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GORAZD MEŠKO, MILAN PAGON, BOJAN DOBOVŠEK SOME DILEMMAS OF CONTEMPORARY CRIMINAL JUSTICE¹

The paper deals with the main issues of this volume. The authors present important topics of criminal justice (studies) - policing, prosecution, adjudication, corrections, selected criminological issues, criminal policy, safety and security, issues and research in criminal justice. The following dilemmas presented in this book are recognised by the authors of this paper: understanding of criminal law (consensus and conflict models; disparities in definitions of criminal justice and criminology (legal tradition and social science tradition); cultural and historical notions of criminal justice (studies) in Europe, the United States and other parts of the world; policing – what suits the needs of citizens and possibilities of the police organisation, characteristics of police subculture and what can be done to overcome obstacles in police-public communication and co-operation, overcoming a harsh controlling mentality and developing partnerships; the effects of public opinion and victim-driven criminal policy; what are criminal justice sciences and whether criminalistics/criminal investigation can be considered a science; reliance on eyewitnesses' distorted perception; what changes in legislation impact the effectiveness of law enforcement; responsibility of professionals (accountability) and civil society; effects of community policing and people-friendly crime prevention; effects of developing private security and new control technologies; bottom-up and top-down strategies; talking-doing discourse; ideas-implementation relations; understanding of contemporary Criminal Justice (CJ) and criminological concepts; expectations of CJ professionals regarding crime control; the role of citizens and scientists in policing; crime prevention and justice; and professional planning for crime prevention and effective policing. In addition, contextual dilemmas of criminal justice (studies) in Central and Eastern Europe are discussed.

Dilemma:

 A situation that requires a choice between options that are or seem equally unfavourable or mutually exclusive.
 Usage Problem. A problem that seems to defy a satisfactory solution.
 Logic. An argument that presents an antagonist with a choice of two or more alternatives, each of which contradicts the original contention and is conclusive.

The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language, Third Edition, 1994.

Criminal justice as a discipline is interdisciplinary, with research contributions from criminology, sociology, law, history, psychology, and political science. Criminal justice involves public policies that are developed within the political framework of the democratic process and as a concept of social system is an essential tool for explaining and analysing the way criminal justice is administered and practiced. The goals of criminal justice are doing justice, controlling crime, and preventing crime (Cole and Smith, 1998: xvii).

INTRODUCTION

It is a privilege to be the editors of these conference proceedings consisting of the variety of topics related to dilemmas of contemporary criminal justice. As the editors we had an opportunity to read all the papers beforehand and got an insight into the authors' thoughts on the topics they discuss in their papers. The educational background of the authors is very varied. We can learn that criminal justice and criminology attract lawyers, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, security and safety experts, criminal investigators, medical doctors, natural scientists, criminal justice experts, criminologists and others.

Titling the conference "Dilemmas of Contemporary Criminal Justice" implies the organisers' wish to discuss dilemmas related to policing, the work of prosecution, the courts, corrections, and - in a broader sense - dilemmas about crime prevention in general, and safety and security efforts in a multidisciplinary way. The organisers also wanted to learn about comparative criminal justice because the conference participants are from all walks of life. When we received preliminary abstracts from the authors in the spring of 2004 we were impressed by the wide scope of ideas related to "dilemmas" which are now collected in this volume and presented at the fifth biennial conference on policing in Central and Eastern Europe – Dilemmas of Contemporary Criminal Justice.

It is necessary to stress that the conferences on Policing in Central and Eastern Europe (in addition to other efforts) have contributed significantly to the development of the College of Police and Security Studies, an Affiliated Member of the University of Ljubljana (1996) into the Faculty of Criminal Justice within the University of Maribor, Slovenia (since October 2, 2003). The majority of faculty members have presented their research results and discussion papers in the previous conference proceedings (Pagon, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002). It is exactly the same this time. Papers from the majority of the Faculty of Criminal Justice teachers and researchers are included in this book. Their papers show the quality of work of some Slovene experts in the fields of police studies, criminal law and criminal procedure, criminal investigation, corrections, crime prevention, criminology, safety/security studies and research methods in criminal justice.

DEFINITIONS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

In the strictest sense, Criminal justice means criminal (penal) law, the law of criminal procedure, and the array of procedures and activities having to do with the enforcement of this body of law. The Federal (USA) Crime Control Act of 1973 defines this term as part of a longer phrase. "Law enforcement and criminal justice' means any activity pertaining to crime prevention, control, or reduction or the enforcement of criminal law, including, but not limited to, police efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or to apprehend criminals, activities of courts having criminal jurisdiction and related agencies (including prosecutorial and defender service), activities of corrections, probation, or parole officers, and programs relating to the prevention, control or reduction of juvenile delinquency or narcotic addiction." (Rush, 2000:90).

Criminal Justice is the process through which the state responds to behaviour that it deems unacceptable. Criminal Justice is delivered through a series of stages: charge; prosecution; trial; sentence; appeal; punishment. These processes and the agencies which carry them out are referred to *as the criminal justice system* (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001: 66).

Criminal Justice as a discipline is *interdisciplinary*, with research contributions from criminology, sociology, law, history, psychology, and political science. Criminal Justice *involves public policies* that are developed within the political framework of the democratic process and as a *concept of social system is an essential tool* for explaining and analysing the way criminal justice is administered and practiced (Cole and Smith, 1998: xvii). The goals of criminal justice are doing justice, controlling crime, and preventing crime.

