



Criminal Justice Issues

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Reasons for starting Journal are scientific, educational and social. Scientific necessities and publication justifiability of this Journal are in function of presentation of scientific accomplishments in field of criminalistics, criminology and security studies and other disciplines that interact with these fields. Educational function of the Journal is even of greater importance from perspective of permanent monitoring and adoption of new insights from the field of criminalistics, criminology and security studies. Social justification for the starting of the Journal is time imperative since its structure is unique in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Society must be successfully organized and opposed to rapidly growing and increasingly complex antisocial deviant and criminal occurrences. Journal objectives are presentation of scientific and professional thought. (Excerpt from the Conception of the Journal of Criminal Justice Issues)

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Criminal Justice Issues



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EDITORIAL

Eldan MUJANOVIĆ

Dear reader,

It is my great pleasure to introduce to you a new English edition of the *Criminal Justice Issues – the Journal of Criminalistics, Criminology and Security Studies*. As it has been the practice in previous editions, this one includes a wide range of current issues in the field of criminal investigation science, criminology, security studies and sociology. In this publication, you can find six scientific papers that meet the quality, scientific as well as professional relevance standards completely. Among those papers, there are two original scientific papers, one preliminary note and three review papers. Original scientific papers refer to the area of criminology and sociology. On the other side, preliminary note refers to area of security studies, while review papers consider issues in the field of security studies, sociology and criminal investigation science/criminology.

The original scientific paper titled *Police and Persecution in the Bosnian Krajina: Democratisation, Deprofessionalisation and Militarisation* examines processes leading to police participation in ethnic violence during the war in the Bosnian Krajina and contributes to a growing body of criminological work using the rich resources provided by the ICTY and other courts dealing with atrocity crime. The next original scientific paper titled *Concentration Camp Rituals: An Extreme Case of Insecurity* involves sociological analysis of the experiences retold by former civilian detainees who were placed in concentration camps at the beginning of the Bosnian war in the 1990s. Afterward, there is a following interesting paper entitled *Security Management and Environmental Crime - Security Management Students' Attitudes* which aims to assess knowledge of students at the *University of Belgrade – Faculty of Security* about their understanding of environmental crimes. The first of review papers is entitled *Terrorism and Genocide* whereas the author strives to find the symbiotic relationship and the role of terrorism as supporting instrument in carrying out genocide. The paper titled *The Social Functions of Middle Class: Implications for Bosnia and Herzegovina* is considering the need of revitalization of the middle class social values and creating an environment where the social habit of middle class will be established as a normative guideline. This edition ends with the paper *Trafficking In Human Beings In Bosnia And Herzegovina: State Of The Art And Associated Puzzles* wherein the authors research and clarify the phenomenon of trafficking in human beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, elaborate its history, the state of the art, and the exploitation patterns of trafficking.

At the end of this editorial, I would like to express my gratitude to all members of the Editorial Board as well as to Mr. Andy Aitchison, PhD, for their support and efforts given in preparation of this *Criminal Justice Issues* edition. Especially, I would like to thank the peer reviewers whose work has contributed significantly to improving the quality of this edition.

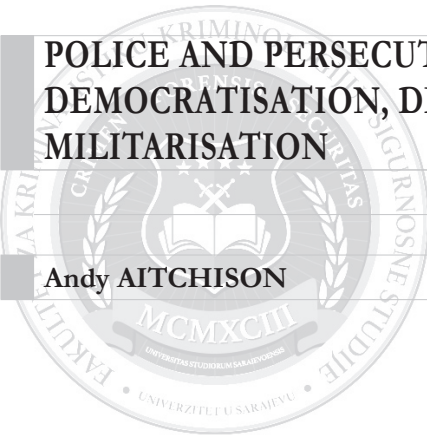
Editor in Chief

Eldan Mujanovic, PhD

POLICE AND PERSECUTION IN THE BOSNIAN KRAJINA: DEMOCRATISATION, DEPROFESSIONALISATION AND MILITARISATION

Original Scientific Paper

Andy AITCHISON



Abstract

Reason(s) for writing and research problem(s): The paper examines processes leading to police participation in ethnic violence. This is often taken for granted and under-explored in criminological literature which assumes that police, as part of the state monopoly of violence, are inevitable partners in ethnic violence. The paper also contributes to a growing body of work using the rich resources provided by the ICTY and other courts dealing with atrocity crime (Buss 2014; Bećirević 2014; Komar 2008; Mullins 2009). The methodological implications of using these sources are rarely discussed. This paper addresses that gap.

Aims of the paper (scientific and/or social): The scientific aims of the paper are firstly to offer a robust description of police violence in the Bosnian Krajina during the early stages of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This provides a foundation for building an explanatory framework, exploring an untested assumption in criminological work. The paper also seeks to add to the written history of the war in Bosnia, contributing to the understanding of the origins of the conflict and the way it took place.

Methodology/Design: The paper adopts a qualitative research design based on a purposive sample of two cases heard at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (*Prosecutor v Brđanin*, *Prosecutor v Stanišić and Župljanin*). Over 50,000 pages of court transcripts and 3,000 pieces of evidence were subjected to a coding process using computer aided qualitative data analysis software (NVivo).

Research/paper limitations: The paper is limited to a study of one narrow region, the Bosnian Krajina, and one authority, the emerging Serb Republic. Further comparative work is required to establish variation and common features across regions and authorities within Bosnia and Herzegovina and across other Yugoslav republics experiencing violence in the 1990s and 2000s. The paper adopts a top down approach and so does not focus on individual motivation of the front line police engaged in atrocities.

Results/Findings: The paper establishes that the police in the Krajina region were politicised, deprofessionalised and militarised and played a central role in ethnic violence and ethnic cleansing. This process is rooted in various legacy features of BiH as a republic of Yugoslavia (local defence structures, relationship between police and military, ethnically based alloca-

tion of key positions for parity) combined with specific dimensions of democratisation (ethnically based political parties, power sharing agreements).

General conclusion: By identifying the particular historical conditions behind the participation of Serb police in the Bosnian Krajina in ethnically targeted violence, the paper finds that the criminological assumption that this is inevitable leaves important local contextual factors unexamined.

Research/paper validity: The conclusions concur with and expand upon existing criminological work.

Keywords

police, Bosnia and Herzegovina, atrocity crime, democratisation, militarization, deprofessionalisation

1. Introduction

This paper explores how and why police came to participate in war crimes and ethnically targeted violence in the Krajina region of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)¹. Based on an analysis of the trials of Radoslav Brđanin, Mićo Stanišić and Stojan Župljanin, I argue that a number of factors come together to produce a police organisation capable of carrying out widespread ethnic violence. These include legacies inherited from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in the areas of defence, policing and the allocation of state jobs, and as BiH democratised, a particular pattern of ethnic polarization and attempts by ethnically-oriented parties to control key state positions. In the run up to the war and during its early stages, police in the Krajina and elsewhere were politicised, deprofessionalised and militarised, facilitating their role in ethnic violence and ethnic cleansing. I begin with a brief account of existing work on police and war crimes, and the criminology of war crimes. While frameworks for multi-level analyses are being developed, this study remains focused on organisational, (emerging) state and international levels, and will not include individual micro-level explanations. I locate the study in relation to other recent work using judicial sources, sketch out the rationale behind case selection and introduce the analytical approach. Findings are presented in two sections. The first sketches out an empirical description of police involvement in ethnic violence; the second seeks to outline the explanatory factors evident from the two cases selected.

2. Police and the Organisation of Atrocity Crime

The role that police have played in genocides and atrocity crimes is well recognised (e.g. Brownning 2001; Bloxham 2001). Police are among a limited number of state agents empowered to use force (Alvarez 2001: 74), and along with soldiers and militia, it is claimed that “police officers are conditioned, not only to obey superior officers, but also to use violence” (Alvarez 2001: 96). While this points to their potential role in violent state action against civilians, it risks naturalising police participation as easy and unthinking. There are a number of problems

¹ The Krajina region is loosely defined as those municipalities surrounding the city of Banja Luka in the north west of the country.

with such a position. It reflects an assumption that those who complete police training are the same uniformed personnel carrying out ethnically targeted violence. In societies undergoing relatively rapid change, there may be important changes in the composition of the police and limited opportunities for training (Kutnjak-Ivković and Haberfeld 2000: 199). Even if the police involved in violence have completed a normal training process, the difficulty of conditioning people to use violence should not be underestimated (Grossman 1996). Likewise, police are trained to use specific forms of violence in specific circumstances. Beyond the technical skills of violence, theory suggests that other factors are important, such as ideological conviction². Finally, historical research (e.g. Bloxham 2003, Browning 2001) and recent sociological and criminological work (e.g. Collins 2009, Klusemann 2012) show that violence unfolds over time and the steps along the way are important to any explanation. This requires a careful examination of the background and processes of change affecting police involved in ethnic violence.

Recent work in criminology and other disciplines indicates the benefit of multi-level analyses (see Aitchison 2014, 30-40 for a summary). In particular, the work of van Baar and Huisman (2012) is a good example of the value of studying organisational settings in a way which links the individual with the state. Taking the police as an organisational setting in which individual action is structured and facilitated, I focus primarily on the meso-macro connections. For example, at the macro-level, international attempts to impose restrictions on military deployment encouraged the greater use of police in military roles. While the paper does not deal with the individual in any detail an expansion of the evidence base by looking at cases against offenders lower down in political or organisational hierarchies would support analysis in that area.

3. Methods and Approach

The research uses a sample partly dictated by convenience: testimony and evidence presented at the ICTY. The tribunal has gathered together a huge amount of evidence, live and written testimony, but this is subject to processes of selection dictated by procedural guidelines and prosecutorial and defence strategies. Bloxham (2001, 2-3) notes that the Nuremberg tribunals left an incomplete picture, neglecting some of the most egregious police atrocities. The ICTY cases include a clear focus on police activities, covering a range of levels within police organisations. Within the convenience sample represented by the ICTY cases, a further level of purposive sampling is applied. In order to explore police organisation and actions at a regional level, two particular cases were selected. In *Brđanin*, a leading local politician in the Krajina was prosecuted, and in *Stanišić and Župljanin*, the Minister of the Interior in the breakaway Bosnian Serb Republic and the leading Krajina police chief faced the chamber. Together, these cases give an insight into republican and regional political and police leadership. It would have been possible to select a different authority and a different territory based on ICTY records. Further case studies are planned to allow meaningful comparison of police activities across conflicts in the former Yugoslavia (particularly elsewhere in Bosnia, in Croatia, Kosovo and Macedonia). The case of the Bosnian Krajina is one of the best documented and makes a logical starting point.

² Goldhagen's work (e.g. 1997) focuses on ideological commitment and anti-Semitism in the Holocaust, but is criticised for doing so at the expense of other factors (Browning 2001: 194 ff.). Social psychology underscores the importance of initial ideological sympathies, while identifying ways in which these interact with context (Haslam and Reicher 2007).

Court transcripts and evidence are publicly available. The two cases involve more than 52,000 pages of transcripts, and so far, more than 3,000 pieces of evidence have been released in *Brđanin*. Evidence varies from short memos, photographs, and video recordings to transcripts of assembly sessions running over hundreds of pages³. Criminologists have recently started to take advantage of the resources gathered by the ICTY and other tribunals to describe and analyse international crimes. Klusemann's (2012) analysis of patterns of violence in Srebrenica and Rwanda, Mullins (2009) work on sexual violence in Rwanda and Tanner and Mulone's (2013) study of paramilitaries all make use of court records. Komar (2008) uses 30 cases to examine dynamics of victim selection⁴, while Buss (2014) contrasts judicial constructions of patriarchy with witness testimony. I do not suggest the documents provide the 'thick' description Mullins identified in the ICTR records (2009, 720), nonetheless the cases provide a rich resource. Further, by utilising existing sources in the first instance, research can be conducted without the necessity of harming potential respondents who experienced horrific and traumatic events. The kind of difficulties this could create are evident in the courtroom discussion of the impact of giving evidence on protected witness BT12⁵.

The two cases were subject to a preliminary coding process using NVivo, highlighting police action alongside military action, political organisation, particular forms of violence, population transfers, theft and exploitation, detention camps, the distribution of arms and other salient features. Following the coding, the nodes were reviewed and analysed individually or cross-referenced with one another. For example, cross referencing the nodes 'detention camp' and 'police' brought up 159 references from *Brđanin* testimony and a further 253 from *Stanišić and Župljanin*⁶. From this process I derive the descriptive account of police violence and a narrative on democratisation, deprofessionalisation and militarisation.

4. Describing Police Violence

The police contribution to ethnic cleansing through the creation of an inhospitable environment for non-Serbs, forced transfers of population and murder ranges from omissions in normal policing tasks through to active participation in violence. This includes joint activities with paramilitaries, the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), and from May 1992, the Army of the Serb Republic (VRS). This section describes a number of interconnected police activities: disarmament programmes; the holding of non-Serbs in detention camps; interrogations; individual arrests; and cooperation in military operations resulting in deaths and the capture of large numbers of non-Serb civilians.

³ This analysis process inevitably involves a further degree of selection. The paper draws directly on evidence of 56 identified witnesses including victims, police officers and leaders, politicians and members of the military, a further 9 unnamed witnesses from each of the two cases and 27 specific exhibits.

⁴ See also Hollows and Fritzson (2012) on generating data for quantitative analyses from court records.

⁵ *Brđanin*, 11 April 2002, 4190.

⁶ The data from *Stanišić and Župljanin* include camps outside the Krajina region. Such camps are excluded from the current analysis.

4.1. Disarmament

In many Krajina municipalities, Serb authorities, including the police, pursued the selective disarmament of Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats. This can be contrasted with a policy of accommodation and cooperation with irregular armed formations⁷. Through disarmament Serb authorities sought to secure a monopoly over the material means of physical violence in what fits with Kaoullas' description of a chaotic security structure⁸, but this also forms an integral part of wider attacks on non-Serb communities and the detention of large numbers of civilians. Concerns regarding the distribution of weapons in the former Yugoslavia were evident prior to the BiH elections in 1990, when there were orders for the JNA to secure weapons held at in municipalities by the territorial defence (TO). As this shifts to weapon collection programmes targeting individuals, the military continued to play an important role⁹ but were joined by civilian police and the TO. Weapons taken in by the civilian police included those retained after military service, illegally procured arms and legally owned and registered pistols and rifles¹⁰. Some police and crisis staff documentation suggests that a focus only on illegal weapons¹¹, but other police documents extend this to legally held guns¹². There is variation across municipalities. In Čelinac, a resolution imposed a range of restrictions on non-Serb citizens including a bar on possession of weapons¹³. In some municipalities police issued receipts for weapons taken¹⁴. Other areas saw irregular seizures of weapons with no attempt to create records or issue receipts¹⁵. Although calls for weapons to be surrendered were often phrased in general terms not specifying ethnicity, they clearly targeted non-Serbs. Amir Džonlić noted that while Bosniaks were surrendering weapons, Serbs, including his colleagues, were being armed¹⁶. A number of witnesses noted that they only knew of disarmament being targeted at non-Serbs, and in non-Serb neighbourhoods, while Serb villages retained their weapons¹⁷. Radio broadcasts explicitly targeted non-Serbs with calls to surrender arms¹⁸. The operations to disarm non-Serbs were accompanied by

⁷ See e.g. *Brđanin*, 24 June 2003, 18137.

⁸ Through a detailed study of Cyprus in 1963-64, Kaoullas (2014) is developing a framework in which transitions from a security deficit result in an initially chaotic security structure in which emerging authorities communalise the monopoly of violence.

⁹ *Brđanin*, 27 April 2002, 5520.

¹⁰ *Brđanin*, 11 April 2002, 4179.

¹¹ *Brđanin*, P195, P196.

¹² *Brđanin*, P271.

¹³ *Brđanin*, P195.

¹⁴ E.g. Šipovo, *Brđanin*, 8 July 2003, 19096; Ključ, *Brđanin*, DB99; Čelinac, *Brđanin*, 16 January 2004, 24161-2.

¹⁵ *Brđanin*, P1652; 29 January 2003, 13772-3.

¹⁶ *Brđanin*, 27 February 2002, 2411.

¹⁷ *Brđanin*, 28 May 2002, 6134; 7 June 2002, 6860; 18 June 2002, 7037 ff.; 3 September 2002, 9481-2; 10 October 2002, 10560; 15 October 2002, 10709; 16 October 2002, 10820; 29 January 2003, 13773; 20 May 2003, 15994.

¹⁸ *Brđanin*, P827; 6 June 2002, 6768.

intrusive police searches¹⁹, individual arrests²⁰, large scale detention of civilians in camps²¹ and, both before and after the expiry of deadlines, threatened and actual shelling and other military attack²². Some arrests resulted in prosecution²³, but the scarcity of cases of illegal possession of weapons forwarded by police²⁴ suggests that the primary goal of the Serb authorities was not to use criminal law to process and punish those with unregistered weapons.

4.2. Detention camps

A number of witnesses, including non-Serb detainees and members of the Serb Ministry of the Interior (MUP), testify in relation to detention sites described as collection centres, concentration camps, prisoner of war camps and prisons. There is often ambiguity over who controls these facilities. For example the sports hall in Sanski Most was guarded by men in both camouflage and pre-war police *milicija* uniforms²⁵. With others evidence is clearer. Witness BT16, detained at the Krings facility in Sanski Most, was initially guarded by soldiers who were later replaced by the police²⁶. The camp at Manjaca was under military command, although perimeter security was provided by units in civilian police uniforms²⁷. Camps at the Omarska mine and the Keraterm factory in Prijedor and the Betonirka garages in Sanski Most were more clearly under the authority of local police²⁸. Omarska was set up under the authority of Police Chief (*Načelnik*) Simo Drljača following a decision of the local Serb crisis staff²⁹. Muharem Kržić, President of the Banja Luka branch of the Bosniak Party of Democratic Action (SDA), provided and testified on a contemporaneous report of a meeting of 22 June 1992 between Bosniak representatives and General Talić of the VRS. It records a commitment by Talić to write to the regional police chief, Župljanin, to secure the release of non-military personnel from camps³⁰. Also present at that meeting and a further meeting on 10 July was Adil Medić of the Merhamet charitable organisation. He indicates that aside from the clear military responsibility for Manjaca, and in the presence of a senior municipal police officer, no one would accept responsibility for other camps in the region³¹. Despite evidence that the MUP indicated a degree of dissat-

¹⁹ *Brđanin*, 7 June 2002, 6878 ff.; 3 September 2002, 9481-2; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 6 November 2009, 2744.

²⁰ *Brđanin*, P682; 22 May 2003, 16211; 16 June 2003, 17602; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 6 November 2009, 2744.

²¹ *Brđanin*, 10 July 2003, 19303-4.

²² *Brđanin*, P784.2; 27 May 2002, 5520; 15 October 2002, 10738; 29 January 2003, 13772 ff.; 10 February 2003, 14451; 22 May 2003, 16190.

²³ *Brđanin*, 16 June 2003, 17602.

²⁴ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 15 October 2009, 1534 ff.

²⁵ *Brđanin*, 3 June 2002, 6480.

²⁶ *Brđanin*, 5 July 2002, 8070.

²⁷ *Brđanin*, 13 May 2002, 5452-3; 17 June 2002, 6927; 4 July 2002, 7979

²⁸ E.g. Betonirka, *Brđanin*, 28 May 2002, 6171; 16 October 2002, 10827.

²⁹ *Brđanin*, P1237.

³⁰ *Brđanin*, P461; 5 February 2002, 1541.

³¹ *Brđanin*, 25 February 2002, 2235.

isfaction over the use of police alongside the army, it is clear that there was close cooperation between police and military forces in relation to the network of detention sites.

Camp detainees were held in inhumane conditions. A degree of improvisation is evident in the use of schools, garages and other industrial facilities. They were crowded, had inadequate provision for nutrition and personal hygiene, and often inmates would have to sleep on hard floors. They were variously humiliated and denigrated, beaten and killed. Beatings took place at the detention facilities where police provided security or occupied command positions. During a visit of political delegates to the Omarska facility, detainees were forced to give Serb salutes, to sing Serb songs, and to shout 'this is Serbia'³². Police officers from Ključ entered Manjaca at nights and beat detainees from that municipality³³. Beatings took place in the context of police interrogations, as experienced by 16 year old Samir Dedić at the elementary school in Ključ³⁴, or by police acting as guards in camps³⁵. Further beatings are reported at a sites of detention guarded by police or under police authority, including the Krings industrial facilities and Betonirka garages in Sanski Most³⁶, Lušci Palanka³⁷, the Petar Kočić School in Bosanska Krupa³⁸, and Omarska³⁹. In Kotor Varoš, at the school building and sawmill, acts against inmates extended to sexual violence and rape against men and women⁴⁰.

Individual killings covered in the cases include the beating to death of men from the transfer to Manjaca on which detainees suffocated⁴¹, and the July massacre of detainees from Brdo in the Omarska camp⁴². Predrag Radulović, an inspector with the Serb State Security Service, saw corpses laid out on the grass during a visit to Omarska. He was told by a colleague that camp guards had shot them from the roof as part of a competition for beer⁴³. Further details on individual killings and massacres in Omarska and Keraterm are found in other cases at both the ICTY and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina⁴⁴. The first instance finding of guilt against Mejakić lists 24 named individuals shot or beaten to death while he was in command of the Omarska camp. At least 62 further unnamed individuals were killed in massacres, and a further 7 named and 7 unnamed men disappeared⁴⁵.

³² *Brđanin*, 31 January 2003, 12755.

³³ *Brđanin*, 13 May 2002, 5454, it was specifically noted that officers from Sanski Most did not do so.

³⁴ *Brđanin*, 09 October 2002, 10420.

³⁵ *Brđanin*, 10 October 2002, 10569.

³⁶ *Brđanin*, 28 May 2002, 6174 ff.; 5 July 2002, 8070.

³⁷ *Brđanin*, 31 May 2002, 6417.

³⁸ *Brđanin*, 12 June 2003, 17481-2.

³⁹ *Brđanin*, 30 October 2002, 11194; 26 November 2002, 12215.

⁴⁰ *Brđanin*, 18 June 2003, 17841; Stanišić and Župljanin, 9 October 2009, 1139-40.

⁴¹ See below for details of the transport. For the beatings on arrival, see *Brđanin*, 3 June 2002, 6501.

⁴² *Brđanin*, 30 October 2002, 11188.

⁴³ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 26 May 2010, 10864.

⁴⁴ *Kvočka et al; Prosecutor v Mejakić*.

⁴⁵ The figure of 86 dead is not taken to be anywhere near a comprehensive representation of those killed at the camp which held over 3,300 detainees over its 3 month period of operation, rather represents those individual killings covered by testimony and other evidence. The nature of ICTY evidence is such

4.3 Interrogations

Interrogations took place in police stations and in camps. Witnesses identify teams of interrogators, naming individual members and including the regular police (Public Security Service), the intelligence-oriented State Security Service and Military Security⁴⁶. In Keraterm, Manjaca and Omarska, interrogations formed part of a process of categorising detainees into three groups. Kerim Mešanović testified that the first category⁴⁷, targeted for killings, were not only those who had been captured in combat, but included those in leading functions, wealthy citizens and an intellectual or professional group⁴⁸. Such testimony suggests a strategy to undermine or destroy the Bosniak community by removing those playing a role in organisation and representation.

4.4 Targeted arrests and transportation to camps

Even in camps under military authority, police played a role in arresting, transporting and interrogating detainees, indicating coordination between police and military authorities. Adil Draganović from Sanski Most spent time in police detention before being transported, along with 22 or 23 other prominent Bosniak citizens, some with visible injuries on their faces, to the military camp at Manjaca. He identified the Sanski Most uniformed police chief, Drago Vujinić⁴⁹, carrying with a list of detainees at the police station and on arrival at camp⁵⁰. Under cross examination he added Zoran Despot, of the criminal investigation service⁵¹. He further comments on a series of lists of names he retrieved from the Public Security Station in Sanski Most after the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH) captured the town⁵², indicating those Bosniak and Croat civilians arrested and taken on to Manjaca⁵³. Some detainees were taken in individual arrests by the police. Jakov Marić, knew his captors and the inspector who inter-

that the clearest and strongest evidence with surviving eye-witnesses forms the basis of the judgment. An association of camp detainees has evidence of around 700 killings (Dzidic 2013).

⁴⁶ *Brđanin*, 13 January 2003, 12739-40; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 26 May 2010, 10858; 2 November 2010, 16727; 14 October 2011, 25028.

⁴⁷ Witness ST-245, a member of Serb State Security Services involved in interrogations in May 1992, is one of the Serb witnesses who confirm the categorisation. He describes the first category as 'ring leaders of hostile activities', the second as supporters and the third as being of no security interest (*Stanišić and Župljanin*, 2 November 2010, 16751). This contrasts with the evidence given by Radomir Rodić, another member of State Security, who claimed to know nothing of categorisation taking place after interrogation (*Stanišić and Župljanin*, 13 September 2010, 14491).

