

THE CITIZENS' OPINION OF THE POLICE

**Comparative Analysis of the Results of Public
Opinion Surveys Conducted in Albania,
Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro,
Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo**

September, 2017



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Belgrade Centre for Security Policy
Djure Jakšića 6/5, Belgrade
Tel: +381 11 3287 226
E-mail: office@bezbednost.org
www.bezbednost.org
www.pointpulse.net

AUTHOR

Sofija Mandić

EDITOR

Saša Djordjević

TRANSLATION

Alisa Koljenšić Radić

DESIGN AND LAYOUT

DTP

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ABOUT THE SURVEY

The third round of the public opinion survey "The Citizens' Opinion of the Police Force" was conducted in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. The questionnaire based on which the public opinion survey was conducted was devised by the regional network POINTPULSE to provide answers concerning the citizens' opinion of the police. The questionnaire included six groups of questions:

1. The level of citizens' trust and confidence in institutions;
2. The perception of the police as an institution, but also of policemen and policewomen as individuals;
3. The perception of corruption in the society and the police force;
4. Opinions of citizens regarding the fight against corruption;
5. Opinions of citizens on the work of civil society organisations;
6. Demographics.

The field research was conducted in June and July 2017 by IPSOS Strategic Marketing, on a representative sample of 6,000 adult persons, citizens of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. A questionnaire was used as a research instrument and interviews were conducted using the "face to face" technique in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo, which involves direct contact with respondents. In Macedonia, on the other hand, the survey was conducted using computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI).

The report was published as part of the project titled "Western Balkans Pulse for Police Integrity and Trust: POINTPULSE", which aims to contribute to increasing the trust and confidence in the police by promoting its accountability and strengthening its integrity. For this reason, the following seven civil society organisations from the region came together to form the POINTPULSE network: Analytica from Skopje, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (BCSP) and Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) from Belgrade, Centre for Security Studies (CSS) from Sarajevo, Institute Alternative (IA) from Podgorica, Institute for Democracy and Mediation (IDM) from Tirana, and the Kosovo Centre for Security Studies (KCSS) from Pristina.

The project is supported by the European Union through the programme "Civil Society Facility" under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA). The content of this report is the sole responsibility of the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (BCSP) and the views expressed in this document are not necessarily those of the European Union.

SUMMARY

Citizens in the Western Balkans trust the education and health care system the most, while the police is also placed high on the list, trusted by more than half the population (59%). A slight increase in confidence in the police has been noted from one year to the next.

The first things that come to citizens' minds when a police officer is mentioned are cordiality, responsibility and professionalism. As regards policewomen, the dominant traits are cordiality and pleasant appearance. Male officers are perceived as more prone to corruption and aggressive behaviour, while this perception of women officers is almost non-existent.

The population is divided on the topic of whether the police serve the interests of citizens. Almost half of them (45%) believe that the police serve the interests of citizens the most, while the same percentage (45%) considers this to be incorrect, believing that the police operate as their own service the least.

The citizens perceive the judiciary (66%), the health care system (66%), customs (63) and the prosecution (63%) as the most corrupt institutions. Although more than half of them do trust the police, most see it as corrupt (58%).

The perception of high levels of corruption in the police persists together with a relatively high level of trust in this institution. The percentages are almost identical. Such a situation suggests that citizens may have reconciled with the fact that corruption is omnipresent in the police, and that they have become accustomed to it as an inevitable segment of police work.

Border, traffic and criminal police, as well as the close associates of the Minister of Interior, were recognised as the most corrupt parts of the police. Those perceived as least susceptible to corruption are the special police units, employees who perform administrative tasks, and those in charge of the protection of public peace and order.

Citizens in the Western Balkans are convinced that employment in the police is gained through a public competition. However, along with this reply, they also mention corruption and political and family ties in connection with employment in the police force. More than half of the population (55%) believes that politicians influence the operational work of the police.

The views on reporting corruption vary. Citizens who say that they would report corruption, would do so at their local police station. According to those surveyed, the most effective method for fighting corruption is the stricter punishment of perpetrators, especially police officials. The Government, the Minister of Interior and the internal police control are viewed as most responsible for preventing corruption.

Citizens of the Western Balkans believe that civil society is an important player in the fight against corruption, both as a direct actor and as the state's collaborator on this task. Only then do they notice that, in the fight against corruption, civil society also contributes by doing research, gathering evidence and offering protection to victims.

Based on systemic problems identified in the police forces of the Western Balkans, it is possible to formulate recommendations for improving the situation. First, it is obvious that the police forces can learn from one another, especially when it comes to the individual areas that have been identified by the research. For example, exemplary willingness of the citizens of Macedonia to report corruption in the police can help introduce good practices and solutions to other police organisations in the region.

The Western Balkans police forces must communicate much more effectively with citizens in order to increase the level of trust and confidence in their work; they also need to adapt the methods and channels of communication to the target groups. This is especially important when it comes to younger generations who, as a rule, have much a more negative perception of the institutions than the older population.

Finally, additional and coordinated efforts are needed to address some of the biggest problems in the police. The citizens have become aware of the fact that the key to solving the problems of corruption, lack of professionalism of police officers, and bias in the operational work of the police is in the hands of national political elites.

TRUST IN THE INSTITUTIONS

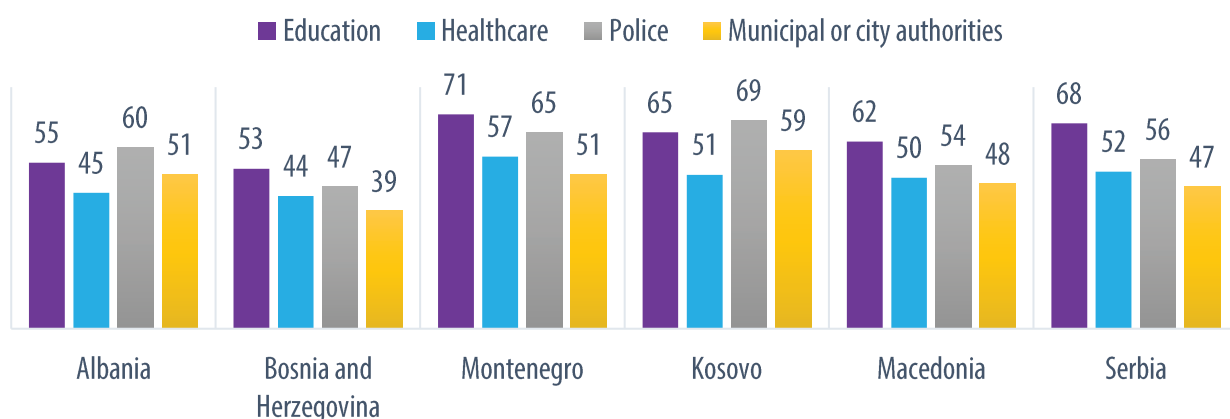
The Education System and the Police are Trusted the Most

The beginning of the research was marked by the examination of the levels of trust and confidence of the citizens of Western Balkans regarding the twelve institutions that were selected on the basis of two criteria. First, the research included institutions that form the foundation of any democratic society, such as representative bodies (the Parliament), the media, civil society and institutions in charge of law enforcement. But we also observed the institutions that are primarily responsible for the prevention and fight against corruption, including the police, the judiciary, and independent state bodies as the fourth, corrective branch of power.

Citizens of the Western Balkans provide almost completely the same answers when it comes to their trust in institutions (Chart 1). Viewed on average, they cite the education system, the police, the health care system and their local self-government authorities as the institutions they trust the most. Compared to the results obtained after the survey, conducted in 2016, the list of most trusted institutions has remained unchanged. Confidence in the education system is again – and without exception - in the first position; it is trusted the most by the citizens of Montenegro (71%) and Serbia (68%), and the least by those of Albania (55%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (53%).

Chart 1: Institutions that are trusted the most by the citizens of the Western Balkans

Q: How much do you trust the following institutions? Please answer using the scale from 1 to 4, where: 1 means that you do not trust the particular institution at all, 2 that you mainly do not trust it, 3 that you mainly trust it, and 4 that you completely trust that institution.

