questions provided data on the perception of the effectiveness of the police and the expectations of the police. The third group of questions was related to the confidence in the security sector institutions, the MoI and MoD, and provided an insight into the perception of trends in the functioning of these institutions and reforms implemented since 2000.

Like any research technique, there are limitations here also. For example, some topics that are considered too personal, such as the issue of domestic violence, it is better to examine during in – depth interview that allows privacy. Also, although the discussion in the form of focus groups is anonymous and participants were guaranteed confidentiality, most of

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41   Data from the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration RS for 2012. (and 2013) on the number of persons who were in certain municipalities: Bujanovac 138 (252), Vranje 125 (127), Zemun 97 (124), Niš 83 (83), Kragu- jevac 35 (27), Subotica 17 (26). In 2012 and 2013 among returnees Roma people are prevalent: 2012 – 1.303 Roma people (62% of the total number of repatriated persons); 2013 – 2.073 Roma people (80% of the total number of repatriated persons). Most people returned from Germany. Readmission Office Report fot 2012 and 2013. Internet, http://www.kirs.gov.rs/articles /readizvestaji.php?type1=47&lang=SER&date=0.

42   Zemun 3,33%, Niš 2,69%, Vranje 5,57%, Bujanovac 25,33%, Subotica 2,09%. Results from the 2011 Census, Internet, http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs /WebSite/Public/ReportResultView.aspx?rptId=1210.

43   Out of the visited municipalities also Bujanovac got involved in this pilot project of the MoI, in the next group of municipalities where the activities were conducted during 2003 and 2004.

participants willing to participate in this type of research were mainly those community members who have access to the networks and institutions of social inclusion at the local level, while researchers to a lesser extent reached the members of the community where there is greatest degree of social exclusion (the residents of informal settlements) and the highest level of distrust towards institutions (convicted criminal offenders). Organizers of the focus groups in the city of Niš, Subotica, Bujanovac and Belgrade were the Roma partner NGOs, and in Kragujevac and Vranje focus groups were organized with the assistance of the Coordinator for Roma issues, i.e. Office for Roma Issues. In the focus groups organized in Niš, Bujanovac and Kragujevac some participants also engaged in non-governmental organizations engaged with improving the situation of the Roma minority.

The data on what specific measures the MoI and police departments have undertaken to respond to the local communities' security threats to the Roma minority was acquired from interviews with competent police officers. In addition to the interviews in the Police Directorate of the MoI, in all visited cities and municipalities representatives of police departments who work on prevention and community policing were interviewed, with the exception of Bujanovac, where the interview was conducted with the commander of the police station. Also, in all cities and municipalities, with the exception of Zemun (due to lack of appropriate local body or mechanism), interviews were conducted with representatives of the department involved in the work of local security councils, or those that perform some other activity closely related to the subject of the research, as it was the case with the local coordinators for Roma issues where this mechanism is present, and representatives of local NGOs and Roma NGOs. Overall, in addition to seven interviews with representatives of the police, there were 11 more interviews conducted with other local actors (3 in Kragujevac and Niš, 2 in Subotica and Vranje, and 1 in Bujanovac).

Based on the analysis of strategic and legislative framework relevant to the position of the Roma minority in Serbia and achievements of the security sector reform, both domestic and international research, measures and recommendations, and data from fieldwork, the draft of the findings of this research was prepared and presented at the Round Table.[44] The participants were sent a working document prior to the Round Table so they would put forward comments and suggestions during the Round Table or in written form. Subsequently, the research team conducted two control focus groups in Kragujevac and prepared the final version which was peer-reviewed.[45]

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44 The round table was held on the April 2nd, 2014, in Belgrade, and it brought together 40 participants: representatives of the Ministry of Interior (The General Police Directorate and police departments of all investigated cities and municipalities), the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Affairs, the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Union, the Ombudsperson, the Office for Human and Minority Rights, the National Council of the Roma national minority in Serbia, representatives of Roma organizations, NGOs dealing with security and social inclusion, independent experts and representatives of the OSCE.

45 The reviewers are the Police Academy professors who had already conducted extensive research in the areas of the concept of the community policing, MoI members' attitudes, and discrimination.

4. PERCEPTIONS OF ROMA SECURITY IN SERBIA

4.1. What Are the Major Security Threats?

The findings of the field research show that the perception of security threats of Roma population differs significantly depending on the local environment and the degree of their social integration. The local context of cities and municipalities that are included in the sample of this study show significant variations. From those where the **Roma minority is subjected to racist attacks and direct threats to their physical safety**, such as in Zemun Polje, to those environments in which the coexistence of Roma with the majority population and other national and ethnic groups has existed for decades, and is not subject to rapid changes. This is the case with Vranje, Subotica, Kragujevac and Bujanovac, despite the fact that in these environments Roma women and men perceive that they are discriminated against.[46]

Researched **environments where a significant number of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija have moved to, have shown varying degrees of tolerance towards "domicile" Roma**, which is characterized by a high degree of integration into society, **and displaced Roma**, who are faced with existential threats to their own security - such as lack of personal documents and basic livelihoods, and substandard accommodation. It is possible that in the same local environment (Kragujevac) indigenous and internally displaced Roma are expressing a different list of major security threats, with the first groups primary concern being socio – economic care (employment and housing), while the second group is concerned with issues which include access to personal documents and basic living conditions. In such circumstances, there is no unified position

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46   That those kind of environments are succeptible to the occasional occurrence of ethnically motivated incidents, confirmed the example in Subotica, in which, after the assaults committed by the group of Roma, on internet forums there was a number of comments that can be classified as hate speech. There were several initiatives for the establishment of "civilian" or "civil guards", and some interpreted these tendencies as a spillover of anti-Roma atmosphere in Hungary. Interview with Stevan Nikolić, Board President of the Educational Center of Roma, as part of this research, 20.12.2013; Kristijan Takač, „Ne stišava se bura zbog nasilja u Subotici", RTS, 19.8.2013, Internet, http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/ story/125/Dru%C5%A1tvo/1380600/Ne+sti%C5%A1ava+se+bura+zb og+nasilja+u+Subotici.htmlKristina Jovanovski, „Mađarska desnica potpiruje etničke tenzije", Aljazeera, 6.2.2013, Internet, http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/madarska-desnica-potpiruje-etnicke-tenzije, 23/04/2014.

of the Roma community as to which issues present the main threat to their security; who are perpetrators of the threats and what measures are primary and urgent to improve their position. Also, in areas with distinct differences between indigenous and immigrant Roma population not only are there differences in the degree of social inclusion of the two groups, but the Roma, native to that area, to some extent perceive newly settling Roma as a priority group toward which the means and measures of social inclusion are directed to (e.g. resolving housing issues), which under the conditions of limited budgets and other resource, leads the domicile population to think that they may be deprived of funds that would otherwise be dedicated to them. It is important to note that the emphasis here is primarily on socio-economic security threats that at the same condition a different understanding of the security situation. Domicile Roma have no problem with access to personal documents and related security threats, while for those displaced from Kosovo this is a basic security problem. Lack of personal documents leaves them vulnerable to a situation of arbitrary police behavior directed towards them when stopped on the street and requested to present personal documents. In such circumstances, implications for the security of a particular person depend on the assessment and treatment of police officers whose response can range from tolerable to very coarse, which includes the use of physical force (Kragujevac).[47]

There are also **gender differences** in the perception of their own security and the security of the community. Thus, Roma women are primarily concerned with the education and upbringing of children and related threats, such as the **safety of children in schools and bullying**, regardless of local context in which they live. In relation with these threats is the problem of the schools inadequate teachings regarding the responsive action required when Roma children are exposed to peer violence, or discrimination against Roma children as less capable. These problems are highlighted by Roma female respondents in focus groups of particular areas (Zemun Polje, Kragujevac), and safety of children in schools in general was highlighted as one of the primary threats in focus groups partaken only by Roma women (Zemun Polje, Kragujevac). In addition, the women share the consequences of the local context and perceive other security threats as well as men. Thus, although Roma women in Zemun Polje express racist attacks and threats of attacks coming from organized, informal groups, as the primary threat to the security – which is the main threat of Roma community in Kamendin - they placed in the second position their concern for the safety of children in schools as well as on the streets on their from home to school and vice versa (Zemun polje), which Roma men have not noted as a problem. The same preoccupation with the safety of children, as well as problems with institutions dealing with juvenile delinquency (Police, Bureau of correctional measures), was emphasized by the female participant in the focus groups in Niš who placed it as a primary threat, while male participants were primarily concerned with the intimidation by the police and general exclusion of Roma in Niš from political and social life of the city. Also, although they are acknowledging that there are unfavourable socio – economic circumstances (unemployment) common to the population as a whole, focus groups partaken by female in Kragujevac still perceived themselves as particularly vulnerable to these types of threats

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47   Quotes from the focus group participants.

mainly due to their sex and origin as members of minority communities, and considered these threats exist for the general population and Roma men (Kragujevac), and additionally stated it was *"harder for women than it is for men"* (Bujanovac).

The reasons for these attitudes of Roma women are, above all, their traditional position, lack of education and juvenile marriages. Roma women are also sporadically exposed to discrimination based on their gender identity in the form of sexist comments, which is not necessarily only present in the speech of male police officers, but also in women police officers,[48] while the Roma girls are exposed to threats of sexual violence in schools (Zemun Polje). A female participant in the focus group did mention the example of a police officer who sought sexual favors in exchange for lenient treatment of her child who was suspected of theft.[49] Roma women are also those who are exposed to domestic violence, and with that experience the scale of perceived threats changes, and in this case the threat of a violent husband or partner becomes the priority.[50] According to the testimony of the female participants in focus group in Zemun Polje and Kragujevac, those respondents who had experience of domestic violence and threats by current or former partner sought support and they received it – both from informal networks (family, friends, neighbours) and the institutions (police, judiciary, social work), and consider the issues of visiting the children and placing them in foster homes to be satisfactorily resolved. Based on the testimony of the female participants from the control focus group in Kragujevac, police officers consistently and continually respond to their calls regarding domestic violence. The patterns of relationships that are repeated in cases of this kind of violence (the relation between the perpetrator and the victim, the repetition of violence) are usually similar to the forms of these relationships in cases of domestic violence in general, regardless of the nationality of the perpetrator and the victim (Kragujevac).