⁴⁸ *Brđanin*, 30 October 2002, 11184.

⁴⁹ Sometimes rendered as Vujanić.

⁵⁰ *Brđanin*, 25 April 2002, 5003-5.

⁵¹ *Brđanin*, 21 May 2002, 5853.

⁵² The list is hand written in both Latin and Cyrillic scripts, and bears no official markings, Draganović testified that he recognised the writing of crime inspectors, and matched the list to persons detained at Manjaca with him (*Brđanin*, 14 May 2002, 5560, 5569). A typed letter of 28 August 1992, bearing the stamp of the Sanski Most Public Security Station, refers to a list of persons located at Manjaca (*Brđanin*, see P787-790).

⁵³ *Brđanin*, P786; 14 May 2002, 5560 ff.

rogated him. He was beaten during interrogation⁵⁴. Muhamed Filipović was detained at the police station in Ključ in May prior to transfer. During his testimony, a typed list of more than 1,100 detainees sent to Manjaca, signed by the Chief of Police, was exhibited⁵⁵. While in detention, Draganović was questioned by police visiting the camp, and he describes the interrogation of another by a police inspector from the town of Sanski Most⁵⁶. On one transfer to Manjaca recounted by a number of detainees from Sanski Most, around 20 prisoners died as a result of being packed into tightly sealed trucks in the summer heat with inadequate ventilation and no water⁵⁷. Other evidence on transfers includes an account of a march from Sitnica to Manjaca under police and military guard. Along the route, the men were exposed to abuse by the people of the villages they passed⁵⁸.

In some cases, police acted to protect non-Serbs during transfers or in detention. These are limited, but indicate points where police break from the script of persistent, repeated and serious abuse and violence. Grgo Stojić highlighted one of his captors at Betonirka who, unlike others, would allow prisoners water to drink and to wash in⁵⁹. Mirzet Karabeg's transfer from Betonirka to Manjaca was overseen by an officer who reassured detainees that they were safe. No one on the transfer was harassed or mistreated and the journey took the shortest route possible⁶⁰. This might seem like a small mercy as detainees were shifted from one brutal detention facility to another, but in light of evidence of deaths and beatings on other transfers, it shows some police officers managed to retain a degree of decency. In Prnjavor, detainees suggested that violence was not as prevalent as that described elsewhere. One man, detained at the Sloga factory said that inmates were reassured by Police Chief Radoslav Vasić, and only gave one example of a police guard hitting an inmate, after which the officer apologised⁶¹. Locals were allowed to bring food, but conditions could become more restrictive if guards lost family members in battle and at weekends, men in military dress would come and threaten the inmates⁶². In these cases, the police officers appear to act on the basis of a generalised attitude to detainees. Others protected individuals on the basis of pre-war associations⁶³.

4.5. Violence outside camps and police facilities

The camps created a relatively contained environment in which violence was observed. Those who survived the war were able to testify about their own experience and the abuse of others. Violence, including that perpetrated by the police, was also prevalent outside. The police cooperated with military forces in violent attacks on villages and were involved in individual

⁵⁴ *Brđanin*, 16 October 2002, 10823-6.

⁵⁵ *Brđanin*, P1033; 4 September 2002, 9271.

⁵⁶ *Brđanin*, 26 April 2002, 5069, 5093.

⁵⁷ *Brđanin*, 4 June 2002, 6540; 17 June 2002, 6917; 4 July 2002, 7974; 16 October 2002, 10830.

⁵⁸ *Brđanin*, 9 October 2002, 10421.

⁵⁹ *Brđanin*, 7 June 2002, 6886.

⁶⁰ *Brđanin*, 29 May 2002, 6258-9; 19 June 2002, 7078.

⁶¹ *Brđanin*, 19 May 2003, 15885-6.

⁶² *Brđanin*, 21 May 2003, 16036-43.

⁶³ *Brđanin*, 3 June 2002, 6478.

and large scale killing outside the detention camps. The massacre at Korićanske Stijene is one of the better documented mass killings. On 21 August 1992, a police intervention squad from Prijedor shot around 200 Bosniak men at the edge of a canyon. Survivor testimony from Emsud Garibović and witness ST065 describes the events⁶⁴. Garibović was on a busload of men lined up and shot. He was pushed into the canyon by the man behind him, so survived. Clothing lying in the canyon and a bad smell suggested this was not the first mass killing at the site⁶⁵. Police threw grenades into the canyon to kill any survivors⁶⁶, but Garibović reported that there were still noises coming from the wounded in the early hours of the morning⁶⁷. Nenad Krejić, head of the Public Security Station in Skender Vakuf, estimated that he saw between 150 and 200 bodies in the canyon⁶⁸. Men under his command had spoken with the Prijedor police and learned directly from them what they had done⁶⁹. The massacre was immediately reported within the VRS⁷⁰ and was known at the highest level of the MUP within 10 days⁷¹. The lack of any serious or sustained attempt at investigation or prosecution of crimes of violence against non-Serbs was an important part of the prosecution case in *Stanišić and Župljanin*⁷².

4.6. A hostile environment

This section has provided a description of police action in the Krajina region. In the context of the strategic goals of the Serb authorities to separate the peoples of BiH and to secure territory, it can be seen how a combination of killings, detention and harassment, in which police played a key role, sought to rid the area of non-Serbs by elimination and by creating a hostile environment to promote mass population movements out of the region. The following section shifts from description to develop an explanation of how a formerly multi-ethnic organisation can be transformed to support such a strategy.

5. Explaining Police Violence

Three important developments during the late stages of socialist rule and early days of multi-party electoral democracy in BiH change the structure and function of the police. Firstly, the democratisation process, the dominance of ethnically-oriented parties and the resultant polarisation; secondly polarisation in police agencies and subsequent fragmentation and deprofessionalisation; finally, the militarisation of the police.

⁶⁴ *Brđanin*, 6 December 2002, 12473 ff.; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 8 December 2010, 18352 ff.

⁶⁵ *Brđanin*, 6 December 2002, 12490.

⁶⁶ See *Prosecutor v Mrđa*, paragraph 35.

⁶⁷ *Brđanin*, 6 December 2002, 12493.

⁶⁸ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 1 September 2010, 14038.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 14044.

⁷⁰ *Brđanin*, P1454, P2424.

⁷¹ *Brđanin*, P322.

⁷² 30 May 2012, 27418 ff.

5.1. Democratisation and political polarisation

The first multi-party elections and ethnic polarisation are a well-rehearsed topic (Bieber 2014; Malcolm 1996, 217-22). In elections in November and December 1990, 75 per cent supported nationalist parties. The three main ethnically-based parties, the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), Party for Democratic Action (SDA) and Serb Democratic Party (SDS) secured 202 of 240 seats in the Republican Assembly (Malcolm 1996, 222). Stojanović argues that these elections form an important turning point (2014, 620). The lack of anti-communist civic alternatives (Stojanović 2014, 615) and resulting power sharing between three parties representing different ethnic communities provides important contextual background for the processes of politicisation and deprofessionalisation discussed in the next section. Both Bieber (2014, 553) and Stojanović (2014, 620) identify minimum consensus between parties found, aside from the principle of dividing republican, municipal and socially-owned institutions and offices between themselves. The agreement that these were to be divided shows continuity with party penetration of state institutions common under communism (Kornai 1992, 37) albeit transposed to a new multi-party context. There is also continuity of an arrangement known as the ethnic key, applied to key functions in BiH from 1974 onwards (Kapidžić 2015, 314). In evidence, Dragomir Adnan, explained that in SFRY, various factors were considered in leadership appointments beyond the basic requirement of party membership: a candidate's work record, and the ethnic balance of key positions⁷³. Attachment to a party remains important after multiparty elections, but with three parties rather than one. In many cases, experience is disregarded and people with no police background are appointed to leading positions or relatively junior staff are promoted rapidly. The relative strength of ethnically-based parties becomes something of a proxy for working out the relevant ethnic composition on the basis of local- and republic-level inter-party agreements. Agreement that roles and functions should be distributed across the parties does not mean agreement on the *specific* allocations.

5.2. Politicisation and deprofessionalisation

Assessments of the role of parties in personnel policy vary from the suggestion that they were trying to "exert some sort of influence"⁷⁴ to descriptions of the radicalisation of personnel policy⁷⁵. One senior Serb officer described a process of "peaceful lustration"⁷⁶, achieved through early retirement and shifting people around within the MUP. Examining, reassigning and removing public service personnel was common in post-communist transitions (Horne and Levi 2004, 52), but the Bosnian experience has been overshadowed by the subsequent war and dismissals which followed (Aitchison 2011, 83-84). Police professionals, and appointees with no previous policing experience and party members agree that the parties put forward their

⁷³ Stanišić and Župljanin, 26 May 2011, 21579. See also Stanišić and Župljanin, 2 October 2009, 724 on the use of the 'key' before 1990.

⁷⁴ Stanišić and Župljanin, 2 May 2011, 20055.

⁷⁵ Stanišić and Župljanin, 26 May 2011, 21374.

⁷⁶ Stanišić and Župljanin, 5 July 2011, 22808.

own people for key police posts⁷⁷. In Prijedor the SDA made a *pre-election* promise to appoint a Muslim Chief of Police⁷⁸.

In terms of leadership positions, party appointees were described as falling short of the requirements of the job⁷⁹. In many cases, appointees had no background in policing. It was claimed that Talundžić, the Chief of Police appointed by the SDA in Prijedor “had no other experience with the police other than when he was stopped by [sic] drink driving”⁸⁰. After an armed takeover of Prijedor by SDS, Simo Drljača, from the education services was put in charge⁸¹, in turn succeeded by a mathematics teacher⁸². In Kotor Varoš, Savo Tepić, an engineer with no experience of policing was appointed as Chief of Police as the SDS candidate agreed upon by the HDZ and SDA⁸³. In Ključ, the pre-election commander of the uniformed police had the support of the SDA and remained in post, while the Chief of Police was allocated to the SDS who appointed Vinko Kondić, formerly employed in a construction firm⁸⁴. The attempts to secure leadership positions did not always run smoothly. In Kotor Varoš, the appointment of Muhamad Sadiković, an SDA nominee from outside the police was obstructed by the regional police chief on the grounds that there was an experienced Muslim officer in post already⁸⁵. Sadiković’s description of the wrong this represented illustrates the nexus established between ethnicity, party and senior police office:

The SDA, as the legal party of the Bosniak people, had the right to nominate candidates⁸⁶

At the level of police leadership a number of points can be observed. Firstly, regardless of the professional background of those in leading positions, party-based nomination meant that candidates owed their jobs to political parties and were likely to be loyal or sympathetic to their aims⁸⁷. Secondly, candidates that did not meet pre-existing criteria diluted the professionalism of the police and new leaders were not schooled in the police values of SFRY. The lack of professional leadership was felt further down the hierarchy, with one Serb inspector

⁷⁷ *Brđanin*, 25 June 2003, 18188; 26 June 2003, 18366; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 2 October 2009, 725; 4 February 2010, 6175; 18 March 2010, 7755; 1 October 2010, 15152; 26 May 2011, 21378; 12 April 2011, 19432; 6 June 2011, 21847-8; 10 October 2011, 24725-6; 10 January 2012, 26448; 7 March 2012, 27042. On the political side, *Brđanin*, 24 July 2003, 20051; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 30 September 2009, 548; 14 October 2009, 1434. Confirmation by prosecution expert, *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 27 January 2010, 5580.

⁷⁸ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 18 October 2010, 17481.

⁷⁹ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 26 May 2011, 21375.

⁸⁰ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 10 October 2011, 24725-6; Telundžić’s background was in engineering, *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 1 October 2010, 15222.

⁸¹ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 1 October 2010, 15153; 11 October 2011, 24826; 12 October 2011, 25048.

⁸² *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 7 July 2011, 22991.

⁸³ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 14 October 2009, 1434.

⁸⁴ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 4 February 2010, 6175. On Bosanska Krupa, see *Brđanin*, 10 June 2003, 17255.

⁸⁵ *Brđanin*, 25 June 2003, 18188.

⁸⁶ *Brđanin*, 26 June 2003, 18366.

⁸⁷ Drago Raković, appointed to a leading communications role in the MUP put it explicitly when he said he “could be useful, both to the party and the people whom I would represent”, *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 25 February 2010, 6869.

suggesting that the crime police were “left to their own resources”⁸⁸. While the leadership cadre might have a disproportionate impact on the direction of policing, irregularities were noted throughout the service. Police officials sacked over disciplinary or criminal matters were reappointed after elections⁸⁹, normal appointment procedures were ignored for regular police officers and circumvented to stack the police reserve with party supporters⁹⁰, and police ID was not properly regulated⁹¹. As BiH disintegrated and secessionist bodies like the Autonomous Region of Krajina (ARK) emerged, the ethno-political basis of appointments and dismissals became more explicit. From April 1992 onwards, wide scale dismissals occurred following Serb take overs of political power. After the MUP had divided at the end of March, a new statement of loyalty was required. Those not signing were dismissed, as was evident in Sanski Most in April⁹² and in Ključ in May⁹³, and dismissals extended to Serbs who would not accept the new arrangements⁹⁴. A June 1992 decision by the ARK limited all positions involving the protection of public property not only to Serbs, but also excluded those “who have not confirmed by plebiscite or who in their minds are not clear that the Serbian Democratic Party is the sole representative of the Serbian people”⁹⁵. The changes in the composition and the expansion of the police force in this way questions the assumption that police training forms an important part of the explanation for their role in atrocity crimes. Bekir Delić witnessed men as young as 16 or 17 in police uniform⁹⁶, suggesting the use of untrained recruits. Rather, the police, once restructured along ethnic lines, provided an organisational framework and badge of convenience with access to the material means of violence. The development of the means of violence through the militarisation of the police is explored in the next section.

5.3. Militarisation

The militarisation of the police impacted upon the structure of the organisation, the skill set of its members, the tools available, and the opportunities for engagement in activities against civilian populations. While the police sought, at different points in time and at different levels of the organisation, to resist their utilisation in combat tasks, they were treated as another agency engaged in combat activities and pursuit of war aims⁹⁷. The use of police in military tasks during war and other extraordinary circumstances is based on the concept and law of All

⁸⁸ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 6 June 2011, 21847.

⁸⁹ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 26 May 2011, 21372.

⁹⁰ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 5 May 2010, 9629; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 6 June 2011, 21848.

⁹¹ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 26 May 2011, 21372; 13 October 2011, 24970.

⁹² *Brđanin*, 24 April 2002, 4920-4; 18 June 2002 7023.

⁹³ *Brđanin*, 26 August 2002, 8981; 2 September 2002, 9402. P989.

⁹⁴ E.g. *Prnjavor, Brđanin*, 5 March 2003, 15229.

⁹⁵ *Brđanin*, P1263.

⁹⁶ *Brđanin*, 4 July 2002, 7961.

⁹⁷ Expert witness Christian Nielsen identifies that even if it was not the case de jure, the Serb leadership viewed and spoke of the police as part of the armed forces. *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 25 January 2010, 5478.

People's Defence⁹⁸. Further, serving and reserve police officers would have served as military conscripts in the JNA, meaning they had a minimum of military training⁹⁹.

Testimony covers the equipment available to police and the combat training they received. Charles Kirudja, Chief Civil Affairs Officer of UNPROFOR from 1992 and 1994, situated the initial transfer of military weapons to police in the context of the Vance plan which was designed to demobilise the JNA and other military units but excluded the police¹⁰⁰. As they sought to identify military weapons for demobilisation, they found these were redeployed to police, former military vehicles were repainted in police livery and militia in blue uniforms manned the front lines:

*Since they were allowed to keep a police force, they would transform what is essentially... a military fighting unit... into a police force which is only a police force in name, because it has the fighting capability of a military force.*¹⁰¹

Transfers of military equipment from army to police was not unprecedented. A member of the former Federal Secretariat for the Interior noted that needs for particular special equipment would be communicated to the JNA¹⁰². Muhamad Sadiković, deputy commander in the Kotor Varoš police, noted that after mobilisation of the reserve, police had access to a warehouse of weapons including "automatic and semi-automatic weapons, hand held launchers, M-53 and short barrel guns"¹⁰³. The nature of equipment subsequently sought by Serb police in the Krajina is evident from a request sent to the JNA and subsequently seen at a parade in Banja Luka and in other locations around the Krajina. The request, made by Župljanin in April, included helicopters, armoured vehicles, machine guns, sniper rifles, hand grenades and other explosives¹⁰⁴. The local police chief in Banja Luka, Vladimir Tutus said that these were for use by a special police detachment, discussed below¹⁰⁵. A number of witnesses recounted seeing the armoured vehicles, painted blue, at this parade¹⁰⁶, and being used by Prijedor police¹⁰⁷. The Ključ police commander described training given to a 'manoeuvring unit' from his municipality during February 1992, in which the Serb officers were trained in the use of mortars, Zolja (anti-tank weapons) mines and canons¹⁰⁸. These units had traditionally played a role in major public order events. Along new equipment and training, the use of police camouflage uniforms became more prevalent¹⁰⁹.

⁹⁸ Article 104, cited during cross examination of ST27, *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 2 October 2009, 794.

⁹⁹ *Brđanin*, 18 December 2003, 23866.

¹⁰⁰ *Brđanin*, 10 February 14381-95.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 14394-5.

¹⁰² *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 23 October 2010, 13534.

¹⁰³ *Brđanin*, 25 June 2003, 18198, the M-53 he refers to is a machine gun with an effective aim range of 2 km; on Reserve weaponry at Bosanska Krupa, *Brđanin*, 10 June 2003, 17281-2.

¹⁰⁴ *Brđanin*, P1571.

¹⁰⁵ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 22 March 2010, 7957-6; 28 May 2010, 10958-9; *Brđanin*, P1657.

¹⁰⁶ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 16 April 2010, 8838-40; *Brđanin*, 27 February 2002, 2414

¹⁰⁷ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 4 October 2010, 15263; 15 October 2010, 16048; 17 November 2010, 17437.

¹⁰⁸ *Brđanin*, P1123; *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 12 October 2010, 15868; a Serb member of the police reserve confirmed the weapons training, but denied that Muslim officers were treated differently during this training, *Brđanin*, 18 December 2003, 23870.

¹⁰⁹ *Brđanin*, 26 February 2002, 2318-9; 27 February 2002, 2414; 17 April 2002, 4468; 28 May 2002, 6155;

The expansion of reserve forces and the creation of an armed, and arguably militarised, police reserve is something that began before the division of the MUP in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rooted in the concept of All People's Defence, it was also a logical move in light of restrictions on military force in the Vance plan, and the limited defensive capacity held by republics in the SFRY¹¹⁰. In the Krajina, this continued with the expansion and utilisation of police military capability, reflected in organisation, personnel and deployment, blurring the boundaries between the previously civilian police force and the military. The development of manoeuvring units has already been identified above, and the killings at Korićanske Stijene described in 4.5 were undertaken by a police 'intervention unit'¹¹¹. Special units or detachments were a focal point in both cases, particularly the special detachment of the regional Public Security Centre (CSB) in Banja Luka. The unit was formed following a decision of the ARK Crisis Staff on 27 April and confirmation of this by the Council of the CSB¹¹². Evidence on the unit suggests that while it was nominally attached to the CSB and salaries came from the CSB budget, regular police officers were in the minority, and the unit was formed from a mixture of police, members of the paramilitary Serb Defence Forces, and the military¹¹³. Criteria for inclusion in the unit included front line experience¹¹⁴. The ambiguous role of the 'specials' was underlined by one witness held at the *Proleter* factory. He described how they changed uniforms giving the example of Dule Vujičić, who he knew to be an active duty police officer:

*He had a blue camouflage uniform and a blue cap. When he would go to mopping up operations and when he was returning, he would come with a green camouflage uniform and a green [sic, corrected to red] cap... The same people would wear both kinds of uniform.*¹¹⁵

The special units present at Serb take overs of power in municipalities, in combat operations, and even in efforts to counter certain Serb paramilitary groups, show the blurring of lines dividing civilian police and military. The regular utilisation of police in wider combat activities was a further threat to this distinction. Rather than a technical elaboration of processes of resubordination of police to military command, I simply offer evidence of the nature and extent of police deployment in military operations. The expert witness, Christian Nielsen, identifies concerns in the MUP regarding the extent of police deployment in military roles. In figures drawn together for 1992, it was suggested that as many as 300,000 man days per month were being spent in combat functions¹¹⁶. Goran Macar of the MUP estimated that at one point, 80 per cent of

²⁶ November 2002, 12214; 27 February 2003, 14903; Stanišić and Župljanin, 30 September 2009, 541; 2 October 2009, 757; 6 October 2009, 904; 5 November 2010, 16972.

¹¹⁰ See Kutnjak-Ivković and Haberfeld on a similar expansion in Croatia (2000, 207).

¹¹¹ *Brđanin*, P1310 details the establishment of a police battalion of 7 companies, including cannon and mortar squads, in Prijedor.

¹¹² *Brđanin*, P159 and P202.

¹¹³ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 9 November 2011, 25665; 21 September 2011, 24524.

¹¹⁴ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 31 May 2010, 11105.

¹¹⁵ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 5 November 2010, 16950-1.

¹¹⁶ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 25 January 2010, 5472.

the Banja Luka CSB were involved in combat¹¹⁷. Formally, orders for deployment should have been communicated through the police chain of command, and one officer confirmed that his orders to participate in combat came through the chief of his SJB, Vladimir Tutus¹¹⁸. Witnesses testified that police already represented an organised formation and so were deployed to shore up weak spots on the front lines¹¹⁹. Miloš Janković was part of a collection of police brigades from across the Krajina region sent to fight at Obrovac, and served in a battalion under the command of Simo Drljača, Chief of the Prijedor police¹²⁰. Police were deployed as part of major military organisations, such as those to defend the corridor linking Eastern and Western parts of the Serb Republic¹²¹ and in attacks on targets such as Kozarac, which represented a concentration of Muslims in territory designated as part of the Republic¹²². Internal police documents and police testimony give details of some of the casualties that arose from police deployment in this manner¹²³.

The different dimensions of the apparent militarisation of the police support two separate conclusions. Firstly, the 'policeness' of those who appear to be a part of the police organisation is called into question. The wholesale transfer of personnel and weaponry from military and paramilitary units into police organisations, along with the deliberate blurring of the boundaries between the police and the army, suggest a fundamental change to the nature of the police in the Krajina region, potentially marginalising a residual core of police whose training and service date back to before the war. Secondly, through the regular utilisation of police in military roles, the potential of creating an embattled, brutalised force viewing their role in terms of securing their people from an enemy as opposed to securing a more general sense of order should be considered, and is worth exploring further through cases that deal with front line police officers in greater depth¹²⁴.

6. Conclusion

I have used the testimony and evidence accessible through the ICTY to argue that the police in the Krajina region of Bosnia and Herzegovina were transformed into a tool of the SDS programme of ethnically targeted violence through processes of politicisation, selection, deprofessionalisation and militarisation. Although this was not inevitable, one can see the foundations in the organisation of policing and defence in SFRY, and in the ethnicisation of politics in Bosnia's democratic transition. It created a police force distanced from a professional ethos, in which a number of senior positions were held by ideologically committed party men with no previous police experience. Uncontrolled recruitment at lower levels and an absence of police

¹¹⁷ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 11 July 2011, 23094.

¹¹⁸ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 19 April 2010, 8905.

¹¹⁹ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 7 June 2010, 11346; 24 June 2010, 12141.

¹²⁰ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 11 October 2011, 24847-24850.

¹²¹ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 15 April 2011, 19653.

¹²² *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 6 December 2010, 18116.

¹²³ *Stanišić and Župljanin*, 20 January 2011, 19067; 16 November 2011, 25908; Brđanin, DB113.

¹²⁴ Notably in his study of Reserve Police Battalion 101 in Poland, Browning finds that brutalisation is not a credible explanation for their actions given limited combat experience (2001, 161).

training left no scope for the transmission of professional values. Coupled with the military potential of a police force viewed, equipped and utilised as an integral part of the emerging state's military capacity, this helps explain the role of the police in atrocity crimes in the Krajina, especially in the period of spring to winter 1992. Any accounts of police and atrocity crimes need to take seriously the ways in which police organisations are transformed.

In spite of recognised challenges in using material gathered for judicial processes, these findings show the potential of ICTY resources to build up original and detailed narratives as a foundation for frameworks to explain complex processes of organisational reorientation towards ethnically targeted atrocity crimes. This paper has focused at the level of the break-away Serb republic and one sub-region of police organisation. A number of cases prosecuted at the ICTY also offer the potential of findings not only about the changes in police organisations, but also about the front line police officers¹²⁵. Other cases allow comparison with authorities elsewhere in Bosnia and Yugoslavia¹²⁶. Further, as domestic courts in BiH proceed to prosecute ever more low level cases, further resources with regards to frontline police will become available, extending our knowledge of how police become perpetrators of large scale violence¹²⁷.