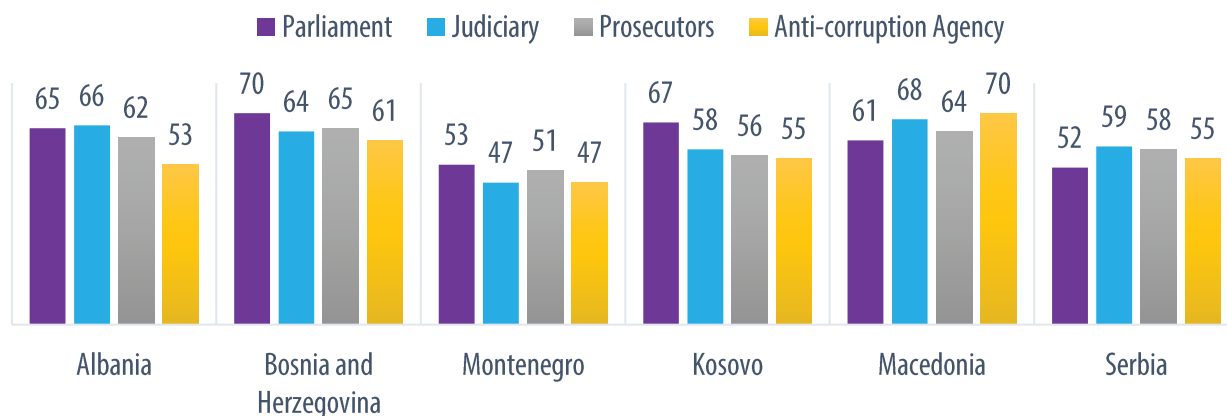


There is a high degree of consent among the respondents as regards the least trusted institutions. Citizens show insufficient trust in their representative bodies (61%), which are followed by the courts (60%), the Prosecution (59%) and the authorities charged with fighting corruption (57%) (Chart 2). On average, they distrust the representative bodies the most, most notably in Bosnia and Herzegovina,

where seven out of ten citizens lack confidence in the Parliament. The average level of distrust in institutions has changed in relation to the year 2016; this year, instead of the media, the anti-corruption bodies appear on the list of four least trusted institutions.

Chart 2: Institutions that are not trusted by the citizens of the Western Balkans

Q: How much do you trust the following institutions? Please answer using the scale from 1 to 4, where: 1 means that you do not trust the particular institution at all, 2 that you mainly do not trust it, 3 that you mainly trust it and 4 that you completely trust that institution.



In comparison with 2016, the biggest change in trust in institutions was observed in Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo (Table 1). It should be borne in mind that parliamentary elections, conducted immediately after the survey, could have had a certain impact on the increase of trust in institutions in Kosovo. The elections in Macedonia took place about six months prior to the survey, which also could have caused a significant increase in confidence in individual institutions.

A significant loss of confidence in all institutions was noted in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the citizens of Serbia lost trust in the majority of their institutions.

Table 1: The most significant changes in the trust shown to institutions in 2016 and 2017

Q: How much do you trust the following institutions? Please answer using the scale from 1 to 4, where: 1 means that you do not trust the particular institution at all, 2 that you mainly do not trust it, 3 that you mainly trust it, and 4 that you completely trust that institution.

	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS
Education	2016	64	68	72	62	58	60	66
	2017	62	68	71	53	62	55	65
Police	2016	58	54	62	60	58	56	59
	2017	59	56	65	47	54	60	69
Healthcare	2016	54	57	63	55	52	45	51
	2017	50	52	58	44	50	45	51

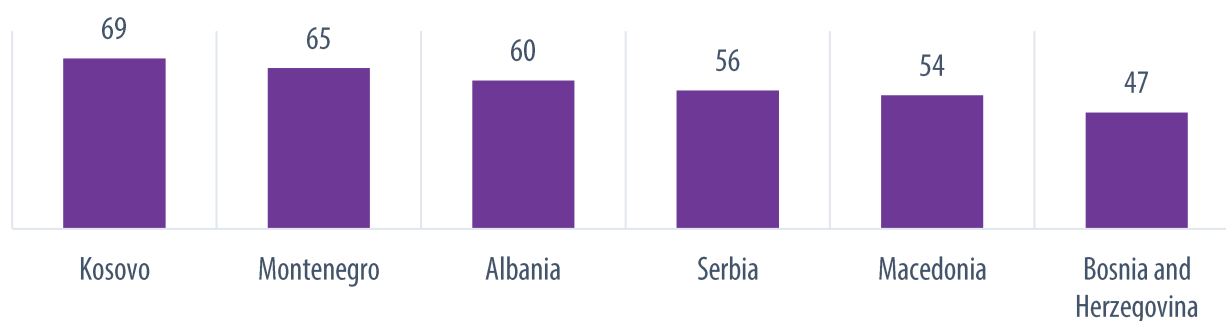
Media	2016	49	38	51	50	40	61	55
	2017	48	32	51	40	47	60	56
Municipal/City authorities	2016	48	43	51	51	44	49	53
	2017	49	47	51	39	48	51	59
Non-governmental organizations	2016	46	37	47	53	40	48	53
	2017	46	32	50	38	47	52	58
Customs	2016	41	40	46	40	42	34	43
	2017	42	41	50	34	46	36	47
Prosecutors	2016	39	42	59	36	34	34	38
	2017	36	36	44	29	33	35	40
Anti-corruption Agency	2016	38	43	44	38	30	35	38
	2017	37	37	43	28	28	42	41
Judiciary	2016	38	41	48	39	30	33	36
	2017	36	36	48	31	30	33	40
Commercial inspectorates	2016	37	36	45	36	36	35	38
	2017	37	31	47	28	38	36	41
Parliament	2016	34	40	46	32	29	25	31
	2017	33	39	41	23	36	33	31
	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS

Women and Young People Trust the Police More than Men and the Older Population

There are significant differences in the attitudes of citizens from different demographic groups when it comes to trusting the police. Women in the Western Balkans trust them more than men do, on average by approximately 3% (Chart 3). The differences are most pronounced in Kosovo (7%) and Serbia (5%), and the least in Bosnia and Herzegovina (less than 1%).

Chart 3: Confidence in the police – men and women of the Western Balkans

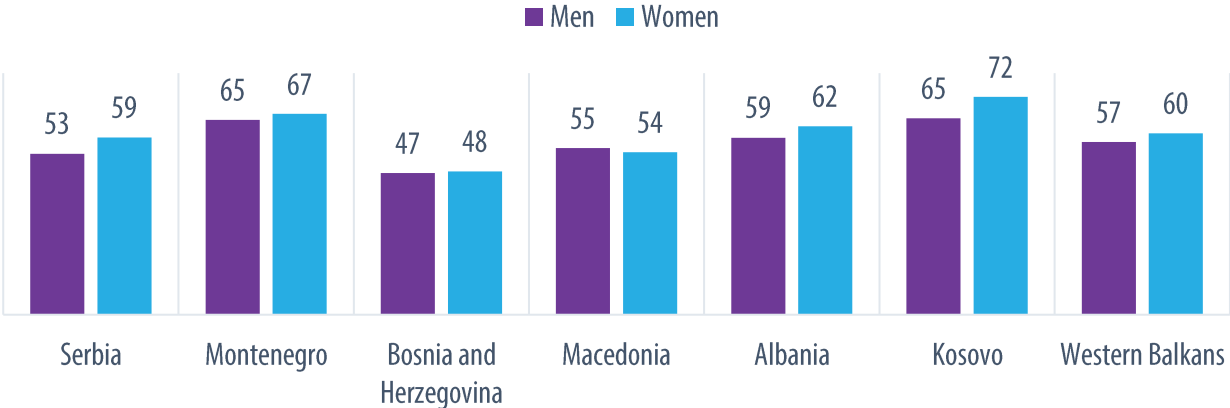
Q: How much do you trust the following institutions? Please answer using the scale from 1 to 4, where: 1 means that you do not trust the particular institution at all, 2 that you mainly do not trust it, 3 that you mainly trust it, and 4 that you completely trust that institution.



The youngest citizens of the Western Balkans (18-29 years old) trust the police the least (55%), while the citizens who are over 65 years of age trust this institution the most (64%) (Chart 4). The only exception to this rule is Macedonia, where the oldest citizens trust the police the least (48%). In Serbia and Albania, trust in the police steadily grows from the youngest citizens to the oldest. Also, the differences between the age groups are least notable in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chart 4: Confidence in the police – citizens of the Western Balkans of various age groups

Q: How much do you trust the following institutions? Please answer using the scale from 1 to 4, where: 1 means that you do not trust the particular institution at all, 2 that you mainly do not trust it, 3 that you mainly trust it and 4 that you completely trust that institution.



PERCEPTION OF THE POLICE

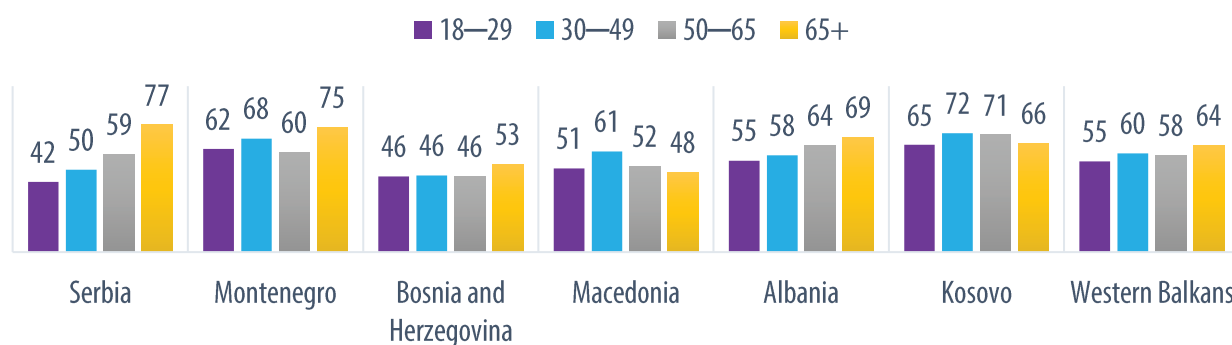
Citizens of Kosovo Trust the Police the Most

The police is second on the list of institutions that are trusted the most by the citizens of the Western Balkans, right after the education system. More than half of the respondents (58%) expressed their confidence in the police, and the situation has changed only slightly compared to the year 2016.

