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Editorial

The thirteen (co)authors of the five papers appearing in this issue of the Journal of Criminal Justice and Security reflect on youth behaviour during the 2020 pandemic, being victimised during nightlife and trying to stay safe at football matches. We will also learn more about crime prevention in the area of southern Russia, and the issue of the role of social workers mitigating secondary victimisation during suicide investigation in Turkey.

In the first paper **Luka Jelovčan, Kaja Prislan and Anže Mihelič** address the very topical issue in the study *Self-protective Behaviour among Young Adults during Public Health Crisis*. The purpose of their analyses was to examine perceptions of factors deriving from the theory of planned behaviour among younger adults in times of public health crisis, their self-protective behaviour compared to other age groups, and test the predictive factors according to the theory of planned behaviour. In the next paper, **Tinkara Bulovec and Katja Eman** present the insights on *Nightlife Entertainment Spots in Cities as a Potential Criminogenic Focus of Sexual Harassment*. In their analyses, authors give the theoretical background of this under-researched issue, explain the manifestation of the phenomenon, and add some victimological perspectives and criminological interpretations of the researched problem. **Timotej Praznik, Maja Modic, and Simon Slokan** in the third article entitled *The Role and Function of a Sports Event Organiser: Safety at Football Matches in Slovenia, Serbia and Austria* examined the organisation of football matches from the point of view of safety of participants in the sporting event. Authors conducted interviews with spokespersons from the football clubs in NK Celje, Slovenia, FK Partizan, Serbia and SK Sturm Graz, Austria. Their study shows that despite the existence of subnational legislation, there are differences in understanding of ensuring safety at sporting events in the analysed countries. In the next paper, **Anton Petrovskiy** analysed *Safety, Security, and Crime Prevention in Rural Areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea* in two Southern Russian regions for the period between 2015 and 2019. The last paper by **Burak M. Gönültaş, Cristin Sauter, Meral Öztürk, and Murat Yıldız** is *Collaboration between Investigation and Crisis Intervention for the Investigative Interview in Suicide Attempts*. The study aims to understand whether the investigation and crisis intervention processes can be coupled together in suicide attempt cases to mitigate secondary victimisation.

We at the Journal of Criminal Justice and Security trust you find the articles worth reading and a good source of fresh ideas for both your future research and hopefully new papers.

Prof. Branko Lobnikar, PhD
Editor of English Issues

Uvodnik

Trinajst (so)avtorjev petih prispevkov, objavljenih v tej številki revije *Varstvoslovje*, razmišlja o vedenju mladih med pandemijo 2020, problematiki spolnega nadlegovanja na območjih nočnega življenja in ohranjanju varnosti na nogometnih tekmah. Izvedeli bomo tudi več o preprečevanju kriminalitete na območju južne Rusije in o vprašanju vloge socialnih delavcev pri blaženju sekundarne viktimizacije med preiskovanjem samomorov v Turčiji.

V prvem prispevku **Luka Jelovčan, Kaja Prislan, Anže Mihelič** obravnavajo zelo aktualno vprašanje v študiji *Samozaščitno vedenje med mladostniki v času javne zdravstvene krize*. Namen njihovih analiz je bil preučiti zaznave mladostnikov v času javne zdravstvene krize skladno z dejavniki teorije načrtovanega vedenja, njihovo samozaščitno vedenje v primerjavi z ostalimi starostnimi skupinami ter preučiti vpliv dejavnikov teorije načrtovanega vedenja na samozaščitno delovanje. V naslednjem prispevku **Tinkara Bulovec in Katja Eman** predstavljata vpogled v *Območja nočnega življenja v mestih kot potencialna kriminogena žarišča spolnega nadlegovanja*. Avtorici predstavita teoretično ozadje te premalo raziskane problematike, pojavne oblike in razsežnosti kot tudi viktimološki vidik ter nekatere kriminološke razlage. **Timotej Praznik, Maja Modic in Simon Slokan** so v tretjem prispevku z naslovom *Vloga in naloga organizatorja športne prireditve: varnost na nogometnih tekmah v Sloveniji, Srbiji in Avstriji* preučili organizacijo nogometnih tekem z vidika varnosti udeležencev. Avtorji so opravili pogovore s predstavniki nogometnih klubov NK Celje iz Slovenije, FK Partizan iz Srbije in SK Sturm Graz iz Avstrije. Njihova študija kaže, da kljub obstoju subnacionalne zakonodaje obstajajo razlike v razumevanju zagotavljanja varnosti na športnih prireditvah v analiziranih državah. V naslednjem prispevku z naslovom *Varnost in preprečevanje kriminalitete na ruralnih območjih Krasnodarskega kraja in Republike Adigeje* je **Anton Petrovskiy** opravil študijo o kriminoloških značilnostih kriminalitete v dveh južnoruskih regijah v obdobju med 2015 in 2019. V zadnjem prispevku *Povezava preiskave in krizne intervencije v preiskovalnem intervjuju pri poskusih samomora* so avtorji **Burak M. Gönültaş, Cristin Sauter, Meral Öztürk in Murat Yıldız** predstavili študijo o možnostih za ublažitev sekundarne viktimizacije v primerih poskusov samomorov preko povezave med preiskavo in procesi krizne intervencije.

V uredništvu revije *Varstvoslovje* verjamemo, da boste v tokratni številki našli prispevke, ki jih je vredno prebrati in so dober vir svežih idej za vaše prihodnje raziskave in, upajmo, nove prispevke.

Prof. dr. Branko Lobnikar
Urednik številke v angleškem jeziku

Self-protective Behaviour Among Young Adults During Public Health Crisis

Luka Jelovčan, Kaja Prislan, Anže Mihelič

Purpose:

The purpose of this article is to examine perceptions of factors deriving from the theory of planned behaviour among younger adults in times of public health crisis, their self-protective behaviour compared to other age groups, and test the predictive factors according to the theory of planned behaviour.

Design/Methods/Approach:

An online survey has been conducted to examine self-protective behaviour in times of public health crisis. The survey was distributed to Slovenian citizens ($n = 280$) using the social network Facebook. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the sample and measured variables. Multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine associations between identified factors.

Findings:

The results of the study indicate that there are no significant differences in self-reported self-protection between younger adults and others. Additionally, attitude toward self-protective measures is the most important predictor of self-protective behaviour for both age groups. Only the attitude is significantly associated with self-protective behaviour among young adults, whereas among others, all three predictors are significantly associated with self-protective behaviour, explaining nearly twice the variance.

Research Limitations/Implications:

This research contributes to the understanding of motivators that drive individuals to engage in self-protective behaviour in times of health crises. It provides insight into young adults' self-protective behaviour. Most of the limitations are related to the sample, which only contains respondents from one social network and one country.

Originality/Value:

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study that explored the self-protective behaviour of young adults during COVID-19 using the theory of planned behaviour and compares the differences in self-protective behaviour predictors among different age groups.

Keywords: COVID-19, theory of planned behaviour, young adults, self-protection

UDC: 316.62-053.6:614.44-053.1

Samozaščitno vedenje med mladostniki v času javne zdravstvene krize

Namen prispevka:

Namen prispevka je preučiti zaznave mladostnikov v času javne zdravstvene krize skladno z dejavniki teorije načrtovanega vedenja, njihovo samozaščitno vedenje v primerjavi z ostalimi starostnimi skupinami ter preučiti vpliv dejavnikov teorije načrtovanega vedenja na samozaščitno delovanje.

Metode:

Izvedli smo empirično raziskavo v obliki spletnega vprašalnika. Spletni vprašalnik smo s pomočjo družbenega omrežja Facebook razdelili med slovenske državljane (n = 280). Vzorec ter spremenljivke smo opisali s pomočjo opisne statistike. Povezave med dejavniki smo ugotavljali s pomočjo večkratne regresijske analize.

Ugotovitve:

Rezultati raziskave kažejo na to, da med starostnimi skupinami ni statističnih razlik v samoporočanem samozaščitnem delovanju. Odnos do zaščitnih ukrepov se je izkazal za najpomembnejši dejavnik pri napovedovanju samozaščitnega delovanja med obema starostnima skupinama. Med mladostniki je odnos do zaščitnih ukrepov edini statistično značilen napovedni dejavnik, medtem ko so med ostalimi starostnimi skupinami statistično značilni vsi napovedni dejavniki teorije načrtovanega vedenja.

Omejitve/uporabnost raziskave:

Raziskava prispeva k razumevanju motivacijskih dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na samozaščitno delovanje v času zdravstvene krize. Ta raziskava poda uvid v samozaščitno vedenje mladostnikov. Večina omejitev raziskave se nanaša na vzorec, saj smo odgovore zbirali zgolj med uporabniki enega družbenega omrežja in državljani ene države.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

Gre za prvo raziskavo, ki preučuje samozaščitno delovanje mladostnikov v času pandemije COVID-19 z uporabo teorije načrtovanega delovanja in primerja razlike v pomembnosti napovednih dejavnikov za samozaščitno delovanje med posameznimi starostnimi skupinami.

Ključne besede: COVID-19, teorija načrtovanega vedenja, mladostniki, samozaščita

UDK: 316.62-053.6:614.44-053.1

1 INTRODUCTION

On the 21st of January first COVID-19 case was detected in Europe. Since then, a number of infections in Europe had grown to a point, when in the middle of March, WHO declared Europe as the new epicenter of the virus (Fredericks,

2020). In response, European countries started adopting protective measures to limit virus transmission (Meier et al., 2020). The majority of protective measures in European countries were adopted from measures recommended by WHO, such as mandatory facemask wearing, social distancing, and self-isolating (WHO, 2020). However, the majority of those protective measures depend on individuals to follow them (Machida et al., 2020), even though states' agencies were controlling them and issuing fines when the violations were detected. To ensure adequate compliance with recommended protective measures during COVID-19 pandemic, it is essential to understand what drives individuals to comply with protective measures (West et al., 2020). This especially applies to groups of people who are crucial for preventing the transmission of the virus, such as young adults (Yu, 2020).

Self-protective behavior during health crises has already been widely researched. Several theories have been explored in connection with self-protective behavior such as the health belief model (Durham et al., 2012), protection motivation theory (Williams et al., 2015), and theory of planned behavior (Liao et al., 2010). Together with the older population, young adults, primarily college students, represent the most frequent sample in these studies (Chan et al., 2015; Yang, 2015). Even though the theory of planned behavior is one of the most used approaches to explain human behavior and was readily used for predicting behavior in health crises in the past, to the best of our knowledge, there is no study that would explore predictors of self-protection derived from the theory of planned behavior, among young adults in times of COVID-19. Since young adults (ages up to 30 years) is a crucial age group for preventing virus transmission (Yu, 2020), it is important to understand what drives their compliance with protective measures. The focus of our research is to examine perceptions of young adults in times of the COVID-19 epidemic, their self-protective behavior, and test the predictive factors according to the theory of planned behavior. Accordingly, we will answer the following research questions.

RQ1: Are there differences in perceptions of factors deriving from the theory of planned behavior between young adults and other respondents (31 years of age and older) in times of COVID-19?

RQ2: Which factors predict self-protective behavior among young adults according to the theory of planned behavior in times of COVID-19 and how the results compare with other respondents?

We will answer the research questions by conducting an online survey among Slovenian citizens, which will offer an insight into the self-protective behavior of Slovenian citizens during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, we will be able to determine factors, which predict young adults' self-protective behavior using the theory of planned behavior.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

COVID-19 pandemic is not the first global pandemic in the last several decades. However, it is one of the first one in which we lack the vaccine to fight it (Schwarzinger et al., 2010; Zhang et al., 2019). This is why self-protective

measures, such as social distancing, self-isolating, and facemask wearing, are most often advocated as efficient measures to stop the spreading of the virus (WHO, 2020). However, efficiency of those measures is highly dependent on will of the individuals to comply with above stated measures (Machida et al., 2020).

2.1 Young Adults in Times of Pandemic

Even though they are less likely to develop severe symptoms of COVID-19 disease (Bonanad et al., 2020), young adults are a crucial age group for preventing the spread of the virus, since they represent the majority of all infection cases (Yu, 2020). The reasons for that may be sought in the largest social circle of all age groups (Yu, 2020), living in areas with denser population (Yang, 2015), and lively social life (Goldstein & Lipsitch, 2020). Previous research, however, has shown that young adults may not be as willing to follow the recommended protective measures as individuals from other age groups (Barr et al., 2008; Qeadan et al., 2020; Szabo et al., 2020; Teasdale et al., 2012). This may be due to the fact that young adults do not feel as threatened by the disease as older population (Szabo et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2012). They also show lower levels of trust towards important actors (such as media, government and health care professionals) compared to other age groups (Freimuth et al., 2014), and feel frustrated with restrictive nature of recommended protective measures (Teasdale et al., 2012). Nevertheless, young adults tend to be well informed on COVID-19 disease, with social networks being their primary medium of information (Abdelhafiz et al., 2020; Mubeen et al., 2020). However, social networks can also be a source of misinformation, which can lead to misleading perceptions on disease among their users (Abdelhafiz et al., 2020). Even though young adults are usually well informed on pandemic diseases, responsible actors fail to effectively communicate the importance of protective measures to young adults, which leads to ignoring recommended protective measures (Yang, 2015).

2.2 Theory of Planned Behavior

The theory of planned behavior (Figure 1) is one of the most used approaches to explain human behavior during pandemic situations. It postulates that attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control determine behavioral intentions and subsequently, behavior (Ajzen, 1985). Attitude is defined as an individual's overall assessment of the intended behavior that is formed based on their evaluations, and perceived outcomes. Subjective norms are an individual's perception of significant others' beliefs or socially imposed normative pressure that leads individuals to act (Ajzen, 1991). Ajzen (1991) also points out, that behavioral intention can only find expression in behavior if the behavior in question is under volitional control. Volatility in theory of planned behavior is expressed through perceived behavioral control, which is by some researchers replaced with self-efficacy (Bandura, 1998). In research papers that concern public health, however, classic theory of planned behavior explains more variance than versions which use self-efficacy (Liao et al., 2010).

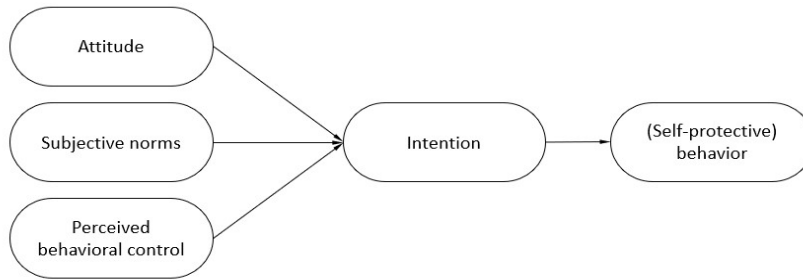


Figure 1:
Theory of
planned
behaviour
(Ajzen, 1991)

Use of theory of planned behavior in public health research is sensible, as it is applicable on various research fields and it also enables addition of new dimensions (Miller et al., 2012). In research of health-related behavior this theory is often combined with protection motivation theory (Miller et al., 2012; Prasetyo et al., 2020), theory of reasoned action (Ahmad et al., 2020; Liao et al., 2010) and health belief model (Bae & Chang, 2020; Masser et al., 2011; Yang, 2015).

Factor that is the most important for predicting health related behavior with theory of planned behavior appear to be attitude towards behavior (Bae & Chang, 2020; Masser et al., 2011; Zhang et al., 2020a; Zhang et al. 2020b). Miller et al. (2012) conducted a study where they tested if factors from theory of planned behavior predict individuals intention to wash hands in pandemic situation. Subjective norms perceived behavioral control and attitude were all found significant, with latter explaining the most variance. Similar studies were conducted in order to determine if factors from theory of planned behavior predict intention to self-isolate and consuming poultry during H7N9 pandemic (Zhang et al., 2020a; Zhang et al., 2020b). Authors confirmed that all three factors associated with theory of planned behavior are significant predictors of measured behavior. Attitude again proved to be the most important factor for predicting behavior; however, perceived behavioral control explained almost as much variance as attitude.

The theory of planned behavior has already been used to predict health related behavior during COVID-19 pandemic. Bae and Chang (2020) used this theory to predict behavioral intention towards travelling. Results show attitude as the strongest predictor, with subjective norms and perceived behavioral control both also being significant. This is supported by another study conducted (Han et al., 2020) to explore individual's intention to travel during COVID-19 crisis, which showed that attitude is the most important predictor, followed by subjective norms and perceived behavioral control. Additionally, the theory of planned behavior was also used to explore individuals' intentions to use COVID-19 tracking app in Fiji where authors concluded that attitude is the strongest predictor of COVID-19 tracking app use (Sharma et al., 2020).

3 METHOD

To investigate self-protective behavior during the COVID-19 epidemic among young adults, we conducted an online survey. The survey was conducted on

social network Facebook in time when the most restrictive measures were in force (e.g., ban on social gatherings, restrictions on movement between municipalities). The process of questionnaire development and data gathering is presented in the following.

3.1 Questionnaire Development

To ensure the validity and reliability of the results, the research model's indicators were adopted from previously tested questionnaires (Cho & Lee, 2015; Myers & Goodwin, 2011; Zhang et al., 2019). Indicators were then adapted to the research context of self-protective behavior during public health crisis. Constructs were measured with three indicators on a five-point Likert-type scale, except the attitude, which was measured with seven indicators on a five-point semantic differential scale. Subjective norms and perceived behavioral control were adapted from Myers and Goodwin (2011) and Cho & Lee (2015). Attitude was adapted from Zhang et al. (2019), while self-reported protective behavior was self-developed due to the specific circumstances of the pandemic. Indicators were first adapted in the English language. Second, indicators were translated to the Slovenian language by three independent unprofessional translators. While forming the final questionnaire, all three translations were carefully considered. Third, a questionnaire in Slovenian language was evaluated by four respondents that commented on indicators for their understandability.

3.2 Data Collection

The research model was empirically tested with an online survey. The survey was distributed among different groups on Facebook (e.g., student groups, COVID-19 related groups, various interest groups). The survey was active from April 27 to May 12, 2020. In total, 280 respondents completed the survey. Due to more than two-thirds of missing values, two respondents were excluded from future analysis. The final dataset had 4.05 percent of missing values (it ranged from 0.72 percent to 9.45 for individual indicators).

To obtain valid answers and ensure the anonymity of respondents, we considered the following safeguards. First, the questionnaire was distributed in a web application that allowed non-storage of the IP addresses. Second, respondents were informed about the anonymity and voluntariness of participation. Third, we ensured that the data would be processed and stored exclusively for research purposes. Due to the topic's sensitivity, we obtained consent from the University of Maribor Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security Ethics Commission. The Commission issued a positive opinion on the survey on April 9, 2020.

	Variable	N	Percent
Education	Primary school	4	1.4
	High school	119	42.8
	Bachelor's degree	103	37.1
	Master's degree	36	12.9
	Doctoral degree	2	0.7
Status	Pupil, Student	88	31.7
	Employed, Self-employed	157	56,5
	Unemployed	15	5,3
	Retired	9	3,2
Settlement	Rural area	89	32.0
	Small town	60	21.6
	Suburb near large city	38	13.7
	Large city	88	31.7

Table 1:
Sample
description

Sample consisted of 77.2 percent female respondents. Age of the respondents ranged from 16 to 71 years. Mean age was 32.9 (SD = 12.1, Me = 29). The remaining demographic data are presented in Table 1.

4 RESULTS

This section presents the results of the study. Statistical analyses were conducted with IBM Statistics SPSS v26.

4.1 Instrument Validation

Since items were aggregated into constructs by calculating their mean values, we first tested the data for normality of distribution. Since values of skewness and kurtosis ranged from -1.568 to 0.690 and from -0.759 to 2.578 respectively, we assumed that data is normally distributed. Exploratory factor analysis *Principal Axis Factoring* with oblique rotation *Direct Oblimin* confirmed that indicators formed expected factors. The value of *Keiser-Meyer-Olkin* measure of sampling adequacy was 0.877, while Bartlett's test of sphericity was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Pattern matrix is presented in Table 2.

Table 2:

Pattern matrix (Principal axis factoring with oblique rotation)

	1	2	3	4
Attitude_6	0.817	-	-	-
Attitude_5	0.789	-	-	-
Attitude_3	0.787	-	-	-
Attitude_7	0.735	-	-	-
Attitude_4	0.724	-	-	-
Attitude_2	0.652	-	-	-
Attitude_1	0.615	-	-	-
Perceived behavioral control_1	-	0.844	-	-
Perceived behavioral control_2	-	0.770	-	-
Perceived behavioral control_3	-	0.546	-	-
Subjective norms_1	-	-	-0.937	-
Subjective norms_2	-	-	-0.857	-
Subjective norms_3	-	-	-0.702	-
Self-protective behavior_1	-	-	-	0.852
Self-protective behavior_3	-	-	-	0.841
Self-protective behavior_2	0.368	-	-	0.461

* Note: factor loadings lower than 0.3 are omitted.

Furthermore, we tested for construct reliability by calculating Cronbach alpha (CA). Since values of CA ranged from $\alpha = 0.777$ to $\alpha = 0.924$ we assume adequate construct reliability. Remaining CA values are presented in Table 3 (in diagonal, bold). Discriminant validity was tested with Pearson correlation coefficient (Table 3). None of the inter-construct correlation coefficients exceeded the threshold value of 0.7. Additionally, other assumptions for linear regression (i.e. homoscedasticity, normality of residuals, multicollinearity) were carefully considered.

Table 3:

Pearson correlation coefficient matrix

ID	1	2	3	4
1 Subjective norms	0.878			
2 Perceived behavioral control	0.282***	0.777		
3 Self-protective behavior	0.376***	0.113	0.847	
4 Attitude	0.347***	0.087	0.599***	0.926

* - $p < 0.05$; ** - $p < 0.01$; *** - $p < 0.001$

4.2 Differences between Young Adults and Others

The focus of our research is to examine perceptions of young adults in times of COVID-19 epidemic, their self-protective behavior, and test the predictive factors according to the theory of planned behavior. Therefore, we split the sample and created two groups of respondents: (a) those who are 30 years old or younger (young adults) and (b) those who are 31 years old or older (others). According to these groups, we hereafter present the results separately.

First, we aggregated the indicator variables into constructs by calculating arithmetic mean values. Table 4 presents the arithmetic means [M], standard deviations [SD], median [Me] and modes [Mo] of the aggregated constructs. Additionally, we compared the means with *independent sample t-test* which showed no statistically significant differences between the groups in any of the observed aggregated variables. That answers our first research question.

	Group	M	SD	Me	Mo	t
Subjective norms	under 30	4.31	0.67	4.17	5.00	0.834
	over 30	4.23	0.76	4.00	5.00	
Perceived behavioral control	under 30	3.97	0.82	4.00	5.00	-0.285
	over 30	3.99	0.80	4.00	5.00	
Self-protective behavior	under 30	4.08	0.89	4.00	5.00	0.841
	over 30	3.98	0.99	4.00	5.00	
Attitude	under 30	3.10	0.96	3.00	3.00	-0.686
	over 30	3.19	1.19	3.14	5.00	

Table 4:
Descriptive statistics and results of independent sample t-test

To answer the second research question, we tested a theory of planned behavior with two multiple linear regression models. Both models include the same constructs. However, the first model predicts self-protective behavior among young adults (model A, Figure 2), and the second model predicts self-protective behavior among others (model B, Figure 3). Both models are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Standardized coefficients beta values are written on the arrows while the R^2 value is written in the dependent variable rounded rectangle.

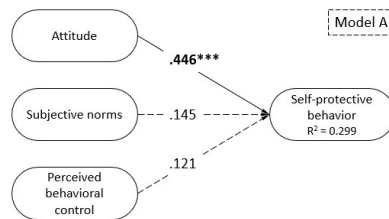


Figure 2:
Results of the multiple linear regression model for young adults

* - $p < 0.05$; ** - $p < 0.01$; *** - $p < 0.001$

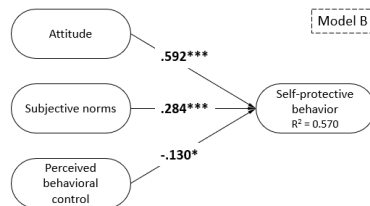


Figure 3:
Results of the multiple linear regression model for others

* - $p < 0.05$; ** - $p < 0.01$; *** - $p < 0.001$

The results show that approximately 30 percent of the variance of self-protective behavior can be explained by predictors from the theory of planned behavior among young adults, where only one predictor (attitude) is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). In others, the same predictors explain more than 50 percent of the variance of self-protective behavior, where all the predictors are statistically significant. These results answer the second research question.