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¹²⁵ E.g. *Prosecutor v Kvočka et al*

¹²⁶ E.g. for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, *Prosecutor v Boškoski and Tarčulovski*.

¹²⁷ For interactive resources on domestic cases, see OSCE (undated).

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CONCENTRATION CAMP RITUALS: AN EXTREME CASE OF INSECURITY

Original Scientific Paper

RITUALI U KONCENTRACIONIM LOGORIMA: EKSTREMNI SLUČAJ NESIGUROSTI

Izvorni naučni rad

Goran BAŠIĆ

Abstract

Reason(s) for writing and research problem(s): This article analyzes the experiences retold by former concentration camp detainees who were placed in concentration camps like civilians at the beginning of the Bosnian war in the 1990s.

Aims of the paper (scientific and/or social): The article aims to describe the recounted social interaction rituals after time spent in a concentration camp as well as identifying how these interactions are symbolically dramatized.

Methodology/Design: The empirical material for this study was collected through qualitative interviews held with nine former camp detainees and four close relatives.

Research/paper limitations: The analyzed empirical examples revealed how the camp detainees' victim identity is created, recreated, and retained in contrast to 'the others' – the camp guards. The camp detainees' portrayal of their victim identity presents their humiliated self through dissociation from the camp guards.

Results/Findings: The detainees' new (altered) moral career is presented as a result of the imprisonment at the camp and the repetitive humiliation and power rituals. The importance of the camp guards was emphasized in these rituals, in which the detainees' new selves, characterized by moral dissolution and fatigue, emerged.

General conclusion: In their stories of crime and abuse in the concentration camps, the detainees reject the guards' actions and the designation of 'concentration camp detainee'. The retold stories of violation and power rituals in the camps show that there was little space for individuality. Nevertheless, resistance and status rituals along with adapting to the conditions in the camps seem to have generated some room for increased individualization. To have possessed some control and been able to resist seems to have granted the detainees a sense of honor and self-esteem, not least after the war. Their narratives today represent a form of continued resistance.

Research/paper validity: The interviewees' rejections of the guards' actions and their forced "camp detainee" status could be interpreted as an expression of de-ritualization, leading away from their own earlier experiences. The subsequently illustrated myriad of everyday interactions, which can be distinguished analytically in the interviewees' stories, expose rituals of humiliation, power, resistance, and status. Through these, we see the interviewees' loss of identity, others' recognition of one's identity, emotional involvement, and different symbols of resistance.

Keywords

humiliated self, emotions, stigma, sacred symbols, de-ritualization

Introduction

This article is based on interpersonal interpretations of violence during the 1990s war in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹. In their quest for 'ethnic cleansing' of Bosniacs and Croats from northwestern Bosnia, Serb soldiers and policemen, among others, used concentration camps. The aim of ethnic cleansing was to take control of the geographic area by expelling the Bosniac and Croat populations. In addition to concentration camps, the ethnic cleansing of northwestern Bosnia consisted of a range of other techniques, including mass murder, systematic rape, forced flight, and economic and legal discrimination. The common denominator was that warfare was directed against civilian populations, namely groups of people with other ethnic identities; the aim was to make life impossible for Bosniacs and Croats. It was not enough only to expel these individuals; the aim was to create an atmosphere in which they would never dare return (Bassiouni and Manikas 1994; Case No.: IT-99-36-T; Case No.: IT-97-24-T; Greve and Bergsmo 1994).

Scientific reports and legal judgments from the Hague Tribunal that address the living conditions in the concentration camps describe an existence characterized by humiliation, physical abuse, fear, and death. Detainees died on a daily basis from physical abuse, planned executions, food shortage, and illnesses. They were so emaciated that they could not stand up or move (according to trial witnesses and interviewees, most detainees had lost approximately 20–40 kilograms). The general atmosphere made the detainees lose any will of their own; they became apathetic, and the texts convey the image of detainees just sitting around waiting to die to end the pain (Basic 2007; Case No.: IT-99-36-T; Case No.: IT-97-24-T; Case No.: IT-98-30/1-A; Case No.: IT-95-8-S; Greve and Bergsmo 1994). In the German camps during the second world war, the aim was to kill from a distance, and the camps were highly efficient and industrialized in their operations. In contrast to this, the camps in northwestern Bosnia stood out for individualized crimes in which the perpetrator often knew his victims. The tools used for killing were not only firearms but also knives, steel rods, electric cables, and batons.

By analyzing sequences taken from qualitative interviews with exiled Bosnians, detained as ci-

1 This text is in some parts earlier published in journal *Humanity and Society* with the title *Concentration Camp Rituals: Narratives of Former Bosnian Detainees* and in journal *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* with the title *Ritualer i koncentrationslägret. Avståndstagande, moral och anpassning i före detta lägerfångars berättelser från Bosnien*.

vilians and placed in the concentration camps (Omarska, Keraterm, and Manjača²) at the start of the war, this article conveys how those former camp detainees perceived the crimes committed against them. David Knottnerus (2005) asks for more research on de-ritualization, i.e., interrupting participation in a ritualized practice in which the ritualized individual experience of the concentration camp is highlighted as a striking example. The first purpose of my article is to understand, discover, and describe interaction rituals depicted after time spent in the concentration camp. The second is to identify how these interactions are symbolically dramatized, such as through stories, gestures, profanity, and other everyday actions. The third purpose is to analyze different discursive patterns involved in the construction of the category “concentration camp detainee” and to distinguish how the actors’ morals emerge within these patterns. How do the detainees describe their everyday life in the camps? In the following, I would like to point out that social interaction rituals and symbolic dramatizations emerge when interviewees speak about their everyday lives in the camps, and more specifically, when they speak about (a) the arrival, (b) going to the toilet, (c) the overnight conditions, and (d) food and cigarettes. I will also show that the interpretations of biographical consequences arising from violence during war are intimately related with the adaptation to living conditions in the camps.

The material for this study was collected through qualitative interviews held with nine former camp detainees and four close relatives. All of the interviewed now live in Sweden, Denmark, or Norway. Three were women and ten were men (all between ages 30 and 65 years), all of whom had survived the ethnic cleansing in northwestern Bosnia, carried out by Serb soldiers and policemen. Eleven of them came from the Prijedor municipality and the remaining two from other municipalities in northwestern Bosnia. Among the interviewees, ten were Bosniacs and three Croats. Ten lived in Sweden, two in Norway, and one in Denmark. The interviews were performed from April through June of 2006. The stories created during those interviews were interpreted within an analytical context of interaction rituals (Goffman 1982[1967]; Collins 2004:34; Knottnerus 1997).

De-ritualization in contrast to earlier experiences

All the former concentration camp detainees in this analysis disclose that they were placed in the concentration camps as civilians, unarmed and harmless to the guards who abused and humiliated them. When Nesim described his transport and arrival to the concentration camp, he said in a sad voice:

We spent the night there (in Keraterm) and everyone asked the same question: Why me, why did they take me? People had been captured in the streets and many wore only shorts and t-shirts with sandals on their feet. People who were completely innocent, without any reason ...

² Omarska is a village that belongs to the municipality of Prijedor in northwestern Bosnia. The population of Omarska is predominantly of Serb origin, and the camp was located in the management buildings of the Ljubija Ironmine. Before the war, Keraterm was a brick-burning factory in Prijedor. Manjača is a mountain massif in the northwestern part of Bosnia, and prior to the war, the Yugoslav People’s Army had several training facilities in different locations within the massif. When the war in Croatia began, some of the army compounds became concentration camps for captured Croatian soldiers and civilians. This continued when the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina began; Manjača was used as a concentration camp for civilian Bosnians and Croats (Basic 2007; Case No.: IT-99-36-T; Case No.: IT-97-24-T; Case No.: IT-98-30/1-A; Case No.: IT-95-8-S; Greve and Bergsmo 1994).

Nesim's first encounter with the living conditions in the camp seem to be imbued with a lack of explanations for why this happened. His reproduction can be seen, using Goffman's terminology (1990[1961]: 67), as a sad tale, a kind of lament in which he explains that he doesn't belong among those legitimately placed. Scott and Lyman (1968: 52) also write about "sad tales" in their article on "accounts." They argue that actors often account for that which deviates from or violates our expectations. In this way, an actor repairs uncertainties during an interaction by neutralizing something that occurred or the possible consequences of what happened (Scott and Lyman 1968). Through his sad tale, Nesim also rejects the guards in the camp, i.e., those representing the concentration camp as an institution.

The creation of an identity happens, *inter alia*, through an interactive activity, with individuals distancing themselves from the others (Goffman 1990[1961]). In Goffman's study, we find several ways to dissociate and thus pursue one's own identity labor. One way is to dissociate from a category, showing that you don't belong to it. Another way is to reject an assigned status. In the preceding quotations, Nesim seems to perform a similar rejection. The depiction of the arrival at the concentration camp shows that Nesim does not belong to those legitimately placed; he rejects the category "concentration camp detainee" and having it assigned to him as a status.

Nesim's arrival at the camp can be seen as an individual transfer from one social context to another, from freedom to captivity. Life in the camp can be seen as a structure in which the ritualized interactions of the individual create mobility within the framework of the camp's system but not outside the system. No matter what perspective we choose as an explanatory model, Nesim's life in the camp is delineated by several interruptions from participating in the ritualized practices of ordinary social life. In the words of Knottnerus (2005), Nesim's living conditions are de-ritualized in relation to his past and future living conditions.

Inspired by Goffman and Collins' analysis of interaction rituals, Knottnerus (1997) developed a theory on "structural ritualization" that can be seen as a theory on ritual practice. In his analysis, Knottnerus focuses on chains of interaction rituals where the ritual is perceived to have an important role in social life. At the heart of the theory is the role rituals play for groups of people and the individual in the myriad of everyday interaction. Knottnerus argues that rituals are an important part of everyday social life and that individuals use these in structuring various social activities. Thornburg et al. (2007) examine, for example, how the ritual practice is disturbed in the context of disasters and how individuals handle these events. De-ritualization is most clearly manifested through the individual's passive performance (withdrawal from the incurred situation) and identity loss associated with disasters (Thornburg et al. 2007: 164).

Those social phenomena analyzed above, namely the dissociation from the others as well as from a forced status position, are being actualized when Nesim recounts his experiences from the concentration camp. In this way, Nesim's stories become an expression of de-ritualization in relation to his earlier experience according to Knottnerus' (2005, 1997) conceptual apparatus.

Portrayals of humiliation rituals

In a concentration camp, the act of going to the toilet can be seen as a specific interaction ritual. It is a repetitive action, on a daily basis, that is carried out in relation to other inmates and guards. The common denominator in the interviewees' stories about camp conditions was

that they all were beaten when visiting the toilet. These depictions are symbolically charged and reinforced with emotions. Nesim's description of the circumstances surrounding the toilets reveals two distinct constructs. On the one hand, Nesim describes himself as a victim in the situation. On the other hand, Nesim rejects the camp guards' behavior. Several times during the interview, he gets agitated and sweats profusely. Nesim explains:

I had to go to the toilet because I got dysentery and I saw that it was vacant. Afterwards, when I had finished and was about to go away from there, the guards noticed me and wondered what I was doing there. There were two of them, and they immediately began interrogating me. They asked who I voted for, they harassed me and started beating me. One of them kicked me with his military boot, and it felt as if my intestines had shifted. I am quite skinny. It wasn't fear that made me shit myself, since I have to put it bluntly, it was the dysentery, it was just water. Everything just flushes straight through you in an instant, you get a stomachache and you faint from the pain. I did that towards the end. /.../ I went to the water house and washed my underwear.

As I have mentioned, Goffman (1990[1961]: 12–74) notes the humiliated self caused by the interaction rituals in the concentration camp. The above quotation contains a story describing how the humiliated self affected the individual's identity and vice versa. The humiliation of having diarrhea and going to the toilet with fear of being followed and physically abused there, then being forced to go outside to wash the feces from your underwear, humiliates you both physically and mentally.

Using Collins' conceptual apparatus, the retold humiliation could be named as a violation ritual. These rituals seem to contribute to the individual's moral exhaustion and eventually lead to a shift in an inmate's moral career. We can assume that Nesim's road to the new humiliated self begins upon arriving at the camp and is lined by many interaction rituals, such as special admission rituals, prison guards' distrust, physical and mental violations, and not least, the described violation and abuse during toilet visits.

By recounting violation rituals and describing the guards' behavior, Nesim constructs the guards' behavior as morally reprehensible. Nesim implies that he experienced loss of identity in connection with a trauma (Thornburg et al. 2007: 164). According to Goffman (1990[1963]: 11–55), an individual is stigmatized when not receiving full recognition of social identities. It seems that stigmatization can occur as a result of violation rituals. Goffman analyzes three types of stigma: physical deformities; tribal stigma based on ethnic affiliation; and stigma that stains your personal character related to "mental disorders," such as alcoholism. Common denominators for all types of stigma are that a stigmatized individual would have been accepted into general social rituals but that the stigma removes him or her from the community (Goffman 1990[1963]: 11–55; Stein 2009).

An analysis of 138 interviews with concentration camp survivors from the second world war, carried out by Steins (2009), shows that the described stigmatization that appears in the interviews, in relation to the interviewees' own recounted experiences of the camps together with how community members treated and questioned them after the war, creates an interactive chain that seems to affect the creation and recreation of identity in the interviewed. Similar ritualized identity dynamics seem to appear in this article when looking at the interviewees' relation to their own experiences.

Portrayals of power rituals

Even such a thing as spending the night can be seen as an interaction ritual in a concentration camp. It is a necessary activity in an individual's life, it is repetitive, and it takes place in close proximity to other human beings (detainees and guards). According to all interviewees in this study, overnight conditions in the camps were severe. The quarters were usually old offices or workers' dressing rooms, crowded with inmates who were often unable to lie or even sit on the floor. In addition, the inmates were blackmailed and beaten when they would sleep. When talking about the overnight conditions in the camp, Sanel recounts some particularly important objects. He says, outraged:

It was horrible, 150 people were pushed into a room of nine square meters, you couldn't breathe. A guard came in and he threw a shoebox inside saying that he wanted 500 DM³ or he would let us suffocate in there. Many didn't have any money, others had a little but since we didn't succeed in collecting the money, they started beating those standing closest to the door. This was a kind of cruelty which cannot be retold nor described.

Sanel's description of the overnight conditions is charged with dramatizations of various objects ("room of nine square meters"; "shoebox"; "500 DM"; "money"). Dramatizations can defend a particular depiction against alternative interpretations (Goffman 1990[1959]: 23–25; Potter 2007[1996]: 107–108, 121–129). The dramatized portrayal can be presented with various degrees of intensity. A particularly powerful description creates a starker image because the metaphorical nature gives such depictions more intensity (Drew and Holt 1988).

The highly colored image Sanel gives seems to create and recreate elements of power demonstrations, which Collins calls 'power rituals' (2004: 348–351). The overnight experience at the camp can be seen as a repeated interaction in which the detainees probably would value space, peace, and quiet, but instead they are forced into overcrowded facilities and are blackmailed and abused. In this described power ritual, Sanel exposes his victim identity which is created, recreated, and maintained in contrast to the others, i.e., the guards. Furthermore, it shows that the image of morally wrong action is created and recreated in Sanel's identity labor. There is a clear connection in Sanel's narrative between his portrayal of a victim identity and the guards' morally wrong actions.

In the described sequence, Sanel is highlighting "a guard" who is also engendered as especially important. The dramatized role that Sanel gives the guard is that of someone issuing orders ("threw in a shoebox and said ..."). At the same time, Sanel is placing himself (and the other detainees) as order-takers. In Sanel's story, this guard is well identified with his official self. In the description, he is quite aware of the symbolism regarding his order-giving ("he wanted 500 DM or he would let us suffocate in there"). Sanel is portrayed as someone taking orders, an individual without any options but coping with the incurred situation.

Portrayals of resistance and status rituals

Eating as well as spending the night and going to the toilet can also be seen as an interaction ritual. According to the detainees, food was distributed as follows: First the detainees were

³ German marks, approximately 250 euros.

lined up in groups of approximately 30 people and then had to wait for several hours until it was their turn. When going to the dining area, the detainees had to run a gauntlet through a passage of guards hitting them, usually with steel rods, batons, and electric cables. If someone fell during the gauntlet, the guards sometimes beat him to death. The only meal during the day consisted of a “water slurry soup” and 100 g of bread. The meal lasted barely three minutes, and the detainees were beaten during the meal itself. It was considered difficult to avoid all the blows, and the price for eating was to endure being beaten (Basic 2007: 36). Asim furiously depicts the way in which food was distributed:

Ten guards stood at one side and ten at the other. All had steel rods and at best batons. They beat us while passing so we tried to take cover behind each other but everyone received at least five to six blows. We had to eat fast because ten guards walked around hitting the tables, yelling at us to hurry up. We slurped up the soup and then got beaten on the way back again. People just become like animals, it's hard to imagine this today, but I know that it could happen again. They let a man lie among us for 15 days until he finally died from his injuries. Maggots were crawling in his open wounds, but they kicked him out among the other detainees at the piste. They had already killed thousands of people, but they left this man to die there among us in horrific agony and pain, why couldn't they just kill him? After that he lay there dead, among us, for a couple of days. And we walked around there stepping on him and being lined up to go and eat. That was the regime, you lined up and got beaten when you went to eat this stale soup in order to survive.

According to several interviewees, they sometimes skipped meals to avoid getting physically abused. Rasim explains with irony and laughter:

... sometimes I didn't eat for 24 hours or 48 hours, not because I didn't want to, nor because a lack of food, but because of the beating, the torture – that's why you skipped the meals.

Asim is angry while telling, and Rasim's story is filled with irony and laughter. When actors recount in this way they, according to Potter (2007[1996]), give extra emphasis to the story's arguments. When talking about food in such a way, one gives this category the status of a charged symbol. Food is necessary for survival, but it also has a symbolic worth. In the above description, Asim does not portray food as nutrition that is bought on the lunch break to cope until you go home. Instead, the food intake is described as something shaped by repetitive humiliation rituals, power rituals but also resistance and status rituals. In Asim's story, violation rituals are actualized through the humiliated self (“people just become like animals”). The reduction of one's individual value and the environment's disrespect for status positions from before the war become evident when Asim describes himself as an animal. The loss of identity in relation to one's position before the war, which Asim seems to depict, is a result of the humiliation of the self. Power rituals, as Asim renders them, are present in almost every segment of his description of the conditions concerning food distribution. The guards' ritualized interaction with the detainees, in which repetitive and frequent physical abuse occurred, is a clear example of power wielding that resulted in “that was the regime,” in Asim's words.

How and where, in the empirical material, do we find resistance and status rituals? Goffman (1990[1961]: 61–66) writes that the adjustment to a total institution offers some room for different individualistic ways to deal with it. I argue that resistance and status rituals can be

distinguished in precisely those empirical examples that highlight the adjustment.

Goffman (1990[1961]: 61–66) writes about five methods of adaptation. *Situation withdrawal* is about an inmate who draws attention only to events in his immediate environment. He is quiet, staring into the wall; he is dehumanized. The *intransigent line* is characterized by the inmate's deliberate refusal to cooperate with the staff. *Colonization* is about an inmate who settles into the new environment and is satisfied with the little reward given by the institution. *Conversion* is characterized by an inmate who seems to take over the staffs' view of him, trying to play the part of an ideal prisoner so that the inmate thus imitates the staff regarding their language and behavior. *Playing it cool* is the most common way to adapt, according to Goffman, and here inmates (depending on the current situation) choose one of the four mentioned methods for adaptation to cope with institution stress.

The portrayed power and violation rituals show that there was very little room for individuality in the camps. According to the interviewees, many prisoners chose as adaptation methods either situation withdrawal or playing it cool. Stories with an element of resistance rituals become visible if we analyze resistance as an answer to an imposed social control (Collins 2004: 297). The study's empirical material offers few examples of heroic tales in which a hero comes forth and openly opposes the guards. The intransigent line, i.e., resistance, can be glimpsed in Rasim's remark about occasionally skipping meals to avoid being beaten. In other words, he refuses to cooperate with the guards because he does not want to carry out a joint project with them, i.e., the food distribution.

Rasim's description can be interpreted as a dramatization of the importance of remaining invisible to the guards. From the perspective of Collins (2004) and Goffman (1990[1959], 1990[1961], 1990[1963], 1982[1967]), being invisible means that the individual deliberately participated in the creation and the preservation of a humiliated self although in a general and diffuse way, avoiding the attention from the person who is humiliating him (in order to survive), which in turn can be seen as a resistance ritual. The intransigent line together with playing it cool in the previous quote shows the resistance rituals becoming visible when prisoners reflect on how they coped with the hardships.

Becoming visible in the camp meant, on one hand, possible physical abuse resulting in death and, on the other, gaining a favorable position compared to other detainees, a status position. A happy and excited Rasim told me how he got some food from a guard he got to know in the camp:

The next time he came to guard duty, he called on me and gave me a quarter of a loaf of bread, a quarter of a loaf was a lot, it felt like a whole car. A quarter of a loaf of bread and some boiled beef which the guards had gotten to eat, fucking unbelievable, Goran (Rasim addressing interviewer by name), then I got one cigarette. I started to gain hope that someone still watched over me or looked at me positively.

Rasim is a passionate smoker; during the interview, he explained the ritualized pleasure this gift, in the shape of a cigarette, brought to his life in the camp (Collins 2004: 297–344). Other detainees used cigarettes as trade goods. Nesim told me how his wife had sent him a package through a guard (containing cigarettes, food, and money). The symbolic value of these sacred objects (package, cigarettes, food, and money) participates in different rituals, such as in power rituals (those with power can get cigarettes, food, money, or packages); this in turn creates ac-

cess to other symbols, which in turn contributes to the creation of, for example, status rituals. Namely, detainees who received packages, cigarettes, food, or money also gained a special status position in the camp. On status rituals, Collins (2004: 347) writes: "On the dimension of status rituals, persons differ in how close they are to the center of attention and emotional entrainment: the person who is always at the center, those close by or sometimes in the center, those further out, marginal members, non-members". Those status rituals, described above, are products of an experienced and subsequently portrayed myriad of everyday interactions that can be singled out analytically from Rasim's story (Knottnerus 2005, 1997; Thornburg et al. 2007). There emerges a recognition of identity ("someone still watched over me or looked at me positively"), emotional commitment ("fucking unbelievable, Goran"), and different charged symbols ("a quarter of a loaf of bread," "a whole car," "one cigarette").

The interviewees occasionally mentioned cooperation between guards and prisoners. There was the smuggling of cigarettes and biscuits. The arrangement was that some of the detainees sold the merchandise on behalf of the guards, and sometimes they betrayed others who had money, which resulted in guards robbing and sometimes killing them at night (Basic 2007: 41). Nesim dramatizes the interaction between guards and detainees:

A pack of biscuits and a pack of cigarettes with the risk of being discovered and then they could come at night to kill you. They wanted money, that's why it was best to lay low.

Nesim's narrative is characterized by his advice on how to survive such a distressing situation. He says, "that's why it was best to lay low," which can be seen as a marker saying that, depending on the current situation, a detainee should choose if he will withdraw from the situation or come forward and interact (for example, with a guard who receives detainees packages). Sometimes, the cooperation resembled the adjustment approach described above, namely conversion. Ivo says:

Lako (a fellow detainee whom Ivo knew before the war) became completely insane. He determined the order in our room and when we should eat ... he behaved worse than a guard.

Luchterhand (1953) analyzed 52 interviews with former concentration camp detainees after the second world war. In his analysis, he focuses on those interactive patterns, created in interpersonal relations during time spent in concentration camps and retold after the war. More specifically, Luchterhand focused on described interactions between guards and prisoners and the prisoners' descriptions of sharing food with other prisoners and stealing from them. The study shows that camp detainees depicted the others (criticized inmates) as if they changed their personality, adopted the guards' values as their own, and identified with the guards.

Ivo's story reveals a similar conversion noticed by Goffman and Luchterhand; it's about Lako's taking over the guards' view regarding his humiliated personality and trying to play the role of the perfect prisoner. Ivo seems to have seen this as a status marker or pure madness ("he became completely insane").

The detainees' balancing act between different ways of adjustment, in which various charged objects are dramatized, reveals status rituals. According to Collins' perspective (2004: 79–101, 150–151, 183–222), this balancing could be used in future rituals, such as trade rituals (using the cigarettes you get). This example shows that even enemies can cooperate but that doing so requires interaction, role-taking, and defining common sacred objects.

Concluding remarks

During the war in northwestern Bosnia, civilians were direct targets – and even participants – in acts of war. In this article, I have on the one hand described some of the social interaction rituals that occur during a war like this in concentration camps; on the other, I have identified how these interactions are symbolically dramatized. Finally, I analyzed the morality emerging from these interactions.