However, viewed individually, there have been some oscillations in confidence. The citizens of Kosovo (69%) and Montenegro (65%) trust the police the most. Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (47%) and Macedonia (54%) trust it the least, while the confidence of the respondents in Serbia and Albania hovers around the average values - 56% and 60%, respectively. (Chart 5). Compared to the 2016 survey data, a significant increase in trust in the police was recorded in Kosovo (from 59% to 69%), while the biggest drop in confidence occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 60% to 47%).

Chart 5: Confidence of the citizens from the region in the police

Q: How much do you trust the following institutions? Please answer using the scale from 1 to 4, where: 1 means that you do not trust the particular institution at all, 2 that you mainly do not trust it, 3 that you mainly trust it, and 4 that you completely trust that institution.

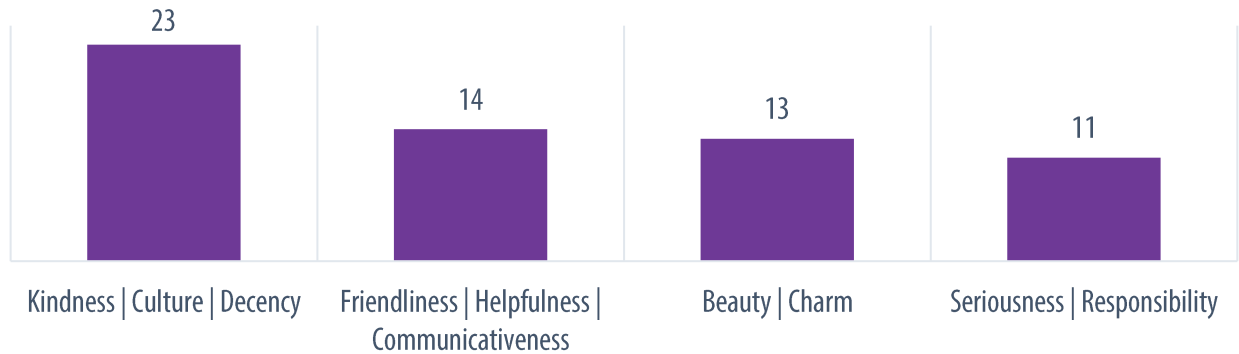


Politeness and Beauty of Policewomen Are Noticed First

The research has shown that citizens of the Western Balkans are experiencing policemen and policewomen differently. The first associations that come to citizens' minds in relation to female police officers are politeness, pleasantness, cordiality (23%); friendly attitude, willingness to assist, communicativeness (14%); beauty, charm (13%) and only then come seriousness and responsibility (11%). As in the previous year, the professional work of women in the police and the fact that they are trained to do what they do was not perceived first; instead, it was their physical appearance and how they comported themselves (Chart 6).

Chart 6: How citizens of the Western Balkans see a female police officer, on average

Q: When you think of a policewoman (a female police officer), the one that is in direct contact with the citizens, how would you describe her? Please, state several characteristics (adjectives) that, in your opinion, best describe an average female police officer.



The first associations that come to citizens' minds in relation to female police officers are politeness, pleasantness, cordiality (14%), followed by seriousness, responsibility (10%), professionalism, expertise, training (8%) and friendly attitude, willingness to assist, communicativeness (8%) (Chart 7).

Chart 7: How citizens of the Western Balkans see a male police officer, on average

Q: And when you think about a typical policeman (male police officer), the one that is in direct contact with the citizens, how would you describe him? Please specify several attributes (adjectives, words) which, in your opinion, best describe the typical police officer.



From the replies provided by the respondents we can conclude that the perception of male police officers is significantly related to their professional engagement and training, and that police officers are perceived as handsome in only 0.4% of the cases (as opposed to 13% when police women are concerned).

On the topic of male police officers there are much fewer responses that have to do with their behaviour and how they communicate with citizens, although these answers are among the first associations of both sexes.

Descriptions of male and female police officers generally coincide with the traditional and stereotyped view of women in the public service, and they are described as cultured, pleasant and good looking.

The good side of this perception is the obvious fact that citizens have a positive picture of police officers (as the terms they use to describe them are, to them, positive); however, there is room to draw the attention of the public to the professional readiness and skills of women serving in the police force.

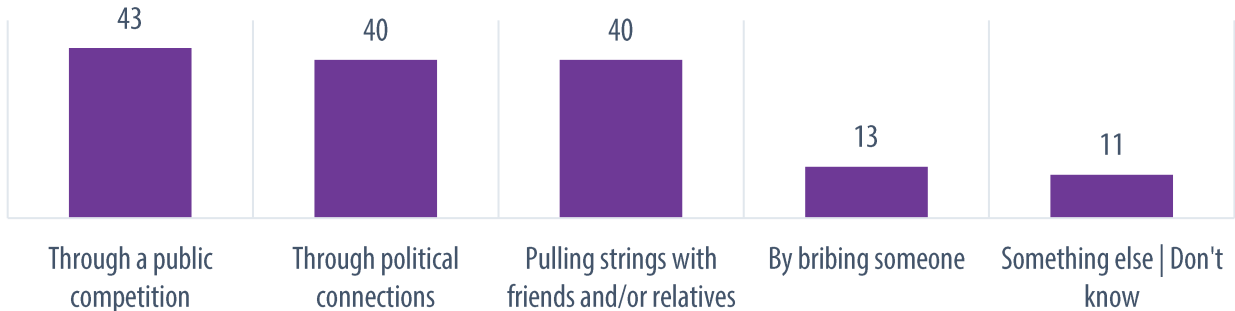
The number of citizens who associate negative concepts, such as corruption, with female police officers is negligible (2%), and respondents are five times more often likely to correlate corruption with male officers (11%). The situation is similar with aggressive and crass behaviour, which is associated with men in 7% and only in 1% of the cases with women. This could serve as a good basis for creating public policies and making personnel decisions within the police. For example, women could be involved in police tasks associated with mitigating potentially violent situations, or in participate in the fight against petty corruption in the traffic police as a result of their being perceived by the public as incorruptible.

Employment in the Police is Gained through Job Competitions

This was the first time that citizens, on average, most often responded that employment in the police is gained through a public competition (43%). In the survey conducted in 2016, 39% of the population of the Western Balkans provided the same answer to this question. After public competitions as a path to employment, respondents believe that the most reliable way to get a job in the police force is still the engagement of friends or relatives (40%), followed by political connections (40%) and offering a bribe (13%). Similar to the survey of 2016, as many as 12% of the respondents said that they did not know the answer to this question (Chart 8).

Chart 8: The opinion of citizens of the Western Balkans on gaining employment in the police force

Q: In your opinion how are the candidates for police force selected and employed?



When views on the employment methods in the region are observed individually, we see that this year the situation is considerably different only in Kosovo and Albania, where over 60% of the citizens believe that employment in the police force can be gained through a public competition (Chart 9). The significant average increase in the perception of employment by way of a public competition is primarily caused by the fact that the percentage of those with such an opinion has increased in Kosovo from 53% to 63% and in Albania from 56% to 66% in relation to the year 2016. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia, the perception remained approximately the same (Table 2).

Chart 9: The opinion of citizens of the Western Balkans on gaining employment in the police force (individually)

Q: In your opinion how are the candidates for police force selected and employed?

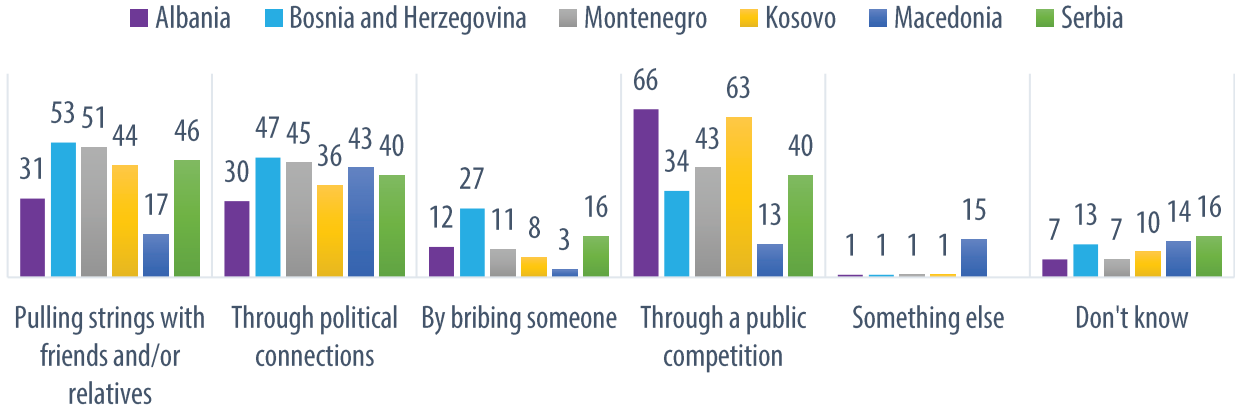


Table 2: The most significant changes in the perception of employment in the police force

Q: In your opinion how are the candidates for police force selected and employed?