COMPONENTS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

POLICE AND POLICING

We are going to focus only on the professional and community policing because the papers in this volume imply that the majority of countries are still in (or trying to achieve) the professional era, while others are trying to enter the community policing era.

PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY POLICING

We usually think of the police as being 'front line' in controlling crime. The major duties, in general, of the police are as follows:

- *Keeping the peace*. This broad and important mandate involves the protection of rights and persons in situations ranging from street-corners to domestic quarrels.
- *Apprehending violators and combating crime*. This is the task that the public most often associates with the police work, although it accounts for only small proportion of police time and resources.
- *Preventing crime*. By educating the public about the threat of crime and by reducing opportunities for crime occurrence, the police can lower the rate of crime.
- Providing social services. Police officers recover stolen property, direct traffic, give
 medical aid, help people who locked themselves out of their homes, and provide
 other social services.

From a developmental point of view, policing can be divided into the following eras: the political era, the reform era, the transition era, and the community policing era (Ziembo-Vogl and Meško, 2000). Cole and Smith (1998) differentiate between the political era (1840-1920), the professional model era (1920-1970) and the community policing era (1970-present) of policing in the United States of America. It is well known that ideas and research on policing in the USA have influenced police research and development of policing world-wide.

We are going to focus only on the professional and community policing eras because the majority of countries are still in (or trying to achieve) the professional era, while others are trying to enter the community policing era. Those efforts result in a variety of developments.

The model of professional policing has six elements (Cole and Smith, 1998: 144):

- The force should stay out of politics.
- Members should be well trained, well disciplined and tightly organised.
- Laws should be enforced equally.
- The force should use new technology.
- · Personnel procedures should be based on merit.
- The main task of the police should be fighting crime.

Beginning in the 1970s, there were calls for a move from the crime fighting focus and toward greater emphasis on keeping order and providing services to the community. Research studies revealed the complex nature of police work. The research also questioned the effectiveness of the police in catching and deterring criminals. Three findings of research (see Brinc, 1994; Cole and Smith, 1998, for a review) are especially noteworthy:

- Increasing number of patrol officers in a neighbourhood was found to have little effect on the crime rate.
- Rapid response to calls for service did not greatly increase the arrest rate.
- It is difficult to improve the percentage of crimes solved.

In a provocative article titled 'Broken Windows: The Police and Neighbourhood Safety,' James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling argued that policing should work more on "little problems" such as maintaining order, providing services to those in need, and adopting strategies to reduce fear of crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982: 29). They based their approach on three assumptions:

- Neighbourhood disorder creates fear. Areas with street people, youth gangs, prostitution, and drunks are high-crime areas.
- Broken windows are a signal that nobody cares and can lead to more serious vandalism; unattended disorderly behaviour is a signal that the community does not care. This also leads to more serious disorder and crime.
- If the police are to deal with disorder and thus reduce fear and crime, they must rely on citizens for assistance.

Advocates of the community policing approach urge greater use of foot patrols so that police officers will become known to citizens, who in turn will co-operate with the police. They believe that through attention to little problems, the police may not only reduce disorder and fear but also improve public attitudes toward policing. When citizens respond positively to police efforts, the police will have "improved bases of community and political support, which in turn can be exploited to gain further co-operation from citizens in a wide variety of activities" (Kelling, 1985:299).

Community policing has four components:

- Community-based crime prevention.
- Changing focus of patrol activities to non-emergency services.
- Making the police more accountable to the public.
- Decentralising decision making to include residents (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986).

Can – and should – community policing be implemented throughout the world? The populations of some cities are too dispersed to switch to foot patrols. In many cities foot patrols and community police stations have been set up in public housing projects. Time will tell if this new approach will become as widespread as the focus on professionalism was in the last century and further on. The call for a new focus for the police has not gone unchallenged. Critics question whether the professional model really isolated the police from community residents (Walker, 1984:88). Taking another view, Klockars (1985: 300), doubts that the police will actually give higher priority to maintaining order and wonders whether citizens (orig. Americans) want their police to be something other that crime fighters. Papers on the role of police in community and diverse results of acceptance of community policing (by the police, communities and co-ordinating bodies) are presented also in this volume (Beck, 2004; Kosmač and Gorenak, 2004; Meško, 2004).

POLICE DISCRETION

It is also necessary to stress in police actions, especially encounters between the police and citizens, police discretion, and handling domestic violence. Police depend on the public to help them identify crime and carry out investigations. Although people are willing to help the police, fear, self-interest and other factors keep some from co-operating. Many people fail to call the police because they think it is not worth the effort and cost. They do not want to spend time filling out forms at the station, appearing as a witness, or confronting a neighbour or relative in court. In some low-income neighbourhoods, citizens are reluctant to assist the police because their past experience has shown that contact with law enforcement "only brings trouble." Without information about a crime, the police may decide not to pursue an investigation. Clearly, then, citizens have some control over the work of the police through their decisions to call or not to call them. Another significant topic is the clearance rate - the percentage of crimes known to the police that they believe they have solved though an arrest – a basic measure of police performance – can be also seen as a source of police deviance when police officers record only crimes which seem to be solved easily or an offender seem to be caught without any special effort or a victim knows the assailant.