The analyzed empirical examples revealed how the camp detainees' victim identity is created, recreated, and retained in contrast to 'the others' – the camp guards. The camp detainees' portrayal of their victim identity presents their humiliated self through dissociation from the camp guards. The detainees' new (altered) moral career is presented as a result of the imprisonment at the camp and the repetitive humiliation and power rituals. The importance of the camp guards was emphasized in these rituals, in which the detainees' new selves, characterized by moral dissolution and fatigue, emerged (Collins 2004; Goffman 1990[1959], 1990[1961], 1990[1963], 1982[1967]).

In addition, detainees reproduced the image of morally wrong behavior that was created and recreated within their identity labor. The morality created in these conversations can be seen as a product of interaction rituals. It can be altered, created anew, reconstructed, and redefined. It seems that moral constructions materialize through reinforcements in the descriptions, such as recognizing and/or displaying emotions.

The interviewees' rejections of the guards' actions and their forced "camp detainee" status could be interpreted as an expression of de-ritualization, leading away from their own earlier experiences. The subsequently illustrated myriad of everyday interactions, which can be distinguished analytically in the interviewees' stories, expose rituals of humiliation, power, resistance, and status. Through these, we see the interviewees' loss of identity, others' recognition of one's identity, emotional involvement, and different charged symbols (Knottnerus 2005, 1997; Luchterhand 1953; Thornburg et al. 2007).

The portrayed rituals of humiliation and power show that room for individuality in the camps was heavily restricted; still, the rituals of resistance and status, as well as adjusting to the living conditions in the camps, seem to have generated a certain room for increased individualization. The ability to resist and possess some degree of control seemed to give the detainees a sense of honor and self-esteem, not least after the war.

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Sažetak

Inspiracija za rad i problem(i) koji se radom oslovljava(ju): Ovaj članak analizira prepričana iskustva bivših logoraša koji su kao civili odvedeni u koncentracione logore početkom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini 1990-tih godina.

Ciljevi rada (naučni i/ili društveni): Cilj članka je opisati prepričane rituale socijalne interakcije poslije vremena provedenog u logoru, kao i identifikovati kako su te interakcije simbolično dramatzovane.

Metodologija/Dizajn: Empirijski materijali za ovu studiju su prikupljeni primjenom kvalitativnih intervjua provedenih sa devet bivših logoraša i četiri bliska rođaka.

Ograničenja istraživanja/rada: Analizirane empirijske sekvence prikazuju stvaranje identiteta žrtve u kontrastu sa drugim kategorijama, primjerice u kontrastu sa kategorijom čuvara logora. Bivši zatočenici u logorima prezentiraju svoj identitet žrtve kroz poniženje i kroz disocijaciju od postupaka čuvara logora.

Rezultati/Nalazi: Bivši logoraši predstavljaju svoju novu (izmijenjenu) moralnu karijeru kao rezultat boravka u logoru i kao rezultat rituala poniženja i rituala moći. Značaj čuvara u ritualima poniženja i moći je naglašen tako što bivši logoraši sebe predstavljaju kao ponižene i demoralisane.

Generalni zaključak: U svojim pričama o zločinima i zlostavljanju u koncentracionim logorima, logoraši odbacuju postupke čuvara kao i taj naziv 'logoraš'. Priče o ritualima sile i moći pokazuju da je prostor za individualizam u logorima bio veoma ograničen. Ipak, rituali otpora i statusa su naizgled, zajedno sa adaptacijom na uvjete u logoru, generirali prostor za povećanu individualizaciju. Imati malo kontrole i moć pružanja otpora naizgled je dalo logorašima osjećaj časti i samopoštovanja, naročito poslije rata. Njihove priče u današnjici predstavljaju jedan oblik nastavljenog otpora.

Opravdanost istraživanja/rada: Disocijacija od postupaka čuvara logora i od naziva/statusa 'logoraš' se može protumačiti kao izraz deritualizacije, u odnosu na prijeratna iskustva. Deritualizacija je vidljiva i kombinaciji sa ostalim interakcijama, ali se analitički može izolirati u pričama ispitanika kroz analizu rituala poniženja, rituala moći, rituala otpora i rituala statusa. Kroz ovu analizu je jasno vidljiv gubitak identiteta logoraša, priznavanje identiteta drugoga, emocionalni angažman, i različiti simboli otpora.

Ključne riječi

poniženje, emocije, stigmatizacija, uzvišeni objekti, deritualizacija

About the Author

Goran Basic is an associate professor in sociology and a senior lecturer at the Department of Pedagogy, Linnaeus University. His research concerns fieldwork in Bosnia and Herzegovina; he has written articles on the postwar society and carried out an evaluation of a project in the juvenile care. Basic's dissertation "When collaboration becomes a struggle. A sociological analysis of a project in the Swedish juvenile care" is based on ethnographic material. Currently analyzing: (1) narratives of youth that have experienced war, taken refuge in Sweden, and taken into custody and placed in institutions; (2) the obscure practices and rhetoric of the war, the emotions and moral of the war, human interaction during horrific captivity and escape but also the individuals requirements on restored respect and dignity when war experiences portrayed in the life stories; (3) the collaboration between border police and coastguard and between different actors in the youth care; (4) definitions of successful intelligence and operational police work.

SECURITY MANAGEMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL CRIME - SECURITY MANAGEMENT STUDENTS' ATTITUDES

Preliminary Note

BEZBJEDNOSNI MENADŽMENT I EKOLOŠKI KRIMINAL- STAVOVI STUDENATA BEZBJEDNOSNOG MENADŽMENTA

Prethodno saopćenje

Kristina RADOJEVIĆ
Aleksandra LJUŠTINA

Abstract

Reason(s) for writing and research problem(s): Environmental crime represents a contemporary form of endangerment of our security. Repercussions of an environmental crime can be irreversible for Earth's biosphere.

Aims of the paper (scientific and/or social): The role of this paper is to assess knowledge of students studying safety management about their understanding of environmental crimes. This will be done through an analysis of safety management curriculum.

Methodology/Design: In this research, we analyzed views of students in their freshmen and senior year of undergraduate study of a Safety Management program. During this research students answered questions about the environment, endangerment of it, as well as environmental crime.

Research/paper limitations: This research was done at University of Belgrade – Faculty of Security, among freshmen and senior students.

Results/Findings: Both groups of students had similar views towards environment however, the group of senior students showed more proactive behavior and readiness to act against environmental crime.

General conclusion: Obtained results can be used as a foundation for an identification of new investigative questions that will address relationship between education and environmental crime.

Research/paper validity: One of the more effective ways in which contemporary society can combat environmental crime is an appropriate professional response. This can be done with education, in particular with education of students who are directly responsible in fight against environmental crime – Safety Managers.

Keywords

environmental crime, security management, environment, corporate security

Sažetak

Inspiracija za rad i problemi koji se radom oslovljavaju: Ekološki kriminal predstavlja suvremeni oblik ugrožavanja sigurnosti, a posljedice ekološkog kriminala mogu biti ireverzibilne po biosferu planete.

Ciljevi rada (naučni i društveni): Cilj rada je utvrđivanje razine znanja studenata bezbjednosnog menadžmenta o ekološkom kriminalu kroz analiza kurikuluma studija bezbjednosnog menadžmenta.

Metodologija/Dizajn: U istraživanju su analizirani stavovi studenata prve i četvrte godine studija bezbjednosnog menadžmenta o životnoj sredini, njenom ugrožavanju kao i njihovo znanje o ekološkom kriminalu. Studenti prve godine, kao tek završeni srednjoškolci, poslužili su kao kontrolna skupina u analizi kurikuluma bezbjednosnog menadžmenta u odnosu na ekološki kriminal.

Ograničenja istraživanja: Istraživanje je provedeno na Beogradskom univerzitetu - Fakultetu bezbjednosti, među studentima prve i četvrte godine studija.

Rezultati/Nalazi: Objе grupe studenata su imale slične stavove prema životnoj sredini, međutim studenti četvrte godine su pokazali proaktivnije ponašanje i spremnost za borbu protiv ekološkog kriminala.

Generalni zaključak: Imajući u vidu limitiranost istraživanja, ipak smatramo da dobiveni nalazi mogu poslužiti kao temelj za idetificiranje novih istraživačkih pitanja koja bi tretirali odnos obrazovanja i ekološkog kriminala.

Opravdanost istraživanja: Jedan od efikasnih načina da se savremeno društvo izbori sa ekološkim kriminalom jeste adekvatna i stručna reakcija. Ona se postiže kroz obrazovanje, prvenstveno obrazovanje onih koji su direktno zaduženi za borbu protiv ekološkog kriminala - menadžeri bezbjednosti.

Ključne riječi

ekološki kriminal, bezbjednosni menadžment, životna sredina, korporativna bezbjednost

1. Introduction

Although security has always been a part of human lives, corporate security management in the modern sense of the word appeared in the middle of the 20th century when ASIS – *The American Society for Industrial Security* was founded (McCrie, 2001). Though this Society dealt primarily with practical problems regarding individual and property security and safety, it first started contemplating security from the management perspective. When the first Workplace Safety Laws were passed (in the first half of the 1970s), corporate security slowly began incorporating that aspect as well.

Today corporate security management presents a serious scientific discipline that has the assignment to resolve safety and security issues that corporations face, including environmental safety. Therefore, a number of universities worldwide have introduced a wide range of edu-

cational programmes that have the purpose to educate and train new and modern managers – corporate security managers.

The authors believe that modern educational programmes on the subject of corporate security must help students become aware of environmental issues, as well as environmental crime. The goal of raising this awareness is to educate future corporate security managers who will be willing and able to fight corporate environmental crimes. This means that it is not enough for them to know that there are some environmental issues, rather they should fully comprehend them and adopt environmentally proactive behaviour. In turn, this kind of behaviour has to help students, corporate security officers, corporate managers and the community they live and work to build environmental cultures. Moreover, there is general agreement among scientists that there is no safe and secure environment without a strong and widely accepted environmental culture.

With this idea in mind, the research focused on the students' attitudes towards environmental crime in general, and possibilities for prevention of these crimes. The target group was the students of the Faculty of Security Studies from the University of Belgrade. The Faculty of Security Studies incorporates different theoretical and practical approaches in the fields of international, state, environmental, public and corporate security. The students have the opportunity to choose different subjects and thus gain wide spectrum of security and safety related issues. Students who graduate from the faculty are future security and safety managers. Since those positions are very important for the security and safety of society in general, the authors believe that these students should be the ones whose mission is to create, develop and maintain environmental awareness throughout the society, especially in the field of environmental crime. In order to examine the attitudes towards environmental crime of these students, the authors constructed a questionnaire that included topics pertaining to ecology and environmental crime.

2. Theoretical background

Most definitions of environmental crime cover acts or omissions that violate federal, state, or local environmental standards and laws (Situ and Emmons, 2000). However, some acts, especially those committed by corporations, may not violate the criminal law (Jarell, 2007). Many are violations of regulatory laws (Burns and Lynch, 2004). Many of these acts cause a great deal of harm to the environment and human health and safety and should therefore be treated as criminal (Clinard and Yeager, 1980).

Environmental crime typically affects many victims and the victimization may be gradual and/or silent (Frank and Lynch, 1992). In the USA, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2003) focuses its attention on the most serious threats to public health and natural resources. These include cases involving handling of hazardous waste and pollutants that may endanger workers, environmental catastrophes that place entire communities at risk, government facility violations, businesses that have a long history of disregard for environmental laws and organized crime activities in the solid waste industry (Jarell, 2007). The majority of studies related to environmental crime fall within an area of research identified as 'environmental justice' with the main message that no person, regardless of race, class, or gender, should suffer the consequences of environmental degradation and therefore substantial political, social, and economic efforts should be made to protect the environment and human health (Jarell, 2007).

The devastating effects of environmental crime are not easy to determine or estimate. The consequence is that environmental crime is usually unnoticed and people are apathetic to the problems caused by environmental crime. For the most part, this kind of reaction to environmental crime is a direct result of public unawareness of the real dangers to health and safety posed by this type of criminal behaviour (Jarell, 2007). Most environmental hazards commanding political, public, and media attention have been the ones which could be easily connected to particular places and locations and where cause and effect are directly observable (Mayo and Hollander, 1991).

Environmental crimes are usually committed for economic reasons and more often, corporations place the value of money over public health (Jarell, 2007), especially, if they can expect that the penalty will be a monetary one in the way of the fine (Albanese and Pursley, 1993).

Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) have pointed out that it is extremely difficult to explain why people behave in an environmentally responsible way. Although they are concerned for environment and its protection, they behave in a manner which has negative influence on environmental resources. Consciousness of environmental issues can be some kind of indicator of the future behaviour, but other factors may reinforce or inhibit environmentally responsible behaviour. These factors have been analyzed by researchers in social psychology (Álvarez and Vega, 2009). For instance, environmentally friendly attitudes of an anthropocentric nature have a weak correlation with water and energy saving, whilst there is a weak correlation between behaviour regarding waste and dimensions of ecocentricity and apathy to the environment (Garcia-Mira et al., 2005).

However, as a recent study on corporate crime has shown 'corporate managers are significantly less likely to violate environmental law when the act: (1) is perceived as likely dangerous to humans and wildlife and (2) is viewed as undesirable' (Simpson et al., 2013). Of course, it would be wrong to assume that we can deal with environmental crime just by passing normative regulations. Moral authority (Ayres and Braithwaite, 1992) must support those norms.

The authors believe that this kind of morally responsible attitude could be achieved within educational programmes for security management. Especially, since awareness is inevitably part of environmental literacy (Hungerford and Volk, 1990), and environmental culture (Yasvin, 2006). Those elements necessarily rely on education and knowledge (Veisi and Zarandian, 2011), and are of vital importance in creating environmental culture within society (King, 1998). The research conducted by Álvarez-Suarez and a group of authors (2013) has proven that education is an effective way for university students to obtain a statistically significant improvement in their understanding of the social and environmental impact of consumerism and its interaction with other environmental issues. In addition, it promotes the environmentally friendly attitudes and socially responsible behaviour through awareness of the problem and proactive behaviour in this regard. By enhancing knowledge using different strategies it is possible to improve awareness of environmental protection (Álvarez-Suarez et al., 2013).

Nevertheless, environmental protection cannot be successful without an environmental culture that is adequately developed, accepted and subjected to continual improvements. Environmental culture primarily relies on the people's conscience about environmental issues, i.e. their conscience about the nature and the environment. Developed environmental conscience means that an individual shows great perception, understanding and respect for the environment (Veisi and Zarandian, 2011), i.e. that that person really cares for the environment. Some

authors state that if we want to determine the level of environmental knowledge acquired by various groups of people and the ways in which they interact with the environment, the first step is to evaluate their environmental conscience (Ziadat, 2010). The elements important for creating and designing environmental culture may be presented in the following ways:

1. The state policy makers should adopt a proactive attitude and optimize legal and other regulations. The aim is to facilitate their application in concrete cases. Furthermore, this proactive attitude is reflected in the willingness of the state and society to implement environmental culture and environmental protection content in educational programmes at all levels. The content of educational and training programmes relating to environmental safety is a reliable indicator of the state's and citizens' dedication to environmental issues. Additionally, the educational system and training programmes may create the values and beliefs strengthening the incorporation of the mentioned content into everyday citizen's conduct, as well as the work of all services in charge of the environmental protection.
2. The integration of this issue into the society in general. The integration is possible through the application of regulations, clarification of concrete environmental crimes and clear and transparent revealing of the perpetrators and imposed sanctions. These transparent actions may lead to the adoption of the basic norms regulating an individual's conduct, as well as strengthen the citizens' confidence in public services in charge of clearing up such cases. In this way, the society sends the message that it is interested in increasing environmental safety of an individual and the environment in general.
3. Adopted values and modified citizens' conscience with regard to the environmental protection. At this level, citizens have every confidence in the state apparatus and accordingly change their conduct in order to respect rules and recognize the environmental crimes straightforwardly. As a result, the detection of environmental crimes is easier, enabling adequate sanctions for the perpetrators. Thus, the circle closes. When the majority of the citizens adopt particular values, then the public may put pressure on its fellow citizens and the government to act in accordance with them.

In order to change the environmental conscience, we should acquire basic knowledge about the environment, to become familiar with legal literature and regulations pertaining to it, as well as possible risks and means essential for the environmental protection (Veisi and Zaran-dian, 2011).

Subsequently, the creation of environmental culture through the awakening of environmental conscience requires the revision of the state policy, specific methodology and professional approach. Traditionally, the change of environmental culture correlates with education (Yasvin, 2006). We live in the ever-changing world. The educational system must change and correlate with the changing environment (Findak, 2014). However, the linkage between the culture and environmental education in particular has not proved successful so far (Scott and Goug, 2003; Yasvin, 2006; Rickinson and Lundholm, 2010; Saylan and Blumstein, 2011). Most authors are of the opinion that the changes in educational system should be more extensive. Simultaneously, the building of conscience and environmental culture must occur at more than one level, primarily through the sustainable environmental management, scientific researches as regards the environmental issues, as well as the activities relating to the revival and preservation of

the environment (Yasvin, 2006). Naturally, everything mentioned entails active participation of individuals and their contribution to the preservation of the environment.

Since the role of educational institutions at all levels of education in creating environmental literacy is of the utmost importance (Šehović, 2012), university education is also very important. It has to summarize all previous environmental knowledge in order to create environmentally aware college graduates. Additionally, when we talk about corporate security and safety managers, the ones that are in charge of environmental protection and environmental crime prevention, this assignment of universities is even more important. The universities in this field play a crucial role, because if there were no environmentally aware corporate security officers and managers, the effects of corporate environmental crime would be devastating. One more thing that should be achieved through university education of security managers is the awareness that the whole planet Earth is interconnected, and that local devastation of nature does not exist. However small the damage is, it inevitably has influence on other beings that live in that environment, and cumulative effect of all acts of environmental crime in the world could eventually lead to complete devastation of our planet.

3. Methodology

The authors conducted the research in the period from October to December 2014 at Belgrade University - Faculty of Security Studies. The purpose of this research was to determine if the educational programmes of the security management provide enough environmental knowledge to prepare future corporate security managers for their work, especially in the field of environmental crime. The research question was whether the students of the final year of studies have more knowledge of environmental crime than the first year students have. Additional questions asked if the students knew how to fight against environmental crime, and if they were acquainted with possibilities of preventing such crimes.

In order to answer research questions, authors constructed a questionnaire and distributed it to the two main groups of students. The first group was a first year students and the second group the students of the final year of studies. The first group also served as a control group, since they had just enrolled in the course and had not had previous experience with the faculty curriculum. Data were analyzed using basic statistical methods in Excel, descriptive statistics and ANOVA, when it was applicable.

Apart from the issues relating to the demographic data, the questionnaire comprised two basic groups of questions. The first group referred to the general environmental education and the students' attitudes towards environmental issues. The second group of questions referred to the environmental crime. In order to acquire better quality data, the questionnaire included the students' comments and suggestions as regards environmental crime and the changes in educational programs.

The reliability of the tools was estimated using Cronbach's alpha. The quotients for the group of questions regarding the environmental knowledge were 0.75. For the group of questions pertaining to the environmental crime, Cronbach's alpha was 0.85.

The target group was composed of the students of the Faculty of Security Studies, future security managers: 136 first-year students (55% of the total number, which served as a control group) and 110 fourth-year students (45%). The sample should give information on the atti-

tudes the students have at the beginning of their studies, as well as what are their values and attitudes at the end of their studies.

Table 1. *The student's gender*

% of student's gender	Year	
	I	IV
Female	60.29	55.45
Male	39.71	44.55
Total	100%	100%

Out of 300 students who were asked to participate in the questionnaire, 246 students filled it out adequately and entered the final sample (effective response rate 82%). By groups, it was 136 out of 170 students of the first year, and 110 out of 130 students of the fourth year.

Age – the sample involved the students between the ages of 18 and 27, the average age being 20.8 (19.13 for the first group, and 22.63 for the second group).

Educational qualifications – all participants in the questionnaire graduated from the fourth-year secondary school, mostly grammar school (39.70% of the first year students and 43.63% of the fourth year students).

Gender distribution – since more than a half of the participants were females (58.1%), we may conclude that they are more sensitive to environmental issues than males.

The sample representativeness – the questionnaire involved most first-year and fourth-year students of the Faculty of Security Studies. Since the sample dispersal was slight, the authors consider the sample representativeness satisfactory for the analysis of attitudes towards environmental crime of future security managers.

4. Analysis of research findings and discussion

Modern humans, through the system of education and by means of mass communication, receives information, gains knowledge, learns facts and in that way creates a system of values, attitudes, beliefs and perception of the world. Therefore, one of the basic questions referred to the information about environmental issues.

4.1. Question no.1 – Information about environmental issues

As far as the presence of the subject of the environment in media is concerned, it must be pointed out that “the Republic of Serbia has 72 television and over 300 radio stations, 14 daily newspapers, 14 weeklies and 43 magazines. The presence of the environmental issues in the total programme content does not exceed one percent. Good examples of the radio and TV shows covering the subject of the environment are ‘Čekajući vetar’ – *Waiting for the Wind* (Radio Belgrade 2, 30 years), ‘Pod staklenim zvonom’ – *Under the Glass Bell* (Radio Novi Sad, 15 years). Novi Sad Television (RTV Vojvodina) seriously dealt with the subject of the environment within its Educational programme ‘Čuvari planete’ – *Guardians of the Planet* for almost a decade (2003-2011) and ‘Zeleni sat’ – *A Green Watch* (2005-2014, to the end of March, 130

episodes)" (Jovanović and Aćimović, 2014, p. 95).

In order to take adequate steps in the environmental education of safety managers, it was important to find out how much and in what way students receive information about the environment. Hence, we were interested in what way students learn about environmental issues 1 – newspapers (press), 2 – television (TV), 3 – internet, 4 – other.

Table 2. *The students' answers to question no. 1*

Answers	Percent of student's answers	
	I year	IV year
TV	58.82	59.09
Internet	53.68	48.18
Press	5.88	16.36
Other	3.68	6.36

The obtained data showed that there was no big difference as regards information gaining on environmental issues between the first-year and fourth-year students. However, the questionnaire showed that the final-year students use newspapers more than the first year students do as the source of information about the environment.

In addition, it was interesting to analyze correlation between environmental condition assessment and evaluation of the educational influence, but no significant correlation was determined.

4.2. Question no. 2 – Evaluation of the influence of environmental education

Apart from the questions regarding the information about current environmental issues, the questionnaire comprised the questions relating to the knowledge about the environment. The answers to these questions show that the final-year students' knowledge about environmental safety is more professional than of their younger fellow students.

Since environmental subjects are present at all levels of education, the examinees were able to evaluate their education by answering the question: 'Evaluate how much your environmental education has influenced your comprehension of environmental issues: 1 – not at all, 2 – to a small degree, 3 – to an average degree, 4 – to a great degree, 5 – remarkably.' The answers in percentage are presented in the Table 3. Standard deviation, mode and mean values for this question are 0.94, 3 and 3.11 for the first year students, and 0.85, 4, and 3.44 for the fourth year students respectively ($p < 0.05$, $d = 0.37$).

Table 3. Evaluation of the influence of environmental education

Grade	Percent of student's answers as regards influence of environmental education	
	I year	IV year
1	4.41	1.82
2	22.06	11.82
3	35.29	32.73
4	34.56	42.27
5	3.68	6.36
Total:	100%	100%

As the Table 3. shows, almost half of the final year students (48.87%) rate environmental education as remarkably influential or influential to a great degree. That is the case with about 38% of the first year students.

4.3. Question no. 3 – Evaluation of the environmental condition

The students were asked to evaluate the environmental changes on the basis of their professional knowledge and their own perception of the environment (grades: 1 – not at all, 2 – to a small degree, 3 – to an average degree, 4 – to a great degree, 5 – very much endangered). The percentage of students' answers are presented in the Table 4., and standard deviation, mode and mean values for this question are 0.73, 2 and 2.36 for the first year students, and 0.61, 2 and 2.33 for the fourth year students, respectively.

Table 4. Total evaluation of the environmental condition

Grade	Percent of student's answers as regards evaluation of the environmental condition	
	I year	IV year
1	1.47	0.00
2	2.21	0.91
3	36.03	38.18
4	51.47	54.55
5	8.82	6.36
Total:	100%	100%

It is evident that the students are generally aware of the environmental endangerment, although the first-year students had a slightly different view of the endangerment, but there was no statistical significance.

4.4. Question no. 4 – Evaluation of the state of the environment according to the environmental areas

It was interesting to compare the level of the development of environmental awareness and evaluation of the current state of environment through a set of indicators (water, air, soil, and the animal and plant life).

According to the first-year students' opinion (Table 5.), air and water are the most endangered elements while soil, as the basic element of the environment, is considered to be less endangered. Such perception is the consequence of reduced activities of responsible authorities as regards the soil protection, as well as the deep-rooted belief that soil is a renewable resource. Indeed, soil is a relatively renewable resource, but not entirely.