5 DISCUSSION

Research, which was conducted among Slovenian speaking Facebook users, resulted in several findings. We found no statistical differences in self-reported self-protective behavior among the two age groups. Both groups also reported a relatively high level of compliance with self-protective measures. This finding deviates from findings of other studies on health-related behavior in times of pandemic, as most studies conclude that the younger population does not follow protective measures as strictly as the older population (Barr et al., 2008; Qeadan et al., 2020; Szabo et al., 2020; Teasdale et al., 2012). However, this finding can mostly be attributed to the timing of conducting the research. We conducted our research in the middle of the first wave of COVID-19 infections in Europe, when the most restrictive measures were in place in Slovenia (e.g., ban on social gatherings, restrictions on movement between municipalities). In addition to the strictness of protective measures, fines were also envisaged for violations of some protective measures (Ordinance on the temporary general ban on the movement and gathering of people in public places and areas in the Republic of Slovenia and the ban on movement outside municipalities, 2020). This measures increases the level of compliance with protective measures (Tang, 2020). It is also vital to acknowledge that in time of conducting research, COVID-19 was rather unknown disease, which led to higher levels of uncertainty (Ölcer et al., 2020) and fear of disease (Fofana et al., 2020). Both these factors may impact the compliance with protective measures, as researches in later stages of COVID-19 pandemic showed that lower levels of fear and more information about the disease leads to lower levels of compliance with protective measures (De Coninck et al., 2020).

Nevertheless, significant differences among age groups can be observed from the theory of planned behavior perspective. Only the attitude is significantly associated with self-protective behavior among young adults. In contrast, among others, all three predictors are significantly associated with self-protective behavior, explaining nearly twice the variance. This indicates that younger adults are more difficult to control, as their intent to self-protect is mostly based on their own beliefs and experiences. This may stem from young adults' lower levels of trust in important actors, such as governments, media, and medical specialists in times of pandemic, compared to other age groups (Freimuth et al., 2014).

For both, young adults and other age groups, attitude towards protective measures seems to be the most important predictor of self-protection. This is in line with previous research of theory of planned behavior in pandemic situations (Bae & Chang, 2020; Masser et al., 2011; Zhang et al., 2020a; Zhang et al., 2020b). Since attitude is individual's overall assessment of the intended behavior that is

formed based on their evaluations and perceived outcomes (Ajzen, 1991) and is strongly influenced by risk perception of the disease (Zhang et al., 2020b), our results are in line with findings of other studies (Fofana et al., 2020; Ölcer et al., 2020). Individuals in the early stages of the COVID-19 self-protected based on their beliefs, which may derive from perceived threat and fear of disease. The attitude was found to be a stronger predictor among the older population, which is sensible, as the older population seems to be more threatened by infectious diseases as young adults (Szabo et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2012).

Importance of attitude for self-protective behavior among young adults can also be explained through lack of trust towards external information on the disease by young adults. Since they show lack of trust towards important actors (Freimuth et al., 2014), social networks are the main source of information on the COVID-19 pandemic (Abdelhafiz et al., 2020; Mubeen et al., 2020). However, information about COVID-19 on social networks are often conflicting and misleading. Consequently it is hard for users to know which information to trust (Abdelhafiz et al., 2020).

Contrary to theory, which suggest that subjective norms are an important predictor of younger adults' behavior (Latimer & Ginis, 2005), our findings suggest, that subjective norms do not predict young adults' intention to self-protect in pandemic situation. This is particularly important finding, since subjective norms appear to be especially important predictor of health-related behavior (Finlay et al., 1999). Friends and family appear to be important source of information on COVID-19 for young adults (Hashim et al., 2020), however our results indicate that young adults do not decide to self-protect based on information from people who they are close with. This may show that young adults may not find people who they are close with reliable sources for COVID-19 related information. Importance of subjective norms for predicting older population's health behavior does vary across different studies (Deng et al., 2014; Zhang et al., 2020a; Zhang et al., 2020b), however, we found that subjective norms are an important predictor of self-protective behavior among other age groups. This can be explained by tendency of older population to rely on people who are close to them in times of public health crisis (Zhang et al., 2019).

5.1 Implications of the Study

Our study provides several implications, both for theory and practice. First, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first study investigating predictors of self-protective behavior derived from the theory of planned behavior in times of COVID-19 among young adults. Furthermore, this is, to the best of our knowledge, the first study that explores differences in predictors of self-protective behavior among different age groups in times of COVID-19. It provides an insight into what motivates young adults to self-protect. Second, our results show that the theory of planned behavior does not offer a sufficient explanation of self-protective behavior among younger adults. This indicates that the presentation of the public health crisis to the younger audience should be done carefully. Third, since our results show the importance of attitude for self-protection motivation, authorities

should try to influence the attitude toward self-protective measures among young adults. Fourth, contrary to previous studies, our findings imply that the beliefs of people who are close to them do not affect young adults' decision to self-protect.

5.2 Limitations and Future Work

Like any other, our study has several limitations. First, the survey was distributed only among Facebook users. Hence, the research did not include respondents that are not Facebook users. Second, responses were collected by convenience sampling, which is a non-probability sampling method. Third, data were collected in a short timeframe to investigate the self-protective behavior in the peak of the pandemic in Slovenia. Thus, the sample size is relatively small, mostly consists of responses from female respondents. Fifth, respondents come from only one European country. Therefore, a generalization of the results should be made with caution.

Future research should firstly include observing more than two age groups. Due to the relatively small sample size, we were limited to dividing the sample into only two groups. Second, since the theory of planned behavior addresses only internal factors influencing one's behavior, other theories addressing external factors should also be tested. Addressing such factors is vital since self-protective behavior was commonly enforced by law enforcement authorities and informal social control. Third, since our results indicate that self-protective behavior among younger adults is difficult to predict with the theory of planned behavior, future work should include searching for factors that can better predict such behavior.

6 CONCLUSIONS

With the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, the way of life as we knew it entirely and unexpectedly changed. The high threat to public health has required people to make changes in their daily routine activities. The preventive measures have significantly limited our fundamental freedoms. With the introduction of new and obligatory self-protective measures and introduction of (hitherto unknown) formal and informal social control over the compliance with expected behavior, people were faced with uncertain circumstances that contributed to different views on the new situation. It is important to investigate such differences that people will follow measures and instructions, develop a sense of collective responsibility, and work together to maintain public health. However, since the recommended measures and accompanying supervision introduced new practices that people were not used to, it is vital to understand which factors in such situations influence people's behavior or their willingness to follow the newly introduced rules. This research addresses the question of which factors influence different age groups' behavior and, therefore, help understand these groups' perceptions and behavior in times of pandemic.

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Nightlife Entertainment Spots in Cities as a Potential Criminogenic Focus of Sexual Harassment

Tinkara Bulovec, Katja Eman

Purpose:

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the issue of sexual harassment, with a focus on nightlife entertainment areas in cities. It also presents the theoretical background, manifestation, and comprehensiveness of the phenomenon, as well as the victimological perspectives and some criminological interpretations.

Design/Methods/Approach:

A review of literature related to sexual harassment was conducted for the purpose of this paper, after which the method of deduction was applied to draw general findings with respect to the nightlife entertainment areas in cities.

Findings:

When reviewing the issue, it was found that the critical element for identifying diverse verbal, non-verbal and physical acts as sexual harassment stems from the fact that these acts are unsolicited and unwanted by the harassed individual. Sexual harassment occurs in all areas of human participation, either as part of domestic violence, in the workplace, in the context of education or in public places, where the nightlife (entertainment) areas in cities remain rather under-researched. The criminogenic potential of nightlife areas arises from, *inter alia*, the presence of alcohol and drugs in these areas, which contributes to the emergence of various types of deviant behaviours, including sexual harassment. Studies conducted abroad reveal that street harassment and stranger harassment represent an issue occurring in public places that, firstly, are not explicitly legally restricted. Secondly, they represent a form of sexual harassment, which is challenging to prove.

Originality/Value:

The paper focuses on providing an insight into the issue of sexual harassment in nightlife entertainment areas, which was deemed essential in terms of setting potential starting points for further discussion and research. Due to the theoretical nature of the paper, the findings can be used as a base for the empirical study of sexual harassment in nightlife entertainment spots in Slovenia.

Keywords: sexual violence, sexual harassment, street/stranger harassment, nightlife entertainment spots, urban areas

UDC: [343.541+343.436]:351.758.3

Območja nočnega življenja v mestih kot potencialno kriminogeno žarišče spolnega nadlegovanja

Namen prispevka:

Namen prispevka je ponazoritev problematike spolnega nadlegovanja s poudarkom na območjih nočnega življenja (zabave) v mestih, predstavitvi teoretičnega ozadja, pojavnih oblik in razsežnosti pojava kot tudi viktimološkega vidika ter nekaterih kriminoloških razlag.

Metode:

V prispevku smo pregledali in analizirali literaturo, ki se nanaša na spolno nadlegovanje, nakar smo z metodo dedukcije splošne ugotovitve implementirali na območja nočnega življenja v mestih.

Ugotovitve:

Pri pregledu problematike smo ugotovili, da ključen element za opredelitev raznolikih verbalnih, neverbalnih in fizičnih dejanj kot spolno nadlegovanje predstavlja njihova nezaželenost z vidika nadlegovane osebe. Spolno nadlegovanje se pojavlja na vseh področjih človekovega udejstvovanja bodisi kot del nasilja v družini, na delovnem mestu, v sklopu izobraževanja ali javnih krajev. Med slednjimi predstavljajo manj raziskana območja območja nočnega življenja (zabave) v mestih. Kriminogen potencial območij nočnega življenja se med drugim skriva v prisotnosti alkohola in drog na teh območjih, kar vpliva na pojav različnih vrst odklonskega vedenja, tudi spolnega nadlegovanja. Ulično spolno nadlegovanje in nadlegovanje, ki ga storijo neznanci, sta v tuji literaturi prepoznana kot problematika javnih krajev, ki v prvi vrsti ni eksplicitno zakonsko omejena, kot drugo pa je tovrstni obliki spolnega nadlegovanja težko dokazati.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

V prispevku smo se osredotočili na predstavitev vpogleda v problematiko spolnega nadlegovanja na območjih nočnega življenja, kar se nam zdi pomembno z vidika odpiranja potencialnih izhodišč za nadaljnjo razpravo in raziskovanje. Teoretična narava prispevka omogoča uporabo ugotovitev kot podlago za empirično študijo o spolnem nadlegovanju na območjih nočnega življenja v Sloveniji.

Ključne besede: spolno nasilje, spolno nadlegovanje, ulično spolno nadlegovanje, območja nočnega življenja, urbano okolje

UDK: [343.541+343.436]:351.758.3

1 INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment¹ represents a form of sexual violence (Krug et al., 2002), which mostly involves an expression of power, control and discrimination in society

1 The term "sexual harassment" and the expression "gender-based harassment", which is rarely used in reviewed literature, will be used in this paper as synonyms primarily because the two terms are described under the same definition in Directive 2004/113/EC (2004), Directive 2006/54/EC (2006) and in the Employment Relationships Act (ZDR-1, 2013). To facilitate the understanding and for ease of reference, we found it more appropriate to use the terms as synonyms in cases referring to both forms of sexual harassment. The reader will be clearly alerted in the event of significant differences between the two terms.

(Bargh et al., 1995; Stop Street Harassment, n. d.) and has long been normalised, justified and invisible, and has represented an inevitable part of life, particularly of women and girls (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2019). Sexual harassment, which affects a wide range of people in comparison with other forms of discrimination, concerns the highest share of the population (Bargh et al., 1995; Stop Street Harassment, n. d.). It includes any form of “unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical behaviour of a sexual nature”, having the “purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment” (Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services (hereinafter: Directive 2004/113/EC, 2004)). The above definition is also reflected in Directive 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (hereinafter Directive 2006/54/EC, 2006). The European Union has also legally protected the fundamental right to human dignity and banned discrimination in cases of sexual harassment in the workplace (Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012/C 326/02), 2012). Slovenia’s Employment Relationships Act (Zakon o delovnih razmerjih, 2013) is also worth mentioning. Sexual harassment can occur among persons of the same or opposite sex and is directed both against women as well as men (United Nations Secretariat, 2008).

As is apparent from the very definition of sexual harassment, it is most often identified in the scope of the workplace. In the past, most of the research attention has been devoted to this area. However, as will be presented in this paper, sexual harassment occurs in various forms and different locations, and can be seen as part of domestic violence; it may also occur in a more generalised way, such as sexual harassment in public places (Ahmed et al., 2014). Regardless of the context in which verbal or non-verbal sexual harassment linked to gender, gender expression or sexual orientation (Burn, 2019) occurs, it affects the harassed individuals/victims and the environment in which they are located.

In the scope of this paper, the phenomenon of sexual harassment is first discussed in a broader context of sexual violence, followed by the definition of behaviours and practices that constitute sexual harassment and the demonstration of the magnitude of the phenomenon. The theoretical background and criminological interpretations of sexual harassment, as well as the victimological aspects, which focus on the presentation of consequences caused by sexual harassment, will also be presented. The final discussion provides suggestions for further research on sexual harassment in cities’ nightlife areas.

2 FROM OBTAINING AN INSIGHT INTO THE ISSUE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sensitive issues of interpersonal violence constitute a burning issue in all societies or cultural environments, which are carried out through social interactions at different levels and include both sexual and non-sexual violence. Interpersonal

violence, which can be defined as an attack on the physical and mental integrity of an individual (El-Bushra & Piza Lopez, 1993), also represents an act of an individual who, in relation to a fellow human being, acts or behaves in a way “that is not wanted by the other person or hurts him or her, and which, according to the applicable norms, is inadmissible” (Muršič, 2004, p. 389). Furthermore, interpersonal violence can be divided into two subcategories, which are, following the definitions provided by Foege and Rosenberg (1995, as cited in Krug et al., 2002), summarised by the World Health Organization [WHO] (Krug et al., 2002). The first subcategory of interpersonal violence involves family and intimate partner violence, which usually, albeit not necessarily, occurs at home and may include forms of violence, such as child abuse, intimate partner violence and violence against the elderly. The second subcategory entails community violence (or violence in the community), which occurs outside of an individual’s home between individuals, who are not related to each other, nor do they necessarily have mutual acquaintanceship. This subcategory can also include youth violence, random violent acts, rape and sexual assaults on unknown individuals (strangers), as well as violence in institutional settings (Foege & Rosenberg, 1995 in Krug et al., 2002). Those acts of violence may be both physical, psychological and sexual or include different forms of disadvantage and neglect (Krug et al., 2002).

Sexual violence is present globally regardless of the cultural environment, which means that it is a topic that is often at the forefront of discussions about violence. Gender-related violence, or sexual violence, entails an imbalance of power inherent in a patriarchal society (El-Bushra & Piza Lopez, 1993) and is more commonly found in societies that promote the superiority of men and the inferiority and subordination of women (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). The social definition of acceptable behaviour is defined culturally and, therefore, subject to change. Actions that are tolerated by societies as acceptable on the basis of cultural rules or customs and those that represent sexual violence vary in different cultural contexts (Heise et al., 1996). For example, intercultural differences are reflected in the incidence, definition, and consequences of severe forms of sexual violence, such as rape (Rozée, 1993). A claim that marital rape cannot exist because of the meaning of marriage (Heise et al., 1996) is contrary to the current position of Slovenian criminal law, which recognises that rape constitutes, in any event and irrespective of the type of intimate partnership (formalised or non-formalised), a criminal offence (Korošec et al., 2018).

Although there is still a noticeable predominance of men when it comes to sexual violence, there is no significant religious or social code of ethics that would justify sexual violence (Heise et al., 1996). Typically, society blames the victims for the occurrence of most forms of violence against women. For example, women who experienced intimate partner violence are often accused of provoking violence due to their disobedience, infidelity, or failure as wives. Girls and women who were sexually assaulted or raped are usually considered to have “asked for it” due to the way they behaved or dressed (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). The way in which societies choose to respond to or supervise inherent violence reflects their values, mutual respect, tolerance to diversity, respect for human rights, democracy, and ultimately good governance of the state (El-Bushra

& Piza Lopez, 1993). The Istanbul Convention, adopted in 2011, is the first legally binding regional document, which comprehensively addresses the various forms of violence against women, such as psychological violence, stalking, physical violence, sexual violence, and sexual harassment (Council of Europe and European Commission, n. d.; Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, 2011). Any sexual act or attempt to acquire it, unwanted sexual intercourse, advances or comments of sexual nature, acts of human trafficking, and other acts directed against the sexuality of persons, committed by coercion², represent sexual violence. The offenders may, however, include anyone, regardless of their relationship to the victim, at any location which is not confined solely to the domestic and working environment (Krug et al., 2002). According to Slovenia's Domestic Violence Prevention Act (Zakon o preprečevanju nasilja v družini, 2008), sexual violence involves "actions of a sexual nature without the victim's consent, to which the victim is forced or does not understand their meaning owing to the victim's stage of development, threats to use sexual violence and publication of material of a sexual nature relating to the victim". As mentioned before, sexual violence, particularly the violence of men against women, includes a wide range of acts, including verbal and other forms of sexual harassment (WHO, 2012). Acts of sexual violence constitute a violation of fundamental human rights (Sen et al., 2018) and a burning public health issue, as millions of women face violence and its implications at the global level (WHO, 2013). Globally, 35% of women or about one in three women suffered physical and/or sexual violence, the perpetrator of which was an intimate partner and/or an individual with whom they were not in an intimate relationship (WHO, 2013, 2017).

2.1 Definition of Sexual Harassment Behaviours and Practices

As initially stated, sexual harassment comprises a wide range of unwanted behaviours or practices that are either verbal, non-verbal or physical, and are committed with an intent to harm the dignity of a person subjected to the harassment (Directive 2004/113/EC, 2004; Directive 2006/54/EC, 2006; ZDR-1, 2013). It is virtually impossible to compile the list of behaviours that potentially constitute sexual harassment, just as it is not possible to predict every action and situation in which people find themselves and correspond to the definition of sexual harassment. Furthermore, an undesirable aspect based on an individual decision of the person against whom sexual harassment is directed is necessary to identify a behaviour as sexual harassment (Robnik, 2009). Grossman (2008) highlights the importance of individuals' perception of a particular act, and, by way of example, states that some women perceive sexual harassment as an invasion of their personal space, while others enjoy the attention. In cases of

2 Coercion corresponds to a wide range of actions of different intensity, which, in addition to physical force, also include psychological intimidation, extortion or other threats, such as the risk of bodily harm and, in the case of the workplace, threat of dismissal or preventing the entry into an employment relationship. Coercion also includes actions in which a person is attacked and unable to give consent, e.g. in a drunken or stunned state, during sleep or otherwise mentally incapable of understanding the situation (Krug et al., 2002).

mutually beneficial and desirable practices, which, by definition, could constitute sexual harassment, one cannot speak of sexual harassment as the abovementioned aspect of undesirability is not present (Robnik, 2009). Burn (2019) summarises and complements the tripartite model of sexual harassment proposed by Fitzgerald et al. (1997), which identifies three behavioural dimensions of sexual harassment in the workplace: gender-based harassment (gender harassment), unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Fitzgerald et al. (1995, p. 129) state that these dimensions are both essential and sufficient to cover and clarify the overall variation of sexual harassment in organisational and educational environments. Also, the abovementioned dimensions show stability in time and may be generalised across different cultural settings.

Gender-based harassment refers to sexually verbal and non-verbal behaviour that creates an abusive, hostile and degrading relationship because of gender, gender expression or sexual orientation of a person subjected to harassment. This category includes actions involving the use of sexist or heterosexist language, jokes and comments, showing vulgar sex gestures, showing or displaying sexual images or objects, sending e-mails or sending sexual pictures via messages (Burn, 2019).

Unwanted sexual attention involves the creation of positive or negative suggestive comments about the person's body, lustful viewing, whistling, spreading of sexual rumours, and electronic exchange of sexual images of an individual. Unwanted sexual attention also involves unwanted sexual touching, such as gripping, grabbing, pinching, groping and intentionally sexually brushing at the other person. This category also includes actions of an individual who blocks the way of another or pursues him or her with sexual intent, as well as unwanted, unwelcome advances, which are not reciprocated, i.e. mutually accepted, and include repeated requests for a kiss, date or sexual intercourse, and may ultimately lead to attempted or completed rape (Burn, 2019).

A legally known form of *quid pro quo* ("a favour or advantage in return for something") sexual harassment, which can also be referred to as sexual coercion, involves requests for sexual contact or sexual favours as a condition for receiving rewards or benefits, such as employment, favourable working conditions, assistance or a proper performance assessment (Burn, 2019; Sojo et al., 2016; Thurston et al., 2017).

In view of the foregoing, the *physical conduct of sexual harassment* includes "unwanted physical contact, touching, patting, pinching, forced sexual intercourse" (Harris, 1997, as cited in Jogan, 2000, p. 591). According to Robnik (2009, p. 9), this category also includes "rubbing against the body of a person, touching personal clothing, hair, body, massaging the neck, shoulders, hugging, kissing", as well as physical contact after the break-up of a relationship. Research results obtained by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA] (2014) clearly show that 29 percent of European women over 15 years of age experienced physical forms of sexual harassment, such as unwanted touching, hugging and kissing.

Verbal sexual harassment can be defined as "unwelcome advances, suggestions related to sexuality, or compulsion to sexual activity, recurring

suggestions for socialising outside the workplace, offensive flirting, suggestive remarks, allusion or obscene comments" (Harris, 1997, as cited in Jogan, 2000, p. 591). Robnik (2009, p. 9) states that obscene comments "refer to the dressing, body or appearance of a person". She also believes that verbal harassment involves "addressing a person with expressions, such as 'doll, babe, bird, honey, sweetie, kitten' and similar", and that this category also includes the "use of obscene language or gestures (e.g. whistling), changing work-related topics into sexual ones, stories, jokes or suggestive comments of sexual nature, bragging with sexual feats, and finally 'asking personal questions regarding a person's social or sex life". According to FRA (2014), 24 percent of European women over the age of 15 experienced verbal sexual harassment.

The category of *non-verbal sexual harassment* includes behaviours, involving "showing pornography or sexually suggestive images, objects or texts, lusty views, whistling or sexually suggestive gestures" (Harris, 1997 in Jogan, 2000, p. 591), "(re)sending e-mails, letters, telefax and other materials with sexual content", as well as "staring at the parts of a person's body, a close approximation to the person when talking (e.g. tilting over the back of a seated person)" (Robnik, 2009, p. 9). Non-verbal sexual harassment may also comprise other sex-based acts, which are "less clearly related to sexuality" and include "ridicule and mockery, intimidation, physical aggression to an employee, degrading and humiliating defamation, offensive observations on appearance, dress – all due to belonging to a particular gender" (Harris, 1997, as cited in Jogan, 2000, p. 591). According to FRA (2014), 11 percent of European women over 15 years of age reported non-verbal harassment, which included online harassment, i.e. receiving unwanted, offensive explicit e-mails and messages or inappropriate advances on social networks.

Terpstra and Baker (1987) were among the first to set a hierarchy of the severity of various sexual harassment behaviours arising from research studies on the subjective perception of sexual harassment scenarios involving 243 undergraduate students (143 men and 100 women) and 48 employed women. The category of sexual harassment, which included comments and behaviours containing whistling, staring, hugging, and recurring requests for a date, was perceived as the least severe behaviour (less than 50%). Acts involving sexual remarks, sexual gestures, graffiti of sexual nature, sexual proposals that are unrelated to the benefits or disadvantages in the field of employment of the individual subjected to sexual harassment, as well as unwanted physical contact of a potentially sexual nature, were more frequently, i.e. between 70 and 86 percent, perceived as a moderately-severe category of sexual harassment. The most severe behaviours and comments, which contained sexual proposals related to the benefits or disadvantages (linked to employment) of the individual concerned, physical contacts of "obvious sexual nature" and rape, were most commonly (more than 96%) perceived as sexual harassment.

2.2 Theoretical Background of Sexual Harassment

There are various theoretical approaches to the interpretation of sexual harassment. The basic model explaining the occurrence of sexual harassment was presented by Tangri et al. (1982), who, based on a review of the sexual harassment

literature in the workplace, divided sexual harassment in three models: 1) Natural or biological model; 2) Organisational model; and 3) Socio-cultural model.

The natural or biological model, which is based on motivational factors, interprets sexual harassment as a result of natural sexual attraction among individuals. In sum, the natural model recognises the harassment behaviour of an individual but denies the purpose of harassment, discrimination or domination over the person subjected to harassment. The first variation of the model is based on the assumption that sexual harassment is a consequence of men's sexual drive, which is, in principle, not meant as harassment. Secondly, if we assume that there is an equal sexual drive, again, sexual harassment is a consequence of pursuing sexual attraction (without intent to harass) (Tangri et al., 1982).

The organisational model is based on the assumption that sexual harassment is a result of certain opportunities created by work in organisations, i.e. organisational climate, hierarchy in organisations, or specific workplace relationships (e.g. the superior-subordinate relationship), which enable sexual harassment. In the majority of predominantly vertical work organisations, individuals (superiors) can use their power and position to blackmail subordinated in return for "sexual gratification". As a result, sexual harassment may be used as a "tool" for bullying and controlling employees, and the extortion of sexual services. Most often, a superior deprives his or her subordinates of their independence and safety, which is necessary to increase individuals' vulnerability to economic, psychological and social consequences, and to make them less likely to resist to or prevent sexual harassment. Tangri et al. (1982) indicate that the more significant the difference in the situation between the harasser and the harassed is, the more severe and frequent sexual harassment may be. Although men tend to harass women more often, the opposite is not excluded.