The key perceived threat to the security of the Roma population, according to the statement of the focus groups is unfavourable socio - economic status, which is reflected in unemployment, problems with identity documents and the consequent problems of realization of rights - primarily in health and social care. In cases of Zemun Polje (Kamendin) and the city of Niš, this is the second most important perceived threat after the threat of physical attacks by organized groups. Roma women and men have stressed this as an immediate present threat, but also the primary threat that they anticipate in the future, for their own security and the security of their families.[51] In addition, in the case of displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija, particularly those living in collective centres and informal settlements or have no housing solution, unfavourable socio - eco-

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48   Female focus group participants, settlment Kamendin, Zemun polje.

49   The research team undertaking focus groups has taken steps to inform and to encourage her to report the incident.

50   More on links between domestic violence and concept of community policing: Danijela Spasić, *Koncept policije u zajednici i porodično nasilje*, PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Security Studies, Belgrade, May 2014.

51   In Kamendin settlement these security threats for newly arrived Roma population exist since 2008, when they received social housing. See, for example: J. Škara, Z. Lazarević, „Huligani napadaju i prete nemoćnima", Blic 14.8.2008, Internet, http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Beograd/53018/Huligani-napadaju-i-prete-nemocnima/print.

nomic position is primarily reflected in the lack of basic existential conditions in which daily life activities were reduced to search of food and health services, and the lack of personal documents only aggravated this situation.[52] ***"Lack of personal documents puts you into an unsafe situation, it is depersonalisation, you're not a man" (Niš).*** Families who received the so-called "social housing" for use by the City of Belgrade, are faced with having to pay duties and taxes which amount exceeds their income.

Closely linked to socio – economic conditions is the perceived discrimination, on an institutional and societal level. Discrimination is thereby perceived as an accompanying threat, but also the cause of all the above socio – economic threats. Institutional discrimination includes: difficult access, e.g. welfare rights, racist speech by the officials, inaction by school employees when Roma children are endangered, or are the victim of verbal ridicule, etc. Roma women from Kamendin place the discriminatory attitude of administration and some staff in the schools attended by their children as the main issue, due to staff denying that Roma children are exposed to contempt, insults and peer violence. The participants of the focus groups cited that there is no cooperation with parents who are concerned for the safety of children in schools, especially parents of children in school that regularly suffer physical violence. Referring to the experiences of children, parents also perceive that their children receive lower grades, considering the fact that teachers do not expect that they could get better results: ***"You are a Gypsy, I'm going to give you a lower score" (Bujanovac).*** Families who have received social housing perceived indirect discriminatory attitude of city government who are responsible for supervising the use of the apartment and who evaluate whether and how the rules of their use have been broken.[53] A female participant in the focus groups also stated that there is indirect knowledge on discrimination of Roma children, especially those who, thanks to the measures of affirmative action, get extra points when ranking for entry into secondary school. The teacher said to one Roma girl: ***"Oh, so you're a Gypsy woman who received extra points" (Niš),*** which resulted in endangering the safety of a child, and after this statement, the girl was subjected to hatred and attacks by other children.

Participants in the focus groups in Vranje highlight the problems of the current discrimination as a prelude to the future segregation, which starts in educational institutions where Roma and non-Roma children do not sit together in pews, and such a relationship is subsequently reproduced in other spheres of life. Everyday discrimination is most often observed in public transport and public places in general - and in extreme cases, such as

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52   Kragujevac, center Trmbas.

53   The experience of the relationship with the representatives of the city administration in charge of the monitoring process of living in social housing confirmed earlier judgments on the controversy of the process of forced displacement of Roma in Belgrade, for examle: *Platforma za ostvarivanje prava na adekvatno stanovanje,* Mreža odbora za ljudska prava u Srbiji CHRIS, Internet, http://chris-network.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Platforma-za-ostvarivanje-prava-na-adekvatno-stanovanje.pdf.

in the sample of this study of Zemun Polje and Niš, resulting in a situation in which **"Roma are not going out as the night falls"**.[54]

The other main perceived threat are the **physical assaults and threats of assault**[55] (in the case of Zemun Polje this relates to the first threat), as well as the atmosphere of fear and tension created by intimidation and institutional discrimination that leads to Roma becoming "second class citizens" (Niš). In one of the studied municipalities (Zemun) respondents gave evidence of organized attacks on the community, while in others (Vranje, Niš) there are sporadic attacks on individuals or threats of attacks against small groups of Roma women, Roma men and their children. In the case of Kamendin in Zemun Polje regular attacks and threats by "the same groups" of hooligans was experienced by both men and women, which has lead to Roma families being exposed to different security threats then they were while living in container settlements from which they were displaced for the purpose of significantly improving their socio – economic conditions. As a result of the poor security situation, migrant families have become the subject of intolerance by some of the domicile Roma who see them as the cause of the deterioration of security in the neighbourhood. In the case of Niš, participants in the focus groups perceived it unsafe to live in an atmosphere where members of 63rd Parachute Brigade barge into the Roma settlements and intimidate its citizens - which then gets covered up, and the perpetrators go unpunished.[56]

4.2. Trust in Institutions – the Ministry of Interior

Participants in the focus groups expectedly expressed the most direct and strongest impressions regarding the functioning, the efficiency and the (non)discriminatory treatment of the very state institutions with which the Roma population has common contact with. These are the centres for social work, health care facilities and schools (for the parents of the school – age children). A list of these state institutions coincides with the group of socio – economic threats that are listed as the primary threat to the security of the Roma population. In other words these are the institutions that Roma women and men rely on to get answers regarding the threats they are exposed to, yet those institutions represent a source of threat (school environment, lack of exercise health care, etc.). When it comes to trust in the police, these attitudes are formed based on the perception of (lack of)

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54   The rating refers to the displaced Roma in Kamendin. Roma domicile population does not present such a harsh evaluation of their safety.

55   Some registered cases of ethnically motivated violence and attacks on Roma in Serbia during 2013 are presented in: *Ljudska prava u Srbiji 2013*, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, Beograd, 2014, pp. 282–284.

56   The incident occurred in July 2013. From the responses of the focus groups in Niš, it can be concluded that some of them equate this elite unit of the Serbian Armed Forces with the gendarmerie which is an organizational unit of the Police Directorate in the MoI. A number of members of Niš gendarmerie squads in recent years has been accused of numerous criminal acts, which has been mentioned during the focus groups.

corrupted police, effectiveness, and willingness to act when it comes to endangering the security of the Roma population. The impression that the police is corrupt and provides inefficient service, is distinct in areas where they are direct threats present to the physical safety of the Roma population (Zemun Polje, Niš, Kragujevac). These are also the areas where there is a perception that the police used excessive force even during regular patrol visit of Roma settlements, or concerning the cases that do not indicate the need for a wider range of intervention, such as the cases of domestic violence or private parties (Niš, Kragujevac). The perception that the police in these interventions uses improper force and acts of brutality has resulted (Niš, Bujanovac) in the Roma population being afraid of the police: **"The police does not see us as citizens" (Niš)**.

There are two groups of areas where the Roma population feel unsafe. **In the first group** are those in which the Roma population perceives to be facing a specific security threat in relation to the majority population, due to their ethnicity. This is, from the perspective of the Roma population, the case in Zemun Polje, where due to the adverse security situation the Roma do not leave their homes when "the night falls" (which is the situation of the Roma population housed in social housing in Kamendin, and to a lesser extent with „domicile" Roma). In Niš, the unfavourable security situation from the perspective of the Roma population is described more dramatically, as an exposure to arbitrary and violent actions of the police who demonstrate excessive force. In **the second group** are the areas where the Roma population feels unsafe due to exposure to the same security threats as well as the majority of the population, regardless of nationality and ethnicity, and they "measure" security with the same indicators, such as assaults and murders on the streets, children's exposure to peer violence and such (Kragujevac, Vranje) . However , even in these areas, the impression is that, even though they have the same security problems as the majority of the population, Roma women and men are still further subjected to discriminatory practices of the institutions, which worsens their security situation: **"Our kids are doing everything as Serbian children, but this is seen through different eyes" (Kragujevac)**.

There are two groups of observations on policing and expectations of the police - neutral and negative. The neutral group includes observations expressed that "the cops are only people" who, like the rest of the population, care for their job and their families, and the police formally perform their duties (e.g. field work, record misdemeanour or criminal offense, makes a record, and similar) - but the capabilities and possibilities of the police service end here, which subsequently does not lead to an epilogue in the form of solving a particular problem. The negative perception of the police moves from viewing the police as a repressive tool of the majority (Niš), beyond that it is itself a source of criminal activity and acts "brutally" (Niš, Kragujevac), to that so it is seen as corrupt and inefficient service (Niš, Kragujevac) that behaves extremely discriminatory against members of the Roma minority (Niš, Kragujevac, Bujanovac, Vranje): **"They do not beat anymore, but they say: that's Gypsy business" (Bujanovac)**. In the opinion of the focus group participants, examples of discriminatory police behaviour is reflected in inefficient response to the calls of the Roma community, and there is a feeling of the respondents that it would not be the case if they were members of the majority: **"The police is really late where they are called by Roma", "when we call them, their cars never work" (Bujanovac)**.