	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS
Through a public competition	2016	39	41	40	31	12	56	54
	2017	43	40	43	34	13	66	63
Pulling strings with friends and/or relatives	2016	42	52	51	49	20	36	41
	2017	40	45	51	53	17	31	44
Through political connections	2016	39	46	44	45	41	35	24
	2017	40	40	45	47	43	30	36
By bribing someone	2016	14	18	11	27	4	12	12
	2017	13	16	11	27	3	12	7

Despite this positive development, primarily noted in Kosovo and Albania, it should be kept in mind that it was possible to provide more than one answer to the question of employment in the police. Therefore, respondents may at the same time believe that it is necessary to have a political connection or assistance of a family member to gain employment in the police, but that a public competition is a technical procedure through which each candidate must pass - the point being that a public competition does not exclude other ways of influencing the outcome of the competition.

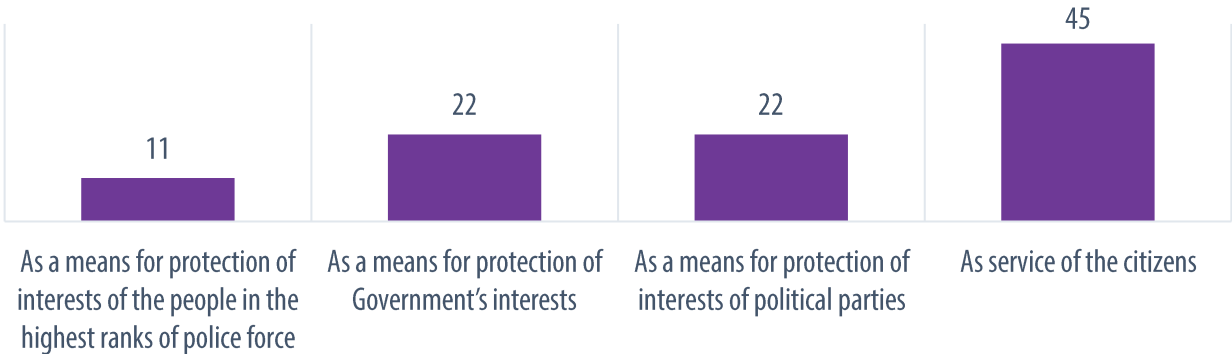
The Citizens are Divided on Whether the Police Serve Their Interests or Those of Others

Almost every other respondent (45%) believes that the police mostly serve the interests of the citizens, while the same percentage (45%) considers this view incorrect, believing that the police operate in their service the least.

A little less than a quarter of the respondents (22%) believe that the police operate the most as a means of protecting the interests of the executive power (22%), followed by political parties (22%) and officials in the police force itself (11%) (Chart 10). At the regional level the results have changed slightly in comparison with the survey conducted in 2016, when a somewhat smaller number of the respondents felt that the police acted in the service of the citizens (43%).

Chart 10: The capacity in which the police operate the most and the least

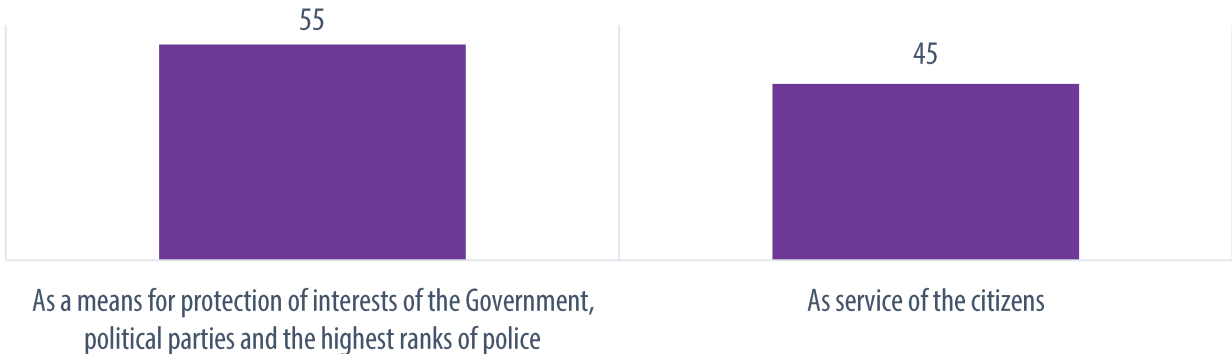
Q: In which of the following capacities does the police force operate the least, and in which the most – as a service to the citizens, as a means for the protection of the interests of the Government, or as a means for the protection of the interests of political parties?



Although the individual answer that the police operate in the interests of citizens is in the first position, if we look at the broader picture we can see that the overwhelming majority believe that the police serve other, mutually related actors - the Government, the parties that make up the Government, and individuals within the police itself. When these answers are consolidated, it becomes clear that the overwhelming majority believe that citizens are not in the forefront of police activity (Chart 11).

Chart 11: The capacity in which the police operate the most – in the interest of the citizens, or that of others?

Q: In which of the following capacities does the police force operate the least, and in which the most – as a service to the citizens, as a means for the protection of the interests of the Government, or as a means for the protection of the interests of political parties?



The higher average number of citizens who believe that the police work in the interest of the citizens is caused by significant changes in the perception in Albania and Kosovo, and partly in Montenegro (Chart 13 and Table 3).

Chart 12: In which capacity does the police operate the most (individually)

Q: In which of the following capacities does the police force operate the least, and in which the most – as a service to the citizens, as a means for the protection of the interests of the Government, or as a means for the protection of the interests of political parties?

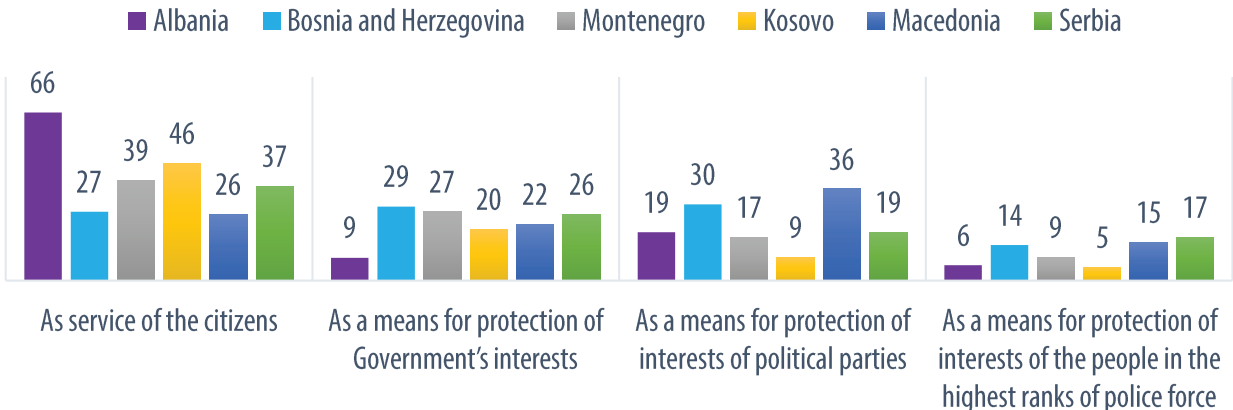


Table 3: In which capacity does the police operate the most – the most significant changes of 2016 and 2017

Q: In which of the following capacities does the police force operate the least, and in which the most – as a service to the citizens, as a means for the protection of the interests of the Government, or as a means for the protection of the interests of political parties?

	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS
In the interest of the citizens	2016	43	36	39	33	35	55	56
	2017	45	37	46	27	26	66	66
In the interest of the Government	2016	25	28	30	26	27	12	23
	2017	22	26	27	29	22	9	20
In the interest of the political parties	2016	21	18	14	28	25	27	15
	2017	22	19	17	30	36	19	9
In the interest of the highest ranking police officials	2016	11	18	16	12	12	5	5
	2017	11	17	9	14	15	6	5

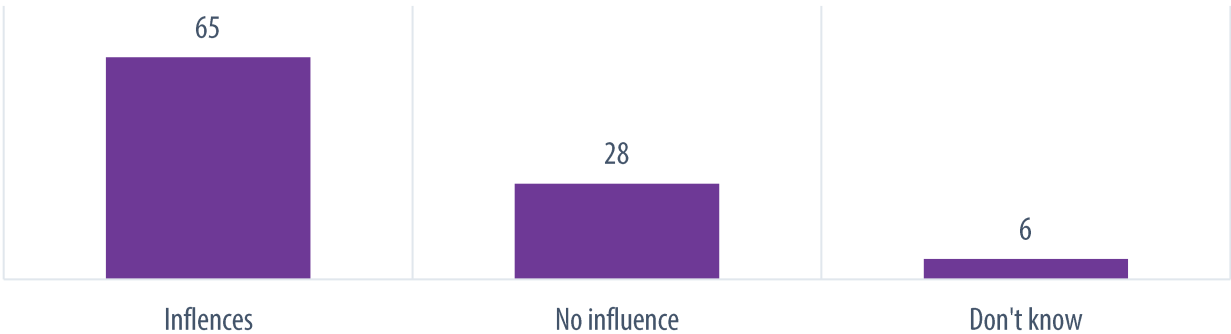
Politics Affect Police Work

Citizens of the Western Balkans are convinced that operational work of the police is subjected to a high level of politicisation, and that police officers lack autonomy and professionalism in their work (Chart 13). Almost two thirds (65%) of the respondents believe that the political influence is present

to a significant extent or completely, while slightly less than one fourth of them (28%) think that such influence is not present at all. The results were slightly better this year than in 2016, when 68% of the citizens felt this way. These data diminish the importance of the increasing confidence in the police to a certain extent, leaving it in the shadow of the high level of perception of operational impact of the politics on police work. According to the citizens, politics dominantly decide when the police will act in accordance with the law and professional principles of police conduct, and when these standards will not be applied.