Table 5 also shows the fourth-year students' attitudes toward the evaluation of the state of the environment. Evidently, their well-balanced attitude toward the issue is based on their belief that all aspects of the environment are equally important and that the environment should be observed as the entirety since all its elements are inextricably interwoven. The only statistically significant difference ($p < 0.05$) is in the answers related to the evaluation of the air endangerment, although the effect size was small ($d = 0.02$).

Table 5. *Evaluation of the state of the environment according to the environmental areas (percentage of answers and mean values)*

Grade	Water		Air		Soil		Flora		Fauna	
	I y. (%)	IV y. (%)	I y. (%)	IV y. (%)	I y. (%)	IV y. (%)	I y. (%)	IV y. (%)	I y. (%)	IV y. (%)
1.	0.74	0	0.74	0.91	0.74	0	2.21	0	1.47	0.91
2.	8.82	6.364	8.09	8.18	16.18	14.54	12.50	10.9	16.18	17.27
3.	30.15	30	33.09	52.72	47.79	57.27	50.00	54.5	47.79	53.64
4.	52.21	53.64	50.00	30.91	30.88	26.36	30.88	30.9	25.74	24.55
5.	8.09	10	8.09	7.27	4.41	1.81	4.41	3.64	8.82	3.636
Mean	3.58	3.67	3.56	3.54	3.22	3.15	3.23	3.27	3.24	3.13

Standard deviation and mode values for this question are given in Table 6.

Table 6. Standard deviation and mode values for question no. 4

Year	Water		Air		Soil		Flora		Fauna	
	SD	Mode	SD	Mode	SD	Mode	SD	Mode	SD	Mode
I	0.79	4	0.78	4	0.79	3	0.80	3	0.88	3
IV	0.74	4	0.77	3	0.67	3	0.70	3	0.76	3

This research shows that the students of the Faculty of Security Studies, future security managers from 18 to 27 years of age, possess a well-grounded knowledge about environmental protection. However, a slight difference (discrepancy) between the answers of the first and fourth-year students requires further observation. Since environmentalism is present in the programmes at all levels of education, we may deduce that the students gained relatively good knowledge about the environment in the course of their primary and secondary education. On the other hand, we may presume that environmental education at the degree-granting level (faculty level) is not adequate, which requires more detailed further analyses of curricula, teaching methods, educators' qualifications, students' motivations with regard to environmental issues.

4.5. Question no. 5 – Experiences regarding environmental crime

Although aware that facing any kind of law breaking may cause certain psychological effects, no matter whether perpetrators, victims or witnesses are concerned, the authors were interested in the examinees' experiences regarding environmental crimes. The aim of the question was to determine whether the students, based on previously gained knowledge, were able to recognize crimes endangering the environment.

Table 7 shows the percentage of the first-year students who were either witnesses of environmental crimes or saw the consequences of such crimes. The students were also asked whether they knew anyone who had witnessed environmental crimes or had seen the consequences of such crimes. Only 14.71% of the first-year students claim that they have not had such experience. This result indicates that these students either have not witnessed or recognized such acts.

Table 7. Experiences regarding environmental crime

Answer	Percent of answers	
	I year	IV year
No exper.	14.71	14.55
Heard of cons.	36.03	37.27
Heard of exec.	30.88	26.36
Witness the cons.	72.06	63.64
Witness the exec.	30.15	19.09

Table 7 also shows the fourth-year students' answers in percentages. There is an evident difference (approx. 10%) between the first and fourth-year students claiming to have been the witnesses of environmental crime execution. This result may indicate that the first-year students had gained substantial environmental knowledge in the course of their primary and secondary education, and therefore were able to recognize such acts. Taking into account the generation gap, we may claim that the presence of such subjects in educational programs has increased over the years. Of course, this result may indicate that the first year students are more often in open areas and hence have more opportunities to witness such acts.

4.5. Questions no. 6 and 7 – The importance of the authorities in charge of the prevention of and fight against the environmental crimes

The questionnaire involved questions relating to the students' knowledge about the forms of prevention of and fight against the environmental crimes. As far as the prevention is concerned, the students were asked to evaluate the impact of particular authorities (international organizations, the Parliament, the Government, courts, the police, inspection agencies, industry, the media, NGOs, citizens' associations and individuals) on the prevention of the environmental crimes. Their evaluation ranged from 1 – no influence at all to 5 – exceptionally significant influence. The answers of the students are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. *The importance of the authorities in charge of the prevention of environmental crime – mean values*

Subj.	Mean values	
	I year	IV year
Int.Or.	3.20	3.69
Parl.	2.58	2.77
Gover.	2.80	2.81
Courts	2.66	2.71
Police	3.04	2.90
Insp.	3.50	3.47
Indus.	3.11	3.00
Media	3.25	3.34
NGOs	3.15	3.64
Cit. As.	3.14	3.40
Individ.	3.21	3.20

Although the answers to these questions are almost identical, we may observe that the fourth-year students think that international and non-governmental organizations, as well as citizens' associations have more influence on the prevention of environmental crime than their first-year fellow students do. The p value for these answers is less than 0.05, with the effect size (d) for the first two factors is about 0.50, and for the citizens' association is a 0.27. We can conclude that students have gained those opinions through the educational courses at the university. On the contrary, the first-year students are of the opinion that the police influence

on the prevention more than their colleagues from the fourth year think, although there is no statistical significance ($p > 0.05$). It is both interesting and upsetting that most examinees consider individuals incapable of influencing the prevention of the acts of environmental crime.

Moreover, it is also particularly interesting that both groups of the examinees think that the Parliament, as the supreme legislative body, has little influence on the prevention of environmental crime.

The students' answers to the question whether they know what authorities are in charge of the fight against environmental crime are shown in Table 9.

Table 9. *The percentage of the students who know what authorities are in charge of the fight against environmental crime*

Answer	Percent of student's answers	
	The first year	The fourth year
Yes	24.25	64.55
No	75.75	35.45
Total	100%	100%

As we may see from the Table 9. there is a considerable difference between the answers of the two groups of students. This result implies that, during their academic education, students gain knowledge with regard to the authorities in charge of the fight against environmental crime in general.

4.6. Question no. 8 – The causes of environmental crimes

In order to further investigate the knowledge and attitudes as regards environmental crime, the students' were asked to rate the causes of environmental crime: 1 – not at all important as a cause, 2 – slightly important, 3 – average, 4 – very important, 5 – extremely important. As main causes were given: 'A. citizens are not well informed/educated about environmental crime; B. Governmental institutions' officials are not well informed/educated about environmental crime; C. There is no political will for solving those issues; D. Public is not interested in solving environmental crimes; E. Great possibilities for corporations/individuals to get financial gain; F. There are little successfully solved crimes/or crimes haven't been reported; G. Small punishments for those who are caught in doing such crimes.' In addition, there was an option for students to give their own proposal of possible causes. Average ratings as regards these questions are given in Table 10. Standard deviation (SD), mode (M) and Cohen's effect size (d) values for these questions are presented in Table 11.

Table 10. *Students' average ratings of the possible causes of environmental crime*

Cause	Mean values	
	The first year	The fourth year
A.	3.60	3.87
B.	3.46	3.68
C.	3.94	4.28
D.	3.96	4.12
E.	3.87	4.32
F.	3.91	4.16
G.	4.20	4.30

Table 11. *SD, Mode and effect size values for evaluation of causes of environmental crime*

Cause	Standard deviation, mode, d				
	The first year		The fourth year		d
	SD	M	SD	M	
A.	1.08	4	0.99	4	0.26
B.	0.98	4	0.94	4	0.17
C.	0.93	4	0.80	5	0.43
D.	0.94	4	0.77	4	0.24
E.	0.96	3	0.89	5	0.46
F.	0.94	4	0.79	4	0.30
G.	0.84	5	0.87	5	0.15

As the tables show, according to fourth year students' opinions the most important cause for environmental crime is financial gain, followed by small punishments. As we can see from the tables, students of the first year gave less importance to all proposed causes. There were no recommendations for other causes, although a few students from both groups thought that some other reason exists and they rate it high.

4.7. Question no. 9 – Comments and suggestions

The questionnaire had extra space for the students' comments and suggestions for the improvement of the environmental condition. As the research was mainly focused on students' attitudes towards environmental crime, we may say that this was the most important part of questionnaire. The percentages of students who gave their comments are given in Table 12.

Table 12. *The percentage of the students who gave their comments*

Answer	Percent of student's comments	
	The first year	The fourth year
Comment	26.47	56.36
No comm.	73.53	43.64
Total	100%	100%

As Table 12. shows the fourth-year students gave their comments more openly than their younger colleagues did. The reason for this may be the fact that they are more mature and experienced than the students who have just entered the college. The effect size for the two groups was 0.80, with the $p < 0.05$, which undoubtedly led us to conclusion that education during undergraduate studies as regards environmental crime provided students with critical thinking and proactive behaviour. Students' suggestions and recommendation for fighting and preventing environmental crimes are given in Table 13.

Table 13. *Students' comments and suggestions*

Comments	Percentage (%)		
	The first year	The fourth year	Total
Raising awareness	22.22	45.16	67.38
Harsher punishments	47.22	33.87	81.09
Public functions	8.33	20.97	29.3
Education	5.56	9.87	15.43

According to the opinion of the fourth-year students, the most important thing for the prevention of environmental crime is raising citizens' awareness at all levels. Though more than 50% of the fourth year students gave comments, the percentage of suggestions as regards raising awareness when compared to the whole sample of this group is 25%. Additionally, students thought that was possible to raise awareness through the educational systems and media. Among other things, they suggest harsher punishments for those endangering the environment. Compared to the whole sample, this makes 19%, while the suggestions of the first year students as regards harsher punishments make 12.5% of the sample. They also thought that the authorities in charge of fight against environmental crime did not perform their duties properly, and that there was a serious need for improvements in this area. About 10% of the fourth-year students who gave comments stated that the educational programs relating to the ecology and environmental protection should be improved, but did not think that education and awareness raising correlate.

It should also be mentioned that male students in both groups were more ready to comment and make suggestions than their female colleagues. Bearing in mind that in both groups there

were more females, it is obvious that males are more courageous and ready to criticize the conditions in the state and society.

5. Conclusions

Environmental crime, especially corporate environmental crime, is the worst kind of crime. It does not only affect natural resources, or people who live around them. It directly and irreversibly affects the entire human population and life on Earth. Additional, and probably the worst effect of these acts, is that they directly impose a threat to future generations. One more thing, the acts of environmental crime transcend boundaries, and there is growing and disturbing evidence of international environmental crime. That is why the fight against and prevention of environmental crime should be at the agenda of all countries and world regions.

Security management, in particular, is very important link between corporate environmental crime and states' policies and normative acts. That is why environmental awareness of future security managers is of vital importance for environmental crime suppression. The authors are of the opinion that the results obtained by empirical research may help the researchers reconstruct the existing models of environmental studies, as well as create new models of studies aimed at raising public awareness on environmental crime.

This research showed that the students of the Faculty of Security Studies, future corporate security managers from 18 to 27 years of age, possessed a well-grounded knowledge about environmental protection. However, a slight difference between the answers of the first and fourth-year students as regards environmental knowledge in general (there was no statistical significance) requires further observation. Since environmentalism is present in the programs at all levels of education, we may deduce that the students gained relatively good knowledge about the environment in the course of their primary and secondary education. On the other hand, we may presume that environmental education at the degree-granting level (faculty level) is not adequate, which requires more detailed further analyses of curricula, teaching methods, educators' qualifications, students' motivations with regard to environmental issues, etc.

One feature identified was extremely alarming: the fact that both groups of students did not recognize the role that individuals and citizens' associations can have in prevention of environmental crime. This fact deserves further and detailed analysis. It could be the consequence of lack of educational programs as regards mechanisms of environmental protection. In addition, this kind of result could be because the Republic of Serbia is almost constantly in crises, and general population is apathetic about many things, including environmental protection. Of course, this is a positive indicator of very low environmental culture of the questioned students. It surely would be interesting to test the opinions of different groups of young people in Serbia, neighbouring countries, as well as countries that are in similar development phase as Serbia. Only based on those results we would be able to conclude if there is deep environmental crisis within global society.

However, analysis of students' knowledge and attitudes towards environmental crime shows that students of final year have gained more experience during their university education, and hence comprehend more clearly this security and safety issue. Since the research question was to establish if the students of final year had more knowledge on combat against environmental crime and its' prevention compared to first year students, we may say that the answer is positive.

Certainly, the authors are well aware of the fact that it is not possible to define acceptable programs of environmental education only based on empirical researches because achieving the adequate level of environmental culture within the society is a complex process entailing behaviour of all involved participants. Additionally, this process largely depends on the concrete social and cultural circumstances.

This research showed that it is possible to raise awareness of environmental crime among university students through educational programmes. Of course, it would be more effective if the local authorities took some role in building and maintaining the environmental culture within their communities.

It is impossible to prevent environmental crime just by education and public awareness. Of course, these elements are very important, especially in the terms of fighting against this problem, revealing and punishing the perpetrators. However, in order to systematically prevent and discourage these kinds of acts, it is most important to achieve successful cooperation and coordination of all parties in charge. First, there is a need for countries to pass the criminal laws and normative acts in the field of environmental crime prevention. Further, it is necessary to establish cooperation with the bodies of different international institutions that are in charge of environmental crime prevention, such as United Nations, Interpol, and the European Union. This initiative should be globally accepted and educational programmes as regards environmental crime should be made in accordance with findings of these institutions.

As for implications for further research, it would be important to conduct similar research in different and/or similar educational institutions in different countries. In addition, authors believe that these kinds of research should gather experts in different fields such as environmental and educational management, criminology, criminalistics and criminal forensics, corporate management, policy makers etc. in order to combine their knowledge and expertise and try to build better society, which would in turn leave our planet in better condition for future generations.

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Sažetak

Inspiracija za rad i problem(i) koji se radom oslovljava(ju): Ovaj članak analizira prepričana iskustva bivših logoraša koji su kao civili odvedeni u koncentracione logore početkom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini 1990-tih godina.

Ciljevi rada (naučni i/ili društveni): Cilj članka je opisati prepričane rituale socijalne interakcije poslije vremena provedenog u logoru, kao i identifikovati kako su te interakcije simbolično dramatisirane.

Metodologija/Dizajn: Empirijski materijali za ovu studiju su prikupljeni primjenom kvalitativnih intervjua provedenih sa devet bivših logoraša i četiri bliska rođaka.

Ograničenja istraživanja/rada: Analizirane empirijske sekvence prikazuju stvaranje identiteta žrtve u kontrastu sa drugim kategorijama, primjerice u kontrastu sa kategorijom čuvara logora. Bivši zatočnici u logorima prezentiraju svoj identitet žrtve kroz poniženje i kroz disocijaciju od postupaka čuvara logora.

Rezultati/Nalazi: Bivši logoraši predstavljaju svoju novu (izmijenjenu) moralnu karijeru kao rezultat boravka u logoru i kao rezultat rituala poniženja i rituala moći. Značaj čuvara u ritualima poniženja i moći je naglašen tako što bivši logoraši sebe predstavljaju kao ponižene i demoralisane.

Generalni zaključak: U svojim pričama o zločinima i zlostavljanju u koncentracionim logorima, logoraši odbacuju postupke čuvara kao i taj naziv 'logoraš'. Priče o ritualima sile i moći pokazuju da je prostor za individualizam u logorima bio veoma ograničen. Ipak, rituali otpora i statusa su naizgled, zajedno sa adaptacijom na uvjete u logoru, generalni prostor za povećanu individualizaciju. Imati malo kontrole i moć pružanja otpora naizgled je dalo logorašima osjećaj časti i samopoštovanja, naročito poslije rata. Njihove priče u današnjici predstavljaju jedan oblik nastavljenog otpora.

Opravdanost istraživanja/rada: Disocijacija od postupaka čuvara logora i od naziva/statusa 'logoraš' se može protumačiti kao izraz deritualizacije, u odnosu na prijetna iskustva. Deritualizacija je vidljiva i kombinaciji sa ostalim interakcijama, ali se analitički može izolirati u

pričama ispitanika kroz analizu rituala poniženja, rituala moći, rituala otpora i rituala statusa. Kroz ovu analizu je jasno vidljiv gubitak identiteta logoraša, priznavanje identiteta drugoga, emocionalni angažman, i različiti simboli otpora.

Ključne riječi

poniženje, emocije, stigmatizacija, uzvišeni objekti, deritualizacija

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TERRORISM AND GENOCIDE

Review Paper

TERORIZAM I GENOCID

Pregledni naučni rad

Bakir ALISPAHIĆ

Abstract

Reason(s) for writing and research problem(s): To point out the symbiotic relationship and the role of terrorism as a support instrument in carrying out genocide in form of spreading fear and forcing movement or expelling the population from a certain territory.

Aims of the paper (scientific and/or social): This paper seeks to find a connection between terrorism and genocide, phenomena which have a common denominator – violence, destruction and massive loss of lives.

Methodology/Design: The author uses analysis – synthesis, and deductive – inductive processes.

Research/paper limitations: One of the differences is in the target population – victims of terrorism do not necessarily belong to a single nation or a nationality, whereas genocide, by definition, aims at such groups.

Results/Findings: The detailed analysis of the problem is further enriched by the author's deliberate emphasis of 'obvious errors' which prevented from developing a wholesome scientific definition.

General conclusion: The paper brings out a conclusion that terrorism and genocide have a common denominator in political goals, and both use violence and destruction.

Research/paper validity: The author discusses difficulties in defining terrorism, holding that the key obstacle is removed if one abides by the rules of the logical scientific definition of a phenomenon.

Keywords

terrorism, genocide, definition, phenomenon, violence, political, goal

Introduction

Defining terrorism is a troublesome task. Karcic (2002) mentions three related difficulties:

'First of all, terrorism is a very old phenomenon in human history. It is manifested in various forms and appears in different historical circumstances and as such is difficult to be placed in a definition that would include all of its essential characteristics. Second, the term as such possesses negative political connotation and hence is often used by some governments to discredit political opponents regardless of their opponents' methods. Third, propaganda and unscrupulous utilization of this term has made the objective of defining and studying it rather strenuous. Having confirmed the existence of the aforementioned and other difficulties, as well as the fact that the definition of terrorism can be a form of a political and ideological fight, we have to make a few related remarks.

The first remark relates to the difficulty stemming from the age of terrorism as a historical phenomenon. Society features significantly older phenomena such as societal groups, marriage, state, organization, community, and violence which have also changed over time but which are as well defined in the social sciences.

It seems that the key difficulty is in the approach to defining and the orientation in respecting the rules of the logical scientific defining of the phenomenon.

If it is a 'very old historical phenomenon', for it to differ from other phenomena, it must fulfil at least two important conditions: first, its essential, vital characteristics had to hold through all time otherwise, the original phenomenon would have transformed into some other or would have disappeared; second, certain necessary forms of manifestations of the essence had to survive so that the phenomenon remains recognizable. Therefore, the essence of the statement 'very old historical phenomenon' is that, essential characteristics and manifestations of the terrorism have been present and visible over a very long historical period.

In that regard, a question is raised, how come that it is such an old phenomenon, when the term terrorism was for the first time used in 1975.

As regards to the second difficulty, we can state that the difficulties in the scientific research are diverse but they are not an obstacle. The best example that proves the point is the practice of politics and political propaganda which distract but do not obstruct the existence and effectiveness of political science. On the contrary, they are the subject of political science. If terrorism is a 'historical', and therefore social, political, legal, and sociological phenomenon, then it is the subject of those sciences and their definitions.

There is a variety of definitions and various approaches to defining. Therefore, we will either bring out a definition from an empirical or theoretical perspective, or a combination of both, but a mere comparison of statements and words will not be of any help.

The third remark relates to the complexity of the phenomenon. With regard to that, it is important to underline the following: the more complex the phenomenon, the more important a deeper and complete understanding of it, and the more important an adequate definition.

Another point of view holds that a definition of the terms and characteristics of the terrorism is sufficient, understood as an expression of a phase achieved by some 'definition experts'. Defining or merely stating facts which can otherwise appear alone or in a group of other phenomena, without any essential relation between them, connection, role, function, quality and

quantity, do not speak of a synthesised wholeness of the phenomenon such as would identify it. Nonetheless, they are a good approach to reaching a 'synthetic' definition.

Drawing on Schlagheck(1988), Karcic (2002) points at one such an attempt of determination. He emphasizes the following terms:

- 1) **Terrorism includes use of violence or threats of violence.**
- 2) **Terrorist violence is unpredictable.** The unpredictability and uncertainty of the violence increase the anxiety as everybody is affected.
- 3) **The victims of terrorism always have symbolic value.** It is quite common to make difference between direct victims of the violence who are really attacked and the wider audience which is the object of spreading fear and to whom terrorist send a message by means of violence.
- 4) **Terrorists want publicity.** Terrorist do not want simply to 'scare' their victims. They want to achieve specific goals. Those goals may be personal gain (criminal terrorism), manifestation of mental illnesses and disorders (psychopathic terrorism) or political (political terrorism). Political goals may include national liberation, imposition of a certain ideology etc.
- 5) **Terrorism has a great flexibility.** Terrorism can be used by anybody – governments, groups, individuals, and it can be used against anybody. The flexibility of terrorism can be seen in its transformation from the domestic problems of some countries (domestic terrorism) to international problems (international terrorism).
- 6) **Terrorism is a very complex issue.** Terrorism encompasses numerous forms of violence, various motives and it does not have concrete solutions. Complexity of the phenomenon can be noted in the disagreement about when and for whom this label can be used.

Let us consider the first point that 'terrorism includes violence or threats of violence'.

It is evident that the threat of violence and violence are not the same, and that every act of violence and every threat of violence cannot be considered terrorism. That violence – the violence of terrorism – has to be adequate and it has to be sufficient. That is, it has to have characteristics which make it different from other forms of violence which are not terrorism (violence used for maintenance of order, violence in counterterrorism, etc.)

Also, the threat of violence has to have certain forms – content, probability, dimension, etc. Every rule which includes sanctions is a threat of violence, at least with regard to its nature and definition of violence.

Violence and the threat of violence include three aspects, those being the intention, the act which inflicts damage, and the victims who are the target or witnesses of the violence. All of the named aspects have to be determined clearly and precisely, qualitatively and quantitatively. Their interrelations in the violence have to be specified as important factors in determining terrorism.

The point of view that 'terrorist violence is unpredictable' has been accurate in various times, social situations and according to various degrees of social development. In contemporary conditions, a prognosis with a determined degree of probability is possible.

The point of view that 'everyone is affected' attracts far more attention. This attitude we understand as statement in considerably milder form: 'it is possible that many can be affected'. This is particularly difficult to consider in text which deal with definitions, whereas one need to be careful in utilization of the terms 'everyone', 'all' etc. which imply no limitations.

The next postulate that 'the victims have symbolic value', can be accepted only with the addition that it is not only about symbolic but also a practical value. The terrorist targets are real objects and people, and they have to be concretized. Some of the targets:

- a) may really symbolize something,
- b) may not symbolize something as such but the attack may symbolize something,
- c) at the time of the terrorist attack, neither targets nor subjects of the attacked, time of the place symbolize anything, but the process of symbolization is induced on the basis of concrete effects of the action by the work of media, subjects of terrorism and by the acts of terrorism.

The statement that 'terrorists want publicity' is wrongly formulated.

Terrorists seek to get positive publicity in any way possible. Publicity is also sought for some terrorist leaders and heroes, who, at the same time, like to keep the secretive and mystical image around them. Other terrorists avoid publicity and prefer secrecy, as it is an important condition of the survival and success of terrorism. At the same time, publicity is not a 'wish' of terrorists, but is their essential instrument by which they achieve certain effects (e.g. scaring off) and gain sympathizers in some places. That publicity therefore has characteristics of selectivity and propaganda, as well as attributes of direct and elements of indirect. Every successful bigger terrorist act enables a sensationalist treatment, which is a real 'treat' for the media.

The position that 'only political goals of terrorism' exist ought to be corrected. Political terrorism has political goals, but every act of terrorism has, to a certain degree, political effects.

If every form of terrorism has political goals as a priority, classifications of the terrorism are then not necessary because all varieties of terrorism are only varieties of the original terrorism and represent manifestations in different phases. Differentiating 'criminal terrorism' and 'psychopathic terrorism' from the 'political' confirms our point of view. The said classification renews and reopens the issue of criminality of terrorism.

We will stay with the issue of 'political goals (of the terrorism) which can be national liberation, imposition of a certain ideology etc.' Whether national freedom is a generally adopted value as it is commonly thought, or not – is a question. If the national freedom is socially and internationally adopted, very important, and highly valued, and as such is the integral part of the human and civil rights, then there is no place for the classification 'terrorism'. The fight for national freedom is legal and legitimate, and the violent deprivation of that freedom is illegal and illegitimate, and that can be considered terrorism – the state terrorism.