A police officer must define a situation, decide how to handle it and determine whether and how much of law should be applied in a specific case. This is a typical police discretion situation in which four factors play a crucial role:

- *The nature of the crime.* The less serious crime is to the public, the more freedom officers have to ignore it.
- The relationship between the alleged perpetrator and the victim. The closer the personal relationship, the more variable use of discretion. Family squabbles may not be as grave as they appear, and the police are wary of making arrests, since a spouse may later decide not to press charges.
- *The relationship between the police and the criminal or victim.* A polite complaint will be taken more seriously than a hostile one. Likewise, a suspect who shows respect to officers is less likely to be arrested.
- *Departmental policy*. The policies of the police chiefs and city officials (and police administration) will promote more or less discretion (Jacob, 1973: 27).

Cases of domestic violence are dealt by the police with special attention. Police officers are aware that such cases can mean "a thin ice experience" and leave police officers in an ambiguous state of mind – a wish to protect the victim and risk of making a questionable decision. From the viewpoint of the police, domestic violence thought to be a "no-win" situation in which officers responding to calls for help were often set upon one or both disputants. If an arrest was made, the police found the victim often refused to co-operate with prosecution. In addition, entering a home to deal with an emotion-laden incident was thought to be more dangerous than investigating "real" crimes. Many officers believed that trying to deal with family disputes was a leading cause of officer deaths and injury (Hirschel et al, 1992: 247) but research showed that solving domestic disputes is not more dangerous to police officers than other incidents. Police need clear regulation and knowledge of conflict resolution to solve domestic violence cases successfully, as discussed in this volume by Anžič and Gaber (2004).

Aspects of policing in post-war circumstances and peacekeeping (Garb, Eržen and Jelušič, 2004), the impact of methamphetamine on policing in south western Indiana (Huckabee and Skelton, 2004), use of firearms (Knutsson, 2004), managerial matters (Shutte, Meyer, 2004), policing in El Salvador (Skelton, Woods and Ponce, 2004), and elimination of kidnappers in El Salvador (Ponce, Skelton and Woods, 2004), are also dealt with in detail in this volume.

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

Criminal investigation as a specific field of police work is about criminal investigators (detectives) who investigate serious crimes. Criminal investigation is largely reactive. The job of criminal investigators is to find out what happened by talking to people – victims, suspects, and witnesses. On the basis of this information criminal investigators develop theories about who committed crime and then set out to gather evidence that will lead to arrest and prosecution. Detectives/criminal investigators must not only find the suspect, but also collect physical evidence to support testimony that identifies a suspect. Criminal investigators rely also on forensic techniques (Ivanović and Bazović, 2004) and psychological profiling of suspects in their efforts to find a suspect and provide a prosecutor with substantial evidence, characteristics of victims and witnesses (Areh and Umek, 2004), and intelligence (Makans, 2004).

The role of criminal investigator in the police organisation is a significant one because the status of a criminal investigator provides a goal to which patrol officers may aspire and gives them an incentive to excel in their work. The public expects the police to conduct investigations. Citizens may have more trust in the police or feel more willing to cooperate with them when they see investigations being conducted, even if those investigations may not lead to arrests (Cole and Smith, 1998: 198).

Criminal investigation of robbery in Slovenia (Meško, Dvoršek and Dujmovič, 2004), and Croatia (Dujmović and Mikšaj-Todorović), economic crime investigation (Dvoršek, 2004), corruption (Dobovšek, 2004), and war crimes (Maver, 2004) are the topics discussed from diversity of perspectives. Dilemmas about the definition of criminalistics/criminal investigation from a Continental perspective are also of a great interest of Halilović and Bojanić (2004).

POLICE ORGANISATION

Whichever approach the police take – professional, crime fighting, or community policing – it must be carried out through a bureaucratic structure which also determines the culture of policing and is often one of the important factors of police reforms (Minnaar, 2004; Terpstra, 2004).

Another important aspect of policing is the organisation of the police because the structure of the police organisation is designed to fulfil five functions (Cole and Smith, 1998 and implicitly in Gašič and Pagon, 2004; and Gorenak, 2004):

- Divide workload among members and units according to a logical plan.
- Make sure lines of authority and responsibility are as clear and direct as possible.
- Provide unity of command so that there is no question as to which orders are to be followed.
- Link duties with the appropriate amount of authority and accountability.
- Co-ordinate efforts of members and units so that all will work together to achieve their goals.

POLICE TRAINING, GENDER AND WORK RELATED ISSUES

Other aspects of the police are recruitment, training, and a changing profile of the police (state, local and private police, minority police officers and women on the force) (Morrison, 2004; Minnaar, 2004 and Pavšer, 2004).

Eskridge (1999) states that a sizeable body of literature has proved the need for criminal justice education of the police, among which the most significant are the

following findings about the differences between properly educated and trained police officers. All findings are in favour of criminal-justice-trained police officers who seem to be more attuned to social and ethnic problems (Weiner, 1976), have higher citizen satisfaction ratings and fewer complaints filed against them (Cohen and Chaiken 1972; Trojanowicz and Nicholson, 1976; Cascio, 1977), are less authoritarian (Smith, Locke and Fenster, 1970; Dalley, 1975), have higher levels of morale and better work attitudes (Guller, 1972), and are more likely to be promoted (Cohen and Chaiken, 1972). A strong argument can be made that an educated police force contributes substantially to the general image of a police department in the eyes of the public.