Participants in the focus groups expressed the impression that the police is acting in accordance with the assumptions of guilt without proof when it comes to Roma, and generalizes individual cases in which Roma are perpetrators of misdemeanour and criminal offenses: ***"With other nations the police behaves differently, and with Roma they are arrogant. The approach is always as if all Roma are guilty" (Niš)***. To this situation, according to the testimony of some of the focus groups participants, significantly contributes the media reporting that Roma are the most common offenders, as well as the significant difference in the reporting of offenses committed by members of the majority population and the offences committed by a member of the Roma population (Niš).[57]

The examples of inefficiency of the police are obvious, for example, in the Roma community where there are expressed security concerns such as drug addiction and organized prostitution, where the police on these occasions is doing nothing even though, according to the testimony of respondents, they have information regarding these issues (Kragujevac), or it has itself contributed to the emergence of such negative phenomena in the Roma community (Niš). Although the scope of this project is not a public opinion poll of the Roma population,[58] there are striking similarities in the presented views during the research of the public opinion that place the police at the top position among state institutions which are perceived as corrupt.[59]

Participants in the focus groups do not have a unified position on whether there was a change in the mode of action of the police service and the behaviour of the police. Some respondents observed that the police are kinder and more respectful of the citizens, which is partly attributed to the obligations and pressures due to newly adopted legislation that places their behaviour under sharp scrutiny: ***"They are more literate and tolerant" (Kragujevac)***. The second group of the respondents however do not perceive that there has been any change in the work of the police and stipulate that they are prone to

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57   Tanja Jakobi, „Izveštavanje medija o Romkinjama i Romima: faktografija bez konteksta" (English: "Media Reporting on Roma: Dry Facts, no Conetxt") Public Policy Research Centre, April 2014, Internet, http://publicpolicy.rs/ Romkinje%20i%20Romi%20u%20medijima#.U2tHQKKur34.

58   Public opinion polls conducted for the MoI show stability in the trends of trust in the police and perceptions of key security concerns of citizens last few years. Citizens in 1012 declared that 42 % have confidence in the police, as shown also by the research in 2011. This is a marked increase in the confidence in the police, since in 2008 the positive opinion had only 28 % of the population. This research, crossed with data on socio - economic status, age, educational achievement and other demographic characteristics allow work on recommendations for further reform of the police and work on the development of specific policies for different groups of citizens. It, however, has not provided material to see how members of minority groups see their own security and contribution given by the police for the improvement of their security. The study of the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy found that members of, for example, Hungarian and Bosniak minorities differently perceived threats to their national and ethnic groups than the majority population, as well as that they differently periceve the security of the majority population. Istraživanje javnog mnjenja „Stav građana prema policiji", Misija OEBS u Srbiji, CeSID, Beograd, decembar 2012, Internet, http://www.mup.gov.rs/cms_lat/sadrzaj.nsf/Stav_gradjana prema_radu_policije.pdf; *Istraživanje javnog mnjenja „Šta građani Srbije misle o svojoj bezbednosti i o bezbednosti Srbije"*, Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku, Beograd, 2012, Internet, http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/ document/ ega_se_graani_plae_a_ko_ih_titi.pdf.

59   *Stav građana Srbije prema korupciji*, CeSID, UNDP Srbija, Beograd, decembar 2013. godine, Internet, http://www. mc.rs/upload/documents/istrazivanje/2014/02-12-14-Korupcija-u-Srbiji.pdf.

the same "methods" as in the nineties, or they even notice a deterioration in behaviour towards citizens. In particular, those participants in the focus groups who claim to have suffered physical torture in prison or have been exposed to physical punishment, although they have not committed an offense or a crime, expressed doubts about the trend of changes in policing. However, even in the absence of positive perceptions about the effectiveness of police work, most of the participants of the focus groups, in the event if they were exposed to threats of violence or experienced violence they would report it to the police - as they would also work in the police if they had the opportunity: *"I'd call them, but I don't have trust in them" (Bujanovac)*. This indicates that there is a basis for improving relations between the police and Roma communities and that the links between institutions and communities are not "doomed" to fail.

The position of those participants in the focus groups that expressed claims of discriminatory treatment by the police is that the relationship of security sector institutions merely reflects the general attitude of society that has discriminatory and dismissive attitude towards Roma. When it comes to the society, there is a noticeable decline in the treatment of Roma: *"We are now even called Gypsies by city children with whom we grew up" (Niš)*. When it comes to the state, as seen by focus group participants, most striking indicator of this relationship is the "invisibility" of the Roma in the institutions of the state, but also politicized institutions that are dealing with Roma. There is a prevailing view that more Roma in institutions would significantly improve the treatment of this population in these institutions, especially when it comes to the language barrier, but also generally it would improve the situation of Roma within the society.[60]

Unlike the representatives of Roma non-governmental organizations that have during their activities established an active relationship with police officers, especially with the police departments with which they have conducted joint activities in some communities (Kragujevac, Niš) or act as intermediaries between the community and the police (Kragujevac, Subotica), Roma women and men, participants in the focus groups, generally do not recognize that their community is visited by the same police officers, which should be one of the outcomes of the application of the concept of community policing. Apart from sporadic recognition that the same government servants visit the settlements in which they live, one gets the impression that there is no uniform perception of who represents the police as an institution in the perception of the Roma population, from the police officers coming in patrol visits to riot police and gendarmerie. Although some members of the community recognize the police officers involved in police activities in the community, mainly because the nature of their work refers them to police (Educational Assistant, members of the Roma NGO), their impression of the work and commitment of these police officers is not associated with the perceptions of police work as an institution, but they see it as their individual involvement and action: *"I know Marija, but Marija is not the police" (Niš)*.

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60 According to the UNDP regional survey conducted on a sample of 1.000 households in each country, 94% of Roma in Serbia consider very important for the Roma to be working in public administration, and this view is shared by 72% of non-Roma. Tatjana Perić, *The Housing Situation of Roma Communities: Regional Roma Survey 2011*, Roma Inclusion Working Papers, UNDP, Bratislava, 2012, p. 47, Internet, http://issuu.com/undp_in_europe_cis/ docs/housing_2_web.

4.3. Trust in Institutions – the Ministry of Defence

In contrast to the perception of police work that is based on direct and relatively common perception of its work, either personally or through the experience of the community, Roma women and men have mediated and not based on personal experience perception of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces. This does not apply to those members of the Roma population who have served military duty in SFRY or FRY and participated as part of the regular units of the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

In accordance with long – term trends in public opinion polls in Serbia, Roma population shows the trust and respect of military institutions. This attitude is expressed independently of the local environment in which they conducted the field research. Also there were no significant gender differences in responses to the question of confidence in the Serbian Armed Forces, with the exception that male respondents who have served a full military were able to justify such a position. The most frequently mentioned reason for confidence in the army, which is higher than in the police, states that military service was a strong cohesive factor that had an educational dimension after which those who had served the army "became men". Also, unlike the police, which is seen as being at least closed in the past to employ Roma, Serbian Army is perceived as more egalitarian and open institutions.

There is a vague relationship to recent and ongoing changes in the work of the Armed Forces, such as the abolition of compulsory military service, and the impression is that these changes are not clear to the citizens, and despite this, they remain to have a traditionally high confidence in this institution. In particular, the male members of the Roma population pointed out that Roma were the ones who responded to a recruitment starting from 1991, considering that they felt it was their duty as citizens of Serbia, unlike the majority population whom avoided military duty. Despite the fact that they zealously fulfilled their duties as citizens, the perception is that they remained "second class citizens" in a country where to some of them even ID cards are not available, while to the others the conditions for a dignified life: ***"Two battlefields I survived, and I have no rights! Why am I not entitled to an ID card?" (Internally Displaced Person, Kragujevac)***.

5. POLICIES OF THE SECURITY SECTOR INSTITUTIONS TOWARDS ROMA POPULATION

5.1. The Ministry of Interior

The official policy of the MoI towards the security problems of members of national and ethnic minorities, and thus the Roma population in Serbia, is determined by the principle of impartial and non-discriminatory treatment, of the perpetrators of misdemeanours and crimes and the victims of these offenses, according to the principles of their national and ethnic.[61] The first research on the (non)discrimination attitudes of members of the MoI affairs, conducted virtually at the same time as this study on a sample of 258 members of Criminal Police in five police districts in Serbia, showed that respondents who believe discrimination exists, indicated Roma (with the LGBT population) as the most discriminated social group. These are also the groups towards which the respondents showed the highest level of socio-ethnic distance, but they also recognised that these are the groups in society that are placed at a disadvantaged level. When it comes to affirmative measures to improve the status of national minorities the examined members of the MoI, according to this study, are not inclined to support the separation of budgetary funds for the employment of national minorities in the police: only 34% would support the introduction of measures that would allow police to employ members of the discriminated groups in the corresponding percentage, which is significantly less than the general population with 78% respondents supporting these measures.[62]

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61 Interviewed members of the police were familiar with the meaning of discrimination and the importance of non-discriminatory treatment. Research of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality among civil servants, in which employees did not participate in the Ministry of Interior, found that "more than a fifth of the representatives of public authorities do not know that discrimination is prohibited by law, and even the third do not even know or think that hate speech is not prohibited by law. "*Odnos predstavnika organa javne vlasti prema diskriminaciji u Srbiji*, IPSOS Strategic marketing, UNDP, Poverenik za zaštitu ravnopravnosti, 2013, Internet, http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/jdownloads/files/izvestaj_odnos_predstavnika_javne_vlasti_prema_diskriminacijiji_u_ srbiji_final.pdf.

62 Prof. dr Radomir Zekavica, *Sprovođenje antidiskriminacionih politika i Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova RS – Izveštaj o osnovnim rezultatima istraživanja i preporuke*; working version of the research report which will be presented on June 19, 2014.