The socio-cultural model assumes that sexual harassment reflects a different distribution of the power and status between sexes in society. Sexual harassment can also be interpreted as a mechanism that works to preserve the dominant position of men over women in the workplace and in the economy in general. Sexual harassment thus represents one of the signs of a patriarchal system, in which men and social beliefs uphold their supremacy (Farley, 1978, as cited in Tangri et al., 1982; MacKinnon, 1979, as cited in Tangri et al., 1982). Male dominance has been retained due to cultural patterns governing the interaction between men and women, as well as due to economic and political arrangements. Men and women are socialised or taught in specific sexual roles, which means that society recognises the aggressive and empowering sexual behaviour of men, while women must express their passivity and agreement with such behaviour. Women who were taught to seek self-affirmation from others, especially from men (Bardwick, 1971, as cited in Tangri et al., 1982), are prone to perceive the attention they receive from men as flattering, which is why unwanted attention is less often defined as harassment. Furthermore, the model assumes that gender, when compared to the position in the organisation, better assumes potential victims. It follows that women are harassed more often than men. Nevertheless, the model predicts that women's reaction is reflected in their powerlessness and feeling bad about themselves and their work, and that the emotional consequences of harassment are more severe in victims who urgently need employment and have fewer opportunities (Tangri et al., 1982).

2.3 Street Harassment and Stranger Harassment

The review of the literature revealed the use of two particular terms related to sexual harassment, which refer to sexual harassment in public places but do not yet have a purely standardised definition. These terms are “street harassment” and “stranger harassment”. The latter, contrary to other forms of sexual harassment, presume that the perpetrator is usually unknown to the victim (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

In its definition devised in 2015, the Stop Street Harassment³ organisation defines street (sexual) harassment or gender-based street harassment as unwanted remarks, comments, gestures, and other acts of coercion of a foreign person in a public place, which are committed without the consent of a person at whom it is directed due to their gender, gender expression or sexual orientation. Street harassment includes unwanted acts, such as whistling, lustful looking at a person, sexist, homophobic or transphobic⁴ slurs, persistent asking for a person’s name, telephone number or other personal information (such as the place that the person intends to go to), as well as addressing the person in a sexual manner, making comments and requirements that may escalate to the exhibition, public masturbating, groping, sexual assault and rape even after the person at whom the acts of actions are directed had clearly rejected such behaviours. In the context of street harassment, individuals may also be harassed on other grounds, such as race, nationality, religious affiliation, disability or social class. In some instances, individuals may be the target of harassment due to a combination of several of the abovementioned grounds (Stop Street Harassment, n. d.).

Bowman (1993, p. 575) defines street sexual harassment perpetrated by strangers, highlighting that this type of street harassment occurs when one or more unknown men harass one or more women in a public place, on one or more occasions, by disrupting or trying to gain female attention by speaking or acting in an explicitly or implicitly sexual manner, which is not wanted by the woman or women to whom they are addressed. Such language includes, but is not necessarily limited to, references to male/female sexual organs, body parts or sexual activity; sexual demands; marking (with words or actions) the “target of harassment” as an object of sexual desire; the use of words which, at the time of their invention, cause injury or, due to their nature, often provoke violent resistance, even if the harassed person herself did not react with violence (Bowman, 1993).

Kearl (2014) identifies street harassment as unwanted interactions between strangers in public places, which are caused due to the actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation or expression, and cause the person subjected to harassment to be disturbed, angered, humiliated or fearful. Street harassment can take place

3 Stop Street Harassment [SSH] is a volunteer non-profit organisation that deals with documenting the situation and is devoted to ending gender-based street harassment worldwide through public education and mobilisation of the community (UC San Diego Center on Gender Equity and Health, 2019).

4 “Transphobic harassment can be defined as bullying or harassment due to sexual identity or the expression of an individual, in case where the self-defined gender of an individual (for example, a definition as a man, woman or somewhere in between, or out of it) differs from their assigned sex and/or because their appearance or behaviour is not in compliance with the social norms of sexual roles” (Milnes et al., 2015, p. 7).

on the streets, in shops, in public transport, in parks or on beaches, and includes behaviours ranging from verbal harassment, exhibition, following and groping to rape. Sexual harassment in the workplace or in a domestic environment differs from street harassment in terms of its perpetrators. The latter is mostly carried out by strangers in a public place, which also means less legal protection of victims (Kearl, 2014).

Heben (1994)⁵ derives from the abovementioned Bowman's (1993) definition of stranger harassment and, after considering the occurrence and severity of street harassment, divides it into three categories:

1. severe: a) sexually explicit reference to a woman's body or sexual activity; b) profanity directed against a woman because of her gender; c) any comment corresponding to those categories in combination with racial or ethnic slurs; d) any comment corresponding to any of the above categories in conjunction concerning possible female homosexuality; e) physical acts, such as following, throwing things at a person, tingling or poking;
2. moderate-severe: a) sexual allusion; b) references to the woman's gender or body, which are not sexually explicit;
3. least severe: a) staring; b) whistling; and c) all other unwanted remarks made to women by men.

2.4 Legal Aspects and Definitions of Sexual Harassment

Since most of the literature and research on sexual harassment derives from the American and British scientific environments, it is reasonable to present their legal regulation of sexual harassment, which refers mainly to the definition of this phenomenon in the context of the workplace. In the United States, sexual harassment represents a form of discrimination that constitutes a violation of the Civil Rights Act (The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC], 1997). Sexual harassment involves unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, as well as other verbal or physical behaviours of sexual nature, when the submission of such actions constitutes an explicit or implicit condition for an individual's employment. Moreover, sexual harassment also occurs in cases where the adoption/submission of such conduct or its refusal is used as a basis for making employment decisions affecting the person subjected to such behaviours. Nevertheless, when the abovementioned conduct is aimed at provoking or has the effect of unfounded interference in the individual's execution of work or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive environment, it also constitutes sexual harassment (Code of Federal Regulations, 2016; EEOC, 1997).

⁵ Heben (1994) relies on the study conducted by Terpstra and Baker (1987), referred to in page 261, to devise a definition of the severity of acts of sexual harassment.

From a legal point of view, sexual harassment is a form of sexual discrimination⁶ consisting of two types of behaviour: quid pro quo harassment (“a favour or advantage in return for something”)⁷ and a hostile working environment. Quid pro quo harassment involves sexual threats or bribery, which are presented as a condition for employment or are used as a basis for making employment decisions. The hostile environment, however, covers behaviours, such as sexual jokes, comments and touching, affecting the individual’s ability to do their job or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment (US EEOC 1980 in Welsh, 1999; United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women [UN Women], n. d.).

The definition used in the United Kingdom is quite similar and derives from the Equality Act (2010), which includes a definition of harassment that distinguishes between gender harassment, where the undesirable behaviour of the person (A) is directed against the protected characteristic of another person (B), which, in addition to age, disability, religion, race, sexual definition and orientation, also includes gender, and has the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of B’s or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for B. Paragraph 2, however, defines sexual harassment, which involves unwanted sexual conduct, the purpose or effect of which is defined in paragraph 1 (Equality Act, 2010; European Institute for Gender Equality [EIGE], 2016).

After examining the issue of sexual harassment from the perspective of legal regulation in Slovenia, it was found that that it was consistent with the EU employment regulations. Sexual harassment in the workplace is criminalised in Article 7 of the Employment Relationships Act (ZDR-1, 2013), which also prohibits sexual or other harassment in the workplace and defines such acts as discrimination in the workplace. Pursuant to the provisions of the Employment Relationships Act (2013), sexual harassment thus constitutes “any form of unwanted verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct or behaviour of a sexual nature with effect or intent to affect the dignity of a person, particularly when it comes to creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment”. Harassment is any unwanted behaviour associated with any personal circumstance, the effect or purpose of which is affecting a person’s dignity or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment. Furthermore, the area of sexual harassment in the workplace is also

6 Article 5 of Slovenia’s Equal Opportunities for Women and Men Act (*Zakon o enakih možnostih žensk in moških*, 2002) provides equal treatment of individuals regardless of their sex, which is reflected in the absence of direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of sex. Direct discrimination on the grounds of sex can thus be observed in cases, in which a person has been or could have been treated less favourably in “equal or similar circumstances compared to a person of the opposite sex”. Indirect sex discrimination occurs “if the appearance of neutral provisions, criteria or conduct in identical or similar circumstances and conditions put individuals of one sex in a less favourable position, unless those provisions, criteria or conduct are appropriate, necessary and justified by objective facts not related to gender”.

7 Subtle sexual harassment is not a legal term, however, it plays an important role in the emergence of serious forms of harassment, if the occurrence of such behaviours is not prevented in time. It is a type of harassment or unwanted sexual behaviour involving unwanted sexual comments, jokes, allusions and may, without a proper response, lead to the occurrence of quid pro quo harassment and/or create a hostile working environment for a harassed person (UN Women, n. d.).

defined in the Health and Safety at Work Act (Zakon o varnosti in zdravju pri delu, 2011), which provides, in Article 24, that employers must “take measures to prevent, eliminate and manage cases of violence, torture, harassment and other forms of psychosocial risk in workplaces that can endanger workers’ health”.

If sexual harassment escalates into more severe forms of sexual violence and constitutes an infringement of sexual inviolability, provisions of Chapter 19 of Slovenia’s Criminal Code (Kazenski zakonik (KZ-1-UPB2), 2012) apply. This Chapter contains provisions relevant to the understanding of severe forms of sexual harassment or sexual violence⁸. Cases, in which the perpetrator forces or threatens a person (victim) with “an imminent attack on life or limb” and thus forces them into “sexual intercourse or a similar sexual conduct”, are defined as rape (Article 170). Cases, in which a person is coerced, i.e. by the use of force or threat, to perform or submit to any sexual act, which is not defined in the Article 170, constitute an act of sexual violence (Article 171). Article 174 provides that an individual who “abuses his or her position to induce a person of the same or different sex, who is subordinate or dependent on him or her, to have sexual intercourse, or to perform or submit to any other sexual act” violates that person’s sexual integrity by abuse of position. Workplace mobbing is defined in Article 197, which provides for criminal sanctions of perpetrators, who degrades or frightens another person “at the workplace or in relation to work with sexual harassment, physical violence, ill-treatment or unequal treatment”. The offender is punished more severely if the abovementioned acts result in psychological, psychosomatic or physical illness and the reduction in work performance of the person subjected to such mobbing.

Street harassment represents a sui generis context, which is not addressed by most legal regulations (Sheley, 2018). At this point, it should be pointed out that sexual harassment in Slovenia, as presented in the above paragraph, is legally criminalised if it occurs in the workplace. However, when it happens outside the workplace, the process is not precisely defined. The abovementioned issue was highlighted in the European Parliament’s Resolution of 11 September 2018 on measures to prevent and combat mobbing and sexual harassment at the workplace, in public spaces, and political life in the EU (hereinafter: Resolution 2018/2055 (INI), 2018). The European Parliament called on the Member States to examine the introduction of specific legislation on harassment in public places, including intervention programmes, with an emphasis on the role of bystanders (witnesses). The Parliament also proposed the implementation of “research into the causes and consequences of sexual harassment in public places, including the impact that sexist and stereotyped advertisements may have on the incidence of violence and harassment”. Moreover, it stressed the importance of awareness-raising campaigns that promote zero tolerance of sexual harassment in public places (Resolution 2018/2055 (INI), 2018).

⁸ Apart from the aforementioned articles, Chapter 19 of the Criminal Code (KZ-1-UPB2), 2012) also contains provisions related to the sexual abuse of a defenceless person (Article 172), sexual assault on a person younger than fifteen (Article 173), recruitment of persons under fifteen for sexual purposes (Article 173), exploitation through prostitution (Article 175), and the presentation, manufacture, possession and distribution of pornographic material (Article 176).

Furthermore, the European Parliament noted that some measures taken by the Member States had been effective in reducing harassment in public places. It also listed examples of best practices, such as “formal surveillance (increasing the presence of police and/or transport staff on public transport), closed-circuit television system (CCTV) and natural surveillance (better visibility and improved lighting)” (Resolution 2018/2055 (INI), 2018). When talking about the legal definition of sexual harassment in public places, among European countries, Portugal, Belgium and France are often listed as role models. Sexual harassment of women in all settings, which, *inter alia*, includes suggestions of sexual nature and exhibition, is banned by the Portuguese Criminal Code and punished by a criminal sanction of up to one year of imprisonment. Due to the observed increase of sexual harassment outside the workplace in France, a legal act against sexual harassment, which considers public places, streets and public transport assets as potentially criminogenic areas and provides criminal sanctions for sexual harassment offenders, was drafted in 2018. In the first year after the acceptance of anti-sexual harassment law, more than 700 men were sanctioned with the fines up to 750 €. In cases of aggravating circumstances, e.g., minor victims, the fine could be up to 1,500 € (France fines more than 700 men during first year of the implementation of the anti-sexual harassment act, 2019). In order to penalise a broader spectrum of perpetrators of sexual offences, Belgium added a definition of sexism in its Criminal Code in 2014, which refers to gestures or acts, which violate the dignity of a person and are clearly intended to express contempt of individuals or the perception of an individual as inferior due to their gender. The abovementioned conduct is sanctioned both in the context of public and private places (Volkh, 2014). The tendency to criminalise sexual harassment in public places is also reflected outside the European borders. For example, the US State of Colorado banned any acts of sexual harassment that are intended to cause torment, disturbance or intimidation of another person (Criminal Code, 2016). In Peru, the legislator decided to introduce drastic sanctioning of street harassment, which carries a sentence of up to 12 years of imprisonment (Watson Peláez, 2016).

2.5 Criminological View on Sexual Violence and Sexual Harassment

According to Cohen and Felson (1979), the routine activity theory assumes that the presence of a motivated perpetrator in a given time and place, the presence of an appropriate target and the absence of a competent guardian are key to the emergence of criminal offences. Initially, the theory was aimed at interpreting property offences. Still, according to Clodfelter et al. (2008), it may also be used to explain the victimisation of persons due to acts constituting sexual harassment. Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999) report that activities placing students in the proximity of perpetrators, and measures reducing their safety lead to an increased risk of victimisation due to stalking. When researching stalking among students, Fisher et al. (2002) found that factors, such as the existence of places where alcohol is present, the fact that students lived on their own, that they were in an intimate relationship, or subjected to prior victimisation were closely related to further victimisation. Other researchers (Felson & Burchfield, 2004; Gover, 2004; Wilson

et al., 2002) suggest that risky behaviour, involving drug and alcohol abuse, predicts sexual victimisation and dating violence. The consumption of substances may reduce the victim's safety, which, particularly when close to a motivated offender, increases the likelihood that an individual might become an appropriate target (Clodfelter et al., 2008). Alcohol consumption thus constitutes an essential factor that increases individuals' risk of victimisation due to sexual harassment (Abbey et al., 2001; Rothman & Silverman, 2007). The foregoing is also confirmed by Menard et al. (2003), who found that alcohol was an essential predictor of sexual harassment and violence committed by men, as well as sexual harassment by female perpetrators. From the perspective of the routine activity theory, the intoxication can reduce the ability of self-protection against victimisation and reduce the accuracy of hazard perception (Clodfelter et al., 2008).

Cohen and Felson (1979) note that a motivated offender must consider the victim (target) as appropriate, which may result from its proximity or the suitability of the target due to the lack of the victims' ability to protect themselves. Clodfelter et al. (2008) state that both of the abovementioned situations also occur in American university campuses, where male and female students share rooms (classrooms, bedrooms and cafes). Lessons are often held in the evenings, which means that students, sometimes by themselves, walk to their cars or houses in the dark, which increases their chances of victimisation. When it comes to stranger sexual harassment, the relationship between the environment, in terms of crowded public transport, dark areas in public parks, the noisy environment and the presence of alcohol in bars and clubs, on one hand and the opportunity for criminal offences on the other is crucial for understanding this phenomenon. In other words, sexual harassment in public places can be considered as a product of a motivated offender and a potential victim, who is undefended (absence of a guardian), at a particular time and place (Ceccato, 2014).

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), the general theory of crime on low self-control seeks to explain individual differences (gender, culture, age, and other personal circumstances) that influence the tendency to commit or not to commit crimes and other similar deviant acts. The aforementioned theory assumes that individuals with low self-control are exposed to higher risks of committing a crime and other related (analogue) acts, such as promiscuous sexual behaviour and alcohol intoxication, which are defined by the authors under the concept of criminality. Schreck (1999) states that the lack of self-control on an individual may give rise to situations, in which the individual is vulnerable and can be compromised by risky behaviour. However, it can be argued that if others are also involved in risky behaviour, the rate of victimisation, to which an individual may be exposed, increases. There is an overlap between the victim and the perpetrator, which is shown, for example, when students participate in socially acceptable actions, including risky behaviours and alcohol (Bradenburg, 1997, as cited in Clodfelter et al., 2008). This does not mean that the victim must be in any way linked to the perpetrator (Clodfelter et al., 2008). For instance, Gibson et al. (2004), explore the issue of binge drinking as the primary concern of student campuses, since individuals who are involved in this type of activity are at a higher risk

of victimisation due to lower self-control, which could potentially protect them. This does not indicate that victims are responsible for what happens to them but merely draws attention to the factors leading to an increased risk of victimisation.

Sheley (2018) proposes to use the principles of the broken windows theory developed by Wilson and Kelling (1982) when dealing with and prosecuting street sexual harassment to help prosecutors and regulators in addressing the gap between the legal definition of sexual abuse and the actual situation of inequality, as well as the empowerment of victims. The key assumption of the broken windows theory is that the appearance created by minor offences (such as cracked windows) leads to disorder and may subsequently lead to an increase in serious crime. When it comes to sexual abuse, the application of that theory should produce two positive effects. Firstly, if the proponents of the theory are right, the criminalisation of a mild violation would reduce the incidence of serious crimes, which would mean that the punishment of street harassment should, in the long run, lead to the reduction of (severe) sexual attacks that are more difficult to detect and prove. Secondly, even if one presumes that the above assumption is incorrect and that the critics of that theory are right, that would, in a worst-case scenario, result in fewer “broken windows” (pp. 458). As the symbolic value of street harassment would increase, it would still be uniquely beneficial in the context of (severe) sexual attacks treatment. In this context, the disruption of cultural norms regarding men’s attitudes towards woman will occur. A positive consequence of such treatment of sexual violence, which show that the state cares about the prosecution about sexual violence, can be the encouragement of victims to report any forms of sexual violence. In sum, the effects of treatment sexual violence as proposed by broken windows theory should directly or indirectly lead to the reduction of sexual assault’s incidence. Sheley (2018, p. 510) pointed out that “prosecutors and courts need to think about the big-picture relationship between street harassment and sexual assault and enforce existing laws with an eye toward this connection”.

Situational action theory is a new general theory of moral action and criminality, which aims to incorporate individual and environmental explanatory perspectives to overcome some significant shortcomings of existing criminological theories, such as the poor integration of individual and environmental explanatory approaches (Wikström, 2006, 2014). One of the main factors that represent the criminogenic potential of nightlife areas involving bars, clubs, restaurants, etc., is the abuse of alcohol, both by the perpetrator and the victims. In addition, the culture of sexual harassment in nightlife areas is generally present, and there is a significant pressure on the victims to tolerate sexual harassment. When nightlife areas are considered in the context of the situational theory of action (Wikström, 2006), they may represent an environment, in which sexual harassment or sexual assault constitutes an acceptable behaviour. As a result, it is crucial for the public to be aware of the fact that sexual harassment is a criminal offence, which must be addressed with zero tolerance (Mellgren et al., 2017).

3 NIGHTLIFE AREAS IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AND THEIR CRIMINOGENIC POTENTIAL

The nightlife and entertainment areas, particularly in major cities, contribute to economic development, provide opportunities in tourism and offer additional job opportunities (Košir, 2013; Stuart & Hughes, n. d.), so it is not surprising that the planning of nightlife has become a fundamental element of interurban competition. The attractiveness of cities at night time has become an essential part of the urban policy (Mallet & Burger, 2015). Nightlife can be defined as a range of activities and/or entertainment, for example, in nightclubs, bistros, cabarets, cafes, clubs, guest houses, etc.) aimed at those looking for night-time entertainment (Merriam-Webster, n. d. a, n. d. b). Nightclubs or bars can be defined as places of fun that are open at night, serve food and alcoholic beverages, and provide music, space for dancing and entertainment programmes. Nightlife in cities includes entertainment and social activities, such as music, entertainment, dancing, as well as other activities that happen in the evenings in nightclubs, cinemas or theatres (Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary, n. d.; Collins English Dictionary, n. d.). An increasing range of activities are taking place at night, thus creating new areas of work and transforming individuals' leisure time. In a modern society characterised by a disturbance in the social division of time, individualisation of behaviour, changes in working rhythms and a new meaning of leisure, night-time does not constitute a barrier (Gwiazdzinski, 2015). The number of initiatives to promote urban nightlife is increasing annually, thus fostering the involvement of private stakeholders in public policies, including night-time policies. Changing the urban nightlife that tends to increase the expansion of activities in the urban night environments is thus a reflection of private dynamics and public policy that raises various debates. These new forms of development that promote entrepreneurship (transforming urban management and strengthening interurban competition) contribute to the reorganisation of urban geography and the use of urban areas (Mallet & Burger, 2015). When attempting to structure nightlife, one should not forget the role of media that shape time and, in particular, classify behaviour in the 24-hour cycle of day and night (Straw, 2015).

Grazian (2009) states that scientists involved in the urban environment and sociologists emphasise the contribution of nightlife (nightclubs, bars and music venues) to the public life of cities and social capital, which represents the total benefits gained through growth, intensity and diversity of interpersonal relations, as well as the links between the few and their social networks. Grazian (2009) expresses a sceptical attitude towards that, as many nightlife areas do not represent an area of entertainment and social inclusion. As a justification, he puts forward three generalisable empirical findings that justify his scepticism regarding the abovementioned positive contribution of nightlife areas. Firstly, racial and social factors may represent obstacles to the participation in urban nightlife. Secondly, he indicates the normalisation of gender gaps and the occurrence of daily, even routine harassment of women in these areas. He stresses that although women today have greater access to public nightlife areas, as well as more autonomy in them, the social creation of gender gaps still plays an important role in designing

their experience in leisure entertainment activities (Grazian, 2009). Just like the female service staff, young women visiting nightlife areas are usually expected to be feminine, taking into account the “forced” sex norms, which include wearing tight trousers, deep-cut blouses and high heels (Grazian, 2008). After studying the reports of young women, Grazian (2008, p. 103) states that women need to “show some skin and be a little flirtatious” in order to enter popular places that are usually quite busy, which applies particularly to minor girls. This could be the reason why men often target both employees and visitors of nightlife areas, which are considered as the “targets” of their romantic advances and cheesy pickup attempts. To stop these kinds of advances, women use a variety of “cooling out” strategies, avoidance tactics or other defensive actions encompassing behaviours from friendly rejection, excuses, jokes, rudeness, avoidance, unresponsiveness and flight (Snow et al., 1991). Grazian (2007) states that students are harassing women in bars and clubs during their aggressive “girl hunting” endeavours, which represent a sort of a collective ritual or competition and are considered as bonding activity in a group of heterosexual men with the intention of achieving sexual intercourse. In bars and clubs, female students, apart from being the targets of the aforementioned “girl hunting”, are also often harassed by (married) middle-aged men (Grazian, 2008, p. 164 – 169). Gervais et al. (2014) indicate that there is a positive correlation between the frequency of alcohol consumption, the amount of alcohol, the evaluation of the body, sexual advances and sexual violence. Their survey thus shows that the overall effect of body evaluation and sexual advances is strongly linked to the amount of consumed alcohol and sexual violence. Also, body evaluation as such is strongly linked to the amount of alcohol consumed and sexual advances (Gervais et al., 2014). Thirdly, Grazian also highlights the lack of an inclusive local nightlife environment in urban neighbourhood communities. He notes that these arguments show that nightlife areas can work more effectively as an avenue of integration rather than bridging social capital (Grazian, 2009).