Working personality - a set of emotional and behavioural characteristics developed by the members of an occupational group in response to the work situation and environmental influences – is at the centre of understanding police officers' responses to everyday work-related problems as well as their private life. The police working personality therefore impacts on the way officers view and interpret their occupational world. The working personality of the police is defined by two elements of police work: (1) the threat of danger and (2) the need to establish and maintain one's authority (Skolnick, 1966: 44; Meško, 1998a). Regarding these issues Lobnikar and Pagon (2004) discuss police officers' cynicism as a result of their work and challenges they face in everyday policing in Slovenia. In addition to working personality issues and cynicism, police isolation and job stress are work related factors to be taken into serious consideration and critical reflection.

Psychologists have identified four kinds of stress to which officers are subject and the factors that cause each (Cullen et al, 1985):

- External stress. This is produced by real threats and dangers, such as the need to enter a dark and unfamiliar building, respond to "man with a gun" alarms, and chase law-breakers at high speeds.
- Organisational stress. This is produced by the nature of work in a paramilitary structure: constant adjustment to changing schedules, irregular work hours, and detailed rules and procedures.
- Personal stress. This may be caused by an officer's racial or gender status among peers, which may create problems in getting along with other officers and adjusting to group-held values that differ from one's own, as well as perceptions of bias and social isolation.
- Operational stress. This reflects the total effect of dealing with thieves, derelicts, and the mentally ill; being lied to so often that all citizens seem become suspects; being required to face danger to protect a public that seems hostile, always knowing that one may be held legally liable for one's action.

Stress, lack of knowledge, prejudice, uncertainty and other factors can lead to the misuse of police powers. Especially, the excessive use of force attracts special attention from journalists, NGO representatives, criminologists, criminal investigators and CJ system representatives in general. In this case, if all elements of a criminal offence are met, a police officer becomes a suspect, and thus a subject in the criminal procedure. Stories about police brutality are not new. Comparison of today's police officers with police officers in the beginning of the last century shows that today's police officers are mainly trained as professionals in law enforcement who know the rules and understand the need for proper conduct. But a level of training and requirements are not high enough in all countries of the world. Despite the fact that some cases of police brutality reached all parts of the world (i.e. the Rodney King case), no significant developments in relation to training the police to use force more appropriately and professionally has yet happened in many countries. Where developments have been made, police subculture resisted changes.

POLICE DEVIANCE

Another problem is corruption and its networks as described by Dobovšek (2004). In regard to the topic of this book, especially corruption and challenged integrity of the police are dimensions studied closely by the authors (Body-Gendrot, 2004; Gašič and Pagon, 2004; Kutnjak-Ivković, 2004; Kutnjak-Ivković, Cajner-Mraović and Ivanušec, 2004; Pagon, Lobnikar and Anželj, 2004; Zidar and Klemenčič, 2004).

In regard to police corruption, "grass and meat eaters" can be distinguished. "Grass eaters" are police officers who accept pay-offs that the routines of police work bring their way. "Meat eaters" are officers who actively use their power for personal gain. Although "meat eaters" are few in number, their actions make headlines when they are discovered. By contrast, because "grass eaters" are numerous, they make corruption seem acceptable and promote a code of secrecy that stigmatises any officer who exposes corruption as a traitor. Grass eaters are the heart of the problem and are often harder to detect. In a study of police corruption (Stoddard, 1968) the author noted the following patterns of blue-coat crime:

- Mooching: accepting free coffee, cigarettes, meals, liquor, groceries, or other items, which are thought of as compensation either for being underpaid or for future favouritism to the donor.
- Bribery: Receiving cash or a "gift" in exchange for past or future help in avoiding
 prosecution. The officer may claim to be unable to identify a criminal, may take
 care to be in the wrong place when a crime is to occur, or may take some other action
 that can be viewed as mere careless.
- *Chiseling*: Demanding discounts or free admission to places of entertainment, whether on duty or not.
- Extortion: Demanding payment for an ad in a police magazine or purchase of tickets to a police function; holding a "street court" in which minor traffic tickets can be avoided by the payment of cash "bail" to the arresting police officer, with no receipt given.
- *Shopping*: Picking up small items such as candy bars, gum, and cigarettes at a store where the door has been left unlocked at the close of the business hours.
- Shakedown: Taking expensive items for personal use during an investigation of a break-in or burglary. Shakedown is distinguished from shopping by the value of items taken and the ease with which former ownership of items may be determined if the officer is caught.
- *Premeditated theft*: Using tools, keys, or other devices to force entry and steal property. Premeditated theft is distinguished from shakedown by the fact that it is planned, not by the value of the items taken.
- *Favouritism*: Issuing licence tabs, window stickers, or courtesy cards that exempt users from arrest or citation for traffic offences (sometimes extended to family members and friends of recipients).
- *Perjury*: Lying to provide an alibi for fellow officers in unlawful activity or otherwise failing to tell the truth so as to avoid sanctions.
- *Prejudice*: Treating members of minority groups in a biased fashion, especially members of groups that lack political influence to respond on maltreatment of this kind.

