

THE CHALLENGES OF POLICING IN MULTIETHNIC SOCIETIES¹

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ABSTRACT

The relationships between police and minority (ethnic) communities are mainly determined by inter-ethnic relations in society. Police are not only faced with structural challenges to encounter the needs of the minorities - such as language differences, religions, customs and other cultural characteristics - but these minority groups avoid cooperation with the police because of mistrust, especially if in the past repeatedly been subjected to police abuse.

In a world of growing ethnic and cultural differences in the countries and increase tensions between different groups, the role of police is essential to maintain the being of societies. Therefore the officers must act with unquestionable fairness to all groups. In addition to having the confidence of the whole population, the police must be representative of the entire community. In order not to tighten the interethnic and to avoid the development of parallel structures in the society with possibility of creating a

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security vacuum in minorities, the police must firmly and consistently to deal with crime stemming from ethnic hatred. This situation to the police as an organization and imposes obligation for a specific approach: the selection and education of police personnel and their practical actions which will admired and recognize the cultural, religious, traditional and religious differences of each minority community.

The aim of this paper is to present the problems which hamper the process of interaction and cooperation between the police and members of minority (ethnic) communities, and the challenges yet to face the police by changing the approach in the work when it comes to minority communities and their specifics.

Keywords: police minority (ethnic) communities, multiethnic society, ethnic society.

The heterogeneous or multi-ethnic structure of the population had born multiculturalism - the existence of many different cultures in society. Various systems of values arising from different moral, religious, aesthetic and other beliefs, and for language barriers between ethnic group's members can develop mutual misunderstanding, mistrust and intolerance. Appropriate treatments of minority issues need to remove the sources of internal tensions, disputes, riots and other security risks to the stability of the country, and contribute to the common cultural and linguistic wealth of society.

Significance of heterogeneous ethnic composition of the population of police, military and overall government management has long been seen. The initial approaches to this relationship are referred to the heterogeneous aspects of the population as a factor affecting the maintenance of and safety of the community or access to which ethnicity is observed as a factor of potentially endangering the safety of the community. At the same time was left out attention to the specific needs and rights of members of ethnic and other communities. Therefore we can say that before the police on this matter are not devoted adequate attention can bring about the little influence they have ethnic and other minority groups on public life.

More than four decades in scientific circles debating related with races, minorities and ethnic groups and their association with crime (Bowling and Phillips 2003: 528-555; Clancy et al. 2001), employment of members of minority communities in criminal justice system (Walker 2004; Stone 2000) and them related issues. A special research interests occurs also for the studies of racial and ethnic victimization (Salisbury and Upson 2004; Percy 1998) and reactions caused by it, and the problem of ethnic profiling (MVA and Miller 2000; Gordon 1998; Abbas 2005) in policing in countries with multiethnic character.

The states in the past were faced with conflicting situations that got ethnic character and conditioned: the relationship between ethnic communities (majority-minority), the minority relationship to state institutions and a sense of belonging and loyalty to the state, interest to developing models for policing in environments with heterogeneous ethnic composition. Creating models for policing in multiethnic environments is conditioned by the need for maintaining peace and stability, strengthening of trust in institutions, and hence loyalty to the state, with respect of ethnic communities that have minority status and consistently respect the principle of nondiscrimination.

The English literature abounds with studies devoted to the problem of policing and maintaining order in minority communities. The historic character of mistrust, suspicion and anger between police and minority communities can be recovered in anti-immigrant attitudes maintenance of order by the police in the early years of postcolonial immigration in Great Britain (Hunte 1966). Strong incentive to focus on the issue of racist violence on the political agenda in England in the late nineties was a racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in south-east London in 1993 and a public inquiry that followed the failed police investigation. McPherson investigation concluded that the initial investigation into the murder was "hampered by professional incompetence, institutional racism and management inability of highly positioned police officers" (McPherson 1999). Institutional racism - which is defined as "the collective failure of an organization to provide appropriate and professional service to people because of skin color, their culture or ethnic origin" - can "see and locate in processes, attitudes and behavior that contribute to discrimination through

unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtless, racist or ethnic stereotypes and thus put minority ethnic groups in a subordinate role" (Macpherson 1999). Following the publication of a McPherson report some representatives of the association of police officers confronted the findings that the police are institutionally racist (Dennis et al. 2000). Some sociologists say the incompetence of the police investigation into the killings is visible from the issue of institutional racism on the impact of investigation in the case of Lawrence. They argue that many police officers are still being angry because of allegations of institutional racism and consider that this concept has been used unfairly, and that is the wrong assumption that it refers to a widely widespread racism (Innes 1999; Waddington 1999). The case of the racist murder of Lawrence had a crucial impact on the functioning of the criminal justice system of England. The government responded by establishing a ministerial priorities for police service "in order to increase confidence in the ability to maintain order among minority ethnic communities" as a series of other measures aimed at defining, reporting, registration, conducting investigation and prosecution of cases of ethnic incidents, training to develop awareness of discrimination and cultural diversity, police ethics, discipline and increasing the role of preventive education (Rock 2004; Metropolitan Police Authority 2004). The police reform program for the prevention of discrimination and police actions in cases of racially / ethnically motivated crimes, according to the analysis of Oakley is a program that gives results that confirm the existence of the most comprehensive and methodical approach to building policy in the UK (Oakley 2005). Foster, however, suggests that we should pay more attention to acts of improvement in terms of being still present problems of sexist and homophobia, and public expectations of discriminatory police treatment of minority ethnic communities (Foster et al. 2005).

There are many different aspects of relations between police and minority ethnic communities in countries that have a predisposition of ethnic discontent with the actions of police. As I mentioned, interest in studying these relationships are predominantly present in the scientific and investigative field in developed European countries (Britain, France, Germany) in which the

democratic reform of the English police had a positive impact. U.S. governing a country with developed models of police action in the context of different criminal legal events, and there are empirical data's from research conducted dealing with the issues of racially or ethnically motivated crimes and institutional (police) reforms that need to influence fairness and indiscriminate police actions. U.S. perspective on reform in this direction and bring out increased penalties for racially or ethnically motivated crimes conviction that such crimes are attacking the essential identity of the victim and threaten the wider community. Activists of the right to freedom of speech, find that these laws are inherently controversial because it censor freedom of speech and thus unfairly punish hatred and prejudice, which alone constitute a criminal offense (Iganski 2002).

From today's perspective, viewed globally, ethnic and other minority groups have become an important subject of political, security and social processes in the life of any democratic community. They demand greater participation in public works and police tend to respect the specifics of their status. Relations between police and minority (ethnic) communities are determined mainly by the state of interethnic relations in society. When they are favorable, the issues of the relationship between police and minority communities have a relatively peaceful way, especially if the police carefully planned its activities to these communities if their demands to the police are not unrealistic. However, if the states of interethnic relations are disrupted, and government policies in this area are controversial, police relations with minority communities will be complicated and usually bad. The older and more recent history there are numerous examples of negative relations between ethnic communities and the police which resulted with in open clashes and violence (Bowling and Phillips 2003).

The performance of police functions in ethnically divided societies often lead to the establishment of the form of "policing". Depending on the degree of disturbance of interethnic relations and endangered national security, this form may be based on: different (prejudiced) application of laws to members of certain ethnicities (in terms of contribution to criminalize the members of one

ethnicity, while ignoring these activities in the ranks of other ethnicity), strengthening the good features of police insistence on loyalty to the police, the intensification of police activities for the prevention and repression of certain types of crimes and the weakening of such actions with respect to one simple criminality, etc. .

Among the various aspects of the relationships between police and minority ethnic communities "probes" are the most controversial moment. British experiences indicate that the discretion of the police based on so-called "law of doubt" - under which any person could be arrested and prosecuted by police and convicted for "wandering with premeditated" - was used for a long time in police practice. So in April 1981, the Metropolitan Police on the basis of this right carried out mass action hearing called "Operation requires", which later sparked riots in Brickstone due to allegations of brutal and discriminatory maintenance of order by the police (Scarman 1981). Despite the abolition of the "law of doubt," claims that minority ethnic communities are the target of police activities not subsided with the publication of the first "ethnic-coded" statistics (Clancy et al. 2001; Norris et al. 2002).