In recent decades, nightlife has been one of the essential leisure activities of young people in many Western countries. At the same time, such a form of leisure time represents one of the most critical ways that can lead to a wide range of health and social problems, including alcohol and drug consumption, antisocial behaviour and crime (Calafat et al., 2008; Košir, 2013; Stuart & Hughes, n. d.). Also, there are other risks involved in the participation in nightlife areas, such as noise, binge drinking on the streets and vandalism (Calafat, Juan et al., 2009). Violent behaviour associated with nightlife context is an issue that primarily affects younger populations. In a survey involving 1,363 young people from nine European cities, who often participate in nightlife activities, adolescents were asked to assess the three analysed forms of violent behaviour, i.e. carrying a weapon, being threatened or injured with a weapon, and being involved in a physical fight. Most adolescents, 11.4 percent of women and 28.4 percent of men (Calafat et al., 2011), reported they were involved in a physical fight. In a UK survey of 511 cases of violent acts, involving attacks and injuries carried out by unknown perpetrators, and 442 cases of violence among acquaintances, Allen et al. (2003) note that pubs or clubs are the most common places where violence among strangers occurs (38%). Violence between acquaintances predominantly occurs in

the streets (25%), as well as in pubs or clubs (23%). A glass or a bottle was most commonly used as a weapon in attacks involving strangers, (in 9%), which points to a link between the availability of objects found in the most common settings and the occurrence of such violence (Allen et al., 2003). In Cardiff, the capital city of Wales, a total of 4,792 incidents were analysed. More than half of all events were related to pubs or clubs, whereas 30 percent of incidents happened inside and 21 percent occurred outside or in their immediate vicinity. Most of the remaining incidents happened elsewhere in the streets (34%) (Maguire & Nettleton, 2003).

In many cities, the growth of the nightlife economy resulted in growing concerns about the related crime and disruption to the surrounding area, notably alcohol-related violence (Maguire & Nettleton, 2003). Calafat, Blay et al. (2009) conducted a survey on the use of means of transport to access nightlife areas among 1,363 regular visitors of nightlife areas in nine European cities. The results suggest that about half of all visitors to nightlife areas used some form of public transport (bus, train or taxi), around 40 percent travelled by car, while 10 percent came on foot. High behavioural risks were reported in relation to nightlife activities, particularly when individuals had driven other persons under the influence of drugs or alcohol, which happened in 37.21 percent of cases in the month before the survey (Calafat, Blay, et al., 2009).

4 INCIDENCE AND PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC PLACES

Sexual harassment can take place through personal interactions, telephone, messages, social media or e-mail, by displaying materials or objects, or by unauthorised interference with one's own space and property (Burn, 2019). To demonstrate the complexity and "omnipresence" of sexual harassment, we decided to present individual research studies, which explore the dimensions of the phenomenon in question, with an emphasis on harassment in public areas.

The US national research study about past experiences with sexual harassment, which was carried out in 2019 and involved 1,182 women and 1,037 men over 18 years of age, shows that women most frequently (68%) reported sexual harassment in public places, such as streets, parks or shops. The shares of reported sexual harassment in the workplace (38%) or at school (38%) and in a nightlife area (37%) were rather similar. A slightly lower share of women reported harassment in a domestic environment (31%). Men were most often sexually harassed (23%) in public places. To the same extent (14-15%), they reported sexual harassment at school or in a domestic environment, as well as at the workplace or in someone else's residence. When combining all public places that were involved in the survey (i.e. public and common transport and nightlife areas), it can be observed that 71 percent of women and 28 percent of men experienced sexual harassment in public places, which could also be identified as street harassment. Nightlife venues involving bars, clubs and concert venues, were places, in which sexual harassment was experienced by 37 percent of women and 12 percent of men. In general, homosexual or bisexual women are more likely to report sexual

harassment. In light of the topic discussed, it is alarming that sexual harassment in public places was reported in 91 percent of all cases (UC San Diego Center on Gender Equity and Health, 2019).

The previous US survey (Kearl, 2014), which included 2,000 individuals over 18 years of age, which were roughly equally divided by sex, notes that the issue of street harassment in the US is a burning issue. 65 percent of women stated they were victims of at least one form of street sexual harassment, of which more than half (57%) were exposed to verbal harassment, 41 percent suffered aggressive physical forms of harassment involving sexual touching (23%), stalking (20%) and exhibition (14%). In comparison, 9 percent of them reported they were forced to do something sexual. Men were exposed to street sexual harassment in 25 percent of cases, 18 percent of which had the form of verbal harassment, while 16 percent were cases of physical sexual harassment. Sexual harassment was predominately reported by men who identified themselves as LGBT⁹.

The results of a research study of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2013) about personal experiences of 93,079 LGBT individuals with discrimination and gender-related acts indicate a (still) strong presence of discrimination against otherwise oriented individuals. Almost half (47%) of all respondents felt personally discriminated against or harassed due to their sexual orientation in the past. One in five (18%) respondents, who visited a café, a restaurant, a bar or a nightclub in the year before the survey, felt personally discriminated against due to their sexual orientation. A quarter (26%) of LGBT respondents were attacked or threatened with violence in the past five years. Only less than 17 percent of hate violence were reported to the police.

Hoel and Varita (2018) state that comparative studies on sexual harassment in public places at the European Union level are not available. They believe that the 2014 survey on violence against women carried out by the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights, which examined the experience of sexual harassment in general, to be the best approximation. On average, 21 percent of respondents reported they experienced some form of sexual harassment in the past 12 months, which corresponds to between 24 and 39 million women in the 28 EU Member States. More than one in three women aged between 18 and 39 experienced at least one form of sexual harassment in the year before the study. In restaurants, clubs or cafes, physical violence, which was not intimate partner violence, was experienced by 10 percent of women, out of which 4 percent of women were exposed to sexual violence. In total, the violence of persons, who were not in an intimate partner relationship with the victim, was experienced by 8 percent of women in restaurants, clubs, bars and cafes (FRA, 2014).

A recent Swedish study about female students' experience (n = 1,941) in universities found that one in four students experienced one or more sexual harassment incidents in the previous year, which mostly took place in clubs in restaurants (Mellgren et al., 2017). Furthermore, a quarter of all students (22.7%) involved in study conducted by Clodfelter et al. (2008; n = 750) reported suffering one of the forms of verbal, non-verbal or physical harassment in the previous

9 The term LGBT refers to lesbians, gays, bisexual and transsexuals.

academic year, which suggested that in the current academic year, 2,270 students within the student campus population, which includes 10,000 students, may become victims of sexual harassment. In addition, Fairchild and Rudman (2008, p. 353) indicate that approximately 41 percent of all female students ($n = 228$) reported unwanted sexual attention from strangers, which had happened at least once a month and included sexist comments or enticement. A third of all victims reported being whistled or stared at, and 31 percent of them stated they had been exposed to whistles and staring every few days. A quarter of all respondents experienced sexual coercion or assault (e.g. heavy grabbing) at least once a month. These data support the need to address sexual harassment perpetrated by strangers as a significant form of humiliation and insult of women, which affects the quality of their lives. Sexual harassment carried out by strangers changes public places into everyday hostile environments for women.

Madan and Nalla (2016) discuss the findings of a survey, which saw the participation of 1,387 individuals, of which 621 were men and 766 were women. More than half of all participants (55%) perceived public places, including public transport and stops, streets and public parks, as risky places for the occurrence of sexual harassment. 93 percent of respondents stated they heard about the occurrence of sexual harassment in public places. In comparison, victimisation was experienced by 58 percent of women, while only 4 percent of men claimed that they were sexually harassed. While it is possible, to some extent, to protect or take precautionary measures against attacks in certain public places, e.g. by visiting certain areas in someone's company or by avoiding these areas in certain periods. A great deal of sexual harassment in public places happens when people still have to travel, for reasons of urgency, by public transport. Therefore, previous victimisation does not necessarily have an effect of protection against future attacks, as individuals (particularly women) still have to go outside for work, to buy groceries and pick up children from school (Hoel & Varita, 2018; Madan & Nalla, 2016).

In the article, we presented mostly studies made abroad (e.g., US, Sweden) due to the lack of research in the field of sexual harassment in nightlife entertainment spots in Slovenia. It is essential to point out that caution is needed when generalizing foreign research findings, as the results can only apply to a specific cultural environment. Therefore, the conclusions of foreign authors may not generally apply to the Slovenian environment and must be considered and interpreted with caution.

4.1 Victimisation Due to Sexual Harassment and Its Implications

Sexual harassment leaves physical and psychological consequences on individuals subjected to harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). In a work environment, these may be reflected in a negative mood related to work, which may cause higher employee turnover. Sexual harassment may also cause psychosomatic problems, such as headaches, sleeping difficulties, stomach problems, upper respiratory infections (Barling et al., 1996), anxiety or depression (Fitzgerald et al., 1997), posttraumatic stress disorder (Fitzgerald et al., 2013), eating disorders (Harned

& Fitzgerald, 2002), and, in extreme cases, even suicidal tendencies (Griffith, 2019). Victims may experience anger, fear and shame (Langer, 2017) due to sexual harassment. Livingston et al. (2015), indicate that as a result of harassment, 72 percent of women felt anger, while 79 percent reported anxiety. Sexual harassment can constitute a risk factor for the occurrence of weight and shape concerns, eating disorders and negative self-image (Buchanan et al., 2013). Finally, it can also cause a reduced sense of safety in individuals (Donnelly & Calogero, 2017).

Apart from the aforementioned effects of sexual harassment, which mostly apply to the academic and work environments, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) indicate certain consequences of sexual harassment in public places, which cannot be fully explored due to the lack of empirical evidence, particularly in terms of psychological effects caused by sexual harassment. Nevertheless, fear and a reduced sense of safety represent one of the main consequences of stranger sexual harassment. To avoid the risk of sexual harassment and potentially threatening situations, women, in particular, voluntarily restrict or alter their movements and daily routines, change the paths they walk, the type of transport they use, and the way they dress, which is not always possible either because alternative solutions are inexistent or time-consuming. For many victims, sexual harassment is often humiliating and harms the quality of their lives. Victims can react to sexual harassment by attributing the blame to themselves and by questioning their behaviour and actions (Hoel & Varita, 2018). Fairchild and Rudman (2008) stress that the principal aspect of sexual harassment is related to the treatment of women as sexual objects rather than as intelligent beings. Such sexual objectification is promoted and shaped on the basis of pornography and advertising. Self-objectification derives from repeated objectification, which causes the victim to be perceived as a sexual object, making them ashamed of their body, and continuously checking their physical appearance. Moreover, they argue that women who respond to strangers' sexual harassment by employing active strategies, such as confronting the harasser or reporting the incident to the authorities, are less likely to be exposed to self-objectification when compared to those, who face it passively, for example by ignoring and disregarding the event.

5 CONCLUSION

This paper aimed at emphasising the importance of discussions on sexual harassment, which constitutes sexual violence, but is often neglected and overlooked. According to Ahmed et al. (2014), research studies on street sexual harassment were, when compared to the studies into the more severe forms of sexual violence (Ceccato, 2014), given less media attention and research focus. They stressed that sexual harassment has potentially significant effects at the community level, since it may be used as a reason to limit or deter access to public spaces, as an additional mechanism aimed at the oppression of women's public participation. Furthermore, they noted that long-term and overall effects of street harassment might also be detrimental to women's safety, freedom and participation in public life (Ahmed et al., 2014), which was also highlighted by Fairchild and Rudman (2008). The psychological implications of sexual harassment in nightlife

areas for victims are not (yet) supported by tangible empirical evidence (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Sexual harassment perpetrated by strangers creates a sense of fear. It has an impact on reducing the sense of safety, particularly among women, whose social participation is limited due to fact that they choose to avoid potential situations or perpetrators of sexual harassment. Consequently, the quality of their lives is reduced (Hoel & Varita, 2018). It is essential to highlight that people's perception of and response to specific actions differ. According to Grossman (2008), because of their specific perception of certain acts, individuals may understand a particular act of sexual nature as an invasion of their personal space. Alternatively, the attention they receive from another person may suit them. This coincides with the concept that women, who were taught to seek self-approval in others, are inclined to interpret men's attention as flattering, which in turn means that unwanted attention is not defined as harassment (Bardwick, 1971, as cited in Tangri et al., 1982). Victims are thus facing sexual harassment passively or actively, albeit the first response, which involves confronting the harasser or reporting them to the authorities, is less common. The latter way of responding to sexual harassment manifests itself in the way the victim tries to ignore the event or disregard it (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Thus, sexual harassment can lead to the occurrence of a victim's self-blame and doubts about their behaviour and actions (Hoel & Varita, 2018), as well as in the fact that victims perceive themselves as sexual objects (self-objectification) and are ashamed of their physical appearance (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

The provision of safe nightlife areas is a growing priority across Europe. City authorities must manage habits, not only recreational habits of domestic youth, but, due to the increasing international tourism, also the habits of young people from other countries (Stuart & Hughes, n. d.). The reduction of alcohol-related harm, particularly among young people, which occurs due to the increased alcohol consumption in public places, is a major priority in Europe. According to the routine activity theory, alcohol consumption or intoxication affects and reduces the ability of the individuals to protect themselves, which, mainly in the presence of a motivated offender, increases the likelihood of them becoming appropriate targets (Clodfelter et al., 2008). Alcohol consumption is associated with the emergence of sexual harassment in nightlife areas where victims, particularly women, are expected to tolerate sexual harassment due to a generally prevalent culture of acceptance of such behaviours (Mellgren et al., 2017). Due to the existence of certain "gender norms" in nightlife areas, the social participation, particularly of young women, is also conditioned by the fact that their entry into popular places is easier if they are flirtatious and dressed "attractively" (Grazian, 2008). When combined with the premises of the routine activity theory, these social norms actually point to the element of target suitability. According to Watts and Zimmerman (2002), the fact that society blames the victim instead of the perpetrator, either because of their dress or behaviour, is typical of sexual violence. Consequently, many nightlife areas no longer represent areas of entertainment and social inclusion (Grazian, 2009).

Welsh et al. (2006) observe that existing data on the number of sexual harassment incidents represent only the tip of the iceberg. Victims do not

officially report sexual harassment incidents because of the fear of surrounding condemnation provoked by harassment or by the fact that they lodged a complaint against the harasser. Unreported and undiscovered crimes lead to the occurrence of a dark field of criminality. This represents an obstacle for the research of sexual harassment, particularly of its incidence. Another research impediment also arises from the fact that reports filed by women indicate that they are faced with unwanted sexual attention, but do not characterise such acts as sexual harassment. Consequently, they are not formally reported to the authorities (Firestone & Harris, 1999). Inequality and discrimination, which are, *inter alia*, associated with sexual harassment, are thus still the cornerstone in the continuum of violence against women and girls. To achieve lasting and substantial changes, the root causes of gender inequality and discrimination, such as stereotypes, beliefs, behaviours and relationships that justify sexual harassment, must be addressed and eliminated first. Comprehensive policies and guidelines based on gender equality should also be developed (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2019), as everyone, regardless of factors, such as race, age, gender, disability, sexual orientation or gender expression, should be treated with respect, dignity and empathy. Therefore, no form of discrimination may be admissible under any circumstances (Stop Street Harassment, n. d.). We strongly agree with the comment made by Hoel and Varita (2018), which requires a reconsideration of the issue of stranger sexual harassment by individuals, who hold an established opinion that the form of attention caused to victims of street sexual harassment is irrelevant or that it even constitutes a form of flattery to women. In this regard, we believe that, firstly, it is imperative for the public to identify acts of sexual harassment, perceive them as prohibited and unacceptable acts, and, as stated by Mellgren et al. (2017), start responding to them with zero tolerance.

According to Sheley (2018), street harassment violates existing norms of criminal law already by the perpetrator's intention to touch a victim or to put the victim in a position of immediate threat of unwanted touching. As mentioned above, some countries have already criminalised sexual harassment outside the workplace, particularly the verbal forms thereof, which include whistling and unwanted advances. They have thus surpassed the mostly "classical" definitions of criminalising sexual harassment behaviour (such as physical harassment and exhibition (Spratt, 2016)). According to Sheley (2018), potential concerns that any additional legal regulation of verbal sexual harassment in public places would preclude the freedom of speech are redundant, because by establishing links between verbal sexual harassment and threats of physical harassment, the freedom of speech no longer constitutes a legally protected right.

There are substantial potentials for further discussion and exploration of sexual harassment. In our opinion, it would be necessary to research the emergence of sexual harassment in Slovenia and to explore the occurrence of sexual harassment in public places, including in the least studied areas, such as nightlife areas, in order to obtain a better insight into its actual state and prevalence. At the beginning of March 2020, we began with an empirical study of this issue in the Municipality of Ljubljana, which is being conducted as part of the European Commission project entitled SHINE – Sexual Harassment in Nightlife Entertainment Spots:

Control and Prevention, based on the education of employees' in the nightlife entertainment spots. After outlining the incidence of sexual harassment in those areas, it would also be meaningful to explore an additional aspect of restriction and prevention. The potential is primarily seen in the application of situational crime prevention theories to nightlife areas, with an emphasis on the role of sexual harassment eyewitnesses, who may have a significant impact on the prevention of sexual harassment (Banyard, 2008; Burn, 2009). Nevertheless, with the exception of some criminological publications, sexual harassment in public places or its occurrence in a crowd of people has been, as stated by Hoel and Varita (2018), relatively neglected and under-researched. Therefore, it would make sense to fill this gap with research studies focusing on areas characterised by the gathering of larger crowds, such as city centres or nightlife areas.

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The Role and Function of a Sports Event Organiser: Safety at Football Matches in Slovenia, Serbia, and Austria

Timotej Praznik, Maja Modic, Simon Slokan

Purpose:

The purpose of the paper is to examine the organisation of a sports event – more precisely, a football match, specifically from the point of view of safety. We compared the Slovenian practice of event organising with how sports events are organised in Serbia and Austria.

Design/Methods/Approach:

First we conducted a literature and normative bases review. The research was conducted through interviews with spokespersons from the football clubs – NK Celje, FK Partizan and SK Sturm Graz. We conducted a telephone interview with the security manager of the European Football Association and also included our own observations from attending the Serbian championship match.

Findings:

Our research shows that despite the existence of subnational legislation, there are differences in understanding of ensuring safety at sporting events in the analysed countries. As the most common factors that can affect safety and security at a sports event we identified the following: personnel, supporter groups, pyrotechnics and infrastructure.

Research Limitations/Implications:

Our research is limited to three countries and to three football clubs that were willing to take part in our research.

Originality/Value:

Research findings are based on the perspective and experience of football club security managers, presenting main risk factors and corresponding measures for ensuring safety and security at football matches.

Keywords: safety, sport event, security measures, security risks

UDC: 351.75:796.332

Vloga in naloga organizatorja športne prireditve: varnost na nogometnih tekmah v Sloveniji, Srbiji in Avstriji

Namen

Namen prispevka je prikazati organizacijo športne prireditve, natančneje nogometne tekme, predvsem z varnostnega vidika. Primerjali smo slovensko

prakso organizacije prireditve z načinom organizacije športne prireditve v Srbiji in Avstriji.

Metode:

Prispevek temelji na pregledu literature in normativnih podlag, raziskovalni del pa smo izvedli s pomočjo intervjujev s predstavniki nogometnih klubov – NK Celje, FK Partizan in SK Sturm Graz. Opravili smo tudi telefonski razgovor z varnostnim menedžerjem Evropske nogometne zveze in vključili lastna opažanja z udeležbe na tekmi srbskega nogometnega prvenstva.

Ugotovitve:

Naša raziskava kaže, da kljub obstoju subnacionalne zakonodaje obstajajo razlike v razumevanju zagotavljanja varnosti na športnih prireditvah v obravnavanih državah. Za najpogostejše dejavnike, ki lahko vplivajo na varnost na športnih prireditvah, so se izkazali naslednji: osebje, navijaške skupine, pirotehnika in infrastruktura.

Omejitve/uporabnost raziskave:

Naša raziskava je omejena na tri države in tri nogometne klube, ki so bili pripravljeni sodelovati v naši raziskavi.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

Ugotovitve raziskave temeljijo na perspektivi in izkušnjah varnostnih menedžerjev nogometnih klubov, ki so omogočili identifikacijo glavnih dejavnikov tveganja in ustreznih ukrepov za zagotavljanje varnosti in zaščite na nogometnih tekmah.

Ključne besede: varnost, športna prireditve, nogometna tekma, varnostni ukrepi, varnostna tveganja

UDK: 351.75:796.332

1 INTRODUCTION

Violence in its many forms represents an everyday occurrence across all social systems and an everyday threat to security. Despite the efforts of formal agencies of social control as well as informal agencies of social control, various manifestations of violence, hatred or intolerance continue to persevere in today's society and are reflected in various forms of expression. This is palpable in the words expressed through graffiti, posts on various websites, and face-to-face remarks directed towards individuals or groups, including the worst kind of violence – physical violence in all its facets (Slokan, 2017).

The European Union (hereinafter referred to as the EU) has always been heavily invested in the issue of security. The gradual creation of an area of freedom, security and justice was one of the objectives set by the EU with the Treaty of Amsterdam, particularly in the field of the general creation of freedom and justice by developing joint actions in the fields of police cooperation, judicial cooperation and in preventing and combating racism and xenophobia. More than

30 years ago, the main priorities for justice and home affairs were detailed, laying the foundations for a common European asylum system, a common immigration policy, the harmonisation of border controls, and closer police and judicial cooperation based on mutual trust and recognition with the Tampere Programme. Various new security events (terrorist attacks) have led to the development of a new programme – the Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security and Justice in the EU, which has substantially upgraded the policies and measures established by the previous programme. A third programme, known as the Stockholm Programme, was adopted in 2009, urging the Member States, agencies, authorities and EU institutions to develop coordinated activities to ensure the security of European citizens in order to successfully suppress national and transnational crime. In particular, it called on the Member States to enhance and improve crime prevention measures to combat crime and multidisciplinary cooperation (Resolucija o nacionalnem programu preprečevanja in zatiranja kriminalitete za obdobje 2019–2023, 2019).

In addition to all the mentioned programmes, measures aimed at preventing and suppressing various forms of violence at sports events were also prepared and adapted. It should be noted that researchers, both in the past and today, have disagreed on the main causes that lead to violence at sports events. It is evident, however, that this is a multifaceted and structured phenomenon that has sociological, psychological and security implications for a community. In light of that, lawmakers became increasingly aware of the importance of introducing specific sub-national acts that are targeted at ensuring safety at sports events, when writing various normative acts aimed at ensuring safety at the sub-national and national level (Slokan, 2018).

The purpose of the paper is to examine the organisation of a sports event – more precisely, a football match, specifically from the point of view of safety. We compared the Slovenian practice of event organising with how sports events are organised in Serbia and Austria. The paper provides a comprehensive insight into the differences in the organisation itself, the role of the event organiser and the challenges of managing security threats in each of the three countries. We touched upon the infrastructure of a sports facility, the parties who manage security at the events, i.e. the organisers, the police and private security companies, and the supporter groups that pose a potential security threat at sports events. In this context, we follow the methodology of ensuring integrated security, which also derives from the proposal of the Council of Europe Convention on an Integrated Safety, Security and Service Approach at Football Matches and Other Sports Events¹ (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020), which was prepared for the Council of Europe by the expert group on ensuring safety at sports events, as the measures from the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches no longer corresponded to the current situation in this field.

¹ *The Convention was opened for signature in 2016 and has entered into force on 1 November 2017. The Republic of Slovenia adopted the act on ratification of the Convention on 20 November 2020.*

2 OVERVIEW OF NORMATIVE BASES

The European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches from 1985 (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990) contributed to increased awareness of the importance of preventing and suppressing various forms of violence at sports events and implementing measures at the sub-national level. This sub-national act defined the first measures that needed to be implemented by subjects involved in organising sports-related events. Developments in the field of security ran parallel with the development of sports events and activities, and the diversification and multiplicity of sports disciplines, and in this regard, the European Council issued several different recommendations over the years, all with the aim of preventing and combating various forms of violence. With awareness of the importance of the issue and with a view to ensuring an expanded approach to solving the problem, the first convention was replaced by the Council of Europe Convention on an Integrated Safety, Security and Service Approach at Football Matches and Other Sports Events from 2014, which is still in the process of being ratified in Slovenia. This document emphasizes the necessity of mutual cooperation and connectivity between various entities (integrated or multi-institutional approach) in charge of security at events (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020).

2.1 Sub-national Legislation

In this chapter, we look into the two basic conventions that compel organisers of sports events to provide measures for the prevention of various forms of violence before, during and after sports events, within the European context.

2.1.1 The European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches

The Convention entered into force on 1 November 1985 and has since been ratified by 42 States Parties. Slovenia, at the time still a member of the SFRY, ratified the convention on 26 July 1990, when the Law on the Ratification of said Convention was published in the Official Gazette of the SFRY, no. 9/1990 (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990). After gaining its independence, the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Convention within the framework of the Act Notifying Succession to Conventions of the Council of Europe, the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols on the Protection of War Victims, published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia no. 14/1992 (Nunič, 2017).