PRIVATE POLICING

One of the fastest developing fields of policing today is private policing. Private policing in Europe and the United States existed before the formation of public police forces, as illustrated by the Fielding's Bow Street Runners in England and the bounty hunters of the American West. Issues related to relations between the state and private

police are dealt with in papers of Meško, Nalla and Sotlar (2004); Minnaar (2004), and Muratbegović (2004). The intersection of private and public policing is often the ground of the conflict of interest and different beliefs about the role of private police in a society.

A small number of papers in this volume deal with the central part of criminal justice – the prosecution and courts.

CRIMINAL LAW AND ISSUES OF THE CENTRAL PART OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

CRIMINAL LAW

Origins of criminal law are mainly described from two perspectives: (1) the consensus and (2) the conflict model. The consensus model holds that criminal law reflects widely shared values and beliefs. The main principles of this model are as follows (Lynch and Groves, 1989:30):

- law reflects the need for order;
- law results from a consensus of the values that are widely shared in the society;
- law is an impartial system that protects the public interest;
- law provides a neutral means for resolving disputes.

In contrast to the consensus model, the conflict model depicts societies as made up of diverse groups based on race, social class, age, and economic level. In this view, people pursue their own interests and there is little consensus. Supporters of the conflict model argue that powerful groups shape the law and the criminal justice system to serve their interests. As a result, the law labels many acts as crimes because of those in power define them as such.

Crimes defined by the consensus model are understood as mala in se – wrong in themselves. The crimes defined according to the conflict model are referred as mala prohibita. Studying criminal justice requires a good knowledge of criminal substantial law and criminal procedure law which determine criminal offences and a procedure of criminal justice.

PROSECUTION AND COURTS

Courts are responsible for adjudication – determining whether or not a defendant is guilty. In doing so, they must use fair processes that will produce just, reliable decisions. Courts must also impose sentences that are appropriate to the behaviour being punished.

Papers written by Ciotti-Galleti (2004), Kapsch and Isaak (2004), Kotnik (2004), Kury et al (2004), McGuirk (2004), Petrović (2004), Van Dijk and Nuytiens (2004) deal with criminal policy, criminal legislation, substantial criminal law, matters of criminal procedure and some topics related to the central role of the CJ system in society and implementation of legislation.

CORRECTIONS

Topic on corrections and juvenile correctional institutions in this volume are covered by Bartholomew et al (2004), Houston (2004), Krajnčan (2004), Maljević (2004), Meško, Umek and Valentinčič (2004), and Mills (2004). The authors discuss intermediate sanctions, total quality prison, treatment of juvenile delinquents and criteria for diagnosing delinquents, punishment of juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina, self-assessment of competence of prison officers and their values, and experiences of a female researcher conducting research on rape in male prisons.

CRIMINOLOGICAL ISSUES

Criminology as a multidisciplinary science includes "the study of the making of laws, the breaking of laws and reactions to the breaking of laws" (Sutherland, 1947, in LaFree, 2003). As such, criminology holds an important role in criminal justice studies. Let us discuss some "parts" of criminology on understanding of causes and patterns of crime, as well as contemporary safety, fear of crime, and insecurity issues related to criminal justice.

CAUSES OF CRIME

Criminal causation of aetiological theories of crime is - in addition to classical, neo-classical and positivist criminology - divided into the following groups: biological explanations, psychological explanations, sociological explanations.

The classical school is based on Cesare Beccaria's "Essays on Crime and Punishment" (Beccaria, 1975, 2002). The main principles of classical criminology are as follows:

- Criminal behaviour is rational, and most people have the potential to engage in such behaviour;
- People may choose to commit a crime after weighing the cost and benefits of their actions.
- It is the fear of punishment that keeps most people in check. Thus, the severity, certainty, and speed of punishment affect the level of crime.
- The punishment should fit the crime, not person who committed it.
- The criminal justice system must be predictable, with laws and punishments known to the public.

Classical criminology is a school of criminology that views behaviour as stemming from free will, demands responsibility and accountability of all perpetrators, and stresses the need for punishment severe enough to deter others.

Classical criminology took a new life in 1980s in the United States of America with the occurrence of neo-classical criminology. In a more conservative America, there has been renewed interest in some aspects of classical theory. Some scholars argued that crimes may result from the rational choice of people who have weighed the benefits to be gained from the crime against the costs of being caught and punished. But they also recognise that criminal law must take in account of difference among individuals. To a large extent, sentencing reform, criticism of rehabilitation, and a greater use of incarceration stem from a renewed interest in classical ideas.

However, it is the positivist school of criminology, which reigned in the twentieth century. Positivist criminology studies behaviour from social, biological and psychological perspectives. It argues that punishment should be tailored to the individual needs of the offender.

Main premises of positivist criminology are as follows:

- Human behaviour is controlled by physical, mental and social factors, and not by free will.
- Criminals are different from non-criminals.
- Science can be used to discover the causes of crime and to treat deviants.

PATTERNS OF CRIME

Criminological phenomenology is another important part of criminal justice because it deals with patterns of crime and characteristics of offenders, ways of commission of crimes and circumstances in which certain crimes occur. Categories or groups of crime can be presented in many ways in diverse criminological schemes using different criteria or simply using specific criminal law chapters as categories.

Cole and Smith (1998) classify crimes into the following categories: occupational crime, organised crime, visible crime, criminal offences without victims and political crime. Meško (1998b) discusses patterns of crime in the following manner: basic characteristics of crime, characteristics of the most often reported crimes, characteristics of suspects, factors of crime, property crime, violent crime, white-collar crime, sexual crime, organisational crime, organised crime, etc.