Chart 13: Influence of politics on the operating work of the police

Q: In your opinion, to what extent do politicians influence the operating work of police



After the analysis of individual results, it can be concluded that more than half the respondents believe that politics have a strong influence on the operational decisions of the police. This view is particularly pronounced in Bosnia and Herzegovina (79%) and Serbia (70%). However, even in Kosovo, where the level of perception of the influence of politics on the operational work of the police is the lowest, more than half the population shares the above opinion (Chart 14). Compared to the survey results from 2016, the biggest changes in perception have occurred in Serbia, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Table 4).

Chart 14: Influence of politics on the operating work of the police (individually)

Q: In your opinion, to what extent do politicians influence the operating work of police

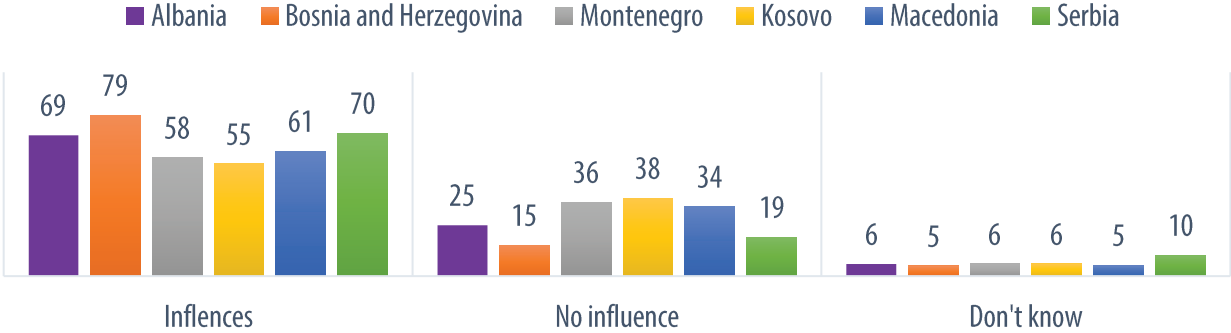


Table 4: Influence of politics on the operating work of the police – most significant changes in 2016 and 2017

Q: In your opinion, to what extent do politicians influence the operating work of police

	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS
Influences	2016	68	76	60	72	54	79	66
	2017	65	70	58	79	61	69	55
No influence	2016	26	18	33	22	40	16	27
	2017	28	19	36	15	34	25	38
Don't know	2016	6	6	6	6	5	4	7
	2017	6	10	6	5	5	6	6

PERCEPTION OF CORRUPTION

Judiciary and the Health Care System Are the Most Corrupt

In the opinion of the citizens of the Western Balkans, the most corrupt institutions of the twelve that were offered as part of the survey are: the judiciary, the health care system, customs and the prosecution. Citizens had the same perception in the research that was conducted in 2016. Although the average perception of the respondents did not change much, significant changes have been noted in the perception of institutional corruption in Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a decrease in Serbia and Albania (Table 5). Despite the oscillations in the perception of corruption in institutions that were recorded over the years, citizens agree that serious levels of corruption are present in all of them.

Table 5: Prevalence of corruption in the institutions of the Western Balkans – survey results from 2016 and 2017

Q: How widespread is corruption in the following institutions? Please use the scale from 1 to 4, where 1 stands for - Not widespread at all, 2 - Slightly widespread, 3 - Somewhat widespread, and 4 - Widespread to the highest level.

	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS
Judiciary	2016	66	72	52	65	67	79	61
	2017	66	65	57	71	70	70	60
Healthcare	2016	64	77	57	61	58	73	56
	2017	66	72	67	72	66	61	60
Customs	2016	63	73	57	62	61	71	53
	2017	63	70	60	71	64	66	52
Prosecutors	2016	62	66	45	63	62	76	63
	2017	63	61	61	71	65	67	54
Commercial inspectorates	2016	61	69	55	63	62	62	54
	2017	62	68	56	73	63	56	52
Parliament	2016	59	55	40	64	58	75	63
	2017	59	50	48	72	55	67	61
Police	2016	59	72	55	62	58	62	42
	2017	58	66	57	71	63	52	40
Municipal/City administration	2016	54	65	44	61	54	55	43
	2017	55	61	51	68	60	48	41
Media	2016	49	61	40	49	58	44	42
	2017	55	61	53	60	61	45	46

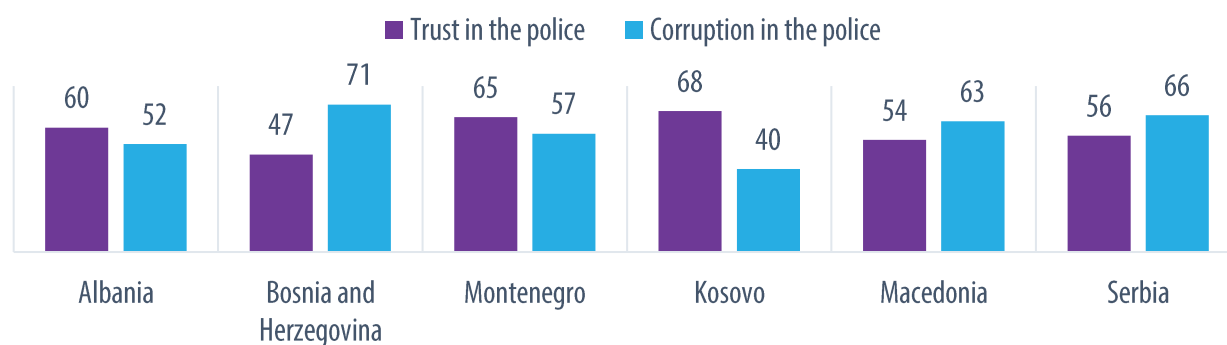
Education	2016	48	55	41	50	52	52	38
	2017	50	46	42	63	54	48	45
Anti-corruption Agency	2016	47	49	35	46	55	51	47
	2017	49	46	43	61	55	50	41
Civil Society	2016	39	49	33	37	47	38	33
	2017	43	45	39	54	50	37	34
	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS

Every Other Citizen in the Region Perceives the Police as Corrupt

The relationship between the perception of the prevalence of corruption and trust in the police expressed by the citizens of the Western Balkans is, like in 2016, such that trust and high perception of corruption continue to independently co-exist.

More than half (59%) of the citizens in the Western Balkans trust the police as an institution, while at the same time 58% of them view it as corrupt (Chart 15). The perception of high corruption of the police survives simultaneously with a relatively high level of trust, which may indicate reconciliation with the fact that corruption is omnipresent in the institutions, and that citizens have become accustomed to it as an inevitable segment of public administration.

Chart 15: Relationship between trust in the police and the perception of corruption in the police



Men of the Western Balkans consider the police to be somewhat more corrupt than women do (Chart 16). The largest difference in gender positions was observed in Serbia (7%) and Macedonia (5%), and the smallest in Bosnia and Herzegovina (less than 1%).