By ratifying the Convention (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990), the signatories agreed to take a number of measures necessary to prevent and

control violence, while committing to coordinate the policies and activities of their ministries and other public agencies in the field of countering violence and misbehaviour, mainly through setting up coordinating bodies. In particular, the measures envisaged the adoption of public policies for the employment of an adequate number of public safety workers to counter outbreaks of misbehaviour, both within the immediate vicinity of and inside stadiums and along the busiest transit routes. The measures are also designed to facilitate better and closer cooperation between the police forces involved at different locations before, during and after sports events. One of the key measures, however, is the adoption and implementation of legislation that would provide for the perpetrators of offences related to violence or misbehaviour at sports events to receive appropriate penalties.

The European Convention was adopted with the aim of preventing and suppressing violence and misbehaviour by spectators at football matches and other competitions and obliging the signatories to adopt appropriate legal provisions and measures to implement its provisions. The provisions of the European Convention apply not only to football matches but also to other sports and sports events in which violence or misbehaviour by spectators is to be feared, as appropriate to the specific requirements of such sports and sports events (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990).

Among other things, the Convention (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990) provides for domestic coordination between the Parties and, if necessary, the setting up of coordination bodies for the implementation of policies and actions of the competent ministries and other public services related to the prevention of violence and misconduct by spectators. By acceding to the European Convention, the Parties undertook in Article 3 to ensure the formulation and implementation of measures designed to prevent and control violence and misbehaviour by spectators, including in particular:

- to secure that adequate public order resources are employed to counter outbreaks of violence and misbehaviour, both within the immediate vicinity of and inside stadiums and along nearby roads and other routes intended for the spectators to access the event venue;
- to facilitate close cooperation and exchange of appropriate information between the police forces of the different localities;
- to adopt and apply the necessary regulations which provide for those found guilty of offences related to violence or misbehaviour to receive appropriate penalties or, as the case may be, appropriate administrative measures.

In addition, the Parties undertook to encourage the responsible organisation and good conduct of supporters' clubs and the appointment of stewards to assist the organisers in maintaining order and peace during matches and inform spectators and accompany parties of supporters travelling to away fixtures. The signatories undertook to encourage the coordination of the organisation of travel arrangements to the venue of a sports event, with the cooperation of travel

agencies, clubs, and organised supporters, so as to inhibit potential trouble-makers from attending matches, all within the framework of national and international regulations (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990).

The Convention (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990) provides that States Parties shall adopt appropriate national rules containing sanctions or other measures in cases where outbreaks of violence and misbehaviour by spectators or other participants are to be feared, and calls on sports organisations and clubs as well as owners of sports facilities to cooperate with public authorities and in accordance with national regulations, in taking practical measures necessary to prevent or suppress such violence and misbehaviour both at the event venue and in its vicinity, and in particular:

- to secure that the stadiums are properly and appropriately built and have the essential physical fabric to provide for the safety of spectators
- to ensure effective segregation of groups of rival supporters teams
- to prevent potential trouble-makers, or individuals who are under the influence of alcohol or illicit substances to gain access to or participate in a sports event
- to equip stadiums and other event venues with an effective public address system
- to prohibit the introduction of alcoholic drinks into stadiums and to restrict or ban the sale and any distribution of alcoholic drinks at event venues, and to ensure that all beverages available are kept in safe containers;
- to ensure controls over objects brought into stadiums and other venues by spectators, and in particular to prevent the introduction of objects that are likely to be used for acts of violence, such as fireworks and other similar devices; and
- to ensure mutual cooperation before a sports event between the coordinators and other authorities concerned regarding the implementation of measures necessary for crowd control and the enforcement of the relevant rules through concerted action.

The signatories are also expected to take appropriate social and educational measures, bearing in mind the potential importance of the mass media in popularizing sporting ideals and promoting the notion of *fair play* through various educational campaigns, with the aim of preventing violence in sport and encouraging mutual respect amongst spectators and increased active participation in sport (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990).

The Convention (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990) enables the Parties to ensure, in accordance with applicable international agreements, that spectators who have committed any act of violence or other criminal conduct are prosecuted in accordance with the relevant national regulations. Article 5 also allows the contracting Parties to transfer proceedings against spectators

apprehended abroad for violent or other criminal behaviour at a sports event to their country of residence, in accordance with the applicable international agreements. The signatories may also request the extradition of an individual suspected of violence or other criminal behaviour committed at sports events abroad and the transferring of such individuals who have been convicted of illicit conduct at sports events to serve their sentences in the relevant country.

The signatories undertake to cooperate closely with the competent sports organisations and other persons in charge of the planning and execution of alterations to the physical fabric of stadiums and other event venues, such as access to and egress from, which can contribute to improving the safety of participants in sports events and to the prevention of violence (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990).

2.1.2 The Council of Europe Convention on an Integrated Safety, Security and Service Approach at Football Matches and Other Sports Events

The Council of Europe Convention on an Integrated Safety, Security and Service Approach at Football Matches and Other Sports Events (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) replaced the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990).

The Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) sets out the principles and measures that underpin established good practices, which are often seen as prerequisites for effectively reducing and preventing security risks related to football matches and other sports events. The Convention emphasises the preventive aspect of ensuring safety and at sports events. From a statistical point of view, European experience shows that security and service measures can influence the behaviour of crowds in general and in particular the possibility of major outbreaks of violence and deviant behaviour. Efforts aimed at establishing and maintaining safety and security and reducing violence at sports events, especially at football matches, have a long history marked by tragic events.

Observations and indicators from practice have shown that the content of the 1985 Convention (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990) is lagging behind modern needs or trends and is not in line with the approaches of the Member States and the positive practices that have become established over the past decades since its signing. At the 12th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Sport, which was held in Belgrade in 2012, an update of the 1985 Convention was proposed. A new draft convention text, which was based on an integrated safety, security and service approach was prepared and unanimously adopted by all delegations of the States Parties in December 2014.

The main purpose of the Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) is primarily to promote a spirit of partnership and a multi-institutional integrated approach to ensure safety, security and services among all stakeholders participating in sporting events, bearing in mind that the powers and roles of public and private institutions are clearly defined from the outset. Accordingly, there is a strong focus on effective communication between groups of supporters and local communities.

The Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) clearly defines its scope, which states unequivocally that its provisions must apply to all domestic and international professional football matches, leaving it up to each country to decide whether to apply these provisions to smaller-scale local football matches as well as other sporting events where it can be reasonably concluded that there is a high potential for comparable risks or challenges. A key fact is that the convention does not define violence as the only possible threat at sporting events. Particular attention is paid to security and service measures, which may be used by the relevant agencies to control the behaviour of crowds, which in turn can lead to the prevention of violent acts. Therefore, all three pillars – safety, security and services – need to be considered in a very integrated manner, as they overlap and cannot be considered in isolation if violence is to be completely prevented. It is also extremely important to establish a dialogue between the key stakeholders, as these groups, especially the supporters and local communities, play an important role in ensuring that security is handled appropriately at these events.

The aim of the Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) is to provide a safe, secure and welcoming environment at sports events. To that end, the Parties shall:

- adopt an integrated, multi-agency and balanced approach towards safety, security and service, based upon an ethos of effective local, national and international stakeholder participation and cooperation;
- ensure an integrated consideration of the three pillars (safety, security and service) by all key stakeholders;
- take account of good practices in developing an integrated approach to safety, security and service.

The Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) requires the Parties to license stadiums, ensure the application of safety regulations and certification, which is the responsibility of the competent national authorities and to ensure that stadium design and infrastructure comply with good practices and international standards. The Convention also requires the Parties to ensure that stadiums' operating arrangements are comprehensive, to provide liaison between the partner institutions (the police, emergency services ...) and to incorporate appropriate policies and procedures in matters that might impact on crowd management

and related security risks, including the use of pyrotechnics, violent behaviour by the spectators or other prohibited behaviour by the participants, as well as any racist behaviour and other forms of discrimination. The signatories are also required to urge the relevant institutions to encourage players, coaches and other representatives of the participating teams to act in accordance with key sporting principles, such as fair play, respect and tolerance, and to recognize the negative impact of violent, discriminatory and other provocative behaviour by spectators and other participants. The same Article also requires States Parties to promote joint action and cooperation between all stakeholders (municipal authorities, local communities, police, supporter representatives, sports clubs, national associations, businesses ...) involved in organising and executing sporting events to carry out a risk assessment and plan the appropriate preventative measures to minimise disruption and help to create a safe environment in public spaces that are designed for supporters to gather or in locations which supporters can be expected to frequent as transit routes, before, during and after the sports event.

Special emphasis is placed on the cooperation of all institutions with supporters and local communities, as they represent one of the essential elements for generating a partnership ethos and positive cooperation between key stakeholders, which through a proactive policy and regular communication enables the identification of suitable solutions to potential problems. Based on the promotion of dialogue between all public and private institutions and other stakeholders, the Convention encourages the Parties to initiate or participate in institutional, educational, crime-prevention, social and other projects aimed at promoting mutual respect and understanding, especially among sports clubs and associations, supporters and the institutions responsible for safety and security (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020).

One of the most important stakeholders in providing a safe and friendly environment before, during and after a sporting event is the police. The Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) prescribes an integrated approach to providing safety, security and service at sports events by ensuring that appropriate policing strategies and operations are developed, evaluated and adapted in light of national and international experience.

The Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) also focuses on the prevention and sanctioning of misbehaviour and calls on the signatories to take and implement various measures to reduce the risk of violent incidents or misbehaviour in stadiums or other venues. States Parties must provide for appropriate national regulations to deter and prevent violence or misbehaviour and to provide for appropriate measures to sanction offenders in accordance with the laws, regulations or administrative provisions of a Member State. The signatories are required to provide measures for the prevention of violent incidents or misbehaviour, in

accordance with domestic and international law. Cooperation between the Parties is extremely important in cases where individuals commit offences abroad, in order for such individuals to receive appropriate sanctions, either in the country where the offence is committed or in their country of residence or citizenship. The Convention also recommends that individuals who have caused or contributed to violent outbreaks or misbehaviour are banned from travelling in accordance with domestic and international law and judicial or administrative proceedings, in order to prevent them from committing offences at football events in other countries.

Article 10 of the Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) emphasizes the importance of effective international cooperation and urges the Parties to cooperate closely and to effectively implement the provisions of the Convention and other related matters concerning international events, exchange experience and cooperate in developing and maintaining good practices. The Article provides that the signatory states shall set up a so-called national football information point (NFIP), to act as a point for the exchange of data and information that is relevant for the police and facilitate international police cooperation in connection with football matches with an international dimension. Article 10 further requires that the signatories exchange personal data in accordance with applicable national and international rules and ensure that the NFIP provides a national source of expertise and experience regarding football policing operations, supporter dynamics and other associated safety and security risks related to sporting events.

Article 13 of the Council of Europe Convention (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020) sets out the various functions and activities to ensure monitoring over the application of the Convention, which are the responsibility of the Convention Committee. The Convention Committee is also responsible for monitoring the compliance of the Council of Europe Convention through a programme of visits to the States Parties at their request. However, if circumstances so require, the Committee may, on its own initiative, arrange for meetings of groups of experts.

2.1.3 UEFA Safety and Security Regulations

This document is not directly related to sub-national legislation, but is nevertheless an important act that regulates the rules of conduct that ensure safety at and during sports events, especially at football matches. The European Football Organisation (UEFA) realized very early on the necessity to draw up rules that will properly regulate individual normative frameworks, which will prevent and suppress various forms of violence, with the internal rules of their international industry association. In this chapter, we examine the internal regulations of the UEFA, which must be complied with by the industry associations that play in UEFA tournaments, as well as clubs.

When a match is played under the auspices of the UEFA Football Association, each club, in conjunction with the security manager, is obliged to comply with the

regulations. These regulations govern the procedures and measures to maintain order and safety in and around a sports facility, before, during and after a sports event (UEFA, 2019).

Article 3 provides the definitions of the relevant terms used in the regulations (UEFA, 2019):

- *Control Room*: a space reserved for all actors with responsibility for all match-related safety and security matters, namely the police commander for the match, the person responsible for club safety and the head of security of a private security company.
- *Private Security*: a company/individual trained to perform safety and security functions at the event. A security guard differs from a *steward* in that the security guard has some additional powers under the national law of the State.
- *Safety*: any measure designed to protect the rights and inviolability of life of individuals and groups who attend an event.
- *Security*: any measure designed to reduce/prevent the risk and respond to criminal activity or disorder committed during the event
- *Security Personnel*: police officers, security guards and *stewards*.
- *Steward*: a trained individual who is competent to undertake public order and safety functions in and around a sports facility during the event.

Article 4 of the regulations stipulates that each club must appoint a competent person who is in charge of safety and security to carry out the following functions (UEFA, 2019):

- develop and implement safety and security strategies, risk management and security plans,
- be the main contact person between representatives of the rival club, the police and other entities involved in security,
- manage safety and security in terms of resourcing, training, etc.,
- ensure that the infrastructure of the sports facility is fit for purpose.

UEFA stipulates in Article 6 of the regulations (UEFA, 2019) that the clubs must ensure the exchange of safety-related information with other clubs and stakeholders involved, with the aim of ensuring safety at the event. The security manager is responsible for liaison with local police and others to ensure the implementation of these regulations during the event. In conjunction with other security stakeholders involved, the club/security manager (club representative) is responsible for ensuring effective crowd control, reducing security risks at events and preventing the use of pyrotechnics, violence, racist behaviour and other discriminatory behaviour. For a match where spectators and supporters are segregated, a segregation strategy must be drawn up by the match organiser in conjunction with the police and/or the head of security. If necessary, this strategy will also include a parking strategy for the different groups of supporters/spectators.

The match organiser must ensure that the stadium where the match will take place has been thoroughly inspected and in full compliance with the safety guidelines for stadiums issued by the relevant national authority. The match organiser must seek the cooperation of the local police to ensure the safety of the

visiting team and officials at their hotel and when travelling to and from training and to and from the match. The match organiser must undertake an appropriate risk assessment in conjunction with the police (UEFA, 2019).

Security staff, emergency medical services, medical and fire service personnel and the announcer must be in their allotted positions in and around the stadium before the stadium opens to the public (UEFA, 2019).

Article 32 of the Rules (UEFA, 2019) stipulates that security personnel must be available at all approaches to the event venue, at the turnstiles, and throughout the interior of the venue, at certain locations that are determined in advance. Security personnel must be familiar with the infrastructure of the facility, and with its evacuation plan and fire regulations. Article 33 of the Rules (UEFA, 2019) stipulates the manner in which spectator screenings and searches are to be conducted. When an external perimeter is established at the venue, which is located far from the stadium, the initial screening of the person and the ticket is conducted there.

After being screened, the person may enter the perimeter and continue to the entrance to the facility, where a superficial screening is carried out by security personnel, who also checks whether the person has a valid ticket. Only then, the person may enter the sports facility. The superficial screening is meant to ensure that a person enters the correct part of the stadium, that no alcoholic beverages, pyrotechnics and dangerous objects are brought into the facility and that persons under the influence of alcohol or drugs are prevented from entering. The superficial screening must be carried out by a member of the security personnel of the same sex as the person being screened. The match organiser must also ensure that the players and officials of the match are protected from the intrusion of spectators into the playing area (UEFA, 2019).

The UEFA Regulations are an excellent set of rules that all Member States must comply with. The problem, however, is that these are merely guidelines and as such are not binding for the clubs, at least not in their entirety. It will take a long time for these areas to be regulated and at least partially implemented in national legislation, as it will require convincing the umbrella national federations, the politicians and all other relevant stakeholders.

2.2 National Legislation Aimed at Preventing Violence at Sports Events

In this chapter, we will present the fundamental national legislation governing the duties of the organiser and those of the other stakeholders to ensure safety at sporting events. Slovenian, Austrian and Serbian national laws that address this issue will be covered. It should be emphasized that the two European conventions do not prescribe how the states must regulate the transfer of measures at the national level by any normative act, but merely determine the content. As a result, normative acts vary from state to state, and the entities implementing the measures can come from different departments or ministries (Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Education and Sports, national sports federations involved in a particular segment can be authorized to implement individual measures, etc.)

2.2.1 Slovenian Legislation

Slovenia has a large number of normative acts that directly and/or indirectly influence the provision of measures before, during and after sports events and that contribute to the reduction of various forms of violence. Due to its dispersed nature, Slovenian legislation can prove difficult to keep track of, which can create problems for match organisers and clubs.

Public Assembly Act (Zakon o javnih zbiranjih (ZJZ-UPB5), 2011) regulates the manner in which the constitutional right to peaceful assembly and public gathering at public meetings and public events shall be exercised. In this respect, the Public Assembly Act (ZJZ-UPB5, 2011) constitutes a *lex specialis* and prescribes all the activities of various stakeholders organising a public (sports) event. At the same time, it also sets out all the behaviours and activities that are prohibited at public events - in our case, sports events.

Article 1 of the Sports Act (Zakon o športu (ZŠpo-1), 2018) sets out the public interest in the field of sport, mechanisms for serving said public interest, responsible authorities and the conditions for carrying out professional work in sport, the rights of athletes, public sports facilities and outdoor natural sports grounds, sporting events, and databases and supervision in the field of sport. In Article 73, the Sports Act (ZŠpo-1, 2018) provides the definition of a sports facility: a sports facility during a sports competition shall be a sports facility in which a sporting event is taking place, including the sports facility entrance where the final checking of tickets is conducted or where measures on the part of the organiser are taken to prevent the entry of dangerous objects and substances into the sports facility.

In order to ensure safety at sports events Police Tasks and Powers Act (Zakon o nalogah in pooblastilih policije (ZNPPol), 2013) provides two powers that directly regulate measures against individuals and groups that carry out illegal actions related to sports events. Thus, Article 62 (ZNPPol, 2013) stipulates the measure *prohibition of participation in sports events*, which is ordered to a person who performs inappropriate actions specified in this article at a sports event or in connection with a sports event. The measure itself lasts 2 years, and the person to whom the measure is imposed is not allowed to attend individual sports events during this time. Article 63 (ZNPPol, 2013) stipulates the measure interruption of a trip to a sports event, whereby the measure is aimed at a group of three or more persons. The purpose of the measure is to prevent a group of persons from going to a sports event under legal conditions, because there is a real possibility of their inappropriate conduct. These powers are within the exclusive competence of the Police, and in addition to the ban on participation, the measure itself is also supervised by the organizer with the security service in cooperation with the police.

The Decree on General Measures Applied to Sports Facilities During Sports Events (Uredba o splošnih ukrepih v športnih objektih na športnih prireditvah, 2003) sets out the general measures for owners or persons managing sports facilities and organisers of sports events. The entities referred to above shall implement measures at sports facilities to ensure order, and the protection of event participants and other persons as well as of property at sports events.

In the Republic of Slovenia, this Decree contains the highest number of measures that arise from the implementation of the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990). The Decree also sets out the measures to be taken by the organiser or the owner of the sports facility for the duration of the event at the event venue.

This Decree is one of the operational documents relating to the Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events, emphasizing intolerant, discriminatory and violent behaviours that have no place at sports events and facilities.

As mentioned in the beginning, Slovenia has put in place several other measures to reduce violence in other legislation: for example, the Criminal Code applies to criminal offences and the Protection of Public Order Act applies to misdemeanours. However, when measures are taken against supporters, such as interrupting travel or prohibiting them from attending sports events, the Police Tasks and Powers Act applies. Other laws have an indirect impact, such as the Restrictions on the Use of Alcohol Act, the Weapons Act, the Explosive Substances and Pyrotechnic Products Act, the Private Security Act, etc.

2.2.2 Austrian Legislation

Austria does not have quite as many pieces of legislation as Slovenia, but it does have a set of specific guidelines in which various measures are set out, directly related to sports events.

The Safety guidelines for the top division of the Austrian Bundesliga (Sicherheitsrichtlinien für die höchste spielklasse der Österreichischen Fußball-Bundesliga (Österreichische Fußball-Bundesliga, 2016)) contain binding instructions for all Austrian Bundesliga (BL) competitions, which apply both to the hosting club and the visiting club. These instructions govern safety measures designed to protect the spectators, ensure safety at the stadium and prevent outbreaks of violence among the spectators. The instructions are issued by the governing board and supplement the relevant statutes and special provisions of the ÖFB and BL. They also supplement the legal requirements as well as the rules of conduct in force at the facility. These guidelines must be implemented during every match by the club organising the event. The instructions transferred all the responsibility for organising an event and ensuring safety in all segments to the clubs, and it should be noted that they implemented all the measures arising from the current convention (Österreichische Fußball-Bundesliga, 2016).

2.2.3 Serbian Legislation

Serbia has its own *lex specialis* to ensure safety at sports events, especially in relation to various forms of violence.

The national Law on Prevention of Violence and Misconduct at Sports Events (Zakon o sprečavanju nasilja i nedoličnog ponašanja na sportskim priredbama, 2018) defines a sports event as a sports competition or sports manifestation,

while the organiser of such an event is a sports union (sector association), sports association, sports organisation-club, or any other legal or natural person who occasionally or permanently organises sports events. The law defines the timing of the event, which starts two hours prior to the start of the sports event and ends up to two hours after the end of the event. For high-risk events, this time interval is doubled, i.e. four hours before the start and four hours after the end of the sports event.

A sports facility is defined as a facility intended for sports events, which in addition to the sports field also includes an area for the spectators, grandstands and other areas necessary (toilets, changing rooms ...) and areas that may only be accessed by officials with a valid ticket or permit (pass) issued by the organiser of the sports event (Zakon o sprečavanju nasilja i nedoličnog ponašanja na sportskim priredbama, 2018).

The organiser of a sports event, in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior, is required to ensure safety at the event and reduce safety risk – that is, to avoid misbehaviour and dangerous behaviour by the spectators (Zakon o sprečavanju nasilja i nedoličnog ponašanja na sportskim priredbama, 2018). At the same time, the law defines the various forms of violence, as well as the measures to be taken against individuals and/or groups that violate the provisions of the law. Much like Slovenia Serbia has a number of other laws that are applied when criminal offences are committed outside of sports facilities, with the aim of ensuring greater efficiency in prosecuting the worst perpetrators of misdemeanours or perpetrators of criminal offences.

When reviewing and comparing the different types of legislation adopted in Slovenia, Austria and Serbia with the goal of reducing various forms of violence, it can safely be said that the measures stem from the current European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches (Evropska konvencija o nasilju in nedostojnem obnašanju gledalcev na športnih prireditvah, zlasti na nogometnih tekmah, 1990). All the countries share the common goal of reducing the number of instances of inappropriate behaviour, as well as to prevent various forms of violence at events, especially sports events.

The Convention set out the basic normative framework that the states should follow to effectively combat inappropriate behaviour, and it is up to the states to decide on the type, manner and specific measures that they will use to reduce this type of behaviour, with the necessary adaptations to better suit their social and cultural environment. In fact, all the states have incorporated the provisions of the Convention into their acts, but of course, the realization and effectiveness, both on the part of the state and of the industry associations and clubs are contingent on various other factors.

A new approach and an important step towards an even more efficient fight against various forms of violence will be brought about by the new Council of Europe Convention on an Integrated Safety, Security and Service Approach at Football Matches and Other Sports Events (Zakon o ratifikaciji Konvencije Sveta Evrope o integriranem pristopu k varnosti, varovanju in storitvam na nogometnih tekmah in drugih športnih prireditvah, 2020), as it stipulates that countries with

an integrated (common) approach shared by different stakeholders, including education, social affairs, and health, must start with the said approach at an early stage - child development, cooperation with different actors in sport, and, depending on their role, help prevent and reduce different forms of violence in (sports) society.

3 METHOD

The research part of the paper was conducted using the method of conducting interviews with spokespersons from the football clubs. With the spokesperson from NK Celje², we held interviews in person, while interviewees from FK Partizan³ and SK Sturm Graz⁴ sent us their answers via e-mail. All three were asked the same questions. In addition, we conducted a telephone interview with Mr Željko Pavlica⁵, security manager of the UEFA, the European Football Association. We also included our own observations, with one of the co-authors of the article attending the Serbian championship match in the Linglong Tire Super League between FK Partizan and FK Crvena zvezda at the Partizan stadium.

4 RESULTS

The research section of this paper presents the activities of clubs that play in three different national football leagues. Although there are differences in the national legislation of each country, they are very similar at a subnational level, which is also reflected in the measures implemented by the organisers.

4.1 Security Risks

Security risk is a very broad concept as it covers many factors that can affect safety and security at a sports facility for the duration of an event. When we narrow down this spectrum, the most common factors are personnel, supporter groups, crowd management, pyrotechnics and infrastructure. All of these factors are connected to the human factor. In the next subsections we present the main findings of comparison between all three analysed clubs. Four main factors are also presented in Table 1.

2 We conducted two in-person interviews with Mr Franci Klanjšek, on the 13 August 2018 and 24 April 2019.

3 Mr Živko Šljukić first answered our questions by e-mail, and then we completed the interview in person on 22 September 2019, on the day one of the co-authors watched the match live.

4 Mr Bruno Hütter completed our questionnaire by e-mail. Our communication with him (he also sent many useful documents in connection with safety at football matches) lasted for about a month, starting with 18 October 2019.