The following crimes and their perpetrators are reflected upon in this volume: domestic violence (Argyrides, Bartholomew, Carvalho, 2004), hate crime (Bjorgo, 2004), violence at school (Dabrovska-Bak, 2004), stalking (De Fazzio and Galeazzi, 2004), religiosity and delinquency (Flere, 2004), sex crime features regarding the victim's age (Kovčo-Vukadin, Bilokapić and Ljubin, 2004), sexual violence against young women (Kury et al, 2004), research on violence in Slovenia (Meško and Bučar-Ručman, 2004a), patterns of ževeryday' violent crimes in South-Eastern Europe (Meško and Bučar-Ručman, 2004b), juvenile crime and its prevention (Pawe³ek, 2004) organised crime (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2004), and extreme forms of violence (Sotlar, 2004).

THE IMPACT OF CRIME - COSTS OF CRIME AND FEAR OF CRIME

Crime has many kinds of costs. First, there are economic costs – lost property, lower productivity, and the cost of medical care. Second, there are psychological and emotional costs – pain, trauma, and lost quality of life. Third, there are costs of operating the criminal justice system. A recent American study estimates the total annual cost of tangible losses from crime (medical expenses, damaged or lost property, work time) at \$105 billion. The intangible costs (trauma, lost quality of life) to victims are estimated to \$450 billion. Operating the criminal justice system costs taxpayers more than \$70 billion a year. These figures do not include the costs of occupational and organised crime to consumers (Cole and Smith, 1998: 66).

Fear of crime is one of the most obvious impacts of crime on a person. Fear limits freedom. Because people are fearful, many of them limit their activities to "safe" areas at "safe" times. Fear also creates anxiety that affects psychological well-being. And the very persons who have at least chance of being victimised, such as women and the elderly, are often the most fearful. Most people do not experience crime directly but instead learn about it indirectly (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 157) by watching TV or reading newspapers. There is evidence of a link between fear of crime and disorderly conditions in neighbourhoods and communities (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Skogan, 1990). Among all groups, the fear of crime outstrips reality. People do not assess the risk of crime in the same way as other risks, such as those caused by nature or accident. A study on fear of crime (Kury et al, 2004) and research results of socio-demographic and social-psychological dimensions of fear of crime in Slovenia are presented in this volume (Meško and Areh, 2004).

In addition to "pure" criminal justice issues, safety and security and papers on research methods are included into this volume.

SAFETY AND SECURITY

Many papers, in addition to the narrow topics of policing, courts, corrections and others, also cover safety and security issues, such as general matters of security in post-modern world (Kešetović, 2004), local safety/security councils in Slovenia (Meško, 2004), attitudes towards private policing in Slovenia (Meško, Nalla and Sotlar, 2004), partnership policing (Minnaar, 2004), private security in transitional countries (Muratbegovič, 2004), and local safety efforts and safety networks (Terpstra, 2004).

RESEARCH METHODS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

A chapter on research methods in criminal justice consists of papers on the use of neural networks (Belič and Pur, 2004), defining and mapping risks (Keković and Nikolić, 2004), traffic data analysis (Pur and Belič, 2004), requirements for data quality in modern policing and criminal justice (Mitar, 2004), experiences of a female researcher researching rape in male prisons (Mills, 2004), use of sophisticated technology in maintaining safety and Security (Segato, 2004), and qualitative research methods (Yates, 2004).

CONCLUDING REMARKS – ON THE CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE MODEL IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Administration of justice in a democracy differs from that in an authoritarian state in the nature and extent of the protections provided for an accused person as guilt is determined and punishment imposed. The police, prosecutors, judges and correctional officials are expected to act according to democratic values – especially with respect for the rule of law and the maintenance of civil rights and liberties (Cole and Smith, 1998: 8). Countries of Central and Eastern Europe have gone through huge changes in the last ten years. Among changes in social, political, economic and other domains, doing justice has also gone through reforms, and influences from the West have been accepted into everyday practise of CJ institutions. On the other hand, new academic institutions of criminal justice studies have appeared recently (or better said developed from police colleges or other educational institutions which previously dealt mainly with safety and security matters).

Today's criminology² and criminal justice in Central and Eastern European countries (especially in former socialist countries) are developing quite fast due to a rapid transfer of knowledge from the west and the scientific legacy of these countries. In regard to original names of "criminal justice educational institutions" in local languages, the use of the term "criminal justice" still connected to criminal law and therefore to Faculties of Law because criminal justice is mainly related to criminal law and sociology of law and less to safety and security studies.

De Nike (1995) states that criminology as discipline in Western academies came of age as a sub-discipline of sociology, in contrast to its legal-normative Eastern counterpart. In the West it was open to cross-disciplinary influences from psychology, political science, and anthropology. Because criminology as an academic subject in the East was usually located in Law Faculties, and was conceptualised in terms of how it might aid the ideological state in putting a positive face on the "fight against crime," there was little opportunity for it to mature or take advantage of the theoretical developments of the last fifty years which emerged in the West. The process of "catching up" is unavoidable and, until the new tools can be used creatively, some efforts will be more imitative than original. Flashes of insight are thus mixed occasionally with faltering use of data. However, for professionals interested in crime and its study, this development process possesses great value. There is so much to be learned – about each other, about the for-too-long-separated criminologies (of the West and the East), and about the unique problems (both theoretical and practical) which are now being confronted – to justify the delay. About the same is happening with newly established faculties of criminal justice (sciences) in Central and Eastern European countries,³ which seem to be putting efforts in a pioneering mission of global flow of ideas and concepts.