Why do members of some ethnic communities are subject to frequent police intervention? This question sets often when it comes to study the relationship between police and minority ethnic communities. Learning from the past experiences of countries with dismembered history of police organization and policing, researchers dealing with the study of these relationships are trying to reach the core of the problem of biased police actions toward members of minority communities. One opinion is that police officers deliberately targeted to specific minority groups because of the omnipresent racial prejudice, stereotypes and open discrimination. Qualitative research on police culture in the '80s of last century reveals that derisive vocabulary used by police officers to communicate with members of minority ethnic community's talk about deep-seated prejudices about ethnicity and criminality (Smith, D. and Gray 1985).

When it comes to ethnic and racial prejudices of police officers think of the negative attitudes and beliefs about the moral, human, cultural and other

characteristics of members of those ethnic and racial groups to which he belongs. Studies show that police officers reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority over minorities. The question is whether these biases are determinant, or (as others claim) caused by police work. Recruits at the entrance to the police had no prejudices, acquired over the execution of police duties. One explanation for the ethnic prejudices of police officers is a subculture within the police profession. Origin of the police subculture is conditioned above all by the risks posed by police work, specific powers and responsibilities, the necessity of mutual solidarity and joint actions with related feelings of social isolation of policemen's (Rainer 1985). The society expressed prejudice, members of minority ethnic groups in the police see a representative of those authorities who treat them as „second-class citizens“, and in such conditions the actions of the police is difficult (Oakley 1995). A key point of the specialized training for police in this area is the exclusion of ethnic and racial prejudice and xenophobia among police officers.

The second explanation for the unequal police actions towards the members of minority ethnic communities and other groups and the majority is that they reflect ethnic differences in patterns of violence. Thus, Smith said that, "police officers tend to associate crime with people from minority ethnic communities and to assume that the suspects are from the minority (ethnic, racial) background and thus to justify their actions" (Smith 1994).

Third explanation for the over-representation of minority groups in the statistics of crime (surveys of the Metropolitan police and British Crime Survey), and that indirectly result from social and demographic factors is investigated by using a series of complex statistical analyzes (Clancy et al. 2001: 145-155). These analyzes take into account demographic and socio-economic characteristics of minority ethnic communities who were interacting with police officers.

Another explanation is related to unequal enforcement a proceeding to members of communities is that members of minority ethnic communities because their patterns of employment and leisure activities are more "accessible" to places and situations where police powers are executed. For

example, Waddington in his research concluded that unequal police treatment of minority ethnic communities stems from the fact that maintaining order in larger measure is directed to people who frequently use public space and likely to come into interaction with police officers is higher (Waddington 1999). Because of this different explanation, the author advises that require more complex analysis of structural and institutional racism and ethnic prejudices to explain how it occurs ethnic disparities in the use of police rights.

Regardless of which explanation will be taken as a basis for explaining the unequal police proceedings to members of communities (minority, majority), all researchers agree that selective and prejudiced treatment by police officers with persons belonging to minority ethnic communities is a problem (Clancy et al. 2001: 183). Basically very unfair and carries array negative consequences in terms of public support the police and willingness to be part of the police profession, and that contributes to the criminalization of minority ethnic communities.

In late 1992, a meeting of experts from the Member States of the Council of Europe dedicated to practices and programs for police training in the field of police treatment of minority ethnic communities and immigrants. The report prepared by this meeting can be seen that the specialized training of officers in the field of migrants and ethnic relations (until then) practice in only eight countries (France, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Holland and Great Britain). The contents of the trainings have been different with them covered all or part of the police and have performed various training institutions. The conclusion of the experts was that training in this area must be introduced everywhere and should represent one of the most important means of adjustment of policing in multiethnic environment, and that its main goal should be elimination of ethnic / racial prejudice and xenophobia. Council of Europe, realizing the importance of the issue of policing and its relationship to minority communities adopt a separate document with practical guidance and training projects in this area (Oakey 1995: 325-332).