5 We had two live telephone interviews with Mr Željko Pavlica on 2 December 2019.

Table 1:
Comparison of security risks in all three clubs

	NK Celje	FK Partizan	SK Sturm Graz
Workforce	Security is provided by private security company; no perceived need for introducing stewards to the system	Security is provided by private security company and stewards	Security is provided by stewards, who come from the population of fans or supporters of the club
Supporter groups	Due to its members' aggressive behaviour club denounced the supporter group (Celjski grofje 92); currently no officially organised supporter group	Supporter groups are organised as paramilitary formations; tensions and clashes between the supporters are often and serious	Supporters are focused solely on the sport and on supporting their club; incidents during matches are very rare
Pyrotechnics	Occasional use of pyrotechnics; most often used during major and important matches by visiting supporters	Use of pyrotechnics is regular, especially at the derbies with their main rival club	Pyrotechnics are used occasionally; there have been a few instances of misuse of pyrotechnics
Infrastructure	Suitable infrastructure, built relatively recently	Suitable infrastructure; built in 1951, but high-quality construction	Suitable infrastructure, built relatively recently

4.1.1 Workforce

In all three clubs, security is provided by private security companies, while in Serbia and Austria, the clubs also employ stewards. The Celje football club does not use stewards, as they would have to be drafted from a population that includes the club's supporters, which casts doubts over whether these individuals can be entrusted with the job. In addition, the club does not see the need for stewards, for the time being. According to the responsible people at the club, the security staff of a private security company is insufficiently and poorly trained. They usually undergo training and obtain a license that enables them to work at public events, especially sports events, which have their specificities. The biggest issue is that security guards lack experience, especially in working with people. The problems start at the very beginning when a security guard does not know how to perform a basic surface screening of an individual, an inspection of their bag or of a vehicle entering the sports facility or its surroundings. The situation becomes even more critical when dealing with an aggressive person or group of people because unprofessional and inappropriate reactions by security guards can cause the situation to escalate further instead of calming down, and result in minor or even serious injuries. At SK Sturm Graz in Austria, the duty of ensuring safety at the facility is entrusted solely to stewards, who come from the population of fans or supporters of the club. These individuals are required to undergo regular training and education to be able to do their job. The online training for these individuals is provided by the ÖFB, meaning that the stewards receive central training directly by the Austrian Football Association, instead of being trained by each club or company, which has proven to be a very well-thought-out practice by the Austrian Football Association. The interviewer encourages this continuous training, because the personnel needs to be retrained over and over again and because humans are still the weakest link in the chain of organising sporting events. The stewards and the club work very closely together, always making

sure that they go over some of the most important safety measures, such as the evacuation routes, how to act in specific situations, etc. before each match. The club (Sturm) is satisfied with the system, as it has served them very well so far. The FK Partizan also uses stewards, but their doubts about whether they can be trusted remain, as they also come from the supporter population. In light of the overall situation in Serbia, this can pose a certain risk at times. In this case, the stewards underwent short training/education (80 hours), which does not suffice, given the situation in the Balkans. It is worth mentioning that a steward is not allowed to conduct a surface screening of the spectators before they enter the facility, as only the police are authorised to do so in Serbia. Stewards receive payment for performing their work tasks and responsibilities, which is very modest, raising the question of whether a steward would be willing to get involved in situations that could endanger their safety or the safety of others.

In Slovenia, this work is performed by security guards who are licensed to work in the private security sector. However, they often lack the knowledge necessary to properly inspect a person or their belongings, as well as to manage crowds.

4.1.2 Supporter Groups

Supporter groups are an essential part of every sport. With football being the most popular and watched sport in the world, this phenomenon is even more pronounced here than in any other sport. There are different categories of people attending football matches: spectators, supporters and the most extreme group of all – ultras. There are also differences between supporter groups in Austria, Slovenia and Serbia. In Slovenia, the Celje football club used to have a supporter group known as the Celjski Grofje 92, but due to its members' aggressive behaviour towards the rival groups during matches and, ultimately, towards its own club, the group proved to be damaging to the club's reputation. After careful consideration, the Celje football club denounced the group and played without a supporter group for several years. Due to the club's good performance during the current season, the supporter group was revived in a different, less aggressive light. After the Celjski Grofje group was disbanded, there was a fear that individuals who once belonged to the group would infiltrate the general spectator population and cause disturbances and verbal or physical violence. At Partizan, the situation is completely different, as supporters and supporter groups have always been and will always be part of this culture. Being a member of a supporter group means to belong to a population of like-minded people, but the sport element often takes a back seat to other things. These groups are linked to various criminal enterprises – from drug trafficking and arms dealing (cold weapons and firearms) to murder. The structure of such groups is based on the chain of command, which is why supporter groups in Serbia and in the entire Balkans operate as paramilitary formations. The concepts of reputation and respect are also very important for these groups. It is about gaining prestige within the group and also among other supporter groups in a public arena. Problems also arise when tensions between groups of supporters who support the same club become high, and shows of strength and prestige take precedence

over all else. Tensions tend to become especially high during the national derby when Partizan plays against Crvena zvezda. This results in clashes between the supporters. These clashes can either be spontaneous or organised, but in both cases, the results are bodily injury and property damage, due to the use of cold weapons and firearms, chains, sticks, brass knuckles and any other objects that can be turned into a weapon. In Austria, the situation is completely different, as supporters are focused solely on the sport and on supporting their club and do not engage in any criminal acts within the group. Incidents during matches are very rare and there are no physical confrontations. There have been instances of misuse of pyrotechnics, but these are the exception rather than the rule.

Ensuring good communication with the groups of supporters is essential. In Slovenia, the most notorious conflict was the one between the Celje football club and its supporters, which ultimately culminated in a rift between the two parties. Partizan and Sturm are an excellent example of good relations and communication between the club and the supporters. The Sturm football club has monthly meetings with members of the supporter group to discuss areas of improvement and plans for the future. The Partizan club, on the other hand, has a designated person who acts as a liaison between the club and the supporter group. Despite all the noise and commotion happening in the background of some supporter groups, the relationships are very good and the groups, for the most part, adhere to the agreements, which is not a fact to be taken for granted, especially not in this part of the world.

As far as supporter groups are concerned, they can represent a security risk, but the level of risk differs widely between the countries. The issue of supporter groups in Serbia and their connections with the criminal underworld goes beyond the competences of the club.

4.1.3 Pyrotechnics

Pyrotechnics have always been and will always be part of the supporter culture, as it is a way for the club's most ardent supporters to show their support and sense of belonging. Many people struggle to understand why pyrotechnics have become a part of supporter culture. Like many other factors, this one is connected to the area where the club is located, since the mentality of the supporters varies depending on the location. Of the three clubs compared, FK Partizan stands out the most, since the use of pyrotechnics is a completely normal factor virtually at every match, especially at the derbies with Crvena Zvezda. The security manager always expresses reservations about pyrotechnics, highlighting the danger of terrorist acts at sports events, because pyrotechnics may be used to hide various objects and for purposes other than intended, such as to injure other people who happen to be at the sports facility. Things are completely different in terms of pyrotechnics at the Graz football club, where pyrotechnics are used occasionally, but not to the same extent as in the Balkans. There is more supervision over the use of pyrotechnics to prevent minor or serious injuries. The club is also considering using the so-called "cold pyrotechnics" technology that is being developed in northern Europe. At the Celje club, pyrotechnics are most often used during major and important matches by visiting supporters. Thanks to the club's good

performance this year, they have brought back the supporter group, which uses pyrotechnics on a smaller scale. The club's security manager has a zero-tolerance policy for the use of pyrotechnics because it is an active agent that is difficult to control and can have serious consequences.

4.1.4 Infrastructure

Infrastructure is an important element of security, but it largely depends on the club's available funds and budget. Security managers are often aware of any weak points, but eliminating or fixing them poses a problem, especially for smaller clubs that do not have the available budget to cover all the costs for one season. All the clubs examined in this paper have the right infrastructure, as this gives them a financial background, and they all compete at a higher European level and must therefore adhere to certain standards to be able to host football matches at their facilities. Another thing that all three clubs have in common is that they are able to separate the rival supporter groups at their facilities, to avoid any direct contact between them. The Sturm Stadium (Merkur Arena) and the Celje Stadium (Z'ležele Stadium) were built relatively recently, which cannot be said for the Partizan Stadium, as it was built in 1951. Nevertheless, thanks to its high-quality construction, it stood the test of time and is still up to par with its younger counterparts. It is one of the few facilities in the region that have turnstile gates equipped with a ticket scanning system at every entrance. In addition, the stadium has 107 security cameras, which record the interior and the surroundings of the facility 24 hours a day, every day. This shows that there have been continuous investments in infrastructure modernization and safety. The stadiums in Celje and Graz are also equipped with a security and monitoring system that monitors events inside and around the facility – as already mentioned, these two stadiums are relatively new but will require urgent investments in infrastructure in the future. Smaller clubs, especially in Serbia and Slovenia, are particularly problematic, as they lack the resources to ensure and provide the necessary infrastructure.

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 The Parties Involved in Security

Regardless of where a sporting event takes place, the organisers work in conjunction with the following four parties: the police, the rescue service, the fire department and the private security company. There are some differences between how each country handles security, which is evident in the case presented. In Slovenia, the police, a private security company, the fire department and a rescue unit work together in conjunction with the club. Since Celje does not employ stewards, they hire a private security company to ensure safety and security at the facility. The police must always be present for maintaining peace and public order. In Slovenia, police officers are paid to do this work. In Serbia, the situation is significantly different, as the special police units (gendarmerie) play a role in maintaining order. In certain cases, such as when military delegations are present at the match,

the army is also called to provide security, since FK Partizan is a club with army connections. In addition to that, the club also employs stewards to maintain order at the stadium. Without the presence of the police and the gendarmerie, holding a football match in Serbia would be an impossible task. This is especially true for derby matches, which are the most high-risk, making the presence of the police and the gendarmerie indispensable. A single derby match requires between 5,000 and 6,000 police and army officers. Unlike in Slovenia, neither the police nor the gendarmerie receive compensation for their work during a match, despite the elevated risk involved, and the high number of police officers and members of the gendarmerie that need to be present at the match. In principle, the Austrian system is very similar to the Slovenian system, as all the parties involved are the same, with the only difference being that the Sturm football club uses stewards who work at the facility. The police are tasked with maintaining order and peace in the area around the facility, for which they are not compensated. However, the police are compensated for their work inside the sports facility itself, when the stewards are unable to maintain peace and order.

Holding a safe and successful match/event requires coordination and adequate training of all involved. A crucial role is played by the person in charge of organising and planning – the club's security manager. All the clubs who took part in the research employ highly experienced and professional individuals in this position, which is reflected in their work. Celje and Partizan hold an advantage over the other clubs, as they both employ security managers who are former police officers and thus enjoy a higher degree of trust and respect, especially from the police.

5.2 Measures Before the Match

Pre-match measures start long before the day of the match, as they cover the entire phase of planning the event until the beginning of the match. Communication between all parties involved is crucial in this phase. Based on our comparison, we can conclude that these measures are more or less the same, regardless of the country where a club is located, with very minor differences.

The first step is always to register the sporting event at the local administrative unit. The only difference between the clubs is the time frame of the registration, which is from 14 to 10 days before the match. The organiser then contacts the previously mentioned parties involved in security (the police, the rescue service, the fire department, the private security company) and the visiting club. This is an essential step, as it gives the organiser an idea of the approximate number of visiting supporters and spectators who will be attending the match. The next important piece of information is whether the supporters plan to attend the event as an organised group or individually. Once the organiser has collected all this information, a security plan can be drawn up, which is a key document to have when organising an event. Just before the match starts, a meeting is held of all the parties involved in security and all outstanding issues are resolved.

Before every match, the police must escort both teams as they arrive at the stadium. This is an obligatory step, as also specified in the regulations and

guidelines that the clubs must adhere to. The purpose of a police escort is to reduce the risk of incidents upon arrival at the sports facility. If necessary, a police escort is also provided for the match referee. The police are the only party that can provide an escort.

Before the start of the match, the sports facility must be inspected to ensure that no explosives or other prohibited devices are inside the facility. In case of a high-risk match in Serbia (such as the derby between Partizan and Crvena zvezda), the stadium is under constant surveillance for the 24 hours that precede the match. Before and after surveillance, the stadium is inspected by anti-bomb police units. It is a well-established practice and also a law requirement to segregate the supporters of both teams in such a way as to ensure that there is no direct contact between them or by separating them from each other with technical obstacles. Efforts must be made to separate the groups of supporters in the areas surrounding the stadium before they even enter the facility. In Celje, they not only separate the two groups of supporters inside the facility but the other spectators as well, thereby reducing the risk of someone in the spectator population expressing anger and hatred or behaving in a violent manner. In Slovenia, Celje is the only club that has implemented this practice (due to the large size of the facility), while Sturm and Partizan have not. The only issue with this practice is that there are no laws requiring the segregation of the spectators, which results in many people ignoring these instructions. The spectators have reacted very positively to the practice.

Spectator screening at the gates is also of key importance, as it is a lengthy process and requires professionally trained staff. Before entering the sports facility, superficial screening is required. In Celje, screenings are done by security guards who are authorised to ban a person from the facility or deny them entry to the facility, if they are deemed a risk. In Serbia and Austria, these screenings are performed by safety personnel/stewards. In principle, stewards do not have the authority to conduct this procedure, which is why in Serbia inspections are performed under the supervision of the police, as well as to prevent non-performance. Problems arise when the personnel (the stewards) are poorly trained.

5.3 Measures During the Match

The measures that have to be implemented during the match are difficult or impossible to define, as it is impossible to predict with certainty what might happen during a match. The most important thing is to monitor the events during the match and try to prevent certain situations from happening or react appropriately to a given situation. These measures are mainly related to the use of pyrotechnics during the match and monitoring the stands, as whatever happens there is often a result of the outcome of the match. If necessary, the match can also be suspended indefinitely, such as when banners are used expressing racial, ethnic or other types of intolerance, or in cases of verbal violence. This happened in Serbia when the president of the Serbian Football Association became the target of insults. In this phase, the experience and professionalism of the security managers are very important. They must also know as much as possible about the people/clubs/supporters in their national leagues.

5.4 Measures After the Match

After the referee blows his/her whistle, the match ends for the spectators, but not for the organiser and other security stakeholders. Events after the match may be affected by the final result or by other events during the match. At this stage, there must be no direct contact between the opposing supporter groups, as this could lead to a massive brawl or a similar incident. In Serbia, a few minutes before the end of the match, the police and members of the gendarmerie are joined by their colleagues around the football field to prevent possible intrusions on the field or other violent outbreaks. All the clubs allow the visiting supporters to exit the facility first, followed by the home club supporters, which makes direct contact in the vicinity of the stadium nearly impossible. Again, the infrastructure of the facility and its surroundings is very important here. Are the sectors sufficiently separated, what about the entrances, where are the paths that lead to the stadium located and is the stadium is located in an urban environment, in a suburban area or on the outskirts – are some of the questions that need to be answered. In our case, all the stadiums are located more or less within the city or in a suburban area. For example, the Partizan and Celje stadiums border on residential areas. If necessary or at the discretion of the police and the organiser, a particular group may be detained in the stadium under while tensions run high. After that, the procedure is the same as the one before the match – the teams are provided with a police escort as they leave the stadium. Police escorts can also be provided for the referees if the police and the organiser determine that they may be in danger. Once everyone has left the facility, the event can be concluded. The last step is to make a record of everything that took place during the match, including areas that need improvement and various security incidents.

6 CONCLUSION

In the discussion, we will first highlight the topic of the infrastructure of the sports facility itself. Our conversations with the interviewees revealed that they do not detect any issues with the infrastructure, which is something that we were able to confirm. Clubs that have a smaller budget are more likely to report infrastructure issues. These differences are more pronounced in Slovenia and in Serbia. The infrastructure of a sports facility should not lag behind modern development. The modern and postmodern development of a stadium must be in line both with the socio-economic conditions of the capitalist mode of production as well as with the relevant sports-related factors of a historical period (Paramio et al., 2008). Any new potential security threats that can be brought about by poor infrastructure, the segregation of the supporters and, above all, easier crowd management must be taken into account. The concept of crowd control goes hand in hand with infrastructure, as its procedures involve planning an event, training employees, forming scenarios, and collecting data – all of which are tasks to be performed before the match (Abbott & Geddie, 2001). This definition also mentions employee training, which represents the biggest challenge for the organiser. The problem, however, is that the organiser has no direct influence over this, as the security

staff is provided by a private security company. Abbott and Geddie (2001) wrote that security personnel must be prepared for any possible situation that may arise during an event, and that every crowd of people is different, which is why it is important to have well-trained personnel. Effective crowd management can significantly reduce security risks. A good example of crowd management are the multi-zone safety parameters around the sports facility, which are prescribed by UEFA guidelines and should be followed by all the clubs whose national federations fall under the European Football Association. These parameters are designed to remove individuals who pose a security risk from the sports facility as far away from the facility as possible. One thing to keep in mind is that threats evolve over time and become more and more sophisticated, which is why terrorism is also a factor to be taken into account. Event organisers have acted to achieve a balance between effective risk management while not unduly deterring from spectators' enjoyment of the event (Taylor & Toohey, 2006). A good example of this is NK Celje, which has not experienced any major security risks after parting ways with its supporter group *Celjski grofje*. As a result, more and more families with children are able to attend the matches, as they feel safe in this environment. Of all the above, however, it is the human factor that has the biggest impact and while it cannot be eliminated altogether, it can be reduced to a minimum. Security personnel, such as security guards or stewards, must attend professional training before starting any type of assignment (Trstenjak, 2017). The duration of training is a controversial topic, not only in Slovenia but also in Serbia and Austria, as it tends to be too brief and the knowledge covered is not comprehensive enough. This means that anyone can obtain a professional qualification to work as a security guard in about a month. Having good knowledge of the measures and the work of each party involved in security at a sports event is crucial in order to do a better job. Currently, this does not seem to be the case, as disagreements and errors often occur during procedures (Trstenjak, 2017). Each of the clubs examined has some good practices that should be shared with others in the interest of crowd control and security. In NK Celje, it is not only the supporter groups that are separated at the sports facility – the visiting spectators are also separated from the home spectators to prevent potential incidents between them. Austrian football club Sturm requires its stewards to undergo regular on-line training to keep their licenses, which is a noteworthy example of good practice. This practice should be implemented by other countries as well, as there are clear benefits from ensuring regular training and professional development for stewards. The last crucial factor to highlight is the relationship between the club and the supporters. This is where Partizan stands out.

Emery (2010) states that we are as safe as the most stupid/ignorant person with responsibility. Sports event security relies on increased planning and coordination, which contributes to the strict coalescence of different spatial, temporal and functional logics of surveillance within a carefully orchestrated and comprehensive security system (Klauser, 2013). Organisers must therefore be aware of the consequences that may arise at the event and the fact that security should not be viewed from a financial perspective (Slokan, 2017).

Awareness of the importance of ensuring the safety of all stakeholders involved in sporting events is the foundation for improving the situation in this area. As can be seen in the discussion, there are differences in understanding of ensuring safety at sporting events and approaches to reducing or eliminating the consequences, despite the existence of subnational legislation (various European conventions). Of course, the activities are related to various risk factors, which relate to the number and type of fans, sports infrastructure, the training of organizational staff, the financial framework of the organizers, etc. Despite all the mentioned risks and taking into account the integrated approach to ensuring safety at sports events, we believe that a number of steps still need to be taken in order to unify practices within the European Union and the European region.

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Safety, Security, and Crime Prevention in Rural Areas of Krasnodarskyi Krai and the Republic of Adygea

Anton Petrovskiy

Purpose:

The purpose of the article is to study crime and crime prevention in the rural areas of Krasnodarskyi krai and the Republic of Adygea to make suggestions for how to enhance the public security system.

Design/Methods/Approach:

The following methods were applied to assess crime in the rural areas of the two Russian Southern regions for the period between 2015 and 2019: a statistical observation, and calculation of a crimes index analysis of law enforcement reports.

Findings:

In order to ensure public security of the population in rural areas it is necessary to decentralise the crime prevention system in Russia by transferring law enforcement powers to the municipal bodies, by creating municipal police and a system for the re-socialisation of former criminals.

Research Limitations/Implications:

Crime in the rural areas of Krasnodarskyi krai and the Republic of Adygea depends on the impact of local factors. As a result, the reasons and conditions of similar crimes in the rural areas of Central Russia might differ.

Practical Implications:

The results could be used by the local authorities in planning crime prevention measures and enhancing crime prevention in the rural areas of the regions under study.

Originality / Value:

The article is the first study of the criminological characteristics of crime in the rural areas of Krasnodarskyi krai and the Republic of Adygea since 2014, suggesting measures to boost crime prevention with regard to the contemporary socio-economic situation.

Keywords: public security, crime prevention, rural area, efficiency of police activity

UDC: 351.78(470.620)

Varnost in preprečevanje kriminalitete na ruralnih območjih Krasnodarskega kraja in Republike Adigeje

Namen prispevka:

Namen članka je preučiti kriminaliteto in preprečevanje kriminalitete na ruralnih območjih Krasnodarskega kraja in Republike Adigeje ter podati predloge za izboljšanje sistema javne varnosti.

Metode:

Za proučevanje kriminalitete na ruralnih območjih dveh ruskih južnih regij v obdobju med letoma 2015 in 2019 sta bili uporabljeni naslednji metodi: statistično opazovanje in analiza indeksa kriminalitete na podlagi poročil organov pregona.

Ugotovitve:

Za zagotavljanje javne varnosti prebivalstva na ruralnih območjih bi bilo treba decentralizirati ruski državni sistem preprečevanja kriminalitete s prenosom pristojnosti na občinske organe, z ustanovitvijo občinskega redarstva in sistema za resocializacijo obsojencev.

Omejitve/uporabnost raziskave:

Kriminaliteta na ruralnih območjih Krasnodarskega kraja in Republike Adigeje je odvisna od vpliva lokalnih dejavnikov. Razlogi in pogoji za podobna kazniva dejanja na ruralnih območjih osrednje Rusije se lahko razlikujejo od naših ugotovitev.

Praktična uporabnost:

Ugotovitve bi lahko lokalne oblasti uporabile pri načrtovanju in izboljšanju ukrepov za preprečevanje kriminalitete na ruralnih območjih v preučevanih regijah.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

Prispevek predstavlja prvo študijo o kriminoloških značilnostih kriminalitete na ruralnih območjih Krasnodarskega kraja in Republike Adigeje od leta 2014 naprej, s predlogi za preprečevanje kriminalitete glede na aktualne socialnoekonomske razmere.

Ključne besede: javna varnost, preprečevanje kriminalitete, ruralna območja, učinkovitost policijskega dela

UDK: 351.78(470.620)

1 INTRODUCTION

Compared to urban criminality, criminologists pay little attention to the problem of crime prevention and the efficiency of the measures undertaken by the police for enforcing public security in rural areas. Despite some studies on the rural criminality and its characteristics (Zabryanskyi, 1983, 1990), the area of research at issue has remained the exclusive domain of academics from regional and higher education institutions affiliated with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Kabanov,

2017; Sibiriyakov, 2005; Tcheprasov, 2007). There is a general lack of in-depth studies on the successes/failures of law enforcement in rural crime prevention. The last paper in this area of research was submitted in 2014 (Shuklina, 2014).

Unlike Russia, foreign countries have paid more attention to the criminological problems of crime in rural areas. European scientists have experimentally tested the verity of classical criminological theories in relation to rural areas (Donnermeyer & DeKeseredy, 2013) and considered the prospects of using the cohesion of rural communities, formal and informal measures of social control, to ensure security (Harkness, 2017; Meško, 2020).

Foreign criminologists have studied in detail the reasons for the rural population's tolerance of several criminal manifestations (such as domestic violence, illegal behaviour while under the influence of alcohol) (Ceccato, 2016; Smith, 2010), as well as social patterns caused by the level of crime and fear of crime in rural areas (Adams & Serpe, 2000; Meško et al., 2012).

Serious attention has been paid to the study of preventive tactics and methods of law enforcement structures in rural areas with respect to the social, cultural and geographic characteristics (Mawby, 2004; Mawby & Yarwood, 2016), the duties and authority of police officers to protect citizens in rural areas (Meško et al., 2013), issues of the integration and coordination of the police with the local population, the social responsibility of police officers in response to appeals of citizens (Lobnikar et al., 2016; Mouhanna, 2016).