In regard to criminal justice educational institutions, the Eastern-European tradition leans more to security/safety or police colleges, which more or less resemble school of criminal justice curriculum in the States but pay much more attention to general (public) safety and security issues. Criminal justice and criminal law are still more the subjects of faculties of law than "colleges of criminal justice". The problems of "police and security colleges" are related to more subjects focusing on the police, policing, safety and security, and neglecting other criminal justice components or just "touching" them, not in a scientific but in a more professional manner. Such schools are still internal schools of the ministries on the interior or justice. Criminal justice in a broader sense is attractive for a social scientist because of a holistic look on the system of criminal justice, crime prevention and some safety/security issues.⁴

Such colleges and faculties use the following names (translated directly): Faculty of Police and Security Studies (Slovenia) named Faculty of Criminal Justice where a graduates holds a BA degree in "security studies",⁵ and Faculty of Criminal Investigation in Bosnia and Herzegovina named Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences where a graduates holds a BA degree in criminal investigation). The curriculum of both academic institutions reflects the entire scope of criminal justice studies with some specificities: in Ljubljana, the police studies are emphasised, while in Sarajevo, criminal investigation is an umbrella "science" for all other criminal justice subjects.

The Bologna declaration (Internet, www.mszs.si) advises academic institutions to adopt comparability of curriculum and transferability of students within Europe. It is the case also for criminal justice and criminology studies. The problem with criminal justice is that criminal justice in Europe is still considered as a "criminal law" sub-discipline and not as a separate multidisciplinary study of criminal justice institutions and their reaction to crime and deviance. On the other hand, almost the entire scope of "criminal justice" is covered in graduate studies in criminology (pursuing graduate degree at the Faculty of Law as non-law graduate) and criminal law (pursuing graduate degree at the Faculty of Law as a law graduate). Some institutes of criminology (e.g. the Institute of Criminology in Cambridge, UK) offer master degree studies in police, safety and prison studies, in addition to graduate studies of criminology. Applied criminology graduate courses in Europe resemble the majority of criminal justice courses in the States.

Criminal justice education in comparison to criminal justice or police training has a very different function, more of a strategic, long-term orientation, as follows:

- Develop a general spirit of inquiry; cultivate/enhance a mental attitude of probing exploration. Students should emerge from the criminal justice educational experience as questioning, challenging, pursuing, delving, and seeking beings.
- Develop the academic tools necessary to facilitate that inquiry; how to use multiple regression and differential calculus, how to write up a research paper so that the answers to the questions raised may be explored.
- Develop a preliminary, introductory knowledge base, a scaffolding if you will, of theory, of structure, of process, of cause and consequence, of how the justice system

works and why. The students should amass bits of knowledge, as temporary as they might be, but taken together and amassed over the years they will combine to develop a basic foundation of knowledge which will serve as the footings to launch future inquiries.

There is yet another perspective to consider that also reveals the aggregate value of education in general. Sherman (2002) recently noted that as the body politic of any nation becomes more materially successful and better educated, so the communal expectation of appropriate conduct on the part of government officials collaterally increases. This egalitarian model, this model of presumptive procedural fairness, virtually requires an enhanced role for education among justice officials. For example, the literature has definitively and consistently revealed the fact that police officiers who have a higher level of education treat citizens with a greater degree of procedural fairness. As Sherman points out, when treated fairly by government officials, individuals are far less likely to engage in criminal conduct. As the standard of living improves around the globe, the presumptive egalitarian model will emerge, and governments will need to adjust/respond accordingly. One obvious response will need to be an exuberant support of criminal justice education on the part of government and educational leaders in each nation.

Gould (2002, in Eskridge 2003) has proposed that evolution occurs in nature not through slow and steady change, but rather in fits and starts; nature evolves with a punctuated equilibrium. The same can be said of social change, for it too seems to ebb and flow over time. Thus the timing of the implementation of criminal justice education emerges as being just as important as the substantive notion itself. The contemporary challenge facing government and civic officials from the transitional and developing nations is to both be alert to shifts in the social landscape, as well as to actively seek to make these shifts. As Victor Hugo once noted, an invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come. It is an urge that government and civic leaders in the transitional and developing nations need to specifically see to it that the time comes where criminal justice education can take root. When that has been achieved, when the timing is right, sustained efforts should then be undertaken to implant criminal justice education in its various forms deeply within the social fabric of each country.

Crime and deviance will always be with us, particularly if the capitalistic model continues to dominate. But, we can embark upon a long-term effort to reduce the frequency and severity of its impact by raising the standards of propriety and expectation within the people of the world. In short, the realisation of popular justice and social peace demands an intelligent and active watchfulness on the part of the citizenry. This has been very much a part of the socio-legal culture of Western Europe. It now needs to be incorporated into the culture of the developing and transitional nations, and the realisation of a dynamic, world-wide criminal justice higher educational system can help achieve that end.