The police role and function in relation to minority ethnic communities becomes extremely complex when the name of an ethnic group will form a

terrorist organization - criminal or separatist aims, and when such an organization will enjoy support among members of ethnic communities. In such cases, the police basically changed the tactics of its operations, uses special units and other methods, whose application is based on a special anti-terrorist legislation, and often the international police cooperation in combating terrorism and terrorist groups (Maguire 1995; Tashevskaja-Remenski-2007). Long observed, all these measures rarely provide real results, which opens the question whether the police are able to effectively intervene in the intensive inter-ethnic relations and conflicts, or instead of police to use military. Finished and successful models for addressing such issues not so certain countries within the occurred situations revert to using the military, others form a militarized police units or combined with the use of military and police forces and similar methods (Enloe and Samin-Panzer 1976 ; Enloe 1980; McMillan 1960). There is a general belief that the military police with or without her in such situations can contribute little to remedy the real causes of disturbance of interethnic relations and that this plan is primarily necessary action on political and other decisive factors in society (Kittson 1971).

Surveying this issue highlight several key points that should be considered when planning measures to improve the relationship between police and minority ethnic communities, such as: recruitment, selection and education of personnel for the police and the ways of employing people from ethnic minorities in the police and criminal justice system in general. These are key elements to increasing confidence of minority ethnic communities in the police. The assumption is that police officers who belong to minority ethnic communities will behave impartially and fairly than officials of the majority ethnic community because of greater understanding and respect they have for the citizens from minority ethnic communities (Bowling and Phillips 2003: 245-248). Certain skills like speaking more languages are still some features that are needed to maintain order in multiethnic communities. Contrary to this in terms of maintaining order is the notion that police officers from minority ethnic backgrounds are "included as members" of the police culture that encompasses all, thus the size of the gap between police officers and citizens

remains the same, regardless the ethnicity of the police officer (Cashmore 2004: 642-659).

The issue of social and ethnic status of members of the police profession proved extremely important for the functionality and stability of multiethnic societies. The global balance between social and ethnic backgrounds of the police on one hand and social and ethnic structure of society on the other hand, is a prerequisite for successful accomplishment of the police role and good relations between people of different ethnic and social groups with police. Imbalance of these two structures is basically a consequence of inadequate or discriminatory selective employment policy in the police force.

The ethnic origin of members of the police profession has proved a much more complex issue than the question of social origins of police officers. The ethnic composition of the population can strongly influence the quality of police relations with certain ethnic groups and the success of police in performing their tasks. The situation regarding the ethnic composition of the police in many multiethnic countries are characterized by being in the police force reduction sufficient number of members of minority ethnic communities. The problem of the ethnic composition of the police primarily boils down to how to ensure the recruitment of minority ethnic communities in the police force. Otherwise, the search for greater involvement of members of minority communities within the police as a separate policy in the selection of staff usually sets after armed ethnic unrest in wider scale.

Realizations of the requirements for recruiting members of minority ethnic communities in police encounter two-sided obstructions. The first groups of constraints are those who come from minority communities themselves, and the second groups are the obstacles that are on the police or those who conduct policy for selection of staff. When it comes to the first group of obstacles need to bear in mind that members of certain ethnic groups do not want to enter within the police or difficult to decide on that step. Joining the police in case of disturbed interethnic relations or conflict with political authorities, by members of ethnic communities is seen as a betrayal of "our own national being" or "serving the opposite party." Insufficient knowledge of official

language or low level of education can be a barrier to entry in the police force. Experiences from some countries show that obstacles appear for specific requirements of ethnic groups associated with their religious beliefs and traditions (Canada with members of Indian immigrants in the Canadian police).

Second groups of barriers to recruitment of members of ethnic groups in the police concerning the selection policy. The creators of this policy based upon the desire to be a police office of trust, which can mean a conscious orientation discrimination against members of certain ethnic communities, because confidence in performing security tasks. This problem occurs during periods of disturbed interethnic relations are the result of rebel and paramilitary activities of a particular ethnic group. Loyalty of members of minority ethnic communities in the police is an issue that gains importance in some emergency situations, such as war between the country where the minority lives and their land-stream, in a state of political relations deteriorated, unhidden territorial aspirations over the separatist activities, past experiences of conflict between state security forces and paramilitary structures of minority groups and so on.