The specifics relationship of the police service and the Roma population, as well as the challenges that police may face when dealing with the security threats of Roma women and Roma men at the territory of OSCE member states is recognized by this international organization. Some of the major problems are ethnic profiling of the minority members, as well as the insufficient or excessive conduct of the police when it comes to the offenses committed towards or against members of the Roma population.[63] MoI of the Republic of Serbia has in its strategic work recognized and adopted that the minority group, in this case the Roma population, may have and do have different needs in relation to members of the majority population, and that this population faces a series of security threats that are not necessarily shared by members of the majority population. This view, which should be recognized in the operational work of the police, has been "delegated" to the MoI with the Strategy of Community Policing which the Government of the Republic of Serbia adopted in 2013. Concept of the community policing recognizes that not all societies and groups have the same security problems, and what is a priority in the activity in one area (for example, the problem of drug addiction) is not necessarily a major problem in a different environment (where, perhaps for example, traffic safety is a primary security issue for local residents). Irrespective of the different models of relations between the community and police, there is an agreement that this concept, at least in its Western European interpretation, intends to achieve equality, fairness, and that the emphasis is on the needs of minorities and vulnerable groups.[64] On the particular need to achieve balance and reconciliation of different needs when it comes to the relationship between police and various minorities, testifies the genesis of many institutional arrangements that have been resorted to in the situations of organizing policing in ethnically mixed areas,[65] but also the improvement of the relations between the police and others, not necessarily ethnic minorities, like LGBT.[66] The adoption of this concept meant changing of the discourse relating to performing of police duties and organization of modern police services, as well as organizational changes in order to respond to changes in society and the requirements for the police services to be established on the principles of greater accountability to the citizens they serve.[67]

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63 *Policija i Romi i Sinti – dobra praksa u izgradnji poverenja i razumevanja*, Serija izdanja Jedinice za strateška pitanja policije OEBS, tom 9, OEBS, Beč, April 2010.

64 Dominique Wisler, Ihekwoaba D. Onwudiwe, *Community Policing: A Comparative View*, op. cit., p. 26.

65 William C. Berleman, "Police and Minority Groups: The Improvement of Community Relations",u: *Crime & Delinquency*, April 1972, pp. 160–167.shows distinct institutional arrangements in the context of policing in ethnically and racially mixed areas: ombudsperson, mixed advisory group or ethnically divided police, but also the importance of training and work on sensitizing police officers.

66 Leslie J. Moran, "Invisible Minorities: Challenging Community and Neighbourhood Models of Policing", u: *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, Vol 7(4), 2007, pp. 417–441.shows the relationship of the LGBT community in two cities in the UK, their perception of their own security and relations with the police, as well as some of the institutional arrangements for linking the community and the police.

67 Victor E. Kappeler, Peter B. Kraska, "A Textual Critique of Community Policing: Police Adaption to High Modernity", u: *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1998, pp. 293–313.

Such principles, on which, conceptually and organisationally, modern police services are structured, had their first expression in the police action in Serbia from 2002 and the pilot project "Police in the Local Community andSafe Communities in Serbia" conducted by the MoI with the support of international organizations, primarily the OSCE Mission in Serbia.[68] The aim of the project was more active involvement of the community in identifying and solving the local security problems, as well as achieving deeper cooperation between government, MoI and the citizens. In the pilot project the municipalities of Vrnjačka Banja, Novi Bečej and Zvezdara (Belgrade) were involved, and during 2003 and 2004 activities were also carried out in the municipalities of Bačka Palanka, Novi Sad, Požega, Bujanovac, Preševo, Medveđa, Sombor, Zrenjanin, Kikinda, Niš.[69] In these municipalities the first local security councils were formed, as well as mechanisms of direct involvement of local communities in the assessment of the security situation. In the next stage of the development of community policing, in 2005 a new Law on Police was adopted, which specified that police officers act in the service of the community (Article 13) and that allowed the possible creation of a separate Department for the prevention, work and organisation of community policing within the Police.[70]

Finally, in the third stage of the development of the concept of community policing, the Strategy of Community Policing was adopted, which included among the most important goals in the coming period: development of police training, development of citizens and community safety awareness, strengthening confidence in the police as well as the cooperation and the partnership with local community, and police work while respecting the diversity that would be tailored to the needs of citizens. The basic guidelines of policing towards community according to the Strategy include preventive and proactive actions rather than repressive and reactive; the focus of policing is problem solving and combating their causes, according to the specific needs of the citizens and communities that formulate priorities. Also, it is to establish relations of cooperation and trust between local communities and the police, which means the inclusion of a range of actors such as local governments, other state organs apart from police and citizens' associations - to solve their security problems.[71]

The Strategy recognises the local security councils ("advisory body") as partners whose work involves defining the security problems in the community and determination of the

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68   On the operationalization and implementation of the concept of community policing, see: *Dobra iskustva u izgradnji partnerstava između policije i šire društvene zajednice*, Viši policijski savetnik Generalnog sekretara OEBS, OEBS, Beč, 2008.

69   Maja Bjeloš, Zorana Brozović, Saša Đorđević, *Priručnik za rad lokalnih saveta za bezbednost*, Centar za podršku ženama, Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku, Beograd, 2011; Jan Litavski, Saša Đorđević, Žarko Marković, *Zbirka predloga praktične politike za reformu policije u Srbiji*, broj 3, Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku, Beograd, September 2010.

70   Zakon o policiji *(Law on Police)*, *Službeni glasnik RS*, br. 101/2005, 63/2009 – odluka US i 92/2011.

71   „Development of community policing is based on the improvement of preventive policing, police organization and management of values in police, and policing evaluation and recognition of the role of community in raising the level of security" Strategija policije u zajednici *(Strategy of Community Policing)*, *Službeni glasnik*, 05 broj: 021-1082/2013-003, 2013.

action strategy, proposing and adoption of specific projects to solve security problems, and forming of working groups that will deal with solving those problems.[72] From 2002 in more than 100 communities in Serbia the local security councils were formed, or a similar bodies under different names (municipal council for security, security committee), whose common feature is that their members are functionaries of the most important local institutions - local government, police, the judiciary; while in some, the representatives of ethnic minorities and civil society are represented. It is foreseen that, after the evaluation of the safety in the community, councils work on the design and implementation of activities through which problems will be resolved, within which they can also formulate local plans for security.[73] In some municipalities, these plans are structured in the local security strategies.

Out of the municipalities involved in this study Bujanovac, Kragujevac,[74] Subotica and Vranje have local security councils, while such bodies do not exist in Niš and Zemun, as well as on the territory of the city of Belgrade. An example of the city of Niš, where a representative of the city government presented the fact that the council does not exist, and the focus group participants indicated that it exists, but that it has no representatives of the Roma population, "although Roma population is in a high risk group"[75] – points to insufficient knowledge of the activities of local security bodies. In Belgrade in 2011 Working Groups was formed to identify priorities for improving the quality of the security of people and property, and included, as a priority measures, the formation of the Security Council of the city of Belgrade, as well as similar bodies at the level of urban municipalities. This has not been done, which suggests that the importance of these mechanisms is not yet recognized by the local authorities.[76] This is confirmed by the fact that the work of the Council is often blocked due to political disagreements and changes of ruling structures at the local level, as it has happened in Subotica and Kragujevac.

In Kragujevac, among the members of this body is a coordinator for Roma issues, as well as Roma CSOs representatives.[77] However, during the investigation it was found that the Roma minority, and general national minorities and inter ethnic relations in general

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72 Ibid.

73 Maja Bjeloš et al., *Priručnik za rad lokalnih saveta za bezbednost*, op. cit.

74 These two municipalities have established local security councils during the first phase of the pilot MoI project.

75 Focus group, Niš, 24.12.2014.

76 Working group was formed for the period of six months. *Izveštaj Radne grupe za utvrđivanje prioriteta za poboljšanje kvaliteta bezbednosti ljudi i imovine u gradu Beogradu (Working Group Report)*, jun 2011, Internet, http://www.beogradeu.gov.rs/userfiles/files/Grad%20Beograd_Izvestaj%20o%20utvrdjivanju%20prioriteta%20za%20pobolj%C5%A1anje%20kvaliteta%20bezbednosti%20ljudi%20i%20imovine_jun2011.pdf, 04/03/2014.

77 President of the Municipal Assemly of Bujanovac and president of the Council in an interview with the research team of the Centre said that, in the functioning of the Council the Roma do not participate, but before they did. A representative of the police station made a different statement, that in the Council there are representatives of Roma, and that they are "influential Roma". Conversations with the President od the Municipal Assembly of Bujanovac and president of the Municipal Security Council, and commander of the police station Bujanovac, 17.12.2013.

have not entered the local agenda of the Security Councils' (Bujanovac, Vranje, Subotica), except in Bujanovac, where there is a working group for improving inter-ethnic relations, but it is not certain how active it is. The only action of the Council in Kragujevac in connection with the Roma population has been the enactment of the Local Action Plan for the Prevention of begging in 2011, which individually dealt with each of the ten targeted Roma families who were engaged in begging. At the beginning of 2014, Kragujevac City Council established the Council for the improvement of Roma status, with Roma CSOs representatives being included in its functioning, as well as representatives of educational, health and social services. Within this body were formed the working groups for education, health and social protection, employment and gender equality.[78]

A Local Security Strategy of the Bujanovac municipality and city of Vranje for the period from 2012 till 2014 were adopted with the support of the joint UN Maintenance of Peace and Inclusive Local Development program (PBILD). Both strategies give the greatest importance to economic and social problems, with the most common forms of crime being the disturbing of public order, theft, and domestic violence. The strategy of the city of Vranje does not directly recognize the Roma population, and the local security strategy of the municipality of Bujanovac does this indirectly by setting the improvement of multi-ethnic relations as a priority.[79] The security strategy of the city of Niš makes assessment that form 2002 there was no recorded occurrence of larger incidents related to the intolerance, thus the tolerance level is satisfactory. Also, in the local community no national and religious extremism is present.[80] The safety strategy of young people of the city of Niš, adopted in 2013, recognizes Roma as one of particularly vulnerable groups within the population of young people.[81]

Subotica and Kragujevac have no local security strategy or a similar document to deal with community safety. The Working Group report for identifying priorities for improving quality of security of people and property, and it is planned to formulate security strategy within the Strategy for the Development of Belgrade, but the last strategic document on the development of the city was adopted in June 2011, before the adoption of this Report, and does not contain any part of the which relates to security.[82]

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78   Internet, http://www.kragujevac.rs/Sednica_Saveta_za_unapredjenje_polozaja_Roma-43-1-6597, 04/03/2014.