The originality of the topic is justified by the fact that the Russian countryside at the end of the twentieth and start of the twenty-first century was subjected to serious reforms that created social, economic, demographic and cultural difficulties for the population, leading to growth in criminality. Russia's change at the start of the 1990s over to the capitalist path of development triggered the destruction of the Soviet agricultural system, depopulation, the marginalisation of towns and rural areas, while raising the motivation for crime among the people living in rural areas. State regulations on the volume of necessary agricultural products, administratively planned interference in the work of the agro-industrial complex, and the centralised distribution of products during the Soviet period turned rural residents into mere implementors of the executive's will and led to the loss of commercial abilities and eliminated private initiative. The abolition of *sovkhozes* (state farms) and *kolkhozes* (collective farms), the lack of orders for agricultural products and also of state support, the seizure of domestic markets by foreign agricultural producers, the shortage of skills among villagers to conduct their own activities in the new capitalistic conditions produced the complete collapse of social life in the rural areas of Russia (Konovalov, 2000). The destruction of the Soviet agricultural sector excluded a great mass of people from the economic exchange, depriving them of a fixed income and impacting pensions. This huge mass of people that was forced to find money for their living had no aversion to committing crimes and violating the law. The predatory privatisation and further transfer of the agricultural lands into private property influenced the labour market and salary level. The redistribution of lands and production means changed the people's mental attitude to ownership as an institution. The fast transfer of ownership from the state to private persons created a legal nihilism

that formed the basis for justifying the theft and acquisition of other persons' property (Zhuravleva & Khakimova, 2016). Social and economic changes of the last decades have influenced the two biggest agricultural regions of the Russian Federation – the Republic of Adygea and Krasnodarskiy krai. These are two regions of the Russian Federation situated in the south-east of the North Caucasus with a population of 5,648,000 people in Krasnodarskiy krai and 454,000 people in Adygea (Official website of the administration office of the Federal Agency of State Statistics for Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, 2020). The rural population of Krasnodarskiy krai totals 2,531,000 people (45.8%) and in the Republic of Adygea 240,000 people (52.9%). The urban population is concentrated in the major cities of these two regions: Krasnodar – 1,007,000, Sochi – 524,000, Novorossiysk – 338,000, Armavir – 208,000, Maykop – 163,000 people. The ethnic diversity is as follows: 1) Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians) represent 79.1% of the whole population; 2) Adygeans (adygean-circassian) 13.1% and; 3) Armenians 4.9% (Office of the Federal State Statistics Service for Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, 2020).

Criminality in rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea is subject to the impact of local peculiarities reflecting ethnic, cultural and religious specific traits (Tishkov, 2004). These ethnic, religious, cultural traits arise from the fact that the representatives of the Slavic ethnic groups profess Orthodoxy, and the second-largest people – the Adyghe – are autochthonous and Sunni Muslims. The Slavs are also not homogenous as they consist of citizens who identify themselves with the socio-ethnic community of the Cossacks (7%–10% of the Slavic population) and consider themselves indigenous on a par with the Adyghe (Official publication of the results of Russian Census, 2010).

The Adyghe people have managed to preserve their informal inter-social norms of communication, based on national traditions and obligatory for representatives of this ethnic group. The Cossacks were able to fragmentarily preserve traditions and informal norms of behaviour. At the same time, the regional authorities show a strong interest in preserving the culture, traditions, and way of life of the Cossacks and create special educational programmes that promote the population's identification with the Cossacks. All of this creates a local ethno-cultural environment in which citizens, moving from other regions of Russia to the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, experience difficulties with their adaptation and socialisation (Lubsky et al., 2016). The state of crime in the rural areas is different from urban crime and its relative share in the crime of the two regions is 28%. It is necessary to underline that a significant part of the crimes in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea is not captured by the formal statistical data and the respective police reactions. Rural areas' criminality is characterised by a high level of latency that is three times higher than the general level of the registered crimes (Olkov, 2019). This argument is confirmed by crime surveys that show 70.3% of the rural population does not seek the police for help, and a considerable share of conflicts that could qualify as a crime are left outside the criminal law system's impact (Khomenko, 2005).

Crime is a serious threat to the rights, interests and freedoms of citizens who live in rural areas. The rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea are understood as municipal areas in which the population lives only in rural settlements and where the basis for the economy is agro-industrial business. Criminality consists of a multitude of crimes whose study enables one to draw conclusions about the features and patterns, and to develop proposals for the creation of an effective system that ensures public security in rural settlements. Conceptually, this work will only consider crimes committed in rural areas and the police's ability to suppress or prevent such crimes. The Criminal Code of Russia provides a comprehensive list of crimes and in accordance with the law the police is obliged to prevent crime, i.e. to eliminate its causes and conditions, to exert an educational influence on the citizens in order to prevent them from violating the criminal law under Federal Law of 07.02.2011 No. 3-FZ (2011). The purpose of this research is to examine the ability of the police, the key subject of law enforcement in Russia, to ensure public order, protect the personal rights and property rights of the population, and organise crime prevention in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea. Public order is ensured by the activities of law enforcement structures, the implementation of social relations which guarantees the observance of personal and public safety, conflict-free communication of citizens with each other, the protection and defence of the life, health, honour, dignity, property of citizens and the effective functioning of public authorities (Voronov, 2014). Public security in Russia is determined by law, and it is the condition of an individual, society and state being protected from criminal threats that ensures the implementation of the constitutional rights and freedoms of Russian citizens, a decent quality and standard of living, and the country's sustainable socio-economic development (Decree of The President of The Russian Federation of 31. 12. 2015 No 683, 2015; Nesterov, 2013).

2 Methodological Framework

In the course of the research, the study relied on the analysis and generalisation of statistics and information from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation and the General Prosecution Office of the Russian Federation characterising the state of criminality in the Republic of Adygea, Krasnodarskiy krai, the Russian Federation, General Prosecution Office materials reflecting the crime prevention practice in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, police bodies' reports in the rural areas of the said regions.

For convenience, the data on criminality are provided in the form of indices of criminality, homicide and relative proportion. The indices calculation was conducted by taking into account the number of annually registered criminal cases with the induction under Articles 30 and Article 105 (attempted homicide), Article 105 (homicide), Article 106 (homicide by the mother of a new-born child), Article 107 (murder conducted under affect), Article 111 part 4 (intentional causing of grave harm to health that led to death from negligence) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation with respect to 100,000 of population. The relative proportion of persons who have already committed a crime and committed a

crime in a state of alcoholic or drug intoxication was calculated as a percentage share of the criminals in a respective category relative to the overall number of identified criminals.

3 RESULTS

3.1 Basic Indices of Criminality in the Rural Areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea

Before proceeding to analyse the characteristics of criminality in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, let us familiarise ourselves with the crime rates and murder rates presented in Table 1. Data analysis allows us to conclude that the rates in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea are generally lower than the average crime rate for the Russian Federation.

Year	Republic of Adygea		Krasnodarskiy krai		Russian Federation	
	Crime index	Homicide index	Crime index	Homicide index	Crime index	Homicide index
2015	1104	8.0	1376	8.6	1633	12.2
2016	1028	5.9	1297	7.6	1474	10.9
2017	885	4.6	1214	7.1	1402	9.8
2018	906	5.9	1216	6.8	1356	8.8
2019	1036	5.4	1267	5,9	1379	8.2

Table 1: Criminality and homicide indices in Krasnodarskiy krai, the Republic of Adygea and the Russian Federation

As mentioned, in rural areas criminality is denoted by a high level of unreported crime as shown by the fact that the number of crimes against human life and health is 1.5 times higher than the registered criminality rate whereas with regard to theft and fraud it is 3.7 times higher (Sorokin, 2005).

There are fewer homicides, rape and transport thefts in the countryside of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea compared to the urban areas. In fact, extortion, economic crimes and crimes of public officials, terrorist acts, and crimes committed with the use of firearms are absent. As pointed out, rural areas are municipal areas in which the population lives only in rural settlements and where the basis of the economy is the agricultural business. In Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, these are mainly steppe regions where cereals, legumes and vegetables are grown

A study of the official statistics of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and analytical information of the General Prosecution Office (General Prosecution Office of the Russian Federation, 2020) allows us to detect four groups of crimes committed in the rural areas of the Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea while taking the percentage share in the structure of registered criminal activity into account: 1) crimes against ownership: theft, fraud, unlawful taking possession of transport, robbery (59.7%); 2) crimes against the person: homicide, intentional causing of harm to health of different severity, rape, forcible actions of a sexual character, threat of homicide and causing of severe harm to health (18.2%); 3) crimes against public security: illegal keeping, carriage, manufacture of drugs,

hooliganism, vandalism, violation of traffic regulations and transport exploitation rules (15.7%); and 4) other crimes: economic, crimes of public officials (6.4%).

The number of crimes against life, health, sexual freedom and inviolability in the rural areas is significantly lower than in the cities. The share of attempted homicides, homicides, causing severe harm to health that led to death from negligence is on average 0.4% in the rural area in the region's criminality structure, and 1.5% on average in the city, intentional causing of harm to health of different severity 3.9% and 5.4% in the city, rape – 0.2% and 0.5%. For the last 5 years, there were no cases of assassination in the structure of rural areas' criminality. The vast number of home crimes can be highlighted as an aspect of rural criminality contrary to urban criminality, with 88.3% of homicides and 84.4% of the intentional causing of harm to health in the structure of the identified crimes being committed as part of household relations.

In cases of crimes against life and health, the prevailing tools are kitchen knives, screwdrivers in 62% of cases, kitchen utensils (pots, pans, buckets) in 19%, and sticks in 15% of cases. Firearms were used by criminals in rural areas in 4% of crimes against life and health.

A feature of crimes against life and health is the high share of acquaintances between offender and victim (92.5%), which is significantly higher than in urban environments (37.4%). In rural areas, women dominate among victims of violent crimes (72.4%); besides them, relatives, cohabitants and neighbours (85.3%) most often become victims of violence.

In the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, there is a high level of group crimes which is due to the peculiarity of stolen items (grain crops, fuels and lubricants, animals, poultry), as well as the need to transport what is stolen. Also, unlike urban criminal groups in rural areas, this group consists mainly of relatives (brothers, nephews, children, sometimes wives and other relatives).

Unlike urban crime, in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea a significantly smaller number of robberies and assaults with intent to steal is recorded, which can be explained by the cultural characteristics, mentality, general knowledge of all residents of the area, and the presence of informal social control.

Thefts are largely committed impulsively, without prior planning. In rural areas, no incidents of pickpocketing were revealed and, when detained with stolen property, detainees rarely explain the fact that they discovered someone else's property by acquiring it from unknown persons. Minor theft, i.e. the theft of property whose value does not exceed RUB 2,499 (EUR 32.50) prevails in police reporting (89.5%).

In the rural area agricultural enterprises: warehouses, farms, garages and other storage places are the most frequent places of theft (40.5%), summer paddocks for cattle, pastures, orchards, fields and household plots of citizens (29.4%). The theft of crops from fields and gardens during harvesting, as well as from vehicles engaged in cargo transportation, is common. The stolen vegetables and fruits are mainly used for personal consumption and for providing for the needs of the family (85%), and only in 15% of cases are they sold at markets in

cities or mini markets along highways. Small-scale theft of fruit and vegetables is committed by both villagers and citizens, but hay, corn silage, sugar beets, sunflower seeds, grapes, and wheat grain are generally the subject of thefts by rural residents. The abducted cattle are chiefly cows, goats (31.4%), poultry – geese, ducks, hens, turkeys (52.6%), spare parts from agricultural machinery make up 4.6%, and various household items, agricultural products, food products 12.4%. Time of theft – late evening and night (81.3%); if committed during the day, crime normally takes place on weekends and holidays, and in most cases breaking into the territory of a protected estate (warehouse, storage) is carried out by free access (84.5%); breaking through holes in the roof and in the wall of the warehouse (room) amounts to 14.6%.

Thefts from villagers' households represent just 14.5% and are recorded mainly in the summer and spring months. These thefts are typically committed with free access (71.4%), by local women and men addicted to alcoholic drinks as well as narcotic drugs. The number of crimes committed primarily by men over 30 years old or minors.

Thefts by breaking the front door or entering through a window are mainly carried out by persons who have previously committed crimes – 65.2% of cases, generally by men over 30 or minors. Women in fact do not commit theft in rural areas by breaking the front door or by entering through a window; in 2019, only five of such crimes were revealed, and three in 2018. The subjects of theft from rural households are mainly clothing, alcohol, household utensils, food, gas cans, milk cans, metal containers for liquids, chainsaws, power tools and construction tools, less often gold jewellery and in just 15% of cases, along with various items, money was stolen (Krasovsky, 2010).

The specifics of the property stolen in rural areas can be explained by the fact that, first, rural residents do not possess expensive material items (money, jewellery, antiques) and, second, the bulk of rural residents are poor and criminals choose the stolen property based on their utility and ability to sell in rural conditions or for personal use.

After thefts, second place is taken by crimes related to drug trafficking. The high crime rate associated with drug trafficking in rural areas is explained by the peculiarity of the flora of the Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea. In these regions, there is a lot of wild hemp out of which a drug is made, marijuana, that is consumed by residents of rural regions in 96.4% of established cases.

Law enforcement authorities revealed a small amount of drug trafficking by organised groups in rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea in 2019 (3 incidents in rural areas and 119 in cities). In rural areas, one finds practically no cases of the use of such drugs like heroin, cocaine or amphetamine.

Although the density of traffic flows is not high in rural areas, crimes related to the violation of the traffic regulations and the exploitation of vehicles, resulting in death from negligence or causing serious harm to health, most of which (66.8%) are committed under the influence of alcohol or drugs, are widespread.

The last group of crimes is also typical only for rural areas, but their share in the structure of recorded crime is relatively small. These crimes include: 1) illegal extraction of aquatic biological resources (Article 256 of the Criminal Code of the

Russian Federation), fishing, crayfish with nets, special devices, electric fishing rods, jais; illegal hunting (Article 258), hunting using traps, loops, as well as hunting not at the permitted time; illegal cutting of forest stands (Article 260). While fish, crayfish, wild bird are obtained for personal needs, a particularly problematic situation is with illegal fishing because the entire western part of the Krasnodarskiy krai is occupied by the lower reaches and coast of the Azov Sea. Several generations of the population living there have been fishing in the Azov Sea and its estuaries, hence, the prohibition or restriction of fishing is perceived by residents as illegal. Forest grows in the south-eastern part of Krasnodarskiy krai and almost throughout the Republic of Adygea. The forest is cut down generally for personal needs such as for the construction of fences, sheds and other utility places (Dzikonskaya, 2011; Zabryanskiy, 2011).

Table 2:
Criminological characteristics of persons committing crimes in Krasnodarskiy krai, the Republic of Adygea and the Russian Federation

Year	Republic of Adygea		Krasnodarskiy krai		Russian Federation	
	Persons that have previously committed a crime, %	Persons committing a crime in a state of alcoholic or narcotic intoxication, %	Persons that have previously committed a crime, %	Persons committing a crime in a state of alcoholic or narcotic intoxication, %	Persons that have previously committed a crime, %	Persons committing a crime in a state of alcoholic or narcotic intoxication, %
2015	44.5	30.5	51.9	23.6	51.7	35.7
2016	50.6	39.4	51.3	24.6	53.9	41.4
2017	52.6	32.5	53.6	22.6	55.9	38.6
2018	51.4	30.3	51.4	21.8	56.4	36.3
2019	53.2	27.7	50.5	20.6	57.0	34.6

It is noteworthy that a specific feature of the identity of a rural criminal is that in 94.7% of cases they are local residents. Rural crime in Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea has a pronounced marginal character, with the information given in Table 2 showing that 50% of crimes are committed by persons who have already committed crimes with a high level of alcoholic intoxication, on average 31.7%, and these persons also possess a low educational level, with only 32.6% of detained criminals have an incomplete secondary education, a low average value of the stolen items (RUB 4,200, or approximately EUR 58), the absence of permanent work.

The ‘marginal character’ argument is confirmed by the main mens rea of the thefts identified while investigating the criminal cases that was “to get alcohol or food”. Contrary to urban areas, in rural areas there is a clear trend of an increase in the number of people committing crime while intoxicated.

A negative qualitative criterion for rural crime in Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea is rise in the number of repetitive offenders, who commit 49.3% of crimes against life and health (homicide, causing harm to health of various severity); 57.3% of thefts and robberies. The criminal activity of repetitive offenders is characterised by recurrence, stable distribution channels of the stolen items, and the ability to involve minors in criminal activities.

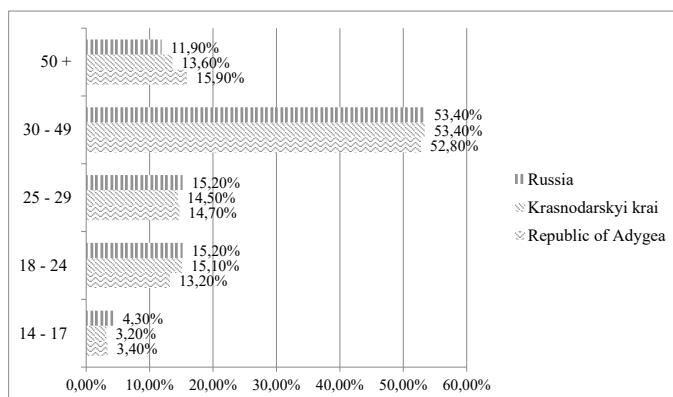


Figure 1:
Age of persons who committed crimes in Krasnodarskiy krai, the Republic of Adygea and the Russian Federation

Some features of the age structure of persons who committed crimes in rural areas are alarming. Based on the data shown in Figure 1, one can see that in the age structure the proportion of people in the age groups 30–49 years and older than 50 years is higher than for urban crime. In this structure, the proportion of people aged 30–49 years and older than 50 years is higher than for urban crime. This high level of criminal activity is explained by the lack of work or its seasonality. The reasons that people aged 30–49 years and older than 50 prevail among the identified criminals are: 1) administrative policy involving sending persons who have served sentences related to imprisonment to live in rural areas in order to minimise their number in large cities; 2) the massive internal migration of the inhabitants of Siberia and the Far East to the south to Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea led to an increase in the rural population, however, the lack of jobs and considerable free time force individual citizens to seek a break in alcohol, which further leads to the commission of crime.

The small share of minors who committed crimes (3.2%) is explained by the fact that people aged 16–25 try to leave for the city to study or work while, in addition, the traditional parental authority in the countryside and social control are effective tools for monitoring the behaviour of young people.

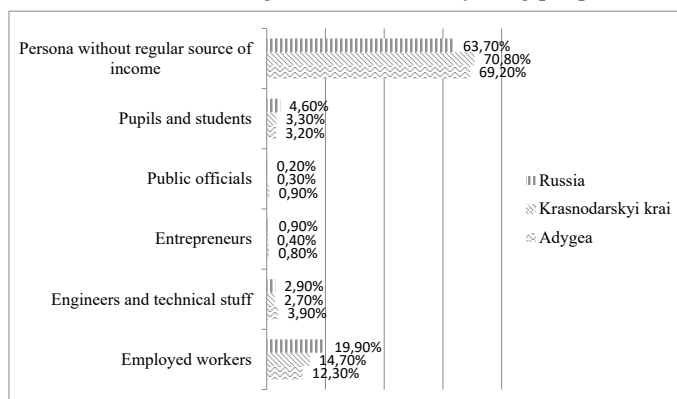


Figure 2:
Data on the social diversity of persons who committed crimes in Krasnodarskiy krai, the Republic of Adygea and the Russian Federation

Another confirmation of the marginality of rural criminality are the official regional statistics, depicted in Figure 2, which show that 70.8% of persons who

committed crimes in the rural areas of Krasnodarskyi krai identified by the police do not have a regular income source and in the Republic of Adygea such citizens comprise 69.2% of the total number of detained criminals. This figure is generally higher than the average for Russia (63.7%).

3.2 Problems of Crime Prevention and Providing Public Security in Krasnodarskyi krai and the Republic of Adygea

The strategy to neutralise or eliminate the causes and conditions of crime in rural areas by the police authorities of Krasnodarskyi krai and the Republic of Adygea included implementation of the following measures: 1) impact on the possibility of committing offences by persons aged 14–18 years in public places; 2) tight control over sales points and public catering in order to reduce the volume of alcohol sales to the rural population; 3) anti-drug propaganda and testing of pupils, students of secondary specialised institutions for drug use; 4) police supervision of persons released from correctional institutions; 5) effective work of the police in crime prevention; and 6) involvement of the population in protection of the public order through various forms of financial incentives and social support (Drozдов, 2014; Resolution No. 1039, 2015).

It is necessary to outline the programme's initial success: 1) through organised interactions between the police, educational institutions and parents it was possible to create a system for monitoring the behaviour of minors in public places, reducing the possibility of committing minor offences and crimes, which brought Krasnodarskyi krai and the Republic of Adygea on to the list of regions with the lowest juvenile crime rates; regular inspection of trade and public facilities, anti-alcohol and anti-drug propaganda have led to a decrease in the number of persons who commit crimes under the influence of alcohol or drugs (Table 2), compared to the period 2012–2015; 2) regular inspection of sales points and public catering, anti-alcohol and anti-drug propaganda led to a 3% drop in the number of persons who committed crimes while intoxicated compared to 2015 (see Table 2).

However, difficulties arose in implementing the remaining crime prevention measures in the rural areas. The biggest reason for these difficulties was the fact that for decades the real subjects of preventive activity in Russia were the authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, whereas local self-government bodies, public organisations were deprived of real powers to prevent crime. The current situation is easy to explain. While the right of local self-government bodies to protect public order is enshrined in part 1 of Article 132 of the Russian Constitution, authority to carry out the prevention of crimes and offences is not prescribed for the local self-government bodies by Federal Law of 06.10.2003 No. 131-FZ (2003). The only thing allowed to rural municipalities is their participation in the prevention of terrorism as well as in minimising and/or eliminating the consequences of manifestations of terrorism and extremism within the boundaries of the settlement (clause 7.14.1, Article 14 of Chapter 3). Municipal rural settlements are also allowed to organise the maintenance of public order in the municipal district by the municipal police (clause 8.2.1. Article 15), although

the absence of legislation on municipal police excludes this possibility. The situation is similar in the case of the participation of public organisations in the prevention of crimes and offences. That kind of activity is purely declarative and not implemented in practice in the sense public organisations are not included on the list of entities entitled to prevent crime, i.e. they are not legally entitled to participate in it (Federal Law of 23. 6. 2016 No. 182-FZ, 2016). The insufficiency of local self-government's participation in preventing violations was manifested first in a steady rise in the number of crimes committed in public places – on the streets, in parks, squares, in rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea and, second, in the absence of the effective re-socialisation of persons released from prison.

The historically developed system of the crime prevention verified by the managerial and cultural experience of rural areas was destroyed in the 1990s and nothing has been built instead of it since then. Measures to prevent the theft of other people's property, especially agricultural products, face the antagonism of the population that believes these illegal actions do not deserve criminal punishment, only public condemnation measures. In addition, difficulties have arisen in the administrations of rural settlements with the provision of assistance to persons released from detention.

They are connected with the fact that in rural areas there is no post-prison support system for persons released from places of detention and there are no state-guaranteed jobs for this category of citizens. In addition to the problem of a lack of jobs, there is an attitude of the rural population – prejudice against the criminal – as expressed in employers' reluctance to hire previously convicted persons. The situation with domestic re-socialisation of those who have served their sentences and returned to their place of permanent residence has turned out to be difficult to resolve. As a result of the death of the parents or termination of relations with relatives, or the breakdown of social ties, the house where the criminal had previously lived proved to be in a condition unsuitable for living, apart from that the building was most often disconnected from the electricity, water and gas supply. Often a person released from places of deprivation of liberty had incurred a debt to the supplying organisations, was in need of an amount of money to be paid to reconnect to the supply networks. Municipal self-government bodies are incapable of providing support to these people due to the absence of an expenses budget and a lack of authority. This leads to the marginalisation of persons released from places of detention, in turn forcing them on to a path of vagrancy and minor theft.

Unemployment is another important aspect of crime prevention in the rural areas of Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea as well as the lack of demand for rural residents, and the seasonal nature of their work. In rural areas, the bulk of the population was and is engaged in heavy and unskilled labour, owners of agricultural enterprises often violate labour laws: they hire workers only during the seasonal harvest, without proper the formalisation of labour relations; appoint them for an irregular working day; officially pay the minimum salary wage and transfer the rest of the payment separately, thereby affecting the workers' pension plan.

The majority of rural citizens is unaware of their basic rights (labour rights, social rights etc.) and remain less protected than the inhabitants of cities. The remoteness of rural settlements from each other and the concentration of all authorities, cultural and leisure institutions, and religious institutions in regional centres may be added to the existing situation. Several rural settlements lack educational and medical facilities. All of this is confronted with the acute problem of the home-made production of strong alcoholic beverages, which is becoming widespread and again poses the threat of alcoholisation of the rural population (see Table 2), which in turn can lead to a rise in domestic violence.

Krasnodar krai and the Republic of Adygea have vast rural territories that are difficult for the local police to observe, given their staffing is two to three times lower than in urban units. The work of the police is complicated by a feature of the Russian procedural law which requires the implementation of most procedural actions in relation to the offender only in the district department. Resolution of the situation is possible through a proportional distribution of police staffing and changes in legislation that have long been necessary.