The younger the citizens, the higher is the degree of perception of corruption (Chart 17), and vice versa. Citizens aged 65 and over view the police as least corrupt. A significant difference in the views of the age groups regarding corruption in the police (from almost 30% in Albania and over 20% in Serbia) can be partially explained by the fact that young population is habitually more critical towards the institutions. Another possible cause may be a more frequent contact of young people with the police due to higher levels of social activity. Consequently, there is a possibility that young people have

formed their opinion concerning corruption in the police based on their own experiences. Here, as with the differences in opinion according to gender, the least differences were observed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chart 16: Perception of corruption – men and women of the Western Balkans

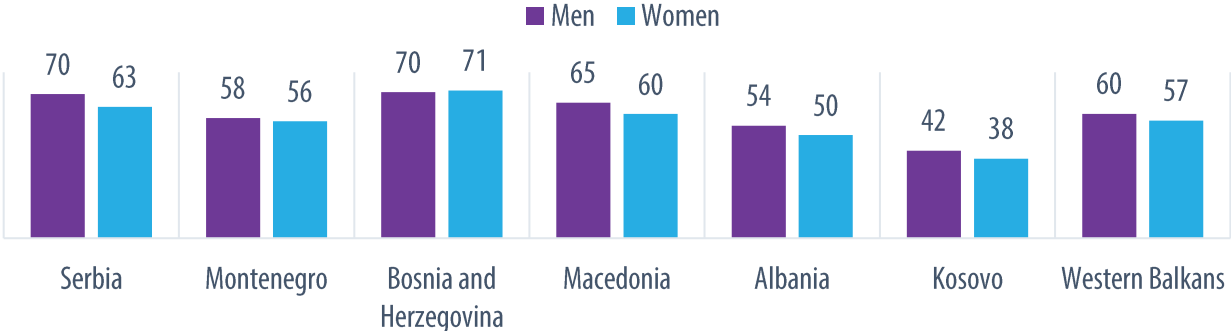
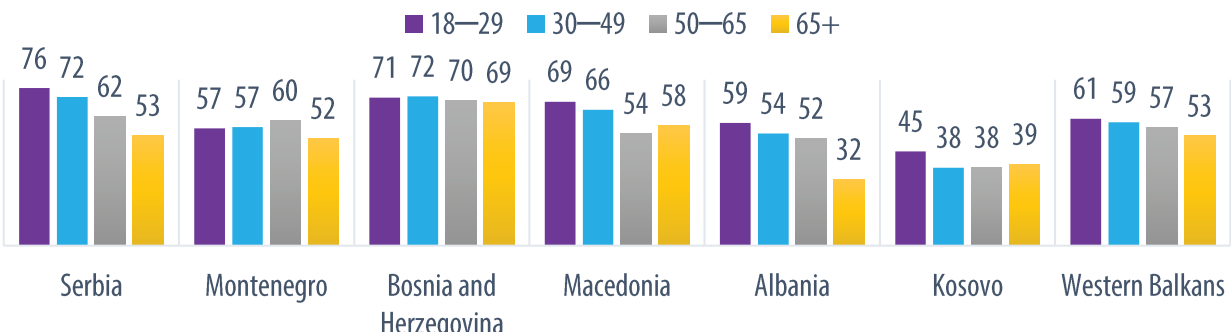


Chart 17: Perception of corruption – citizens of the Western Balkans of various age groups



Border and Traffic Police are the Most Corrupt

Citizens of the region continue to agree that the traffic police, the closest associates of the Minister, and the criminal police (Chart 18) are the most corrupt segments of the police force.

When we compare the individual results, the perception of corruption in the traffic police is the highest in Bosnia and Herzegovina (75%) and Serbia (72%), and the lowest in Albania (48%).

Respondents agree that persons performing administrative tasks in the police, members of special units and those working in the protection of public peace and order (Chart 19) are least prone to corruption.

When it comes to the perception of the least corrupt police units, the results are unchanged compared to those of 2016.

Chart 18: The most corrupt segments of the police force

Q: How widespread is corruption in the following parts of the police force? Please use the scale from 1 to 4, where 1 stands for - Not widespread at all, 2 - Slightly widespread, 3 - Somewhat widespread, and 4 - Widespread to the highest level.

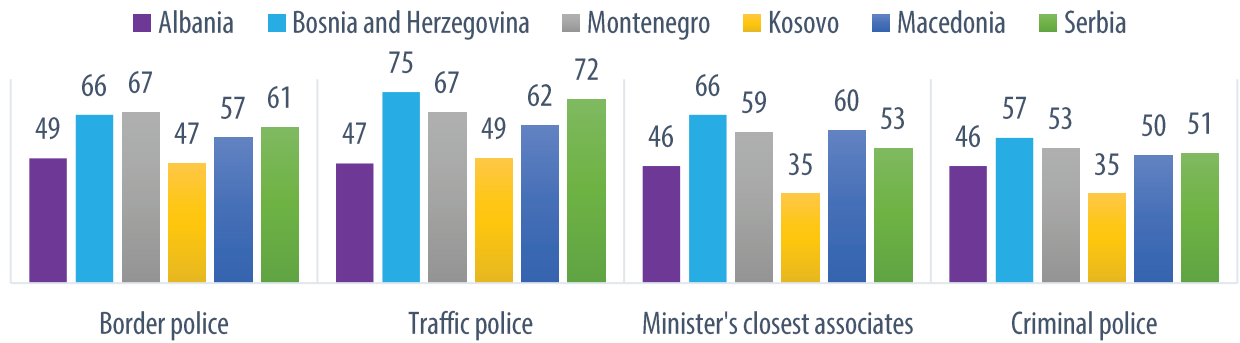
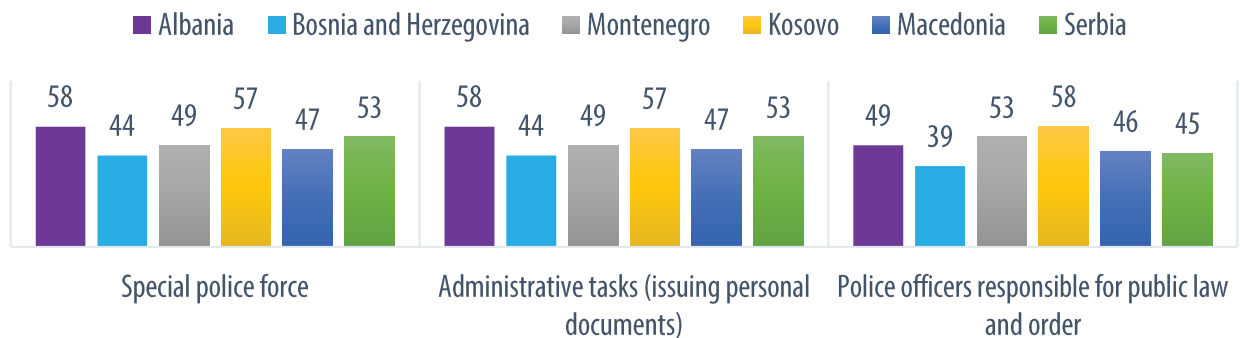


Chart 19: The least corrupt segments of the police force

Q: How widespread is corruption in the following parts of the police force? Please use the scale from 1 to 4, where 1 stands for - Not widespread at all, 2 - Slightly widespread, 3 - Somewhat widespread, and 4 - Widespread to the highest level.



FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Citizens of Macedonia are Most Willing to Report Corruption

Citizens of the Western Balkans are divided in their answers to the question whether they would report corruption in the police if they had to disclose their personal information. Almost half of the respondents (46%) say that they would still report it; the same percentage that they would not do it, while 7% did not want to respond (Chart 20). Comparison of individual responses shows that citizens of Macedonia are most likely to report corruption (70%), and that the least willing to do it are the citizens of Serbia (26%) (Chart 21).

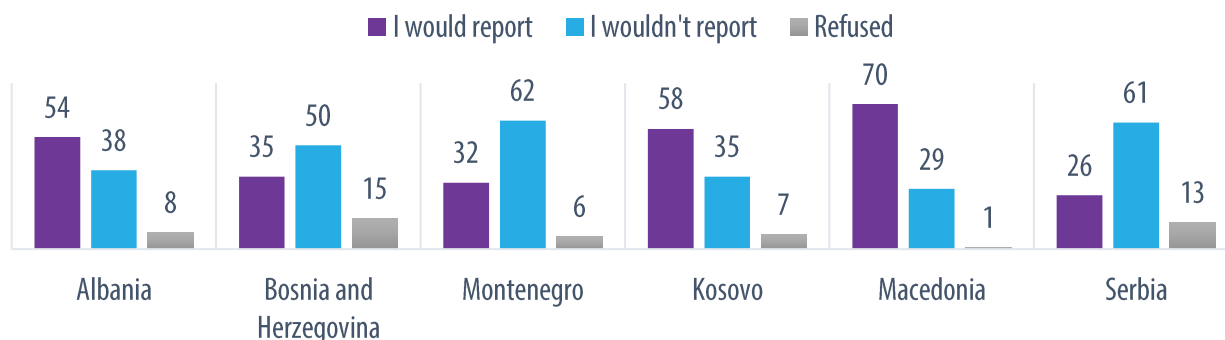
Chart 20: Willingness to report corruption if required to disclose personal information

Q: Would you report a case of police corruption (someone who asked you for a bribe) if you had to disclose your personal information (personal identification number, address, etc)?



Chart 21: Willingness to report corruption if required to disclose personal information (individually)

Q: Would you report a case of police corruption (someone who asked you for a bribe) if you had to disclose your personal information (personal identification number, address, etc)?