The process of selection of members of minority ethnic communities must be based on lower or different standard procedures from those that apply to members of the majority ethnic community. Application for preference of members of minority communities in the procedures for selection aims to increase their number in the police and thus remove the effects of previous discrimination in employment. That in no case should create secondary standards for selection (in terms of education or other standards).

The lack of researches on aspects of the relationship between the police and minority groups in the Republic of Macedonia aimed at stimulating research interest in this issue need to indicate on pursuing key conditions that determine the success of research activities. These conditions are indispensable for the fact that the Republic of Macedonia - as defined constitutional democracy of citizens with different ethnic and religious origin, and country in the recent past experienced an internal armed conflict - must thoroughly reform the institutions responsible for law enforcement. Reforming the criminal

justice system is segmented and focused on several issues, among which are implement highlighting the principle of equitable and proportional representation of non-majority state authorities as a fundamental value of the constitutional order and decision under the Badinter principle of voting issues that directly or indirectly means the rights of minority ethnic communities.

In the context of police reform aimed at implementing the provisions of the Strategy for Reform of the Macedonian police, despite the structural and organizational structure, the Ministry of Interior claimed liabilities arising from internationally accepted documents that regulate issues of police conduct, respect for human freedoms and rights and policing in multiethnic environments. In the accordance with democratic principles of equality before the law, police charged equitably to protect all citizens without discrimination and regardless of gender, race, color, language, religion, opinion, social, national or ethnic origin, property, birth or other status. The main feature of democratic policing is the idea that police activities are carried out with the consent of the people. Because police cannot assume that they always act in accordance with all citizens, they must continually work to ensure that the public approves of their actions. As a prerequisite for obtaining public support transparency in police operations and fostering communication and mutual understanding between police and citizens. The state is obliged to provide "right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily injury, whether caused by government officials or by any particular group or institution." Vulnerable groups or persons, who include members of minority ethnic communities, should enjoy special protection.

Protection and advancement of persons belonging to national minorities is "a key factor for democracy, peace, justice and stability within and between OSCE member countries." What is expressed for the cooperation of police with citizens also applies to cooperation with minority groups and represents a challenge for police. Police are not only faced with structural challenges to meet the needs of these minorities - such as differences in languages, religions, customs and other cultural characteristics - but these minority groups avoid cooperation with the police usually because distrust

especially if in the past repeatedly been subjected to police abuse. Therefore, police must make efforts to use its special and unique powers to combat acts motivated by racism and xenophobia. Recommendations to avoid inappropriate and vastly increased presence of police officers in minority communities, ranging from the disproportionate number of patrols and threatening behavior toward specific groups or specific communities are 'the presence of heavily armed units from time to time. Police investigations should be cautious and tailored to the specific needs of people such as children, juveniles, women, minorities, including ethnic minorities.

In terms of providing a harmonized framework for the future of democracy in Macedonia and facilitating the development of close and integrated relations between the Republic of Macedonia and NATO, the Ohrid Framework Agreement promote peace and harmonious development of civil society while respecting the ethnic identity and interests of all citizens in the Republic of Macedonia.

In this context, one aspect is equitable representation of citizens belonging to all communities in the Republic of Macedonia, within the police service under the provisions of Annex C of the Ohrid Framework Agreement relating to non-discrimination and equitable representation of communities who are the majority in the Republic of Macedonia. Ministry of Interior develop employment policy that allows police officers generally reflect the composition and distribution of the population in the Republic of Macedonia and ensuring equitable distribution of community members at different levels in the organizational structure of the Ministry, respecting the principle of professionalism. In order to overcome existing shortcomings in terms of equitable representation provided training for police members of ethnic communities that are not majority in the Republic of Macedonia. Training for police enforced the Police Academy which according to the Strategy for Reform of the Police (2003) and Action Plan for implementation of the reform (2003), was established by the Law for Police Academy (2004) as a higher state institution in the field of security. According to the law and based on the needs

of the Ministry, Police Academy run police training to more than 700 members of the Albanian and other ethnic communities.