Following the idea of the development of criminal justice and criminological endeavours to make people more aware and knowledgeable, we believe that the papers in this volume are a great contribution to the development of criminal justice (studies) and criminology in Central and Eastern Europe as well as world-wide.

An important question was asked by Clear (2001): "Has academic criminal justice come of age?" We presume that it has just started finding its position in this part of the world, while critical and advantageous criminal justice experts in the States are not so

satisfied with this concept, the quality of teaching and research. They are looking for new developments.⁶ These reflections support De Nike's (1995) discussion on the development of criminology and related sciences in Eastern European countries from a perspective of a delayed development because of political arrangements of in this part of the world and changes which happened in the ninety-nineties. On one hand a concept of criminal justice is very attractive because of its applicability and clarity but on the other hand local and regional legal tradition, professional culture, and academic division of criminal justice and criminology related sciences must be also taken in consideration. Reconsideration of these dilemmas requires much more effort but we believe it pays on a long run

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ENDNOTES

- 1 The authors are grateful to Prof. Chris Eskridge for his comments on the final draft of this paper, especially in regard to dilemmas about criminology and criminal justice from the American perspective (Eskridge, 2004).
- 2 Criminology was recognised as a science on crime and criminals in this region a few decades ago. In the region, Institutes of criminology have quite a long tradition in studying both, criminological and criminal justice issues. This can cause a conflict in countries where new criminal justice educational and research institutions are established. Newly established Faculties of criminal justice (sciences) seem to be inclusive, popular and mainly providing undergraduate studies for quite a big number of students. Graduate studies are in an early stage or are in the process of preparation. On the other hand, the Institutes of Criminology follow exclusivist and elitist approaches characterised by graduate study of criminology/criminal law while undergraduate study of criminology is not the case in this region. Criminologists/criminal lawyers with MA (LLM) and PhD (LLD) degree are university graduates who pursue and finish their graduate studies at Institutes of Criminology which are mainly departments of Law Faculties in the region.
- 3 Eskridge proposes that efforts be undertaken to establish academic departments of criminal justice within the higher educational systems of the developing and transitional nations, and to see to it that such programs flourish. It is his proposition that in time, this strategic plan will reduce the scope and extent of corruption in these nations, and will generally move crime into a more

manageable context. This in turn will yield an enhanced opportunity for developing nations to secure external investment, realize increased economic stability, and eventually allow them to participate to a greater degree in the global market economy. It should be clearly indicated that many forces and factors must also be in place for these lofty end to be achieved, many of which are of a reactive or responsive nature rather than a preventative one. He also suggests that criminal justice education can play a fundamental preventative role in enhancing social peace and improving economic prosperity (Eskridge, 2003).

- 4 Schools of CJ provide a good educational background for the police, some non-legal professionals in prosecution and courts, prison officers, private security officers, criminal investigators and other safety/security related professions.
- In Slovene it is called »varstvoslovje« which means varstvo (protection), *slovje* (science) but is 5 translated into English as Criminal Justice. Criminal justice (Slov. kazensko pravosodje) is much narrower concept as varstvoslovje ("criminal justice"). This orientation in Slovene also implies many conceptual dilemmas because of the definition of safety and It is more or less limited to what is called internal or public safety and security. Public safety and security also include the operation of the criminal justice system in addition to other safety and security issues, institutions, private enterprises, civil society and individuals. This leads us to a simple conclusion: "Crime is just one of many safety/security problems." If we compare criminal justice studies with criminology, then criminal justice is more about the system of criminal justice system in a narrow sense. In a wider sense criminal justice greatly overlaps with a variety of criminologies. This is especially true in regard to the last part of Sutherland's definition of criminology on "reaction against crime". Modern conceptions of criminology do not recognise just one criminology. In the same manner, criminal justice can be understood differently in different parts of the world - we can talk about different legal traditions, schools and institutions, which do criminal justice studies (Faculties of Law, Faculties of Social Sciences, Police Colleges etc.). Continental Europe sticks more to the model of criminal law, criminology, science on crime, criminal sociology (based on French and German tradition - which, from the educational-organisational point of view, mainly support the idea of an Institute of Criminology within the Faculty of Law) but very rarely applies criminal justice concept in the same way as it is understood in the States (i.e. Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, Sarajevo, B&H and Faculty of Criminal Justice, University of Maribor, Slovenia). Other attempts to develop police education (to the School of Criminal Justice level) on the academic level are not as successful in Europe as in other countries. In this sense criminal justice is much more limited discipline than criminology if we take in consideration Sutherland's definition of criminology.
- 6 Clear (2001) presents the analysis of productivity of criminal justice academics in the States. Comparison of CJ academicians with other academicians in the fields of sociology, political science, public administration, psychology, economics, anthropology, law, social services, and interdisciplinary programmes is not in favour of criminal justice. He wonders whether CJ academicians are equal in quality to members of comparable disciplines. There is a methodological problem because the data collected were more or less of a quantitative and not as much of qualitative nature (i.e. scholarly productivity in publications). In addition to these findings, Sherman (Sherman, 1978, in Clear, 2001) states that a national study of the Police Foundation concluded that many undergraduate criminal justice faculty members were "woefully underqualified for teaching either a liberal arts or a professional curriculum". Today, twenty-six years later, in the other part on the world, we believe that it is not proper to repeat the same mistake.

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