79   Other priorities are: prevention of drug abuse, prevention of domestic violence and the prevention of juvenile delinquency. According to the letter of the Strategy, in the municipality of Bujanovac there is the Commission for the development of action plans to improve education, housing, health care and employment of Roma in 2006. Decision was made on the development of local action plans to improve education, housing, health care and employment of Roma, as part of project *Integracija Roma u lokalnu samoupravu*. Strategija lokalne bezbednosti opštine Bujanovac 2012–2014 *(Local Security Strategy of Bujanovac)*, Internet, http://www.pbildprogramme.org/dokumenti/sr/3_177_SLB_Bujanovac.pdf, 04/03/2014.

80   Strategija bezbednosti Grada Niša *(Security Strategy of the City of Niš)*, Internet, http://www.mcnis.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Strategija-bezbednosti.pdf, 04/03/2014.

81   Strategija bezbednosti mladih grada Niša (Strategy of Youth Security of the City of Niš), Niš, 2013, Internet, http://mirc.rs/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Strategija-bezbednosti-mladih-Grada-Nisa.pdf, 05/03/2014.

82   Strategija razvoja grada Beograda (Development Strategy of the City of Belgrade), Urbanistički zavod Beograda i PALGO centar, mart 2011, http://www.beograd.rs/download.php/documents/SRGBpredlog.pdf, 04/03/2014.

Adopting of the Strategy of community policing has allowed for the organizational changes to be carried out in the MoI and police departments, such as the establishment of the police officers within the community, which formally responds to specific threats of the security of certain groups. That, however, does not entail a radical change in the conceptual and operational work towards the minority communities in general and the Roma community. There is no indication that the strategy will be followed with the preparation and adoption of the Action Plan.

Police Department for the strategy of community policing and working with minority groups gives an impulse and momentum to regional police departments to implement the tools and resources that have been placed at their disposal in planning and implementing activities directed towards minority communities. Specific actions directed towards Roma communities are undertaken by local police department and sector leaders who are responsible for specific sectors like security and territorial unity. If there is a Roma settlement in the area of a particular sector, it is necessary for the sector leaders within police departments to establish communication with the community and to know which measures the police should use to respond to their needs. In Kragujevac, it was pointed out that the leaders of the sector, covering the Licika settlement are familiar with the Roma part of the settlement, and that the Roma population is well acquainted with them, as well as the sector leaders in Niš generate direct cooperation with the relevant community. There is process underway redefining the description of their duties.[83]Also, on the police departments level there have been police officers engaged in the community, while there are plans for them to be established at the level of police stations, either by creating new jobs, or through the reform of the existing ones. There have been 27 officers engaged as intermediaries between minority communities and the relevant police departments that are responsible to solve their problems.[84]Engaged officers passed the OSCE action plan writing program through which certain police department determine what security issue is a priority in the territory for which they are responsible, as well as what measures the police will use to respond to identified problem. During the 2012 and 2013 a total of 27 small police community projects were conducted, which were mainly engaged in prevention, in relation to issues such as security in schools, respect for diversity and violence in sport. In the 2013, the action plans in Niš and Belgrade municipalities, Čukarica and Palilula were specifically concerned with Roma population. In Belgrade municipalities Roma population was provided with information and help regarding the realization of the right to possession of identity documents, while in Niš the plan was concerned with juvenile Roma perpetrators of criminal acts and consisted of education in order to develop security culture of children and parents. The target groups were underage Roma and their parents, due to frequent thefts from the vehicles. Workshops were organized, visits to Roma children in the villages, police visits by Roma children and socializing of police officers and the community. Although the decrease in offenses was recorded during the duration of the project, after completion of the project the number of crimes rose again, and it was recognized that a perpetual approach is essential.

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83   Interview at the General Police Directorate for the purposes of this reseaarch, Belgrade, 21.11.2013.

84   Ibid.

There is no summary evaluation of the implemented action plans, but only estimates of local police forces about the extent to which activities carried out contributed to solving or mitigating the identified security problem. The intention is certainly that actions taken are sustainable, i.e. ad hoc activities that will have only short-term effects should not be carried out, as well as future action plans to respond to also other priority security threats identified in a given local environment.[85]

While not necessarily listed as the primary goal, the activities that include a visit and stay of police officers within the Roma communities, work and socializing of police officers with Roma children, sports meetings of police officers and the members of the Roma population, promotion of the role of a police officer as a profession; contribute to building of community confidence in the police and improvement of relations between the community and the police. As such, these examples represent a good practice that develops relations between the police and the local Roma community. These activities are usually organised in Kragujevac[86] and Niš,[87] mainly in cooperation with the local Roma non-governmental organisations. As shown by the results obtained through interviews in the cities and the municipalities of Kragujevac and Niš, police departments have improved and developed cooperation with some Roma NGOs that work as intermediaries between the community and the police, and as partners to the institutions in identifying the key problems of the community. Examples of such organizations are "Stablo" in Kragujevac, and "Ponos" and "Osvit" in Niš. In addition, police departments organise and implement activities that promote vacancies for police training, which can take the form of the lectures, visits by the representatives of the MoI and the KPA, as well as visiting of Roma settlements.[88]In cooperation with the OSCE Mission and Roma CSOs, there are organized visits by Roma women and men as well as the stay at the Center for basic police training.[89] According to the data obtained within the research, the Center for basic police training publishes vacancies in minority languages, and also ensured the possibility of psychological testing in minority languages.[90]

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85   Ibid.

86   Some of the examples mentioned during an interview at the Police Department Kragujevac 26.12.3013: Police officer involved in the project"Living Library" ("Živa biblioteka") conducted by RNGO „Stablo"; joint celebration of the International Roma Day; organizationof the "Children Security Olympics" („Dečija olimpijada bezbednosti").

87   Niš Police Department participated in activities within the national project of the support to the early development of Roma children "Strong from the Beginning" („Snažni od početka"), conducted by RNGO „Ponos". Interview was conduted for this purpose at the Police station in Niš, 24.12.2013.

88   These activities are sometimes directed specifically at the Roma population, but mainly they are doing a joint presentations of the vacancies, with additional encouragement for Roma population to visit presentations. On the promotion of vacancies National Council of the Roma National Minority is actively involved, as well. Interview in police station in Niš, 24.12.2013; Police station in Subotica, 20.12.2013; Police station in Vranje, 17.12.2013; Internet, http://www.romskinacionalnisavet.org/ aktuelnosti.html?start=9, 25/04/2014.

89   Interview at the General Police Directorate for the purposes of this research, Belgrade, 21.11.2013.

90   Ibid.

Although the police department do not record nationality and ethnicity of the perpetrators and victims of crimes and misdemeanours, nor is such a declaration required when reporting any of those crimes, the police department has quantitative data on reported cases in which members of the Roma minority have been the injured party, i.e. have suffered physical or verbal assault, as well as those cases in where Roma community was attacked (stoning of the village), or there is an expression of hate speech (writing graffiti). Based on the data that the MoI possesses whether from reports, or from other sources, the number of reported cases, where the members of the Roma population are target of the attacks or any other crimes, is declining if we follow the trends from the 2004 onwards.[91] These data have to be analyzed while noting that the police does not have access to data on the number of crimes that have not been reported. Based on available data, the representatives of the MoI came to the conclusion that the security of the Roma population improved. Also, police departments covered by this research explicitly point out that national and ethnic identity, whether of the perpetrators or of the victim of an offense, is not the data on which the police insist, nor are they necessarily recorded, except in cases in which national and ethnic background of the perpetrators is an important factor in solving case. However, they have a database based on which they can draw a statistical overview of the Roma victims, as well as the Roma perpetrators of crimes.[92]

When it comes to police operative work in the researched cities and municipalities, not one security problem stand out that is characteristic to the life of the Roma population, which would also be recognised in police work, since it concerns the combination of many causes, from poverty to the norms, characteristic to the Roma population that also police officers recognize. Irrespective of the local context, what interviewed representatives of police departments are insisting on is that specific measures are not, nor should be applied towards the members of the Roma population, as well as towards the members of other national and ethnic minorities.

All police departments investigated in the research agree that, regardless of the number of citizens' complaints regarding the police on any basis, there are no submitted complaints from citizens of Roma nationality, or they are an insignificant number, during the period of the past few years.

Employment of the Roma women and men in the police

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia stipulates that persons belonging to national minorities have, under the same conditions as other citizens, the right to participate in management of public affairs and to enter public functions, and that, during the employing process of individuals in the state bodies, the ethnic demographic of the population and

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91   Ibid.