The sixth postulate that 'the terrorism possesses a great flexibility' we accept as correct, but instead choose to reformulate it in the following manner: 'Flexibility of the terrorism is its important characteristic.'

Flexibility is realized through various transformations of lesser importance. In this case, the transformation does not lead to changes of its essence.

We agree with the statement that 'the terrorism is a complex question'. However, terrorism is not a question but a social and political reality, a complex phenomenon, which raises many questions. If the terrorism is defined, then it is not a label that can be freely put on something just like that, as it relates to a certain social reality which is named and defined. Those who promote the orientation that terrorism cannot be defined and should not be defined 'because it can be recognized', certainly express their wish to keep the possibility of a free labelling, depending on the need of the one who does 'labelling'.

Presentation of the difficulties, problems in defining terrorism, various approaches and orientations in defining terrorism, points at two visible errors that obstructed development of a scientific definition of the terrorism as a whole:

- 1) a biased approach that stemmed from politics, ideology, strong commitment to a sole science and/or a scientific discipline, or a theoretical-methodological concept etc.
- 2) a commitment to a 'shortcut' which primarily led to leaning on a) practical (empirical) findings, or b) solely on theory (such as analysis of multitude of definitions).

Being aware of all the above mentioned but also other difficulties, we will seek to develop and propose a valuable and generally acceptable scientific definition.

Our proposed definition is derived from the empirical and theoretical findings, of which only some are scientific. The approach itself does not clearly determine the paradigm of the basis of understanding and interpretation of the proposed definition, so in order for it to have a support in the empirical, scientifically unverified finding, it is desirable to present the definition, a then explain its basic postulates.

The proposed definition is as follows:

'Terrorism is a historical socio-political phenomenon which is born and grows in the conditions of sufficiently deep and intensive conflict borne by actors of terrorism – certain organized weaker and smaller socio-political groups of subjects or countries which fight against the existing socio-political or the international order in an organized and systematic manner by using illegitimate and illegal, cruel and unpredictable (hardly predictable) criminal violence, using available methods and means which provoke massive and individual injustice and targeted and collateral victims, and inflict various damages while not usually achieving its ultimate socio-political aim.'

This somewhat longer and detailed definition reminds us of the more descriptive ones. The interesting aspect of it is that it treats politics as the first higher term, with the society above it. It is based on analysis and synthesis, and deductive – inductive methods. Considering its content and form, it is fit for development of norms and systems of norms – legal, ethical etc.

Based on the fact that every definition is a starting point for defining criteria, classification and classification systems, which is an important provision of the valid scientific and logical definitions, two relevant classification criteria can be derived thereon.

The first is means of terrorism, and the second criterion is the subject of terrorism.

In relation to the first criterion, the following has been mentioned: (1) nuclear terrorism, (2) chemical terrorism, (3) biological terrorism, (4) cyber terrorism, (5) ideological terrorism and (6) religious terrorism.

The problem relating to the application of this criterion is rather complex. First of all, one of the key characteristics of the terrorism is human victims (loss of life), which in e.g. cyber terrorism is not the case or at least is not directly the case.

Secondly, the application does not sufficiently make difference between the roles of means and motives (such is the case in ideological terrorism), while some criteria can be misused and are misused (there are a number of examples with religious and ideological terrorism).

The other classification criterion is **subject**, which is also inadequately functionally defined.

For instance, differentiating political, economic, cultural and other types of terrorism is very difficult in relation to the previously mentioned criteria. Particular problem lies in the fact that various terrorisms may have and may have not all the characteristics of terrorism, and may be functionally related. For example, differentiating domestic (interstate) terrorism can be treated only conditionally.

Secondly, the international terrorism requires developing a new set of classification criteria. That is how we can talk about 'exported' and 'imported' terrorism and 'parastate terrorism'.

As a classification criterion one can use **success**. From our point of view, it is hard or even impossible to have objective indicators. Usually, success is associated with the achievement of 'big goals', therefore successful terrorism achieves 'big goals' by using terror. However, the achievement of 'big goals', strategic ones in particular, cannot be considered the only criterion. If the success can be supplemented by further criterion of the success of terrorists acts is a question which will not be treated hereafter.

The herewith presented classifications of terrorism in relation with another phenomenon, genocide, require a review of classification that has, as a factor of classification, mentioned religious and state terrorism.

Without going deeper into analysis of these questions, we shall briefly review and emphasize the following: all the terrorist organizations, whatever they may declare themselves, do not have their true basis in the religion and in contemporary confessions. To them, the religion is a mere excuse, a means to justify their acts to the public. The criterion 'religious' can only lean on religious and confessional affiliation of the actors of the terrorism, however, the structures of the various subjects of terrorism do not allow that. According to the essence of the presented understanding, we can state that the true religious or confessional terrorism do not exist.

One of the important problems relates to developing criteria for 'state terrorism'. With regard to that, the first question relates to the kind and the degree of the state engagement in the organization of terrorism and carrying out of the terrorist acts, so that a state could be identified as a 'terrorist state', and its terrorism as a state terrorism.

It is evident that an important characteristics of this criterion is the subject – or the actor of the terrorism.

But, what kind of actor? Does it suffice for one state to be an inspirer, supporter, financier etc. of the terrorism or it is supposed to carry out terrorist acts as well? Does the entire state apparatus have to be involved as well as the state as a whole, or it suffices that only a certain part is involved?

The interdependence between the classification and the definition of terrorism has been revealed through the questions of the difficulty in classifying terrorism, whereas the following

aspects need to be emphasized: first, our previous definition does not provide basis for the presented classifications of terrorism, it only exposes the weaknesses of the classification system and the need for its further development.

Second, the interdependence of and the link between definition and classification of the term terrorism, as well as the role and function of the definition in the process of development of scientific finding and social practice.

Attention could be also focused on one of the understandings of the classification, such as its role of the starting form for measuring.

Genocide

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) considers genocide to be 'any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as:

- a) Killing members of the group;
- b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III of the Convention speaks about the acts based on which one can discover, identify, name and mark the acts which are the consequence of the activity – doing of the carrying out, planning, inciting, attempting and complicity, such as:

- a) Genocide;
- b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- e) Complicity in genocide.

It is only in the Article III of the Convention that responsibility and punishment of the perpetrators or those who contribute in any way to genocide, irrespective of their social and political status, domestic or international is treated. One of the serious and particularly important issues relating to genocide is the issue of qualitative and quantitative indicators that are at the basis of various data and arguments which are collated, based on which genocide is detected and proved to have taken place in a specific place and a specific timeframe. The issue of selection of data, its classification and ranking are all factors of validity and credibility of data about the phenomenon, problem and the subject of the research of genocide.

The relation between terrorism and genocide

Terrorism is a very dynamic social phenomenon which transforms its content and forms of action. Such is the relation between terrorism and genocide. It can be stated that terrorism precedes genocide. Genocide is based on activities with very serious, complex and long term

consequences for one national community, the nation or a part of ethnic community. Terrorism comes about as a result of ad hoc activity, it appears and disappears. One of the important characteristics of the terrorism is its unpredictability.

Terrorism has political goals, it sends messages to certain political subjects regarding some compromises, while genocide means destruction of a nation or a part of a nation, execution of heavy physical and psychological injuries, forceful submission to conditions without the possibility for mere bio-physical existence, prevention from prolongation of the species in accordance with the criterion of ethnical affiliation, as well as forced movement of the population known as 'ethnical cleansing' of a certain territory. Both terrorism and genocide use violence and force as the means of action. The terrorism uses limited force and violence, while genocide uses force and violence to the degree of a partial or a total destruction.

The issue of the victim of terrorist violence is not necessarily linked to national affiliation, as opposed to victims of genocide, which targets exclusively members of a certain national or other protected groups.

The postulate which equalizes terrorism and genocide cannot be supported. Terrorism is a support instrument primarily in spreading fear among the population and expelling people from a certain territory, and not from a position of destruction of one ethnical group or community. Terrorism can also be a form of defence similar to guerrilla action, often used by the weak and helpless, which differentiates it from genocide.

Genocide is a very complex social phenomenon which is planned, organized and carried out by a state, a state apparatus or a part of such a state apparatus. Genocide cannot be planned, organized or carried out by an individual and/or a social group over one people/nation or part of the nation – that is always done by forces, organizations and groups backed up by a state or country which fully supports the action.

Conclusion

Considering that terrorism is a very dynamic social phenomenon which can change its content and forms of action, it is possible to notice its relation to the genocide. It can be further concluded that terrorism precedes genocide.

The role of terrorism as a support instrument in carrying out genocide surfaces in form of spreading fear and forced movement or expulsion of the population from a certain territory.

It is important to underline that terrorism and genocide have a common denominator – force and violence.

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Sažetak

Inspiracija za rad i problem(i) koji se radom oslovljava(ju): Naglasiti simbiotičku vezu i ulogu terorizma kao instrumenta za podršku u vršenju genocida u obliku širenja straha i prisilnog iseljavanja ili protjerivanja stanovništva iz određenog područja.

Ciljevi rada (naučni i/ili društveni): Intencija ovog rada jeste pronalaženje povezanosti između terorizma i genocida, te se pokušava naći povezanost između ove dvije globalne pojave koje u zajedničkom nazivniku imaju nasilje, destrukciju i masovni gubitak života.

Metodologija/Dizajn: Autor primjenjuje analitičko-sintetičku, te induktivno-deduktivnu metodu.

Ograničenja istraživanja/rada: Jedna od razlika je u cilju – žrtve terorizma ne vežu se neophodno za određenu nacionalnu grupu/pripadnost, dok je to uvijek slučaj kad se radi o genocidu.

Rezultati/Nalazi: Razmatranje problema definisanja terorizma autor nadopunjuje ukazujući na uočljive greške koje su ometale izgradnju naučne definicije terorizma kao cjeline.

Generalni zaključak: Zaključuje se da terorizam i genocid imaju zajednički nazivnik - političke ciljeve, te oba koriste silu i nasilje.

Opravdanost istraživanja/rada: Autor analizira poteškoće definisanja terorizma, držeći da je ključna teškoća izvodjenja definicije otklonjena ako se poštuju pravila logičkog naučnog definisanja pojave.

Ključne riječi

terorizam, genocid, definisanje, poteškoće, fenomen, nasilje, politički, cilj

About the author

Bakir Alispahic was born in 1956 in Sarajevo. He had worked for the State Security in the Republic Secretariat for the internal affairs of BiH and progressed to the position of the Republic Minister of Internal Affairs. Alispahic was the first Director of the Agency of research and documentation BiH, and he also held the position of Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo, where he also gained his masters degree in security studies, as well as his PhD with the thesis 'Theoretical and methodological aspects of the research of work of the intelligence services'.

He has authored two books, 'Terrorism what is that?' and 'The Methods of work of the intelligence services'.

He is married, father of two children.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF MIDDLE CLASS: IMPLICATIONS FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Review Paper

ANALIZA SOCIJALNIH FUNKCIJA SREDNJE KLASE: IMPLIKACIJE ZA BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU

Pregledni naučni rad

Alisabri ŠABANI

Abstract

Reason(s) for writing and research problem(s): It is an obvious social fact that is in process the disappearance of the middle class and all those qualities that bind to its existence. The theory emphasizes that in relatively stable and structured societies middle class has the function of balancing the social order, culture, socialization and social predictability. The middle class disappearance means at the same time damage of such social processes and conditions.

Aims of the paper (scientific and/or social): The goals are to emphasize the need of revitalization of the middle class social values and creating an environment where the social habit of middle class will be established as a normative guideline. Warning to this problem is actually warning of the disappearance of those social attributes that bind to regulated social world.

Methodology/Design: The research methodology is mainly relied on the theoretical analysis, observation and contently is relating to reflexive sociology. Methodological more completely approach would be resulted in the fully examine of the real cultural capital and habitus of the middle class. Findings would proof that the roles and statuses of actually members of the middle class are likely in in congruency, as well as their cultural capital.

Research/paper limitations: Limitations of this study are significant because research was not conducted by a detailed methodological procedures and empirical testing of hypotheses, but the work could represent a very inspirational initial phase of one such study.

Results/Findings: In this paper lacks empirical results but in theory, an important conclusion is that in any organized society need the middle class as a corrective to the social turbulence and unpredictability.

General conclusion: The general findings may relate to the fact that this problem needs to radicalise and discuss the dynamics of the disappearance of the middle class through the prism of a new transitional, post-modern and post-traditional societies where there are no social security nor certainty in which they might take place normal social development.

Research/paper validity: Justification of research is reflected in recognizing the implications of the disappearance of the middle class.

Keywords

the middle class, social crisis, cultural capital, social control, quality

The drama in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) has generated many tragic states of society and paradoxes, which, by definition, belong to the category of unintended social circumstances. A number of features were evident during and after the war: deterioration of big industrial complexes which employed the significant numbers of workers; forcible migrations; bad and unfair transition; and the decay of broad sections of the working and middle class. For many people in B&H the war has permanently changed life conditions. The negative dynamic caused the disappearance, or at least significant impoverishment, of the existing middle class. One of the images that captures this process is the appearance and flourishing of numerous flea markets in all the cities of B&H. It is only necessary to walk through them and one can recognize people with very different social status, but with a common need to establish a rational basis for their economic survival. Many of the casual sellers offer goods that indicate their previous social status. Their being there is the consequence of general poverty, and this is the location where the chances for a basic minimum level of economic survival exist. Flea markets did not exist in such a large number before the war, and they were not the source of economic survival. But today, for many people they are. Flea markets have become the place of encounter for many marginal social groups, the unemployed, and some members of the middle class (the unemployed ones, fired clerks, engineers, lawyers, technicians, teachers, and other college educated persons). At the same time, a significant number of buyers, still belonging to the middle class, buy the goods that indicate their existing social status and system of values. The offer of goods is not homogenous and elementary, but it includes valuable books, paintings, LP-s, CD-s of classical music, technical equipment, branded clothing and shoes, furniture and porcelain. Some of the sellers of the goods offered are former members of the middle class, but one common characteristic of the goods offered is that they are cheap and customers come from the same class as sellers.

On the other hand, in some other public places, one can see the images that represent power and wealth, which generate the conclusion that this society is deeply socially differentiated. Approaches to analysis of these social phenomena in sociology belong to the method of observation with participation and visual analysis of given contexts.

What does this picture indicate, apart from social inequality? First, the working class lost its rights in negotiation over wealth and it has ceased to be a factor of social changes for the better; second, the flea market is the typical informal institution of crisis and public poverty; third, part of the middle class has been disqualified; and, fourth, the social functions of the middle class are greatly reduced concerning the balance among classes. In everyday speech, we can often hear that the loss of the middle class is an indication of social crisis. In common sense, that is true, but we have to address the question of how it happened. The pre-war middle class has fallen apart due to a number of reasons, of which the most important are the following: the war, in which all the structures of the nation have become impoverished; migration to the West, or to the centers of national origin; the exclusion from certain middle class structures (dismissal from work positions, national intolerance); a transition period with enduring crisis and poverty; a generational transition during which one generation has simply perished (retirement, loss of job, old age, death, and the like). At the same time, since the society in the

transition period found itself in a new and complex net of relations (a huge rate of unemployment, strong migration tendencies at the same time as the opening of new work positions in the private, public and banking sectors), certain changes in class structure have happened. One of the aspects of these changes is a new emerging middle class in the transitional period. What we are concerned about is its relation towards the other members of society.

According to the criterion of profession, the non-manual professional groups are located between the ruling class and the manual working class (Jary&Jary, 1991). The concept "middle class" reflects in itself a difference in relation to other classes, from its relation to capital, occupation, employment market, consumption, prestige to the differences in the view of class conscience, ideology, values, attitudes and life style. But, in spite of all of these advantages, the position of the middle class is socially inferior in relation to the owners of capital.

Historically, the origin of the middle class is connected with changes in the character of work, production and services, where non-manual work became important and significant. The classical dichotomy of society in two basic classes (workers and capitalists) lost its importance because the traditional industrial manual workers were no longer a dominant resource of wealth in capitalism. That is what the middle class has become now, which is the owner of specialized, intellectual, servicing and scientific work as a new source of expansion of wealth. Simply put, in the late modernity, the middle class occupations expanded into the spheres of industry, services, media, entertainment and its products (movies, books, music, etc.). The number of manual occupations significantly decreased. The increase of non-manual occupations and development of small business and specialized services caused theoretical problems for the Marxist paradigm of classes and social stratification. Concerning the above issue, what I want to stress is the fact that theorizing about the middle class in the pre-war period in the former Yugoslavia was of poor quality, non-empirical, ironic and extremely ideological. Marxist analysis and its interpretation were glorified, occasionally becoming tacky (Leksikon socioloških pojmova, Klasa, 1982, Žubrinić, 1975). Pre-war social theory was mostly oriented to serve the justification and protection social system of that time, i.e. socialism, and it served the official ideology. Other theoretical alternatives were out of question. In the late 1980s discussion was oriented to the problem of differentiation (Hošek&Momirović, 1985; Sekulić, 1985; Sekulić 1987). Post-war social theory was based on national animosities and did not pay attention to realities which were very important (poverty, ruralization of society, social isolation of B&H society, falling behind current trends in social development). At the same time, the ideological element in theory was extremely strong.

Having been built upon such a theoretical heritage and paradigm, B&H sociology is not capable of giving an answer to a number of questions concerning this class in B&H. These questions are the following: what does middle class mean, what are its social functions, which values does it prefer, how does it behave in the ups and downs of economic rhythms, what is its range, when does it become radical, how does it protect its status identity, what is its socio-demographic background, what are the social matrices upon which it grew, what is its self-concept, what are its criteria of excellence and success, how does it shape the social space in which the competition for power and domination go on, what is its codex of gaining the position, how does it socially discipline itself, how does it develop in open/half-open/closed societies, how does it use the resources that have emerged from social mobility, what is its social quality? There are other questions, such as: how does the middle class represent, vitalize, restore, and preserve

the culture and language of society, how does it organize and construct social time, what negotiating strategies does it use while expressing its interests, how does it express non-material and general interests, how does it initiate the generation of social capital, how does it make sense of publicity surrounding social problems and how moral panic is produced in relation to them, how does it organize the elements of formal and informal institutions of social control, how does it distribute ideas about fashion and life style, how does it create social movements?

These questions are at the same time my own reasons for needing to consult the British theoretical scene in order to give answers to the basic questions of my project: what are the social functions of a middle class?

What we can state is that the middle class of B&H is segmented, diffused, and composed of a series of different groups with different value and interest definitions about the national, urban, business, university, artistic and entertainment and media areas. But this is not its only distinctive characteristic. We emphasize a number of specific, important characteristics of relative significance as part of the B&H middle class (not total, of course):

- The B&H middle class, through war and the transitional period, is segmented and weakly connected, incapable to create social changes;
- It has been created by the ruling politics, incapable of defining its own political interest outside of the centers of power;
- It exhibits its social advancement only through more intensive consumption;
- Its basic advance up the hierarchy was gained only by education;
- Lacking an urban-civilian heredity, the present middle class did not develop from the urban middle class;
- The present middle class has been socially composed from the lower social classes, especially from the rural ones;
- Since the Bosnian village is poor, socially isolated, patriarchal and underdeveloped, it experienced emigration. But some parts of the emigrant population have become members of the urban middle class, and their basic cultural pattern from their rural background did not change, even as they climbed up the hierarchical system.

My aim is to prove the consequences of having a strong middle class on the present state of B&H society, i.e., to postulate and prove the following hypothesis: "A segmented middle class does not constitute a moral and social order, and that is why it does not perform its social functions in compliance with the status and roles that have been assigned to it". In another words, society must be predictable for its actors to be functional, and statuses and roles must be in compliance with the stressed ethical and socialized dimension. There is a much evidence of misuse of the middle class status position in our reality, involving university professors, bankers, doctors, lawyers, judges, local oligarchs and scandals of every kind. Concretely, the social chaos resulted in fact that certain national groups, during the war and after the war, took positions which belonged, by definition, to middle class position. The criterion for election on certain positions was not professionalism but nationality. It is not strange that, for example, pre-war taxi driver became the majority owner of some company or a manager of some important institutions. At the same time culture and art are severely neglected, weakly protected by the system and condemned to bare survival. Turbo-folk became mainstream and a recognizable

sign of success. This country does not possess enough capacity to endure the damage caused by the irresponsibility of its actors.

What are the most visible characteristics of the present middle class?

- A lack of preparation for publicity and public speech;
- Unexpected, sudden, and unprepared contact with money and elements of the culture of money, which are visible and obvious in irresponsible consumption;
- Constant liabilities and borrowing, and vulgar spending of surplus income on cars and status symbols;
- A cultural preference for the “culture” of turbo-folk production and popular aesthetic-moral figures, such as “pevaljka – singer;”
- Relatively frequent conflicts and breach of peace in public places and in traffic;
- A tendency to glorify central political leaders;
- A tendency to physical unfitness and vulgar consumption of food (insisting on the consumption of meat, which becomes the symbol of social security);
- Contact with ruling structures, because rural structures have never previously had functional contact with them;
- A tendency to scandal, which can be understood as a kind of metaphor for power;
- Choosing types of education with quick prospects for termination (law school, economics, political science, social work); and
- Gaining middle class professional status exclusively through migration, with political power and education as the basic mobility channels.

What is important to stress here is habitus, i.e., the way of living, the value system, inclinations and expectations of newly created middle class actors. Habitus defines the present and the future decisions that would be considered normal and rational. According to P. Bourdieu, habitus forms “*an endless (infinite) capability of creating products – thoughts, ideas, expressions and actions,*” which could be socially visible and connected with taste (according to Haralambos, Holborn 2002). Tastes could be different, and research inquiring into middle class tastes indicates their quality.

Criminological context of middle class

The emergence of modernity is associated with the emergence of social discipline, social control, and defocused power that is associated with the formation of the middle class. The function of the middle class in modern times is to mediate between the classes, especially the lower and government, in terms of establishing order, hierarchy and new forms of knowledge. Here we are on the trail of Michel Foucault’s observations on insanity, prison, delinquency, sexuality and social isolated structures. The middle class is in the hierarchical position to accumulate and create knowledge that is converted into power. What defines modernity is knowledge that is inextricably linked with power and its technologies: social discipline and control. Central studies in this discourse is “Discipline and Punish: the emergence of the prison”(Fuko, 1997) in which Foucault argues that there are two processes: the disappearance of the arbitrariness of

the monarch and disciplining criminals. The act of punishment becomes impersonal through prison and gradually, no longer punishes the body of criminal, but acts upon his time. The body is no longer the object of punishment, but it becomes human time. This basically means that the emerging structure of the officials conducting these processes deeply incorporate the idea of law, morality and respect for social order. Without adequate knowledge, morality and values related officer, a member of the middle class; he could not count on the state service. In "The Archaeology of Knowledge", Foucault radicalizes the idea of discipline so that proves to be the punishment of drowning in social functioning is according to the principle that every form of discipline procedures daily life (Fuko, 1998). The disciplined person corrects itself in violation of the norms of yielding to and becomes the subject of self-torture. The violation of rules become a personal foul and what really works is that the person is self-controlled. Punishment does not belong only to the discourse in prison, but turns into a discourse of education, hospitals, factories, universities, barracks, institutions which promote and conduct negotiations with the outside social reality. It can be done only with qualified middle class Social control and discipline is being operationalized through daily labeling, classification, and the semiotics of discipline. Those who refuse discipline are punished (Kadić, 2012). In this respect, Foucault marks four techniques that enable discipline: organization of space, controlling activities, education development processes and combining forces. All of these techniques can be implemented by a qualified and educated middle class. Society must be experienced to be spatially classified through which is enable to directs controls and disciplines. This first happened in the barracks, prisons, and later in universities, schools, hospitals and industrial areas. In a developed form and the emergence of modern cities is associated with these techniques (a division of cities and urban areas in terms of their services

In this respect Foucault concludes that the architecture of cities can produce obedient and disciplined individuals, subjects of the knowledge-power discourse.

Foucault confronts us with a rhetorical question "What is unusual in the fact that prison resembles factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all again look like a prison." (Fuko, 1997). From the standpoint of our society, we can say that all management techniques, power-knowledge, discipline and social control, are extremely controversial and unsuccessful. An unqualified or weak middle class not only lacks knowledge, but has also very limited power to implement techniques of social discipline and control. A string of assaults on representatives of the middle class, corruption, caricature organizing institutions, excessive bureaucratization and lack of confidence make this society a favorable environment for crime and all forms of uncontrolled response to the problems faced. Thanks to the fact that the society has produced a series of dependencies on external control (international community) and a number of risk institutions (e.g. the Office of the High Representative) which enable to the parties in power to be on the top of social chaos in B&H.

What is the need for a study like this one?