The concept of anonymous reporting of corruption would increase the number of citizens who would be willing to do it, as it would involve citizens who currently would not be willing to report corruption if they were required to disclose their personal data (Chart 22). Anonymous reporting of corruption cases would further motivate all the citizens of the Western Balkans; however, the citizens of Macedonia would in this case be most willing to file such reports (Chart 23). Citizens of Serbia and Montene-

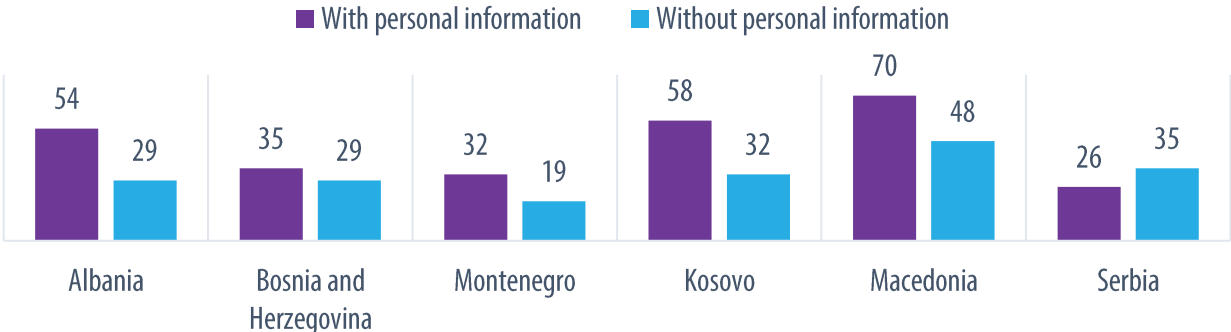
gro are least willing to report corruption, either with the disclosure of personal data or anonymously, which may indicate a lack of trust in the mechanisms used to fight corruption within the police, or fear of retaliation in the event they do decide to take this step. However, in order to reach the final conclusion on the matter, it is necessary to conduct additional research on the exact reasons for the citizens' unwillingness to report cases of corruption.

Chart 22: Willingness to report corruption anonymously

Q: Would you report a case of police corruption if you did not have to disclose your personal information?



Chart 23: Reporting corruption in the police (individually)



Local Police Station is First on the List for Reporting Corruption

Most of the citizens who are willing to report corruption would do so at the nearest police station (49%), or to the chief of the local station (42%). The next institution the citizens would address is the Anti-Corruption Agency (38%), followed by the internal police control (34%) and the media (30%) (Chart 24).

The results show that most citizens would report corruption to the segment of the police that is closest to them and which they encounter most often. This may be a sign of a relationship of trust felt for, and the efficiency of, those working at the lowest levels of the police, but could also mean that other reporting mechanisms for corruption are unknown to the respondents.

When we look at individual results, we can see that the local police in Kosovo (72%) and the internal control in Montenegro (51%) are viewed as the institutions that can help prevent corruption (Chart 25). The results differ somewhat from those obtained in 2016 – more people in Montenegro, Albania and Kosovo are now ready to demand protection against corruption (Table 6).

Chart 24: The first choice for reporting corruption in the police

Q: To whom from this list would you first report a case of corruption in the police force? Who else?

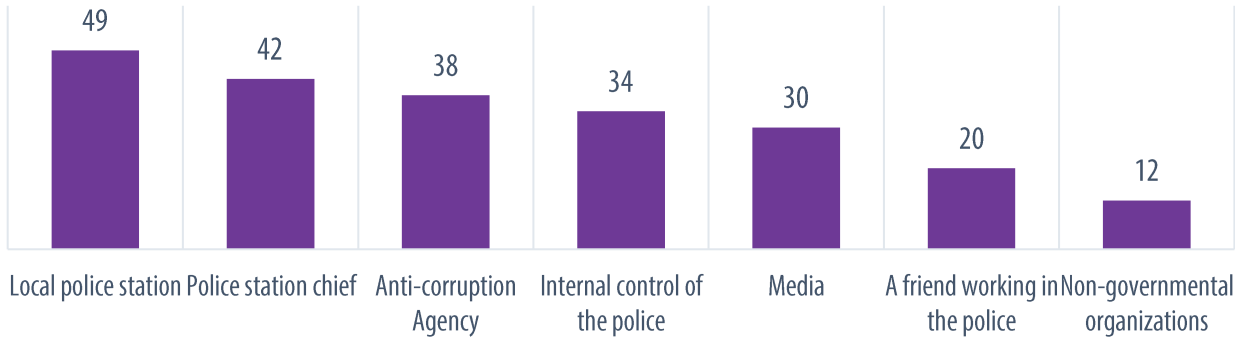


Chart 25: The most common choice for reporting corruption in the police (individually)

Q: To whom from this list would you first report a case of corruption in the police force? Who else?

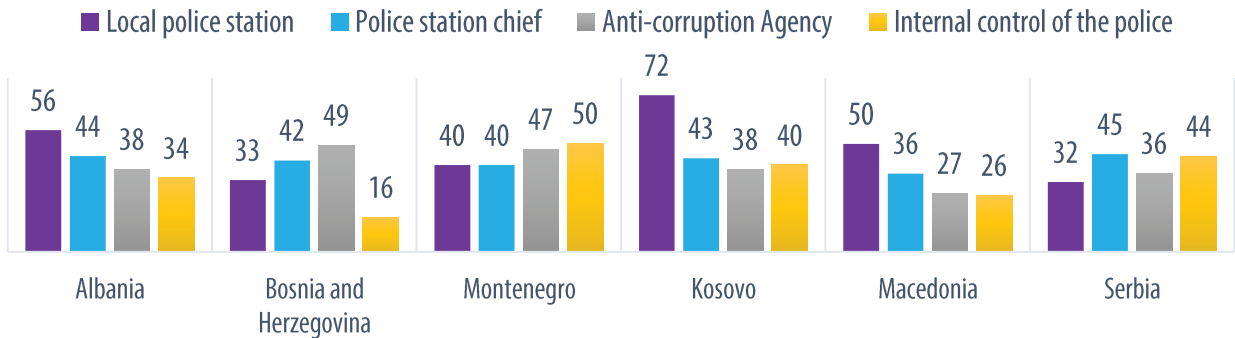


Table 6: The most common choice for reporting corruption in the police - survey results from 2016 and 2017

	Year	Average	SRB	MNE	BIH	MKD	ALB	KOS
Local police station	2016	48	33	33	42	53	58	62
	2017	48	32	40	40	50	56	72
Police station chief	2016	36	37	32	40	37	37	33
	2017	42	45	40	42	36	45	43
Anti-corruption Agency	2016	35	34	35	28	23	58	35
	2017	38	36	47	49	27	38	38
Internal control of the police	2016	34	40	38	42	26	23	39
	2017	34	44	51	17	26	34	40

Media	2016	30	44	40	14	32	27	27
	2017	30	24	36	25	19	48	31
A friend who works in the police	2016	22	24	19	25	27	24	12
	2017	20	24	18	21	25	17	17
Non-governmental organization	2016	12	14	27	13	9	7	9
	2017	12	9	22	13	7	11	11

Strict Sanctioning is Required to Reduce Corruption

Citizens of the Western Balkans are convinced that stricter penalties for the perpetrators would best prevent corruption (29%), followed by sanctioning of corrupt officials, motivating citizens to report corruption (12%), and establishing a political will to solve the problem (10%). The last on the list of solutions to the problem of corruption is the encouragement of police officers to report corruptive behaviour of their colleagues (6%), establishment of new bodies for fighting corruption (8%), and strengthening the authority of internal police control (9%) (Chart 26).

Individual results slightly differ. Repressive solutions are found to be more desirable in Serbia, Albania and Kosovo, while respondents from Macedonia believe that encouraging citizens to report corruption is extremely important (Chart 27). This opinion corresponds with the remarkable willingness of the citizens of Macedonia to report corruption.