92   In the criminal report there is a part on declaration of nationality which is not mandatory, while for delicts that part does not exist.

appropriate representation of ethnic minorities has been taken into account.[93] The principle of equality, as well as the obligation to take measures to increase the participation of national minorities in the civil service, was confirmed by the Conclusion on the measures to increase the participation of national minorities in state administration.[94] This means that with these provisions both police and the military were covered. In addition, the Law on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities emphasizes the importance of respecting of these principles in police employment,[95] which is in accordance with the recommendations of the OSCE that the composition of these services on a local, regional and national level reflects the ethnic structure of the population, as well as the need to encourage employment of members of underrepresented minorities in the police work.[96] Also, the Action Plan for the implementation of strategies for improving the situation of Roma people in Serbia for the period from 2013 to 2015, as one of the indicators of the success of affirmative measures in the field of education, states that the percentage of students from Roma population who are enrolled in the police and military schools need to match the percentage of students from the majority population.[97]

According to the obtained data, the MoI does not have statistics on employment according to ethnicity,[98] which is why the data obtained by the research team on the number of police department employees in the investigated cities and municipalities are the estimation of the interlocutors, who do not necessarily have full access to accurate data. The fact is that both Roma and police officers recognize that there are some Roma police officers, while they give a different answer to the question why the police did not employ a larger number of Roma women and men. Thus, Roma women and men consider that a small number of citizens of their ethnic groups employed in the police reflect a similar situation in state institutions as a whole, where there is almost no Roma population, or they are employed in an insignificant number, and at the lower administrative jobs. They see this as a consequence of discriminatory treatment of institution towards them and their community, whose members, even when they have the necessary qualifications, find it difficult to gain employee status. They consider that this puts the members of their community in the disadvantaged position and that it is necessary to increase the number of Roma in the police and other state institutions, and observe this as means to having their personal rights greatly facilitated. One of the most immediate way in which it would

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93   Article 77. Ustav Republike Srbije (*Constitution of the Republic of Serbia*) Službeni glasnik RS, broj 98/06.

94   Zaključak o merama za povećanje učešća pripadnika nacionalnih manjina u organima državne uprave (*Conclusion on Measures for Increasing the Participation of National Minorities in State Administration*), Službeni glasnik RS, broj 40/06.

95   Article 21. Zakona o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina (*Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities*), Službeni glasnik SRJ, broj 11/02.

96   *Preporuke za rad policije u multietničkim društvima*, Organizacija za bezbednost i saradnju u Evropi, Visoki komesar za nacionalne manjine, februar 2006. godine.

97   Akcioni plan za sprovođenje Strategije za unapređenje položaja Roma u Republici Srbiji (*Action Plan for the Implementation of the Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma in the Republic of Serbia for the period up to 1.1.2015*). Internet, http://www.inkluzija.gov.rs/files/Romi%20-%202015%20-%20akcioni%20plan%20za%20sprovodjenje%20 strategije.pdf.

98   Interview at the General Police Directorate, Belgrade, 21.11.2013.

help advance their rights is being able to speak their native language.[99] Even more so because, they state, only members of the Roma population can adequately understand the context of the daily problems faced by Roma women and men. The focus group in Bujanovac expressed particular dissatisfaction regarding the fact that in a multi-ethnic police force the Roma people were not introduced, but only Serbians and Albanians. Also, a great number of male focus group participants showed interest in working in the security sector, but more so in the army than the police - either because they view that the work of police officers as risky, or because they think that, as Roma men they would not be accepted, or a job in the police is considered undesirable for other reasons. However, it seems that the prevailing attitude is that, due to lack of education, a good part of the population cannot meet the formal criteria for admission to the police or military training.

On the other hand, employed police officers are cautious when explaining why there are no larger number of employed Roma, and seek an explanation in the formal prerequisites for obtaining such status, from the educational profile and psychophysical predisposition, to the possession of records without judicial punishment on the grounds of misdemeanour and criminal responsibility, which includes the parents and the family of the candidates, but they also see the reason in the current prohibition of recruiting new officers (despite that many police departments do not have 100 % filled capacity). Police officers actively engaged in community policing activities are mainly involved in activities promoting enrolment for basic police training in Roma communities, and state that the interest is immense; however, applications are usually unsuccessful because Roma population fail to pass the formal requirements for admission.[100]

Officer, the members of the majority population, do not perceive that there are internal barriers to advancement and promotion of Roma police officers, nor that within the police there are visible or less visible mechanisms of discrimination based on national or ethnic origin.[101] Their perception does not necessarily coincide with the perception of the few Roma employees in the police, with whom an insufficient number of interviews was conducted to acquire reliable research conclusions on the possibilities of enrolment, promotion, and the treatment of Roma police officers currently working within the service.

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99 Focus groups participants confirmed that the lack of language knowlagde is a major problem for many members of the Roma population in the realization of rights. Given that local governments determine the use of minority languages, police departments are not obliged to organize teaching of minority languages for their employees, but some Police Departments have done it on their own initiative, such as PD in Kikinda in which there was organized learning of Hungarian language. Interview in the General Police Directorate, Belgrade, 21.11.2013.

100 The attitude of the majority of the interviewed police officers.

101 The attitude of the majority of the interviewed police officers.

5.2. The Ministry of Defence

Among the key demands of the second generation of security sector reform are the adoption and development of a democratic political culture, which, among other things, means respect for human rights and particular sensitivity of the reform process towards vulnerable groups.[102] Also, institutional arrangements and relationships that enable democratic framework for civil-military relations and that were built during the first generation of reforms, should be consolidated into practice through the formulated defence policies.[103] The main strategic document of the defence system of Serbia, the National Security Strategy recognizes the need to protect human and minority rights, as well as the value of population equality on all grounds, as well as national. Reform processes have contributed to the development of awareness of the need for better protection of human rights and the very members of the defence system, so the Law on the Serbian Armed Forces further prohibits discrimination against members of the Serbian Armed Forces on the basis of racial, religious, ethnic, sexual orientation, or based on any other personal characteristics.[104] Among the most significant achievements of the reform process is certainly the acceptance of women into education at the Military Academy, and from 2014 in the Military Grammar School as well. To the members of the defence system were made available mechanisms which may protect their rights and point out the discrimination, such as the Inspectorate of defence and institutions of internal controls, and a new institute of person of trust is introduced that is supposed to advise, mediate and take measures to solve disputes that can be placed into the area of discrimination and gender equality.[105]

Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defence, by the nature of their roles, have a different intensity and types of contact with the civilian population. The Ministry of Interior is in constant contact with the civilian population and, within the concept of community policing, develops a specific approach. On the other hand, the attitude of the Ministry of Defence is that it is unable to have any specific politics towards the population of the Republic of Serbia or its part, except that which imply action within the current legal

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102 Robin Luckham, Tom Kirk, *Security in Hybrid Political Contexts: An End-User Approach*, Justice and Security Research Programme, London, 2012; Andrew Cottey, Timothy Edmunds, Anthony Foster, "The Second Generation Problemtic: Rethinking Democracy and Civil-Military Relations", u: *Armed Forces & Society*, 29, 2002, pp. 31–56.

103 Andrew Cottey et al., "The Second Generation Problemtic", op.cit.

104 Zakon o Vojsci Srbije *(Law on the Serbian Armed Forces), Službeni glasnik RS*, br. 116/07, 88/09. Regarding the treatment of atheists and members of different religious communities in the Serbian Armed Forces, see: Marina Tadić, *ZA I PROTIV verske službe u Vojsci Srbije (PROS & CONS of the Military Chaplaincy in the Serbian Armed Forces)*, Centar za istraživanje javnih politika, mart 2014, Internet, http://publicpolicy.rs/publikacije/ 54ea06d-586fe57bd8ba4b367cf5925bcc4df75c7.pdf.

105 Nacionalni akcioni plan za primenu Rezolucije 1325 Saveta bezbednosti UN – Žene, mir i bezbednost *(National Action Plan for Implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325)*, Internet, http://www.mod.gov.rs/sadrzaj.php?id_sadrzaja=4352. Trustworthy persons started their engagement in December 2013.

framework.[106] In line with this, is the finding from a previous study of this centre, "Mapping Non-Discrimination Discourse in the Military Education in the Republic of Serbia", that the relationship between civil and military structures is not a topic of discussion in the educational institutions of the defence system - which indicates the predominant orientation of the system towards itself.[107] This is reinforced by the fact that the Ministry of Defence does not have any contacts with the local Roma population, both in the places in which they engage professional soldiers and with the Roma NGOs that never contacted them.[108] Apart from the third mission of the Serbian Armed Forces, relating to support of civil authorities in the event of natural disasters and catastrophes, in this system they argue that due to the nature of the activities carried out by members of the system they are not in direct contact with the civilian population. This interpretation puts a defence system into a significantly isolated position, so to a certain extent it does not follows contemporary concepts of civil-military relations. This suggests that the need to develop democratic civil-military relations, in their broader interpretation, is not entirely recognized by the current reform process.

When talking about minority groups, the official position of the Ministry of Defence is that the subjective understanding of the members of the Ministry and the Serbian Army on minority groups, including the Roma minority, are not relevant, since they are obliged to adhere to the principle of legality. However, the results of the aforementioned research by the Centre from 2013 showed that discrimination of vulnerable groups and the relationship between them are among the themes that are included in the educational institutions of the defence system, but also that students and cadets of the Military Grammar School believe that discrimination of national and ethnic minorities does not exist nor in the Serbian Army, nor in the society in general. At the same time, the majority of focus group participants in this study declared that they do not know or know very little of the anti-discrimination legal framework that is in force in the Republic of Serbia.[109] Although no conclusions can be made based on the views of only one part of the system, it seems that these data confirm the containment and isolation of the defence system, and that the policy of the defence system in the Republic of Serbia are insufficiently developed in the domain of relations with the civilian population, especially minority groups.

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106 A written response from the Ministry of Defence to the Centre regarding the realisation of cooperation relating to this reasearch, 30.12.2013.

107 Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukic, Jelena Radoman, Marina Tadic, *Mapping Non-Discrimination Discourse in Military Education in the Republic of Serbia*, Public Policy Research Centre, Belgrade, 2013, available on: Internet, http://publicpolicy.rs/publikacije/5b20a813c55b28d7ddb93f43cce9599cea82c921.pdf.

108 Data submitted by MoD, on 27.2.2014, Belgrade.

109 Đurđević-Lukić et al., *Mapping Non- Discrimination Discourse in Military Education in the Republic of Serbia*, op. cit.