It is necessary for the following reasons:

- To explain with theoretical clarity and definition what the middle class is, and what its main social functions are, because this issue has been discussed in an ad hoc and ill-defined manner;

- To mobilize the sociology paradigms in this analysis (sociology is underdeveloped at this moment in B&H, and in a some way “prostituted” even by some sociologists);
- To analyze whether incongruity between middle-class status and the role of those structures that have created it perform adequately defined social roles;
- To estimate and test cultural capital, which the middle class maintains and represents, even in those social situations when it is impoverished, lacks support and finds in descent;
- To establish the criteria for determining what membership in the middle class means;
- To classify and systematize the B&H society’s class experience;
- To determine which structures are able to lead quality social changes, with full responsibility and a developed sensibility for the general public interest.

The middle class is relevant and significant, and it possesses the instruments to start social changes, but what is important to stress is that it must be responsible towards itself and others, together with rigorous instruments of formal and informal social control. This idea reminds me of Durkheim’s idea of organic solidarity, which is based on total and unquestionable identity of status and role, which is consistent with my idea of what the middle class would look like in this society.

Needs for further researches

To improve research and methodology techniques in analyzing this sort of social phenomena it includes the use of the comparative method, content analysis, secondary analysis, visual analysis, and, of course, construction of an inventory questionnaire for some aspects of the middle class way of life. It will result in increased theoretical capital and the potential and initiate a high-quality discussion in B&H sociology. Also important questions and answers would be:

- The impact of the “Occupy” protests, as important rebellion of middle class, on class structure, wealth distribution, and coalition building in the United States and whether they result in concrete policy demands;
- To study the relationship between socioeconomic status and higher education, particularly in light of several recent studies on economic segregation in higher education.
- Creating procedures and techniques of modeling which should be the synthesis of the idea of accelerated ascendance on a hierarchic scale, but without the corresponding time for achievement, without so called “ritual” time. The other model should stress the factors which intensively act in the sense of the definition of belonging to a position in a hierarchy.
- Creating empirical material, to put into theoretical frames, where they will be adequately interpreted. The empirical material will be collected on the basis of methods of observation, visual analysis of public places (cafes, theaters, flea markets, est.), use of public statistics, testing the students on certain aspects of middle class status (for example analysis of students’ hobbies, way of use of free time), analysis of press, and similar.
- It is important to consider locations where the B&H middle class live, and in that way it would be possible to understand how the social space is being disciplined or not.

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Sažetak

Inspiracija za rad i problem (i) koji se radom oslovljava (ju): Očigledna je socijalna činjenica da je na sceni nestanak srednje klase i svih onih kvaliteta koji se vežu za njeno postojanje. Teorija naglašava da u relativno stabilnim i strukturiranim društvima srednja klasa ima funkciju balansiranja socijalnog reda, kulture, socijalizacije i socijalne prediktivnosti. Njen nestanak ili znatno socijalno oštećenje povezano je i sa navedenim socijalnim procesima.

Ciljevi rada (naučni ili društveni): Ciljevi rada su da se naglasi potreba revitalizacije srednjeklasnih socijalnih vrijednosti i stvaranje ambijenta koji bi socijalni habitus srednje klase uspostavio kao normativan orijentir. Upozoravanje na ovaj problem je zapravo upozoravanje na nestanak onih socijalnih atributa koji se vežu za uređen socijalni svijet.

Metodologija/dizajn: Metodologija istraživanja se uglavnom oslanjala na teorijsku analizu, posmatranje i sadržajno se odnosi na refleksivnu sociologiju. Metodološki potpuniji pristup bi bio ako bi se u potpunosti ispitao stvarni kulturalni kapital i habitus pripadnika srednje klase po ulozi i statusu i vjerovatno bi utvrdili inkongruentnost srednjeklasnog statusa i srednjeklasnog kulturalnog kapitala.

Ograničenja istraživanja/rada: Ograničenja u ovom radu su znatna prije svega što nije provedena detaljna metodološka procedura i empirijska provjera hipoteza, ali rad bi mogao predstavljati veoma inspirativnu početnu fazu za jedno ovakvo istraživanje.

Rezultati/Nalazi: U ovom radu nedostaju empirijski rezultati ali u teorijskom pogledu važan zaključak jeste da je u svakom uređenom društvu potrebna srednja klasa kao korektiv socijalnih turbulencija i nepredvidljivosti.

Generalni zaključak: Generalni zaključak se može odnositi na činjenicu da treba radikalizirati ovaj problem i razmatrati dinamiku nestanka srednje klase kroz prizmu novog tranzicijskog, postmodernog i posttradicionalnog društva u kojem ne postoje socijalne sigurnosti niti izvjesnosti u kojima bi se mogao odvijati normalan socijalni razvoj.

Opravednost istraživanja/rada: Opravednost istraživanja se ogleda u uočavanju implikacija nestanka srednje klase.

Ključne riječi

srednja klasa, socijalna kriza, kulturalni kapital, socijalna kontrola, kvalitet

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TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: STATE OF THE ART AND ASSOCIATED PUZZLES

Review Paper

TRGOVINA LJUDIMA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI: PRIKAZ STANJA I NEDOUMLICA

Pregledni naučni rad

Samir RIZVO
Eldan MUJANOVIĆ

Abstract

Reason(s) for writing and research problem(s): The reason for writing this paper is to research and to shed light on the phenomenon of trafficking in human beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, elaborate its history, the state of the art, and the exploitation patterns of trafficking.

Aims of the paper (scientific and/or social): The aim of the research is social, targeted on identification of shortcomings that lead to underestimation of the problem, which preclude efforts to develop effective responses to this crime and brutal violations of victims' human rights.

Methodology/Design: The methodology is based on the secondary data and findings from various reports, studies and theoretical debates.

Research/paper limitations: Limitations of the paper are related to the fact that official statistics do not reflect the scale of the problem, due to misinterpretations and lack of the mechanisms to identify victims of new forms of trafficking, other than for sexual exploitation, like labour exploitation, forced begging and commission of petty crimes, fake marriages, removal of organs for transplantation.

Results/Findings: Findings indicate that there are gaps in the mechanism for suppressing trafficking. The findings have important implications for anti-trafficking policies and legislation by trying to improve public and governmental understanding of the magnitude and complexity of the problem.

General conclusion: The secondary data analysis has shown a lack of: vigorous investigation of sex and labour trafficking cases; aggressive prosecution and punishment of trafficking offenders; effective suppression of corruption related to trafficking in human beings; insufficient proactive approach and outreach work on identification of potential victims of traffick-

ing; low levels of public awareness of trafficking in human beings; and absence of any relevant research for a long time which should identify scope and trends as well as factors that support and facilitate trafficking in human beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Research/paper validity: This paper points out shortcomings that can lead to an underestimation of the problem of trafficking in human beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina and highlight the research questions to be explored in future studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords

trafficking in human beings, exploitation, patterns, response

Introduction

During the last decades the phenomenon of trafficking in human beings, due to political and socio-economic developments has taken a universal dimension. This form of crime, often organized and trans-border, occurs throughout the South-East European region, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. The region is a source, transit and destination area for recruitment, transportation and exploitation of the victims. Victims coming from Asia and Africa, as well as victims originating in the South-East Europe, transit the region on their way to Western European countries in the hope of a better life. For many, this ends in exploitation, others do not get any further than South-East Europe where they are exploited too. In the past, the sexually exploited adult women were predominantly identified as victims of trafficking, but nowadays increasing numbers of males are likewise identified as victims of trafficking, mainly for labour exploitation. Many of the victims of trafficking are minors and are exploited by organized criminal groups for sex, labour or for committing petty street crimes. Elderly and disabled persons are victims of groups of traffickers who exploit them in begging rackets. A few cases of trafficking for organs and tissues have also been recorded.

As is the case with any other form of crime it is possible to suggest that official statistics do not reflect the scale of the problem, due to misinterpretations of statistical data and lack of existing mechanisms to identify trafficked persons, especially victims of new forms of trafficking. This then inhibits public and governmental understanding of the magnitude and complexity of the problem with negative consequences with regards development of accurate policies of prevention and suppression of trafficking.

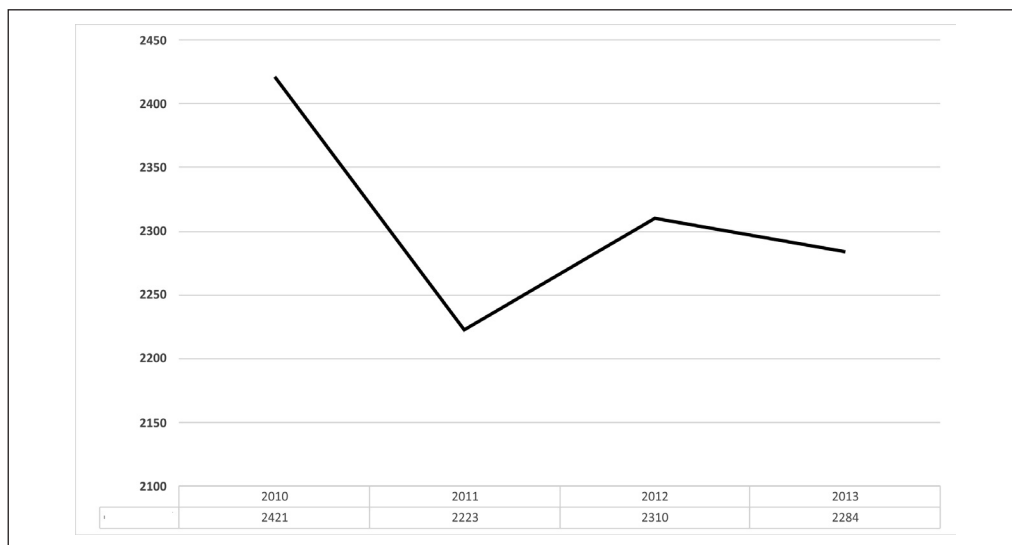
Without a proper understanding of the issue, governments may not afford sufficient priority to combating trafficking; develop a nuanced understanding of the changing modalities of trafficking and specific trafficking networks; or work with the non-governmental organizations and research sectors to develop strong evidence based on which to build counter-trafficking capacities (International Organization for Migration - IOM, 2014).

Because of that, the goal of this paper is to shed light on the phenomenon, its scope and pattern, and to assist Bosnia and Herzegovina in identifying shortcomings that can lead to an underestimation of the problem, which can preclude efforts to develop effective responses to trafficking in human beings. This is important because despite decades of policy making, implementing, defining and redefining human trafficking, there is still little clarity in this field (van Duyne, 2007).

South-East Europe, the region of trafficking

The phenomenon emerged together with the start of transition processes in in the region in the late eighties. The peak, but also the turning point for trafficking in human beings within the region was the year 2002. Since then prevalence and trends related to trafficking in human beings is declining rapidly, and due to the changing patterns of operations, has become less visible. The number of assisted victims started to drop in the second half of 2002 (Limanovska, 2005). Bar raids, at that time still the most prevalent form of anti-trafficking action did not bring many results. Very few victims were identified during these raids. Women judged by the police to be victims of trafficking often refuse assistance, claiming that they are not victims of trafficking but prostitutes/entertainers/waitresses working voluntarily (Limanovska, 2005). That time was also the time of the expedited ratification and implementation of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto. Since 2010 situation is mainly stable with slight variations (Southeast Europe Law Enforcement Centre -SELEC), 2014).

Figure 1. Identified victims of trafficking in humans in South-East Europe 2010-2013 (Source: SELEC South East Europe Law Enforcement Center, Report on Trafficking in Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants in Southeast Europe, SELEC, 2013.)



Today, trafficking in human beings in the South- East Europe involves multiple patterns, multiple forms of exploitation, and multiple forms of coercion and vulnerability. However, for sure there are many more cases of trafficking than those detected through official channels (IOM, 2014).

Armed conflicts, political transitions and social and economic turbulence in the South-East Europe during the past three decades, has engendered a major increase in irregular migration from and through the Balkans towards the Western Europe. This upheaval and the flows of human beings that follow from it have also contributed to a rise in trafficking in human beings

from and through the region.

Official statistics of the South- East Europe Law Enforcement Center (SELEC) suggest generally a stable situation in trafficking numbers and trends in recent years, but still, it is necessary to continue to express public and professional concerns about the situation. During 2013, 2.284 victims have been identified while during 2012 that number decreased slightly by 26 victims. The percentage of the adults was 78% of the total victims and 22% for the minors. 49% of the victims have been exploited abroad, out of SELEC region, 35% have been exploited domestically within SELEC countries, 16% have been foreigners coming out of SELEC region and exploited in SELEC region. The number of foreign victims exploited in 2013 in the SELEC area does not keep the decreasing trend from 2010-2012. In 2013 a significant increase of 56% was registered. The number of victims trafficked domestically decreased by 13% in 2013. At regional level, the countries from Western Europe appear to be the main destinations for the victims. 61,4% of the total number of adults victims were sexually exploited and 34,6% exploited for labor. 74,1% of the total number of minors victims were sexually exploited, 10% exploited for labor, and 12% for different street crimes. Suspects investigated for human trafficking in 2013 total 2.098 individuals, an increase of 14% compared to 2012, but 11% lower than 2011.

The SELEC reports also emphasize that the organized crime groups involved in trafficking in human beings are conducting their criminal activity on business like principles. They have an established division of tasks, each member having a certain type(s) of activity. In addition, reports note that it appears that the violence is less used to convince victims of sexual exploitation and that "soft methods" like emotional dependence, "lover boy" tactics, or the sharing of profit with the victims prevails (SELEC, 2013).

During the period 2010-2013, within the region victims of trafficking in human beings mainly originated from Romania (4,139), Bulgaria (2,092) and Moldova (1,102), followed by Greece (382), Turkey (353), Albania (309), Bosnia and Herzegovina (315), Hungary (265), Serbia (265), Croatia (63), Macedonia (55), and Montenegro (19) (SELEC, 2012, 2013).

The changes in the situation are result of the development and implementation of anti-trafficking measures based on international obligations and the policies developed in individual countries as well as within international governmental and nongovernmental organizations. An initial decline and then stabilisation of the situation in trafficking could mean that the anti-trafficking policies over the past decades have been effective and successful and have resulted in suppression of trafficking in the region. On the other hand, it is possible that trafficking has not declined but has become less visible, pushed deeper underground rather than eradicated. It is likely that simultaneously anti-trafficking measures were partially effective resulting in decreasing of the number of identified trafficked women in the region, but that also new trends emerged.

Despite the current period of relative political stability, trafficking in human beings remains a complex security threat and a challenge in the region. A vulnerable group still struggles with very limited opportunities for legitimate work and means of support for themselves and their families. Facing unemployment and very limited opportunities many individuals decide to accept unscrupulous offers of informal work lacking any protective mechanisms of government regulators, labour unions, and legal protections for workers, exposing themselves to risk of falling victim to trafficking.

The exploitation patterns: Old and new forms of trafficking

Globally, in the last decades, sexual exploitation was the most commonly identified form of human trafficking, but as the data shows, it is not the only type of exploitation. The United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime Report on Trafficking in Persons says that forced labor and other forms of exploitation were also detected by the state authorities, NGOs and international organizations (United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime - UNODC, 2009). Trafficking for forced labor is more prevalent in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (35%) than in Western and Central Europe (29%). When trafficking for forced labor was detected in Western and Central Europe, victims were generally exploited in the agriculture, construction or catering sectors. Exploitation of trafficking victims as domestic workers was also reported in Western and Central Europe. The share of victims trafficked for purposes not specified in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol was in the range of 7%. The number of victims of trafficking for the purpose of begging was about 2 per cent of the total detected victims. Episodes of trafficking for forced marriages were documented. Cases of trafficking for exploitation in pornography were also documented, although the proportion of such cases (0.1%) was limited in relation to the total number of victims trafficked for any purpose. Nonetheless, the geographical scope of these detections shows that this phenomenon should not be underestimated in Europe (UNODC, 2012).

The current situation in the region of South-east Europe is that some new trends and types of trafficking are identified as well as new modus operandi (SELEC, 2013). New trends are following: increase of minor victims identified and increase of trafficking within the borders of the countries, without crossing the borders; decrease of trafficking with foreign victims; main exploitation types are sexual exploitation, forced labor and exploitation for committing street crimes but victims are exploited as well for child pornography, forced marriage, pregnant women for selling new born babies and one attempt of trafficking for organs and tissues. For the purpose of labor exploitation victims are mainly exploited in the agricultural, constructions, forestry and domestic servitude (SELEC, 2012).

The age and the gender influence the type of exploitation, for instance, the young girls are exploited mainly for sexual purposes, while the children more for begging. As a trend noticed, recruitment of victims on voluntary basis and "soft methods" or the sharing of profit with the victims are more and more present, exploitation is made less through physical violence, more prevailing the psychological control and financial dependency. New type of trafficking is called "social tourism", when poor people are trafficked in Western European countries and are offered a residential registration. After starting receiving the financial support, they are sent back to the origin country, while the traffickers keep receiving the social benefits. A further new trend is the trafficking of pregnant women for the purpose of selling the new-born infants. Traffickers are primarily individuals, people close to the family of victims or members of small groups. Some trafficking is highly organized, some is small in groups, and some appears opportunistic. Other small groups are well organised with clear roles: recruiters, transporters, and controller (IOM, 2014). But, organized crime groups are involved in trafficking in human beings. Main characteristics of organized criminal groups involved in trafficking in human beings are: conducting their criminal activity on business-like principles; developing a complex of skills that are an important part of their strategy, based mainly on the use of physical influence and violence over the victims; linking membership of the group to the family ties, ethnicity or mutual interest; increasing number of women involved in criminal activities; and changing their

communication methods to those that are more difficult to be monitored under surveillance by law enforcement (Rizvo, 2010).

The majority of identified victims in the region are young women trafficked for sexual exploitation. A distinct aspect is that female victims are younger in age and are often minors. Most identified victims come from rural areas and poor regions, urban and rural. Common characteristics applicable to the region appear to include a history of domestic violence and physical, psychological, emotional abuse, parental neglect and extreme poverty (IOM, 2014). Victims are mostly recruited in-person, but often it is done by advertisements, on Internet and by private employment agencies. Methods used by recruiters include the promise of a good job, promise of marriage, and the offer of rescue from difficult situations at home. The way that traffickers control victims is changing from strict control of movement and physical violence, towards usage of threats and blackmail, often involving immediate family members, because non-physical forms of coercion are very difficult to prove during prosecution.

Since, irregular migration and trafficking in human beings are closely interlinked phenomenon it is important to emphasise that irregular migration is emerging throughout the region, is rapidly and significantly changing its trends, and provides traffickers with new opportunities. The European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders identified a new trend related to migration and trafficking, where criminal groups force irregular migrants with monetary debts to act as guides for other migrants from Asia through the region. Such arrangements, while 'in transit' can last for several years, until the debt is paid off. These cases illustrate an entirely new form of exploitation and trafficking to which responses need to be developed. However despite a moderate effort, the authorities are unable to identify victims of trafficking among these illegal migrants (European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders - FRONTEX, 2013).

Based on above facts it could be concluded that Trafficking in Human Beings continues to evolve in the region, changing its trends and patterns, in terms of forms of organization of traffickers, forms of recruitment, exploitation and forms of control over the victims, routes, and persons involved. Such development impose new, complex and on-going challenges to the authorities and societies in the region and emphasise the need for constant awareness raising about the phenomenon for the public and for professionals, and the evolution of counter trafficking policies and actions.

History of Trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina besides being part of the region with a heavy presence of trafficking is a post conflict and country in transition with a very complex political structure. The bad economic situation, very high unemployment rate, poverty, high number of refugees and internally displaced persons, young migration management structure, porous borders and limited law enforcement resources have made it a source, destination and transit country for human trafficking. In the late nineties trafficking emerged exclusively for exploitation of young woman originating from the Eastern Europe in the sex industry in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which at that time had sufficient demand because of a heavy presence of international military, police and other personnel.

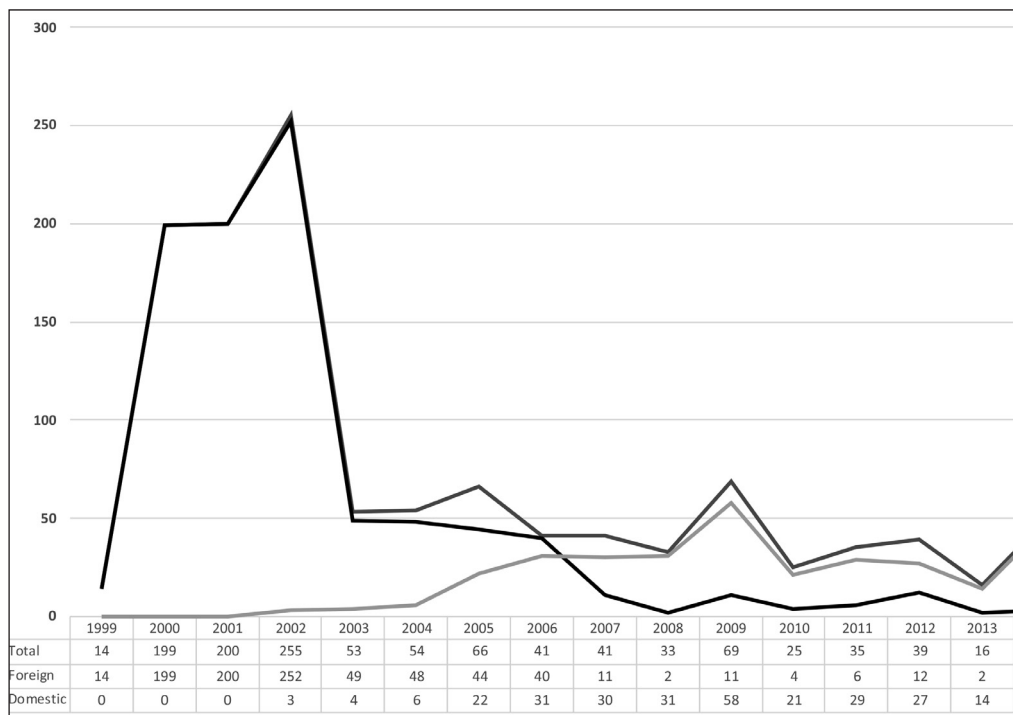
It is very difficult to say when the first cases of trafficking in women were recorded, as the ac-

tivity was not defined as criminal in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 2003. Cases that could have been defined as trafficking in women were prosecuted as prostitution or as cases of aiding and abetting prostitution. It is a plausible assumption that, although some isolated cases were registered earlier, trafficking really began to take off after the war began in the region (Maljević, 2005). In his research, Obradović found that 93% of victims of trafficking were residents of Moldova, Romania and the Ukraine. The fact that victims of trafficking came predominantly from these three countries, makes it plausible to assume that Bosnia and Herzegovina serves as a destination country with very well established routes for trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. When it comes to means of recruitment, it was found that in the majority of cases traffickers used friends and acquaintances to provide prospective victims with information about seemingly attractive work abroad, and that they did this themselves in only around 18% of cases. Almost 93% of the victims said they had wanted to work abroad in order to make a decent living. Most victims were expecting work as waitresses, shop assistants or something similar. Some were expecting to be employed in a factory, to work in a household or as baby sitters, while some victims assumed they would work as dancers in nightclubs or as sexual workers. Few of the victims openly declared that they were aware of the possibility that they would get involved in some kind of sex-related work (Obradović, 2004).

The presence of trafficking in human beings was officially confirmed in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a phenomenon in 1999, since when official statistics exist. In the period to 2004, Bosnia and Herzegovina has primarily been a country of transit and destination for victims coming from countries of Eastern Europe, mainly the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. As of 2004, Bosnia and Herzegovina has increasingly become an origin country for victims - women and girls, but also boys and men, trafficked for purposes of sexual and labor exploitation to Western European countries and other countries of the region, as well as a transit country for trafficking routes from the East and South towards the North and West. In addition, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been increasingly experiencing internal recruitment of its own nationals for purposes of both sexual and labor exploitation in other parts of the country.