Table 1:
Ethnic structure of employees in the Ministry of Interior

	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks	Serbs	Gypsies	Others
1992	92.6%	2.7%	0.4%	2%	0.5%	1.8%
1998	92.3%	3%	0.3%	2.1%	0.5%	1.8%
2003	88.3%	7.3%	0.5%	1.8%	0.7%	1.4%

Source: Strategy for Reform of the Police, Mol of the Republic of Macedonia, 2004

Table 2:
Ethnic structure of employees in uniform police in the Ministry of Interior

	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks	Serbs	Gypsies	Others
1992	92.5%	2.7%	0.4%	2%	0.5%	1.9%
1998	91.7%	3.2%	0.3%	2.3%	0.5%	2%
2003	85.7%	9.1%	0.5%	2.0%	1.0%	1.7%

Source: Strategy for Reform of the Police, Mol of the Republic of Macedonia, 2004

There are missing data's (after 2003) for the ethnic structure of employees in the police after the implementation of affirmative action in Ohrid Framework agreement. What can be noted is the increase in the number of members of minority ethnic communities in the criminal justice system, particularly within the police. It speaks of the revised policy on recruitment and selection of personnel for the police in the spirit of multi-ethnicity and the needs of ongoing management of ethnic issues and interethnic relations in the

context of relations between police and minority (ethnic) groups in the Republic of Macedonia.

CONCLUSION

All this issues which were started in this paper and refer to the relationship of police to minority (ethnic) communities should be an encouragement for expanding research interest in the police attitude towards specific social groups and challenges to overcome their mutual or possible conflicts. The lack of statistical data that will serve to confirm the specific theses about ethnic profiling in police work and the extent of criminalization of minority ethnic communities is indicative of insufficient exploration of the mutual relations between police and minority communities. British experience in scientific researches in this field can be a good example of dedication to science to find practical solutions and models of police actions in multiethnic societies.

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ПРЕДИЗВИЦИТЕ НА ПОЛИЦИСКОТО РАБОТЕЊЕ ВО МУЛТИЕТНИЧКИ ОПШТЕСТВА

Фросина Т.Ременски

АПСТРАКТ

Односот помеѓу полицијата и малцинските заедници првенствено е одреден од меѓуетничките односи во општеството. Полицијата не само што се соочува со структурни предизвици за да им излезе во пресрет на потребите на овие малцинства - на пример: различности во јазиците, религиите, обичаите или други културни карактеристики - но, и овие малцински групи избегнуваат соработка со полицијата најчесто поради недоверба, особено ако во минатото повеќепати биле изложени на полициска злоупотреба.

Во свет во кој постојано растат етничките и културните разлики во државите и се зголемуваат тензиите помеѓу различни групи, улогата на полицијата е суштинска за одржување на битието на општествата. Затоа полицајците мора да се однесуваат со неоспорна правичност кон сите групи. Покрај тоа, за да ја има довербата на целото население, полицијата мора да биде претставник на целокупната заедницата. Со цел да не се нарушуваат меѓуетничките односи и да се избегне развој на паралелни структури во општеството со можност за создавање на безбедносен вакуум кај малцинствата, полицијата мора цврсто и доследно да се справува со криминалот кој произлегува од етничка омраза. Сето ова на полицијата како

организација и наметнува обврска за посебен пристап во: селекцијата и образованието на полициските кадри и нивното практично постапување во кое ќе се уважуваат културните, верските, обичајните и религиските разлики на секоја малцинска заедница.

Целта на трудот е да ги претстави проблемите кои го отежнуваат процесот на интеракција и соработка помеѓу полицијата и припадниците на малцинските (етнички) заедници и предизвиците со кои во иднина треба да се соочи полицијата со промена на пристапот во работењето кога се во прашање малцинските заедници и нивните специфики.

Клучни зборови: полиција, малцински (етнички) заедници, мултиетничко општество, етничко профилирање.