Employment of the Roma women and men in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces

Demands to respect human rights and achieving the efficiency and effectiveness of the defence system are consolidated in the principle that it is necessary that the armed forces of a country represent all parts of society, including ethnic and other minorities. In this way, the principle of non-discrimination is promoted and affirmed, especially as representative armed forces can serve as a model for the whole of society, which is especially important in post-conflict societies.[110] Although affirmative action in order to achieve greater representativeness of the Armed Forces may be controversial from the standpoint of the principle of equal opportunity, they may prove to be effective, as in the case of increasing the representation of women in the Serbian Armed Forces. However, similar measures are lacking in the case of ethnic minorities, especially the Roma population.[111]

According to the official position of the Ministry of Defence, the constitutional and legal provisions prohibiting discrimination are embedded in those parts of the legal framework relating to the resolution of the status issue for professional military personnel. These provisions are the same for all members, regardless of religion, race, sex, national origin, or any other personal characteristic.[112] Also, human resources management system is aimed at achieving the goals of equal opportunity and predictable careers.[113] On the other hand, introducing measures of positive discrimination in order to increase the number of members of the Roma minority in the military education system has not been reviewed by decision makers in the system.[114]

According to data obtained from the Human Resources Directorate of the Human Resources Sector of the MoD, with the caveat that the plea of religion and nationality is not required when entering the professional military service, we can speak only about the number of Roma who have chosen to identify themselves as such, the percentage of Roma in the system in February of 2014 was 0.19 %. This figure refers to both the Ministry and the Armed Forces and was higher than the percentage of professional military officers who were expressed as Albanians, Bosniaks, Vlachs, Bunjevacs, Slovenes, Romanians, Italians and Germans.[115]

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110 On ethnical representativness in armed forces in: *Handbook on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Armed Forces Personnel*, OSCE/ODIHR, Warsaw, 2008, pp.100–13; *Multiethnic Armed Forces, Backgorunder – Security Sector Governance and Reform*, DCAF, Geneva, 2006.

111 As noted above, the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities stipulates that, during employing process in public institutions, ethnic composition of the population and adequate representation of ethnic minorities should be taken into account, and that the government and the relevant bodies permanently take measures to increase the participation of national minorities in public administration.

112 Reply by the MoD to the Centre's inquiry, 30.12.2013.

113 *Bela knjiga odbrane Republike Srbije*, Ministarstvo odbrane RS, Medija centar „Odbrana", Beograd, 2010, str. 88.

114 Reply by the MoD to the Centre's inquiry, 30.12.2013.

115 Data submitted by the MoD at the request of the Public Policy Research Centre, 27.2.2014.

MoD and SAF members who identified themselves as Roma are represented in all categories of employees (officers, non-commissioned officers, civilians and military). The structure of their educational attainment is similar to the national level in the general population, so most Roma have a high school diploma (62.5 %), followed by unskilled, skilled, highly skilled workers and those with lower education (total 28.13%). The defence system has 7.81 % of the Roma with a college degree, and 1.56 % of those with a master's degree.[116]

Information on any complaints regarding discrimination on national and ethnic grounds, which were submitted by members of the Roma minority serving in the MoD or SAF, does not exist. Discrimination in the workplace does not feature amongst the reasons for leaving the service in the MoD, at least it did not feature during the three year period within which the data was obtained. During this period a total of 10 Roma people left the service, and the reasons vary - personal request, agreement, contract expiration, pensions, non-appearance on the job. Meanwhile, in the last three years, eight persons of Roma origin have been promoted, and 28 were commended for their extraordinary achievements. Also, 13 individuals have completed some form of vocational training and fulfilled conditions to gain promotion or to perform a better -paying jobs.[117]

Admission of cadets and students of the Military High School, as well as their position during studying, is regulated by the statutes of military educational institutions, Law on the Higher Education and the Law on Secondary Education. Statutes of military educational institutions establish the right of all cadets to the same conditions of studying, and the statute of the Medical Faculty of the MMA emphasizes the right to equality and protection from discrimination. Prohibition of discrimination and development of a spirit of tolerance are among the fundamental principles of the University of Defence.[118] Among the basic principles of higher education are human rights and civil liberties, as well as the prohibition of discrimination on any grounds, while tolerance and respect of national and any other differences are among the objectives of secondary education.[119]

Vacancies for education in the military education system are public, the criteria for admission are clearly defined, and the candidates are not required to declare their ethnic or religious affiliation during the selection process. However, the number of the members of

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116 At the national level within the general population there are most of those with secondary education (48.93%), followed by elementary school (20.76%) and highly educated (10.59%). The employment rate is around 37%, and unemployment rate 22.4%. *Popis stanovništva Republike Srbije 2011 – podaci o stručnoj spremi i ekonomskoj aktivnosti stanovništva*, Internet, http://popis2011.stat.rs/?page_id=1166, 07/03/2014.

117 Data provided by the MoD at the request of the Public Policy Research Centre, 27.2.2014.

118 Statute of the Military Academy, article 135, Statute of the Faculty of Medicine of the MMA, article 127, Statute of the University of Defence, article 134, Code of Professional Ethics, University of Defence, article 5. All documents are available on the website of the University of Defence, Internet, http://www.uo.mod.gov.rs/sr/o-univerzitetu/dokumenta-propisi#.UxoGRc7y334, 07/03/2014.

119 Zakon o visokom obrazovanju *(Low on Higher Education)*, *Službeni glasnik RS*, br. 85/05, čl. 4 i 8; Zakon o srednjem obrazovanju i vaspitanju *(Law on Secondary Education)*, *Službeni glasnik RS*, br. 55/2013, čl. 2.

the Roma minority, who are currently studying at military educational institutions, is very small. Currently, the military academy educates only one member of the Roma minority (IV year students); in the period 2011-2013 only 7 of them have applied, but none were admitted.[120] During the reporting period, none of the candidates belonging to the Roma community have applied to study at the Faculty of Medicine Academy.[121] For the Military High School, in 2011 and 2012, two candidates applied each year. In 2011 none were accepted, and although in 2012 both Roma candidates were accepted, one did not report to school, and the other was dismissed from school because of "underachievement".[122]

Causes of poor pass rate of the Roma women and men, judging according to data from the previous three years, but also of the low interest in defence system education, should be found in a low overall level of education of the population, and awareness regarding this matter was shown by the focus group participants.

Also, it is not clear whether the Ministry of Defence conducts any activities with the aim to bring the military education system closer to Roma or any other ethnic minority.[123] Although it is often said that the vacancies are available in the languages of minorities, the internet portals of these institution show that this is not the case, since they placed only versions in the Serbian language. On the other hand, focus group participants generally expressed a positive opinion about the institution of the Serbian Armed Forces, as well as a greater tendency to work in the army than the police.

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120 According to data provided by the MoD 02/27/2014, in 2013 for admission to military schools applied only five candidates who declare themselves as Roma, all for the Military High School, none of whom were admitted. Action Plan for the Implementation of the Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma (2013-2015) promoted affirmative measures in the area of education, related to the preparation of Roma population candidates to enroll in military school, and promote the enrollment of Roma girls. One indicator of success is the percentage of Roma enrolled in military schools and the deadline for the implementation is the fourth quarter of 2014.

121 As part of the Roma Education Fund scholarships for education in the field of health (Roma Health Scholarship Program), for graduate, master, doctoral studies and professional training, only in the academic 2012-2013 in Serbia there were 174 applications submitted and 78 grants approved. This indicates that there is interest among the Roma population for improvement in this area, as well as high-quality candidates, so it is unclear why the Faculty of Medicine of the MMA does not have even applicants. *Annual Report 2012*, Roma Education Fund, p. 55, Internet, http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications /ref_annual_report_2012.pdf.

122 Data provided by the MoDto the Center for Public Policy Research,27.2.2014.

123 Cooperation of the Ministry of Defence in this study did not include the possibility of discussion during which we asked more detailed questions, and from the correspondance it can be concluded that such measures were not forseen nor contemplated.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The perception of the personal security of Roma women and men depends on the local context in which they live and the characteristics of different subgroups of the Roma population. The study found that the perception of their own security vary significantly depending on the environment in which Roma women and men live, and the most significant differences between those areas is in which the population is exposed to sporadic acts of violence or threats of violence, and those who do not recognize this kind of threat for the researched minority. However, the local context is not only determined by the characteristics of the area (town, municipality or local settlements), but also by the characteristics of the different sub-groups of the Roma population living in the same area. Thus, the Roma families who are assigned, so called, social housing in Kamendin in Zemun Polje are subject to physical attacks and racist threats, while domicile Roma population in the same location is acquainted with a much higher level of social integration and is not faced with this kind of threat.

The scale of perceived threats of different subgroups of the population whose security perceptions have been researched, differ from each other, and gender additionally affects their priority order. Those who have been in the recent past, or are currently, threatened with violence, see it as the primary security problem, while members of the population living in conditions of social integration recognize the socio - economic conditions (employment) as first on the list of perceived security threats.

Unlike the two subgroups, and despite efforts to address the issue of "legally invisible" persons and a lack of personal documents, the problem is still paramount for internally displaced persons from the community, which conditions a whole series of socio - economic problems and can be a prelude to discrimination in the exercise of other rights (health care, social assistance), or an introduction to the arbitrary behaviour of institutions (of police when requesting ID cards in public spaces).

Closely linked to the socio-economic conditions is perceived institutional discrimination which, according to the testimony of participants in the focus groups, is reflected in a small number of Roma who are employed in institutions. The perception is that a greater number of Roma employed would contribute to improved institutional practices against Roma in general. Firstly, language barriers would cease when communicating with institutions, and it could be expected to narrow the possibility for discrimination.

Gender affects the movement of the scale of perceived threats as Roma women, in addition to sharing the same list of threats as well as men, are exposed to a number of other gender-based threats - such as gender - based discrimination, domestic violence, threats of sexual violence, and concern for safety of children and the problems of bullying.