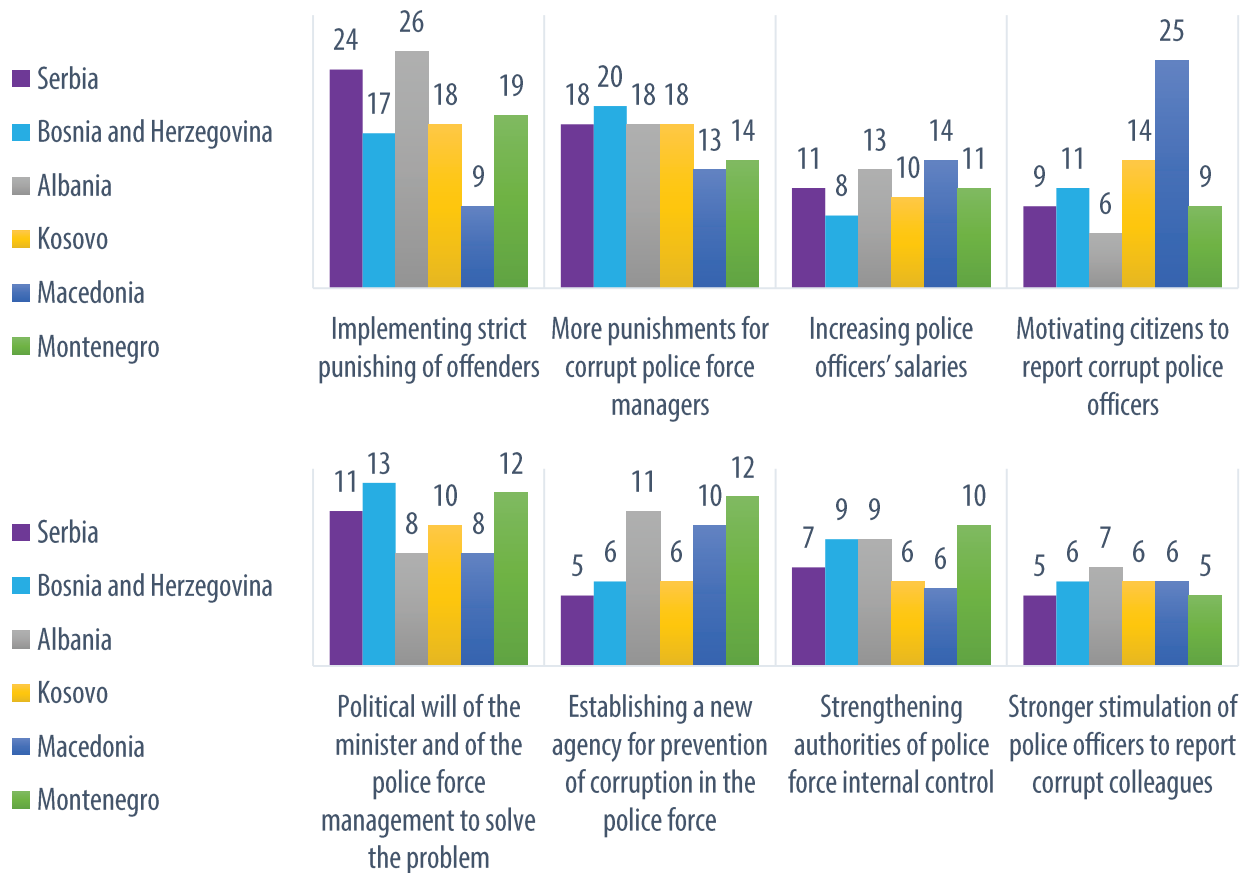
Chart 26: Most needed measures to prevent corruption in the police in the Western Balkans

Q: What do you consider most necessary for preventing corruption in the police force?



Chart 27: Most needed measures to prevent corruption in the police in the Western Balkans (individually)

Q: What do you consider most necessary for preventing corruption in the police force?

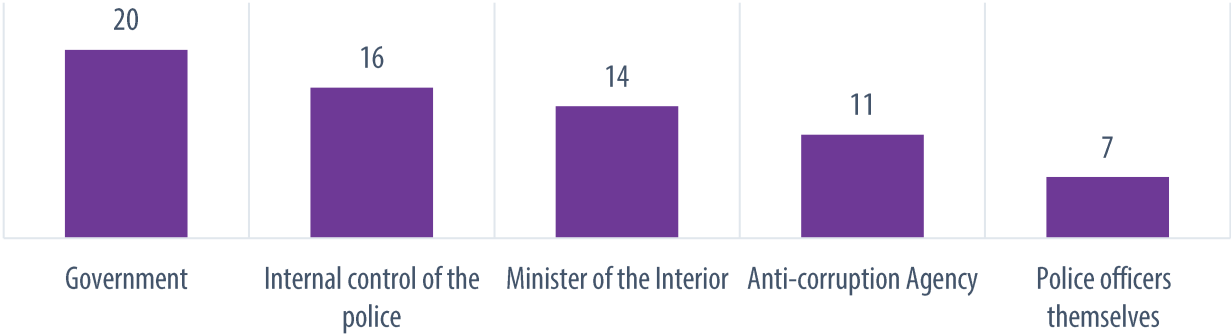


Governments are Most Responsible for Fighting Corruption

Respondents believe that governments are most responsible for fighting corruption (20%). They are followed by the internal control of the police (16%), the Minister of Interior (14%) and the Anti-Corruption Agency (11%). Citizens obviously perceive corruption as a policy-related issue that can be solved by political influence. Only 4.5% of the citizens see professional bodies as those that should be charged with fighting corruption, such as the Prosecution, which is an additional decrease compared to 2016, when the prosecution was recognised as such by 6.5% of the citizens (Chart 28). This can also be associated with a continued decline in confidence in this institution, which was observed in the results of the surveys conducted in 2016 and 2017.

Chart 28: Institutions that should fight corruption in the police, according to the opinion of the citizens of the Western Balkans

Q: Please take a look at the following list of institutions and tell me which institution should be the first to fight corruption in the police force.

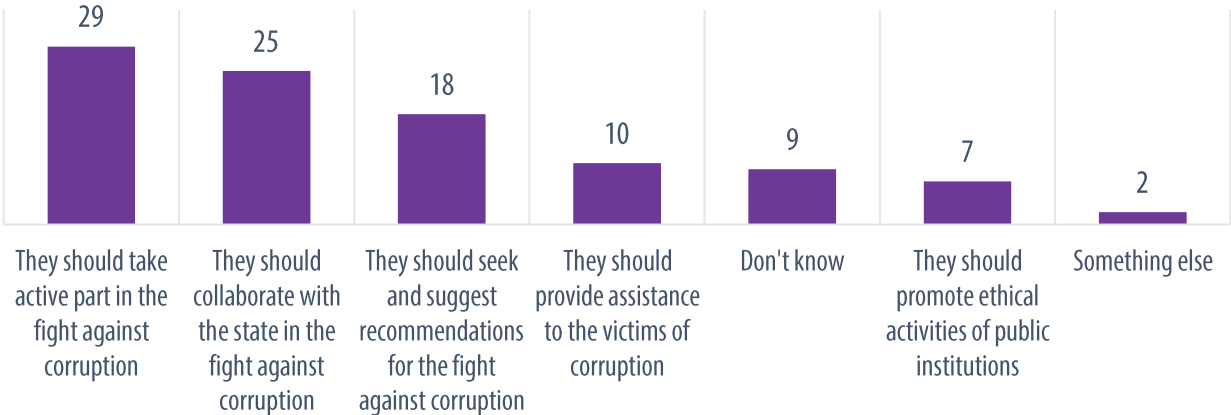


Civil Society Should Participate in the Fight against Corruption

Citizens of the Western Balkans expect citizens' associations to directly participate in the fight against corruption (29%), cooperate with the state in the fight against corruption (25%), and only then to investigate and propose recommendations for fighting corruption (18%) and provide help to the victims (10%) (Chart 29). Such results indicate that citizens see members of the civil society more as active participants in the prevention and elimination of the consequences of corruption, and less as bodies that monitor the results of the fight against corruption and propose new solutions in this area. Such expectations may be explained in part by the insufficient confidence of the respondents in the work of the civil society, which, despite the citizens' expectations, does not possess real mechanisms for direct participation in the fight against corruption, either alone or in cooperation with the state.

Chart 29: The role of civil society in the fight against corruption

Q: People have different opinions on the role of NGOs in the fight against corruption. With this in mind, what role do you think NGOs should have in the fight against corruption?



METHODOLOGY FRAMEWORK

Location	Albania
Time	July 2017
Data collection method	Face-to-face, in the respondents' homes
Sampling frame	Male and female citizens of Albania 18 years of age and over, who permanently resided in the territory of Albania at the time of the survey
Size of sample	1,000
Type of sample	Three-stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification	Performed by region, type of settlement, gender, age and level of education
Sampling error	±3.31%

Location	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Time	June 2017
Data collection method	Face-to-face, in the respondents' homes
Sampling frame	Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina 18 years of age and over, who permanently resided in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of the survey
Size of sample	1,000
Type of sample	Three-stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification	Performed by region, type of settlement, gender, age and level of education
Sampling error	±3.31%
Uzoračka greška	±3,31%

Location	Montenegro
Time	June 2017
Data collection method	Face-to-face, in respondents' homes
Sampling frame	Male and female citizens of Montenegro, 18 years of age and over, who permanently resided in the territory of Montenegro at the time of the survey
Size of sample	1,000
Type of sample	Three-stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification	Performed by region, type of settlement, gender, age and level of education
Sampling error	±3.31%

Location	Kosovo
Time	July 2017
Data collection method	Face-to-face, in respondents' homes
Sampling frame	Male and female citizens of Kosovo, 18 years of age and over, who permanently resided in the territory of Kosovo at the time of the survey
Size of sample	1,000
Type of sample	Three-stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification	Performed by region, type of settlement, gender, age and level of education
Sampling error	$\pm 3.31\%$

Location	Macedonia
Time	July 2017
Data collection method	Computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI)
Sampling frame	Male and female citizens of Macedonia 18 years of age and over, who permanently resided in the territory of Macedonia at the time of the survey
Size of sample	1,000
Type of sample	Three-stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification	Performed by region, type of settlement, gender, age and level of education
Sampling error	$\pm 3.31\%$

Location	Serbia
Time	June 2017
Data collection method	Face-to-face, in the respondents' homes
Sampling frame	The citizens of Serbia who are 18 years of age and over, who permanently resided in the territory of Serbia at the time of the survey
Size of sample	1,000
Type of sample	Three-stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification	Performed by region, type of settlement, gender, age and level of education
Sampling error	$\pm 3.31\%$

POINTPULSE

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