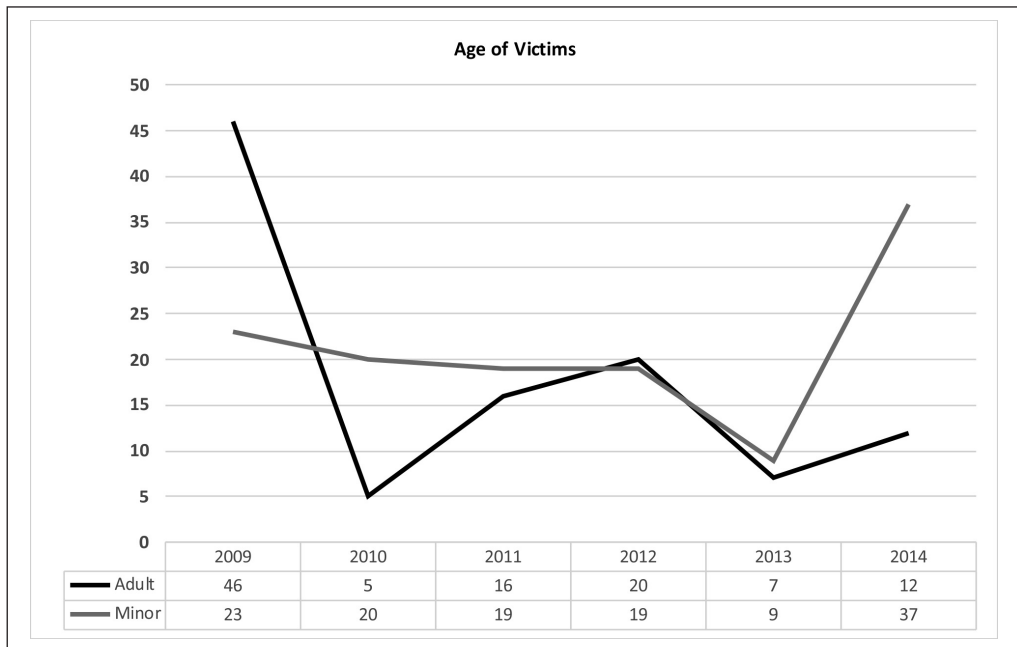
The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has taken significant steps to suppress trafficking in human beings by defining national policies since 2001, enacting anti-trafficking legislation and regulations, allocating funds and other resources, developing capacities of responsible institutions and establishment of partnership between authorities and civil society, which led to certain improvements and the decrease in numbers of identified victims of trafficking.

Figure 2. Numbers of the identified victims of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999-2014 (Source: National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, Annual Report on Situation on Trafficking in Human Beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014.)



Trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina obviously has not been eradicated; it only changed its modus operandi. Since 2004: it has been shifting underground – sexual exploitation has been taking place in motels, private houses and residences, victims are taken abroad for same purposes, or victims are forced into labor and other forms of exploitation. With respect to labor exploitation, a new identified form is the exploitation of Bosnia and Herzegovina nationals, men, on construction sites abroad. The predominant problem is begging, mostly identified in Roma communities, as consequence of more complex economic and social circumstances in the country. Organized and forced child begging involves complex behaviour patterns that keep children locked in a cycle of exploitation when forced to beg for family or criminal groups. Some reports indicate the scale of the problem and possible ways to tackle it (Human Rights Ombudsman, 2010). But the fact is that in the past, the problem of children living and begging on the street had not been classified as human trafficking. So far serious intervention by the competent institutions and services is missing since while sporadic reports, observation and media announcements about children working all day on the streets are present. Cases of forced marriages, as well as forced servitude practices have been reported on a limited basis.

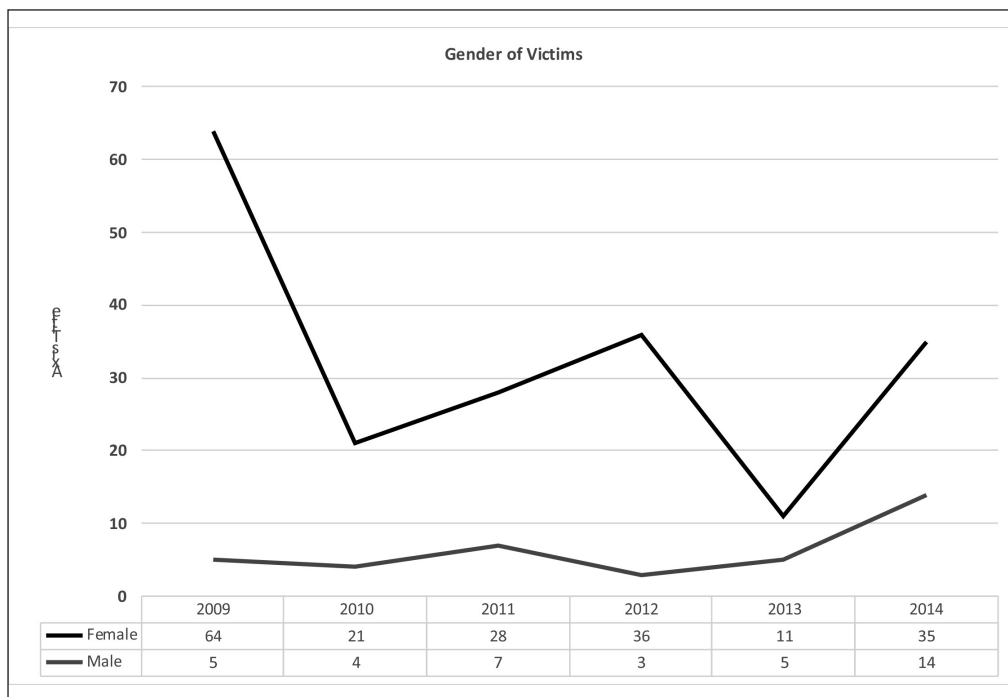
Figure 3. Age of the identified victims of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999-2014 (Source: National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, *Annual Report on Situation on Trafficking in Human Beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014.*)



Reports of the State Co-ordinator indicate that there were no indications that organized crime was a prevalent feature of human trafficking for labour exploitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the available information indicate that individuals are the most common perpetrators of trafficking for labor exploitation and the main aim is gaining financial means for themselves. Cases usually involve citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina but occasionally individuals from neighbouring countries.

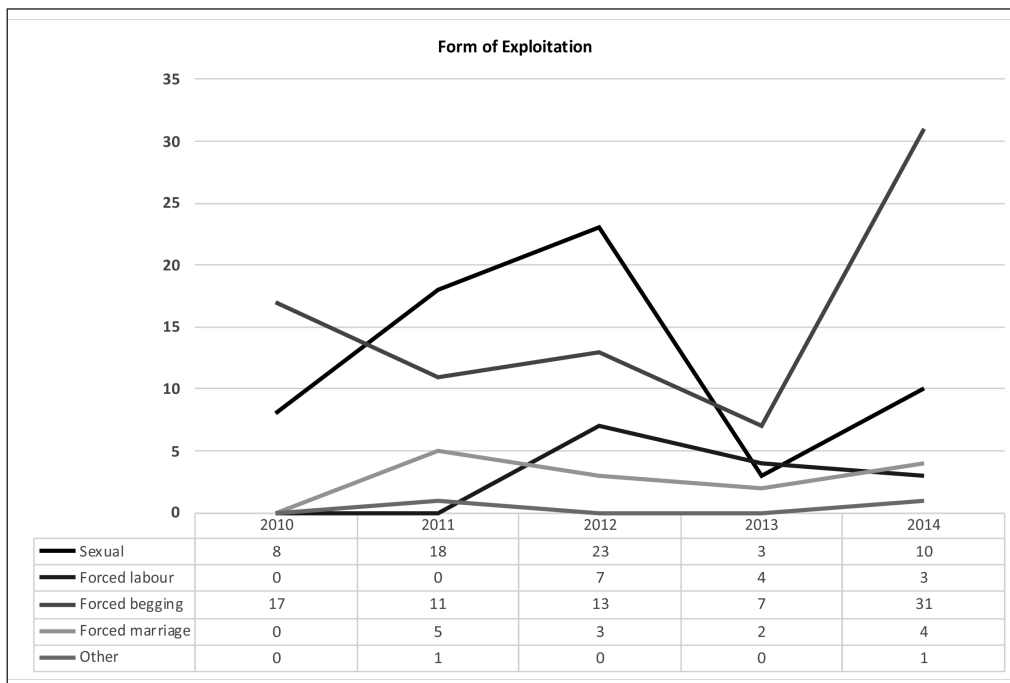
Jurisprudence related to the prosecution of labor exploitation did not indicate a high number of prosecuted cases, mainly due to offence qualification issues and grey areas that should be taken into account when evaluating the prevalence of labor exploitation. In theory it is difficult to make definite differences between trafficking for labor exploitation, forced labor, and illegal employment and violation of labor rights. This is even harder in practice (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe - OSCE, 2011).

Figure 4. Gender of the identified victims of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999-2014 Source: National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, Annual Report on Situation on Trafficking in Human Beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014.



The main characteristics of registered cases, which mainly coincide with ILO indicators are as follows: usage of the vulnerability of the victims and their health conditions; stay on tourist visas to work; lower salary than promised in the original contract; cessation of payment; long working hours; restriction of freedom of movement; absence of adequate medical assistance following accidents at work; involvement of private recruitments agencies that charged a fee; confiscation of passports; illegal stay abroad; debt bondage as form of control; usage of interest rates to increase the debt; fines for breaking rules, even for breaking rules related to leisure time; infringements; and inflated costs for accommodations, food, transport etc. Yet many victims, despite being in a very difficult position, would rather stay in their exploitive situation than return home empty handed. For those who return home, many are desperate to go abroad again in search of work (OSCE, 2011).

Figure 5. Exploitation forms of identified victims of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999-2014 (Source: National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, Annual Report on Situation on Trafficking in Human Beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014.)



Anti-trafficking activities in the country, including problem-oriented police work, investigations, prosecutions and trials, together with legal reforms, have brought several changes in trafficking patterns (Maljević, 2007). But still remains lot of work.

State of the Art of Trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The political and socio-economic situation in the country still presents an environment which generates trafficking. Bosnia and Herzegovina is still post-conflict and a country in transition. As an emerging democratic state with many factors which present pull and push factors for trafficking, such as: the position of women; the position of children; the position of persons with disabilities; the position of national minorities, especially Roma; widespread corruption and its connections with trafficking; bad economic situation and unemployment; insufficient mechanisms for protections of victims' rights,

Stereotyped gender roles continue to be the determining factor in choice of profession and employment of women. A large number of women is employed in the informal economy and have a limited access to managerial and other well-paid positions on the labor market. However, despite progress in regards to development of the formal and legal framework and public policies in the field of promoting and protecting women's rights, women in Bosnia and Herzegovina do not have equal opportunities. Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina need a non-dis-

criminary approach to exercising their rights (Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and Rights for All, 2013) Policy measures are aimed at promoting and realizing gender equality, and combating violence against women that should lead to changes in the status of women, and realization of their basic rights.

Child rights are still being neglected and there are insufficient funds for child protection policies. Neglect is obvious in non-implementation of laws, non-existence of a budget for children, lack of data about children, insufficiently developed cooperation between NGOs and authorities, the increase in violence against children, growth in juvenile delinquency, and the lack of proper schooling including insufficient training of teachers, inadequate programs and a low level of children's participation (Informal Network of NGOs "Stronger voice for children", 2011)

The Law on the Protection of National Minorities recognizes and protects the position of 17 national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are: Albanians, Montenegrins, Czechs, Italians, Jews, Hungarians, Macedonians, Germans, Poles, Roma, Slovaks, Slovenians and Ukrainians. The Law ensures that, besides enjoying the rights that all other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina enjoy, the minorities enjoy extra protection and rights in the fields of history, culture, customs, tradition, languages, script, education and religious freedom. Roma are the most numerous national minority in the state, but are also in the worst social and economic position. A total number of 17.000 Roma were registered in 2013, but the estimate is that there are between 30.000 – 40.000 Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, 2013). Despite limited numbers of Roma, very complex challenges in addressing the housing, education, employment, and health care needs persist (Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2012). Such a situation, together with some cultural prejudices and stereotypes creates an environment with potential for trafficking in persons especially, in minors for sexual and labour exploitation and forced and arranged marriages.

The correlation between the corruption and trafficking, and the actual impact of corruption on trafficking in persons, are generally neglected in the development and implementation of anti-human trafficking policies and measures. Corruption among local police also contributes to the trafficking infrastructure in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Balkans ACT (Against Crime of Trafficking) Now, 2013). The number of prosecutions of high profile cases is limited, with the few who are convicted spending little or no time in prison (Brady, 2012). Such approach may undermine initiatives to combat trafficking in persons substantially and prevent the effectiveness of the responses.

The bad economic situation is probably the most important factor in explaining human trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Bosnia and Herzegovina was worth 17,83 billion US dollars in 2013. The GDP value of Bosnia and Herzegovina represents 0.01 % of the world economy. Gross national income (GNI) was worth 4,740 US dollars in 2013. National poverty rate indicates that 17, 9 percentage of the population live below the national poverty line (World Bank, 2014). The unemployment Rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina increased to 44.54 % in December of 2012 from 44.38 % in November of 2012 (BH Labour Force Survey 2012: Unemployment rate 2010-2011-2012: females 23%; males 26%).

Insufficient protection of victims' rights is also one of the factors contributing to the existence of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During criminal proceeding victims enjoy only some general rights that are proscribed for any person who is participating in proceedings. The right to information is allowed as a general rule for any person who is subject to, or participant in,

criminal proceedings. Any person which suffered some kind of damage from criminal act has the right to be informed about the status of the criminal procedure and the actions of prosecutor, but these legal instruments do not recognize specific categories of victims of any violent crimes including victims of trafficking in human beings. Protection of witnesses in criminal procedure and out of criminal procedure is regulated by *Law on protection of witnesses under threat and vulnerable witnesses* and the *Law on Witness Protection Program and is applicable to victims of trafficking in human beings*.

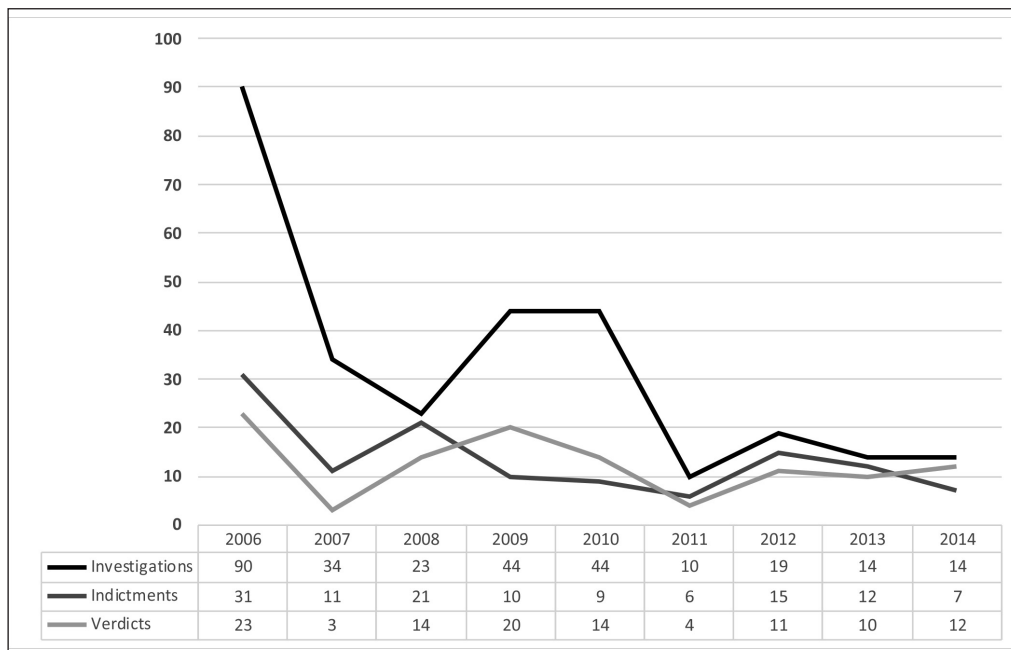
Another lack is related to compensation for victims which is also very general and almost not applicable in the cases of trafficking in human beings. Any injured party in criminal procedure in Bosnia and Herzegovina can make a property claim during the criminal procedure. In cases where the injured party is being examined as a witness, he or she shall be asked about his or her desires with respect to the satisfaction of a property claim in the criminal proceedings. A claim under property law may pertain to reimbursement of damage, recovery of items, or annulment of a particular legal transaction. But despite this legal basis there are few cases when this provision was applied in practice.

There are some good solutions for protection of victims of trafficking like Immigration legislation which allows temporarily stay of foreign victims of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of humanitarian reasons. All potential victims have the right to assistance including: accommodation, food, clothing, hygienic supplies, medical care, psychological support, legal assistance and representation, reintegration services, access to the labor market and access to education and training, including work occupational therapy, on the job training, professional education etc.

Prosecution of traffickers is likely inefficient and insufficient. The number of investigations and indictments oscillate and are steadily decreasing. The average number of investigations was 34,8 while average number of prosecutions was 14,3 per year. Reasons for such unstable numbers in comparative review are not so clear. The number of verdicts is similar, 12,4 per year. In an absolute numbers it is 278 investigations and 115 prosecutions toward 99 verdicts for the analysed period, 2006-2013.

The general practice of courts is the imposition of sanctions close to the minima prescribed in criminal codes. This is also the case with human trafficking penal policy which is quite seen as commensurate in relation to proscribed sanctions for such serious crime such as human trafficking (Balkans ACT (Against Crime of Trafficking) Now, 2013). Traffickers are not convicted and sentenced in all cases, plea bargaining is sometimes applied and confiscation of illegally obtained property is not so effectively used. The average penalty imposed on traffickers in 2013 was 2 years of imprisonment (National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, 2013). Forced labor is still not fully recognized as form of human trafficking in the domestic judicial system, especially in cases of child begging on the streets, so that cases are being often prosecuted as minor criminal offences or even as a misdemeanour with children as offenders.

Figure 6. Numbers of the investigations, indictments and verdicts related to the Trafficking in Human Beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2006-2014 (Source: National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, Annual Report on Situation on Trafficking in Human Beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014.)



New forms of child exploitation have emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Child beggars now have a more heterogeneous background, and their begging activities are organized by exploitative criminals. However, this form of human trafficking is often disregarded by the relevant actors in the system due to the lack of knowledge about the problem and about forms of human trafficking other than sexual exploitation. Perpetuated by the lack of will to undertake necessary counter-trafficking measures or due to discrimination, the system fails to react properly to prevent or punish child trafficking (IOM, 2014). Recent reports indicate an increase in the incidence of forced marriages of children leading to exploitation, with Roma children particularly vulnerable to this form of exploitation (Group of Countries against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA), 2013). In the past, the problem of children living and working on the street had not been classified as human trafficking but authorities have begun recognizing the problem of child begging in connection with trafficking for the purpose of labor exploitation (National Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings, 2010). Nevertheless, the response has been inadequate to the multiple reports of “children working all day on the streets” without “the competent institutions” providing “serious interventions” or services (OSCE, 2011).

Missing pieces of the puzzle

The first and main missing piece in the puzzle of the fight against trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the lack of vigorous investigation of sex and labour trafficking cases and aggressive

prosecution and punishment of trafficking offenders. It coincides with the general perception of the public that criminal justice response to trafficking in human beings is very weak. Most of the problems connected with the effective prosecution of human trafficking are connected with different interpretations of human trafficking criminal offences which lead to differences in application of the legislation by police and prosecutors and finally to a very confusing jurisprudence. It sometimes results in initiation of the criminal investigation as human trafficking crime but with the continuation of the investigation as mediation or forcing to prostitution or as some crime against parental obligations. There are not clear criteria for competences between different prosecutors' offices, leading to a certain level of legal insecurity and discrimination toward potential victims. Consequences for victims could be very serious, especially since prosecutors do not have the same standards and level of expertise in prosecution of human trafficking cases.

Prioritisation of actions against trafficking for sexual exploitation with foreign victims was the right choice in the 1990s. Domestic trafficking in persons was invisible for a longer period of time. The police, faced with the prevalence of female foreign citizens, was overly focused on the obvious indicators for identifying foreign victims of trafficking, such as: confiscated travel documents; illegal residence; visible traces of physical violence; restricted freedom of movement; and unfamiliarity with the local language. Law enforcement officials lacked the experience and training necessary to identify cases of domestic trafficking. As this phenomenon has now been well documented, recognition of the problem might account for the current rise in identifications. Also, since trafficking involves many other forms, mainly of labour exploitation, authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina must develop a wider range of actions. Forced labour is still an unknown form of human trafficking for the domestic judicial system. Especially in cases of child begging and the commission of petty crimes on the streets, the transgressions are often prosecuted as minor offences with children as offenders.

In order to integrate this missing piece it is necessary to identify gaps in the prosecution procedure, ensuring that trafficking crimes are investigated and prosecuted effectively, leading to proportionate and dissuasive sanctions, with a special emphasis on new forms involving trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation and trafficking of children. It includes enhancement of utilisation of special investigative means.

The second missing piece of the puzzle is the effective suppression of corruption related to trafficking in human beings. Trafficking in persons and corruption are closely linked criminal activities, whose interrelation is frequently noted. Integration of this missing puzzle depends on ways used to meet this challenges. First and foremost, it requires recognition of the existence and the effects of corruption in general and in the context of trafficking in particular. It is thus important to examine how corruption plays a role in human trafficking and actually contributes to its continuation. Second, once recognised, trafficking related corruption calls for vigorous investigation and prosecution. This includes work on the identification of the most common forms of corruption related to the trafficking.

Both can be done by improving the legal framework that regulates this matter and by harmonising practices and experiences of the institutions involved in combating trafficking with the aim to enhance their capacities for recognition of this crime.

The third missing piece of the puzzle is the insufficient proactive approach and outreach work on identification of potential victims of trafficking, especially those subjected to forced beg-

ging and other forms of exploitation of children. Bosnia and Herzegovina must ensure that law enforcement officials, labour inspectors, social workers, and other relevant authorities adopt a more proactive approach and undertake intensive actions in order to increase the identification and the rescue of potential victims of trafficking, especially the most vulnerable, like child victims of trafficking. At the same time, further measures must be taken to provide victims of trafficking (and those at risk) with appropriate assistance and protection. Also, action must be taken to facilitate the reintegration of victims of trafficking into society, including compensation, with a view to ensuring that victims of human trafficking have an effective possibility to obtain compensation from the perpetrators. Together, any future training should be designed with a view to improving the knowledge and skills of professionals on effective assistance and protection of victims of trafficking.

The fourth missing piece of the puzzle is the low level of public awareness of trafficking in human beings, especially of the newer forms, mainly concerning labour exploitation and exploitation of children on the streets. It is necessary to launch a comprehensive campaign for the general public and design special initiatives for vulnerable groups. Those preventative activities must be supported with broad actions related to the improvement of the overall situation of vulnerable groups like women, children, minorities, refugees and internally displaced persons.

The fifth and final piece missing in the puzzle is related to the enduring absence of any relevant research to identify scope and trends of trafficking as well as factors that support and facilitate trafficking in human beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and identify recommendations for further defining policy and actions of the authorities and civil society in combating human trafficking.

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Sažetak

Inspiracija za rad i problem(i) koji se radom oslovljava(ju): Razlozi za pisanje ovog rada su istraživanje i osvjetljavanje fenomena trgovine ljudima u Bosni i Hercegovini, elaboracija njebove istorije, prikaz stanje i eksploatacijskih tendencija trgovine ljudima.

Ciljevi rada (naučni i/ili društveni): Cilj ovog istraživanja je društveni, usmjeren na utvrđivanje nedostataka koji vode podcjenjivanju problema, koji umanjuju napore na razvijanju efektivnog odgovora na ovu vrstu kriminala i brutalno kršenje ljudskih prava žrtava.

Metodologija/Dizajn: Metodologija je zasnovana na sekundarnim podacima i nalazima iz različitih, izvještaja, studija i teroretskih debata.

Ograničenja istraživanja/rada: Ograničenja rada su vezana za činjenicu da zvanične statistike ne odražavaju obim problema, zbog pogrešnog tumačenja i nedostataka mehanizama za identifikaciju žrtava novih oblika trgovine, drugačijih od seksualne eksploatacije, poput radne eksploatacije, prisilnog prosjačenja i činjenja manjih krivičnih djela, ugovoreni brakova, oduzimanja organa radi transplantacije.

Rezultati/Nalazi: Nalazi ukazuju da postoje praznine i nedostajući dijelovi mozaika mehanizma suzbijanja trgovine ljudima, koji imaju značajne implikacije na politike i zakone protiv trgovine ljudima, kroz pokušaje unaprjeđenja razumjevanja javnosti i vlasti o magnitudi i kompleksnosti problema koji može imati negativne posljedice po razvoj odgovarajućih politika suzbijanja trgovine ljudima.

Generalni zaključak: Analiza sekundarnih podataka je pokazala nedostatak: odlučnog istraživanja slučajeva seksualne i radne trgovine ljudima i agresivnog optuživanja i kažnjavanja počinitelaca kriminala trgovine ljudima; efektivnog suzbijanja trgovine ljudima povezane sa korupcijom; nedovoljno proaktivnost pristupa i dalekosežnog rada na identifikaciji potencijalnih žrtava trgovine ljudima; dosta nizak nivo svijesti javnosti o trgovini ljudima i odsustvo relevantnih istraživanja, već duže vrijeme, koje bi trebalo otkriti obim, trendove i faktore koji podržavaju i olakšavaju trgovinu ljudima u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Opravdanost istraživanja/rada: Ovaj rad ukazuje na nedostatke koji mogu voditi potcjenjivanju problema trgovine ljudima u Bosni i Hercegovini i naglašava istraživačka pitanja koja treba korisiti u budućim studijama u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ključne riječi

trgovina ljudima, eksploatacija, obrazac, odgovor

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