Observations of the focus group participants of police work ranges from neutral to very negative. In terms of the security sector institutions, the focus groups naturally have clearer expectations and considerably more experience related to the work of MoI than is the case with the Serbian Armed Forces. When it comes to trust in the police, attitudes are formed based on the perception of the (lack of) corrupted police, efficiency and the will to act when it comes to endangering the safety of the Roma population. Observations of the focus group on police work ranges from very neutral, according to which the police is made up of "only humans" who act within their formal powers, to extremely negative according to which the police is corrupt and inefficient service that does nothing to solve the security problems facing the Roma population, and police service being considered as a source of security problems itself for the Roma population.

Police partially solve the security problems of the Roma population. As part of the implementation and operationalization of the concept of community policing, the Ministry of Interior conducted a series of measures and activities that included work on solving specific security problems facing the Roma population. Based on the cited primary security problems by Roma women and men who participated in the focus groups, which fall in the domain of police work, and based on the problems that were identified and dealt with by police departments in those local areas within the framework of local action plans - it appears that the police only partially responds to their urgent security problems. So, Roma focus group participants from Niš, as well as representatives of nongovernment sectors, have stipulated as the primary security threat the relationship of the gendarmerie, special task forces within the police and 63rd Parachute Brigade towards the Roma community, which can be seen with the example of the intrusion into the Roma settlement, bullying and arrogant behaviour.[124] Also, Roma from Kamendin in Zemun Polje are primarily concerned with their physical security and that of their families who are directly affected by the action of the hooligan, racist groups. This problem, one gets the impression, is not something that the police service responsible for these areas, at least declaratively, identified as the primary threat that should be removed.[125] This leads to the conclusion that the police officers working on the implementation of projects under the community policing mainly deal with "minor" security threats to their community, such as a lack of personal documents and safety of children, even where that same community is faced with the immediate physical threats and attacks by the semi-organized groups. Therefore, when Roma women and men have a direct positive experience with members of, for example, community policing, it does not necessarily transfer as a perception of the

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124   The incident occurred during the summer of 2013.

125   Interviewees from Police Departments of Niš and Belgrade denied the existence of organized groups that carry out attacks and threats against Roma communities and the existence of such incidents in the recent past in areas of their competence.

work of the entire police service, which can be extremely negatively perceived if the population has experience with abusive or violent behaviour of other police units.[126] In doing so, there is no uniform perception of the direction in which the reforms implemented within the Ministry of the Interior are developing, as the observations range from the perception of positive trends in the behaviour of police officers to the perception of negative trends.

The relation of the Roma population towards the Armed Forces is positive, but not based on direct experience. The official position of the Ministry of Defence is that institution cannot and does not create any separate measures that are specifically related to any minority group, and therefore, either for the Roma population, and see no need for this, given that the current legal framework is sufficient to ensure non-discriminatory attitude towards any citizens. MoD does not have any contact with the local Roma population, neither in the places where the professional soldiers are engaged, nor with Roma CSOs, and there are no information that those organizations ever made a contact with the Ministry. The impression is that the possibility of admission to the professional military service or other employment in area of defence is the only opportunity and reason for contact between Roma population and this institution, as the Ministry of Defence and the representatives of Roma associations as well as the participants in the focus groups do not see the space or need for cooperation in any other field.

When it comes to the perception of the work of the MoD and the Armed Forces, the impression is that the focus group participants shared the positive attitude with that of the majority of the population towards this institution, which is based on the perception of the Armed Forces as a cohesive factor and non-elitist and non-discriminatory institution that is more open for admission of Roma than the police. Relation to the reforms within the institution is unclear and there is a prevalent misunderstanding of the process of professionalization and the abolition of compulsory military service.

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126 The problem of different professional cultures of the special units of the police and those who work with the community, in other words, difficulty in permeating the whole of the police with the philosophy of service to the citizens and local communities, occurs in police services in other countries.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma in the Republic of Serbia and the associated Action Plan recognize some of the areas that were identified in this study as factors in the security situation of the Roma minority. However, these documents do not recognize the security of the Roma population as a separate thematic area. Stressing the need for consistent and sustained implementation of measures contained in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Strategy for the period from 2013 until 2015, in the fields of education, employment, discrimination and improving the position of Roma women, monitoring curriculum, and especially the measures relating to the encouragement of education of Roma in the police and military schools – the Public Policy Research Center presents further recommendations relating specifically to improving the security of the Roma population in Serbia.

MoI - treatment

1. The police service should respond decisively and effectively in cases of threats and/ or attacks on the Roma population, and this commitment should be publicly demonstrated, within their legal powers, which will, in addition to the protection of the minority, achieve and strengthen the confidence of the Roma to foster their view of the police as a public service.

2. Police should unequivocally support the implementation of anti-discrimination legislation and regulate provisions that are in force in the Republic of Serbia, including those that sanction hate speech and introduce a hate crime as an aggravating circumstance in particular qualification of the offense, by responding firmly to hate speech and other discriminatory acts.

3. Police Departments should continue the activities of the approximation and the establishment of partnerships with local Roma communities. Police officers in charge of the areas where Roma population are settled, should constantly consult this population on key security issues within the community, and then act impartially on solving these issues, without reference to the cultural and sociological specificities of Roma.

4. The Ministry of Interior should strengthen internal control mechanisms and prevent impunity for unlawful conduct of police officers, as well as to provide more information on the possibilities to submit complaints.

5. Police officers engaged in community policing need to adapt the planning and implementing of their activities and work with specific communities to the type of threat that these communities are exposed to. This means that in addition to the identified threats such as child safety, combating the use of illegal substances, lack of personal documents and similar, they should include security threats to Roma population, such as hooligan attacks and racist groups where such threats occur.

6. The Ministry of Interior should issue single instructions to police officers of all police departments about the treatment of internally displaced persons who still do not have any personal documents. This treatment should be standardized and exempt from free estimates and will in the concrete actions of the police officers. This way the treatment will become predictable and clear to the members of Roma population who do not have valid identity documents in the Republic of Serbia, it will reduce the scope for arbitrary actions of police officers, and internally displaced Roma women and men won't be put into a situation of fear and uncertainty.

7. During the promotional activities dedicated to the Roma population, police departments and police officers engaged in the promotion, needed to present the requirements for admission to the Basic Police Training and Police Academy in a clear and unambiguous way. This will remove later confusion of those members of the community who decide to apply, or are rejected during the admission process.

MoI and MoD - education, training and employment

8. Educational and training activities for police officers, relating to non-discriminatory treatment and work with vulnerable groups, should include as many police officers that in their line of work come in contact, or may come in contact with the Roma population, as well as other vulnerable groups.

9. Training on non-discrimination and the treatment of vulnerable groups should be received not only by the police officers engaged in the police community programs, but also members of other police units, including members of the special task forces and the gendarmerie.

10. Teaching programs and vocational training relating to the protection of equality, non-discriminatory treatment and work with vulnerable groups in use by the Basic Police Training Centre and the Directorate for education, training, development and science of the MoI of the RS and the Police Academy, should be improved and updated. If they do not exist, teaching programs on the implementation of strategic and legislative framework for preventing and combating discrimination should be added.

11. The Ministry of Defence should encourage the inclusion of content concerning relations with the civilian population and non-discrimination of marginalized groups and human rights in the curricula of the Military Academy and the Military Grammar

School, in the training of professional members of the Serbian Armed Forces, as well as into the informative and specialization programs of the Ministry employees.

12. Enforcement mechanisms of legal provisions and recommendations relating to the representation of national minorities in public administration, especially the police, should be clearly established, and should take into account the employment needs of Roma women.

MoI and MoD - Monitoring and Reporting

13. Statistical data on the number of declared Roma people that apply for vacancies of the Centre for Basic Police Training, Police Academy, Military Grammar School and the Military Academy, should be updated and made publicly available. This is necessary so that government institutions, those that are part of the security sector and those involved in the fight against discrimination and improving the status of vulnerable groups and non-governmental organizations, have knowledge of indicators on the trends in the response and admission of the Roma population in these educational institutions.

14. The data on the employed Roma women and Roma men in the MoI and MoD should be updated and made publicly available so government institutions and non-governmental organizations are able to follow the trends in the employment of minority groups in these institutions, in accordance with the laws that established the obligation to take measures to increase the participation of national minorities in the state administration.

15. It is desirable that the Analytics Department of the MoI of the Republic of Serbia establishes indicators against which it will be possible to monitor the security situation in certain parts of the population (e.g. a specific ethnic minority) and monitor the security trends of that group, since the data on the number of offenses where the perpetrators or victims belonging to a national minority is limited and conditional indicator because declaring of ethnicity is not mandatory.

Coordination with other actors

16. Members of Roma population who testify that they were victims of police torture and/or arbitrary conduct of the police officers should be informed on the mechanisms that are available to them to appeal (internal control of the MoI, the Ombudsperson, the Commissioner for Protection of Equality), and should be encouraged to use them.

17. Competency and functioning frameworks of local security councils should be specified according to where they are formed and establish them in those municipalities where such bodies do not exist. In their work they should include the Roma non-

governmental organisations, coordinators for Roma issues, and in particular Roma NGOs dealing with Roma women and promotion of their rights and needs.

18. Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development should continuously conduct training of teachers in order to eliminate discrimination in the education system and prevent violence against Roma children and their segregation in order not only to strengthen education as part of the social inclusion of Roma children but for the sake of improving their safety and security.

19. It is necessary to strengthen the information and the coordination of the MoI, local authorities, schools, social welfare centres, Roma and other non-governmental organizations in the cases of Roma families settling to a new environment, in order to achieve: a permanent non-discriminatory treatment of all citizens in a particular location by the employees working in the security structures, public and municipal services; consistent response to violations of the law; prevent conflicts with the local population; and other forms of security threats.