The destruction of the system of keeping material and technical values in rural areas after the transition from socialism to capitalism opened the way for theft during the transition of state property to private property. The technical protection and protection of livestock and crop production facilities are poorly developed, unlike in the urban environment. No proper conditions have been created for the storage and processing of fruit and vegetables, which creates a twofold situation; on one hand, it is forbidden to take other people's property, on the other, because of problems with storage and processing, this agricultural product rots or is buried in the ground. Sales points and warehouses are placed in premises unsuitable for storing material assets, which facilitates criminals' access to them.

The following disadvantages hinder effective police preventive activities (Zhurbin, 2016):

- 1) a low level of trust in the police by the population, which has transformed into a belief among rural residents that the police not only inefficiently performs its functions, but also acts as a violator of rights;
- 2) the lack of effective interaction with persons who have served their sentences on behalf of local authorities and regional institutions of social assistance;
- 3) poor activity of the police in rural areas, which is due to the poor technical equipment of employees, overload of unusual duties; and
- 4) the lack of interaction between the police and private security agencies does not allow the use of the resources of commercial organisations to ensure public order.

4 CONCLUSION

A general social preventive measure that will help overcome the economic causes and conditions that determine the main rural crimes – thefts – should be state support for small agricultural enterprises, including financial support, providing the rural population with cheap equipment, organising centralised purchases of products made by peasants and state support for its implementation.

In order to create an effective system of ensuring public safety in the rural settlements of the Krasnodarskiy krai and the Republic of Adygea, it is necessary to introduce the position of deputy head of the administration of the municipality for crime prevention. Given the high level of domestic violence in rural areas, it is necessary to create municipal institutions of special social assistance and protection for women and retired persons who are victims of domestic violence. These institutions should be assigned the responsibility of providing special psychological assistance to victims of crime and of the implementation of special compulsory psychological programmes in relation to family brawlers, people with an increased tendency to aggressive behaviour. Rural municipal medical institutions should be given the right to treat and rehabilitate people with alcoholism and drug addiction, for the moment only the regional medical institutions located in Krasnodar, Maykop, Sochi, Novorossiysk are entitled to provide such assistance.

It is necessary to adopt a Federal Law "On Municipal Formations of Law Enforcement Orientation", setting out the procedure for interaction between the population and the police, providing for the establishment of a municipal police, determining the rights, powers and responsibilities of citizens willing to participate in ensuring security and order in the territory. It is necessary to decentralise the crime prevention system with the transfer of appropriate powers to regional and local authorities (Kovalev, 2011; Miftina, 2007). In addition, there is a need to create a coordination centre for crime prevention on the municipal level, which will generalise experience and improve forms and methods of crime prevention. Its tasks might include advising the employees of municipalities and the population on the organisation of the crime prevention system, providing them with the necessary legal assistance to develop comprehensive crime prevention programmes on their territory, charters of police units, and other documents with similar content. The coordination centre for crime prevention would engage in anti-criminal propaganda, legal education of the population, the creation of centres of victimology prevention, which in the initial stage should publish various printed materials (in the form of leaflets) containing information about the methods of committing crimes: computer fraud, insurance fraud, theft of personal property. Should local authorities have the opportunity, it is of the utmost importance to create social institutions in which victims of domestic violence can find short-term shelter and receive legal and financial assistance. These coordination centres of rural settlements should be able to provide a round-the-clock operating telephone line through which residents of rural areas can receive free psychological help and free legal assistance.

It is necessary to adopt the federal law "On social assistance to persons who have served their sentences of imprisonment and control over their behaviour" and similar laws. The law would allow the creating of a system of assistance for former criminals in rural areas, to provide them with financial support, and to determine the form of tax benefits for entrepreneurs who are ready to employ previously convicted persons. The basic Russian problem of preventing previously convicted persons from committing new crimes is that, in line with the current legislation, those released from prison should be supervised. In Russia,

this supervision is only carried out by the police. In rural areas, a police officer is obliged to check the place of residence, conduct a conversation and compile materials on a daily basis in relation to 10 former convicts. To date, there is no special service in the Russian police dealing only with the prevention of crime. The inspector who carries out this supervision has several other duties as well, for instance: performing interrogation, patrolling the territory, receiving citizens, inspecting the storage of firearms. To make their duty easier, the police inspector, more often than not, simply summons the people they are supervising, instead of bothering with long trips and checks across the countryside.

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Collaboration Between Investigation and Crisis Intervention for the Investigative Interview in Suicide Attempts

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Purpose:

The present study aims to understand whether investigation and crisis intervention processes can be coupled together in suicide attempt cases in order to mitigate secondary victimisation and whether a social worker as an interventionist can accomplish this.

Design/Methods/Approach:

This study relies on a literature review with the help of various databases, including PubMed, Springer Database, PsycINFO and official national and international websites. In this study, the keywords (suicide, crisis intervention, investigation, social work, social worker) were determined for screening according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines.

Findings:

We found 38 articles, 8 of which were categorised by the research team in several groups with a level of 92% agreement. We categorised them using the mentioned keywords and four groups emerged as a result: suicide and crisis intervention, crisis intervention and social workers, suicide and investigation, investigation and social work. Overviews of papers for each group are presented.

Practical Implications:

Investigative interviews and crisis intervention processes may be coupled together in cases of suicide attempts. This process holds the potential to increase the rigour and effectiveness of data collection for the case, allow experts to lend their knowledge and skills in support of each other, and provide opportunities for more comprehensive problem-solving in crises. Thus, according to the literature and practice, the output of the current study appears to be implementable.

Originality/Value:

The conceptual framework revealed in this study may be used as a valuable source for future studies on the topic of collaboration occurring between the

investigation on one side and social and psychological crisis intervention services on the other.

Keywords: suicide, crisis intervention, police, investigative interviewing, social worker

UDC: [159.9:340.6]:343.614

Povezava preiskave in krizne intervencije v preiskovalnem intervjuju pri poskusih samomora

Namen prispevka:

Namen pričujoče študije je razumeti, ali je mogoče v primerih poskusov samomora povezati preiskavo in proces krizne intervencije, da bi ublažili sekundarno viktimizacijo, in ali lahko to doseže socialni delavec kot izvajalec intervencije.

Metode:

Študija temelji na pregledu literature s pomočjo različnih baz podatkov, vključno s PubMed, Springer Database, PsycINFO ter uradnimi nacionalnimi in mednarodnimi spletnimi stranmi. V skladu s *Smernicami za prednostno poročanje za sistematični pregled in metaanalizo (PRISMA)* smo za pregled določili naslednje ključne besede: samomor, krizna intervencija, preiskava, socialno delo, socialni delavec.

Ugotovitve:

Našli smo 38 člankov, od katerih jih je osem raziskovalna skupina s stopnjo strinjanja 92 % razvrstila v več skupin. Na podlagi omenjenih ključnih besed smo jih razvrstili v štiri skupine: samomor in krizno posredovanje, krizno posredovanje in socialni delavci, samomor in preiskave, preiskave in socialno delo. Predstavljeni so pregledi prispevkov za vsako skupino.

Praktična uporabnost:

Preiskovalni intervjuji in procesi kriznih intervencij so v primerih poskusov samomora lahko povezani. Tak postopek lahko poveča temeljitost in učinkovitost zbiranja podatkov za primer, omogoči strokovnjakom, da se medsebojno dopolnjujejo, ter nudi možnosti za celovitejše reševanje problemov v krizah. Glede na literaturo in prakso se zdi, da so ugotovitve sedanje študije izvedljive.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

Predstavljeni konceptualni okvir je lahko uporaben kot dragocen vir za prihodnje študije na temo sodelovanja med preiskovanjem in službami za socialno ter psihološko krizno intervencijo.

Ključne besede: samomor, krizna intervencija, policija, preiskovalni intervju, socialni delavec

UDK: [159.9:340.6]:343.614

1 INTRODUCTION

Suicidal behaviour is a common public health problem encountered in Turkey as well as around the world. Individuals from various social backgrounds can display suicidal behaviours (Chantler, 2003; Leichtenritt et al., 2016; Mgaya et al., 2008; Mohanty et al., 2007). A number of internal and external factors may trigger suicide attempts, including psychological trauma or diagnosed mental illnesses like depression, bipolar disorder, and borderline personality disorder. Suicide attempts are often bolstered by risk factors, some of which are poverty, interpersonal issues, family problems, having less than a high-school level of education, being a member of a nondominant race, being female, and being a member of the LGBTQIA community (Cacciatore et al., 2011; Devrimci-Özgüven, 2003; Feldman & Freedenthal, 2006; Gönültaş, 2016a; Granello, 2015; Joe & Neidermeier, 2008; Knox & Roberts, 2008). A person experiencing trauma while faced with the mentioned life circumstances or risk factors may decide to attempt suicide due to low levels of self-worth, a low quality of life, and feelings of hopelessness and helplessness (Dean et al., 2000; Devrimci-Ozguven, 2003; Sözer, 1992). Thus, the nuances involved in each suicide attempt require a specialised crisis intervention tailored to the individual for whom the intervention is implemented (Granello, 2015). "Crisis intervention is one of the action-oriented models that are present-focused, with the target(s) for intervention being specific to the hazardous event, situation or problem that precipitated the state of crisis" (Knox & Roberts, 2008, p. 252).

While some individuals are able to address their psychological issues without attempting suicide, others reach the point of suicidal crisis. In specific circumstances like when a tailored crisis intervention is implemented by a social worker, a suicide attempt can provide an opportunity for the individual to expand their coping skills and acknowledge trauma. Crisis intervention aims to emotionally and behaviourally stabilise the person in crisis and prevent the continuation of factors which contributed to it (Dean et al., 2000). This process requires the interventionist to possess specialised knowledge and skill, such as an understanding of the ecological approach, victimology, suicidology and practice with multiple therapeutic interventions (Cacciatore et al., 2011). Timely and effective interventions are particularly necessary in suicide attempt cases due to the nature of the event, including the potential for death (Dean et al., 2000; Knox & Roberts, 2008).

Suicide attempt and completion is a global problem in need of careful and committed attention. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) (2016), the number of suicide attempts in Turkey resulting in death was 3,169 in 2014, reaching 3,211 people (a rise of 1.3%) in 2015. In 2015, 4 per 100,000 people committed suicide. Of those who committed suicide, 72.7% were men and 27.3% were women. In Turkey, police departments, hospitals and social service organisations monitor and record statistical data on suicide attempts. However, suicide attempt data are less clear than actual suicides due to incongruent information from data collection entities (Gönültaş, 2016a). Gönültaş (2016a) revealed that the number of suicide attempts between 2012 and 2016 in Sivas province (a city in central Anatolia) was approximately ten times higher than the

number of actual suicides. In Turkey, suicide attempts are most prevalent among individuals holding particularly disadvantaged positions in society, including housewives, the unemployed, and youth.

The literature on the relationship between the police and mental health services has heavily focused on how the police supports mental health service interventions by for instance providing on-scene emergency assistance and coordinating and partnering with local mental health hospitals (France, 2014; Laing et al., 2009; Olivero & Hensen, 1994; Short et al., 2012). Few studies have examined how mental health services support the police by providing services. Suicide attempt is a crime in Turkey under Article 84 of the Turkish Criminal Law. Every suicide attempt is considered as a case of crime since physical harm is involved in the act. The police responsible for investigating such cases ultimately decides if the individual's statements are consistent with what is found at the scene of the incident and determine whether the individual intentionally attempted to commit suicide, whether they were truthful about their suicidality, and whether another person assisted or encouraged the individual in the attempt. Investigation in these cases must be rapid due to the mortal nature of the case and so as to prevent the disappearance of any evidence. The type of suicidal attempt, doctor reports, information given by relatives of the individual, objects used in the attempt, and the individual's psychological condition he are also investigated in detail (Gönültaş, 2016a). The most fundamental information source in this process is the statements of those who are alleged to have attempted suicide. Collecting information from such individuals is a necessary procedure and must be conducted according to policies within the legal framework, including interview protocols for victims. However, the police often focuses on investigating the scene where the event occurred and interviewing witnesses of the incident as well as the loved ones of the person involved, neglecting the condition of the suffering and injured individual while attempting to understand their credibility (Gönültaş, 2016a).

If the interviewer is unaware of the individual's state of crisis or is lacking in crisis intervention skills, they might unknowingly propagate the experience of re-traumatisation for the individual, promote confusion and misdirect the individual (Evans & Webb, 1993). While people who attempt to commit suicide continue to be affected by their personal crisis long after it has occurred, the first interviewer to have contact with the individual in crisis is ultimately the interviewer the individual will be the most vulnerable and emotionally fragile with (Knox & Roberts, 2008, p. 253). Here, the following questions emerge: Can investigative interviews and crisis-intervention processes be coupled together in suicide attempt cases in order to mitigate re-traumatisation and any further trauma associated with being involved with the justice system? If so, how can this be done? And how do mental health services like social work services help the police? The purpose of this study is to offer a framework for the implementation of this strategy by conducting a literature review.

2 METHOD

"Scope review methods are best suited to identify and articulate key concepts when a topic is being reviewed for the first time" (Kidd et al., 2017). Therefore,

this study utilises a literature review, thoroughly examining both primary and secondary sources. While no available studies reveal the relationship between crime investigation, crisis intervention and social work in suicide attempts in Turkey or in the international literature, the literature on suicide attempts is concerned with the social, psychodynamic, psychiatric and forensic aspects of suicide attempts (e.g. Dean et al., 2000; Leichtenritt et al., 2016). The literature has also largely concentrated on youth, adolescents and women (e.g. Sarwar et al., 2019). In recent years, both in Turkey and internationally, therapeutic approaches and interventions for instances of suicide attempt have been examined, thus building up the research literature on post-suicide attempt approaches, interventions, prevention and rehabilitation issues. One discipline producing such research is social work. In order to conduct a rigorous and reliable literature review, we follow the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher et al., 2009). The research question for this scoping review is: “According to the literature, can investigation and crisis intervention processes be coupled together in suicide attempts in order to mitigate re-traumatisation?”

A search was completed from the earliest research on the topics examined (Cutler et al., 1989) through to August 2019 in literature originally published in the English and Turkish languages. The researchers considered databases including PubMed, Springer Database, PsycINFO, and official websites such as national and international police department websites and the National Health Ministry of the Turkish Republic website. While published, peer-reviewed and original papers were chosen, the others (unpublished, editorials, not full-text available etc.) were excluded. Further, official documents containing the crisis intervention models of Turkey and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA) were included in order to understand these processes as they were not found in the literature.

In this study, the keywords were determined to be: suicide, crisis intervention, investigation, social work, and social worker. Keyword combinations were searched using “or” and “and”. To capture clearer relationships between the key terms, the available database and government literature were also reviewed using Boolean Operators utilising expressions such as “suicide and crisis intervention”, “suicide and investigation”, “crisis intervention and social worker”, “investigation and social work” (Table 1).

3 PAPER SELECTION

The first and third researchers were appointed the task of screening papers based on the eligibility criteria for this study. They discussed their findings and tried to reach a consensus. At the end of this process, the second researcher also discussed where they were unable to reach an agreement and this continued until they reached a final decision. The screening process continued for 2 months. The inclusion/exclusion criteria were developed according to PRISMA. During screening, papers were included focusing on suicide- and trauma-related crisis intervention, suicide, social work and investigation. A spreadsheet was

constructed after the screening. This table contained the papers included, which were also discussed by the rest of the research team. In the second stage, by reading abstracts, papers which had been unclear and lacked details crucial for answering our research question were excluded. In the third stage, the full text of papers was read to ensure the relevant relationship of the keywords. Finally, papers meeting the overall research criteria were used as the sample. However, the relationship of all keywords remained unclear (Table 1).

Table 1:
Review
Strategy Table

Keywords	Stage 1				Total	Stage 2	Stage 3
	PubMed	Springer Database	PsycoINFO	Official websites-protocols		Studies included in broad relationship to the topic (n) (abstract reviewed)	Studies identified as relevant to the relationship (n) (full text reviewed)
Suicide, Crisis Intervention, Investigation, Social Work	0	5	0	-	5	5	0
Suicide, Crisis Intervention	960	582	27	3	1,572	243	11
Crisis Intervention, Social Worker	213	45	12	-	270	89	7
Suicide, Investigation	38	78	0	-	116	79	14
Investigation, Social Work	0	39	0	-	39	37	6
Total	1211	749	39	3	2002	453	38

4 RESULTS

We found 38 papers, 8 of which were categorised in several groups (Table 2). They were categorised using the mentioned keywords, resulting in four groups: suicide and crisis intervention, crisis intervention and social workers, suicide and investigation, investigation and social work. Overviews of papers for each group are presented in the section below.

Suicide and Crisis Intervention

We found 11 papers and 2 official documents (Crisis Intervention Model of Turkey and Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration Model) describing this issue. These are ordered in Table 2 and denote the need for effective, appropriate, comprehensive and knowledge-based crisis intervention. Many social and psychological influences occur prior to suicidal behaviours developing; thus, a complicated situation arises for the person who is attempting suicide. Since the affective burden in the crisis of a suicide attempt is enormous, it should be alleviated (Granello, 2015; Sözer, 1992). According to relevant literature, crisis intervention is crucial for both decreasing the risk of suicide and helping to stabilise the person’s acute crisis as well as for any long-term adaptation of the person’s non-suicidal behaviour in crisis after their suicide attempt (Cacciatore et

al., 2011; Flannery, 1999; Granello, 2015; Knox & Roberts, 2008; Watson, 2010). A well-conducted evidence-based crisis intervention aims to strengthen a person's psyche by intervening during the crisis so that the person and their environment becomes supportive and their lifestyle is reconstructed. The psychological balance in the face of interpersonal issues and mental illness diagnoses is protected in crisis intervention and other long-term therapeutic strategies required for treating the problems underlying suicide attempts (Sözer, 1992).

Since the cues about the crisis are associated with the individual's current condition psychologically, socially and environmentally, crisis intervention focuses on the problems of the moment whilst seeking to understand the past story and possible underlying psychopathology. Nevertheless, approaches in crisis intervention may vary depending on the provision of social services, the needs of the individual, and the type of crisis. This process has temporal limitations (Knox & Roberts, 2008). In this sense, the professional who intervenes in a suicide attempt is obliged to support and encourage the individual in expressing their feelings such as sadness, pain and anger and to sympathise with the individual's feelings (Sözer, 1992). In some studies, social workers have come to the forefront of a crisis intervention since, as social service providers, social workers are involved in a broad service network and hold important positions in suicide prevention (Cacciatore et al., 2011; Granello, 2015; Joe & Neidermeier, 2008). According to the Council on Social Work Education Federation, licensed social workers are trained to understand the entire eco-system of any person's life, from the systems and policies they are affected by, to the immediate physical environment they live in, to the family system they are part of, to their true level of social support, to the forces of discrimination they may be subject to, through to their psychology, trauma history and the way their past experiences shape their present. Further, licensed social workers are trained during their graduate education in various practice theories and modalities, including in crisis intervention. In this regard, social workers are qualified for a task as significant and mortally serious as intervening in a suicide attempt.

Crisis interventions in suicide attempts necessitate the effective involvement of all related disciplines and institutions due to the fragile nature of suicidal behaviours requiring special attention (Devrimci-Özgülven, 2003; Sözer, 1992). The first intervention in suicidal crises is conducted in emergency service departments. The psychiatric evaluation and psychiatric first aid following medical care are of considerable value to the individual in crisis since even a single interview occurring at this point in time in the crisis intervention is likely to have a sufficient therapeutic effect (Sayıl, 2000). The psychiatric crisis intervention approach suggests that asking questions to an individual immediately following a suicide attempt about the event should not be avoided. Talking about a person's suicide attempt and sympathising with them is a sign of valuing their life and existence. Further, discussing suicide relaxes individuals who have made an attempt, making the attempt less shameful and providing the individual with the sense that someone else might understand (Arkonaç, 1989). The first intervention and first interview are therefore crucial, as is the manner in which they are conducted.

The organisations that often intervene in suicide attempts include women’s shelters, 24-hour emergency hotlines and emergency services (Knox & Roberts, 2008). In Turkey, emergency services and the ALO 183 Support Line are organisations involved in suicide attempt intervention. According to Granello (2015), working with an individual who has attempted suicide is one of the most challenging of all crisis intervention tasks due to the limited amount of time a specialist is provided with to intervene effectively, the presence of an acute and ongoing crisis and the high level of stress experienced by both the individual and the specialist while working such cases. Since there are various interventions to be made during suicidal crises, the most appropriate standard to be taught and utilised by specialists is proposed to be an approach that is as broad-based as possible within the confines of the specific practice and legal protocols and policies of the local and national government in which the intervention occurs (Granello, 2015). Practice protocols guide the intervention specialist to understand the suitability of various intervention tactics in suicide attempts and in others.

Table 2:
Selected papers
of the study

Suicide and crisis intervention ¹	Crisis intervention and social workers	Suicide and investigation	Investigation and social work
Granello, 2015	Granello, 2015	Hess & Orth, 2016	Granello, 2015
Sözer, 1992	Cacciatore et al., 2011	Gönültaş, 2016a	Knox & Roberts, 2008
Cacciatore et al., 2011	Joe & Neidermeier, 2008	Becker & Dutelle, 2013	Joe & Neidermeier, 2008
Knox & Roberts, 2008	Pittaway et al., 2007	Karakuş et al., 2011	Feldman & Freedenthal, 2006
Watson, 2010	Yanay & Benjamin, 2005	Olivero & Hansen, 1994	Cacciatore et al., 2011
Flannery, 1999	Devrimci-Özgüven, 2003	Schollum, 2005	Watson, 2010
Joe & Neidermeier, 2008	McKay et al., 2004	Cutler et al., 1989	Yanay & Benjamin, 2005
Devrimci-Özgüven, 2003	Rector, 2017	Bilici et al., 2002	Watson & Fulamarker, 2012
Sayı, 2000	Gönültaş, 2016b	Fahsing et al., 2008	Doğangün et al., 2016
Arkonacı, 1989	Watson, 2010	Hendin et al., 2001	Gönültaş, 2016b
Roberts, 2005	Feldman & Freedenthal, 2006	Milne & Bull, 1999	Roberts, 2002
	Sarwar et al., 2019	Lamin & Teboh, 2016	Bell, 1995
		Coskun et al., 2012	Cerel et al., 2009
		Fry et al., 2002	Ofshe & Leo, 1997
Total	11	7	14
			6

1 ¹ *Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA) and Crisis Intervention Model of Turkey paper was excluded because it is not a scientific paper.*

Intervention Models for Suicide Crisis

One can find several crisis intervention protocols with criteria defined according to the profession in which they lie. However, two interventions vary in terms of how to intervene in suicide attempts yet both are broad-based: the crisis intervention model, including Roberts' (2005) social work perspective, and the Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA) (2009) crisis intervention model (Table 3). Roberts (2005) proposed a seven-stage crisis intervention model for effective crisis intervention in various traumatic situations (Knox & Roberts, 2008, p. 261). Generally, psychosocial assessments are completed and interventions implemented in each stage. This model is informed by social work theory and intervention patterns and can be readily adapted to treat any level of crisis. The model for suicidal crisis presented by SAMSHA (2009) consists of ten standards developed as a practical guide for a person intervening in a suicidal crisis (Granello, 2015, p. 153). Given that there are many aspects of intervention such as psychological interventions, there are broad-based standards in this model that aim to be appropriate for anyone experiencing a suicidal crisis. Unlike Roberts' (2005) model, this model is not exclusive to any profession and standards are associated with treatment of and resistance from the individual in a suicidal crisis.

There is no specific model that establishes standards of crisis intervention in Turkey. However, in 2005 the Mental Health Department of the Ministry of Health in Turkey issued a circular calling for a psychosocial approach to be followed for suicidal attempts and crisis intervention. Although the circular is published under the name of suicidal cases, it covers other states of crisis like loss, domestic violence and sexual abuse. This crisis intervention method is limited to emergency services and provides the basis for psychosocial support for both the individual and the family in crisis. Details of the approach or the intervention strategies were not, however, clearly revealed in the publication and only three basic services were mentioned that could assist in a crisis intervention. Aspects of the approach proposed in the circular included an intervention interview, an interview with the family of the individual in crisis, an assessment, counselling, and a referral to long-term psychiatric services (Table 3). In general, social workers were defined and assigned as available to perform crisis intervention services in the circular, although psychologists are also involved in crisis intervention. Nonetheless, there are some shortcomings in the effective and rapid interventions to be implemented by the crisis intervention teams proposed to be formed in the Turkish crisis intervention model. The most important aspect of intervention models for suicidal crises, based on the review of the literature, is that they include effective interview phases regarding the crisis and its causes.

**Table 3:
The Models of
Suicide Crisis
Intervention**

Roberts (2005) Seven-Stage Crisis Intervention Model	SAMSHA (2009) Suicide Crisis Intervention Model	Turkish Republic Ministry of Health's suicide crisis intervention circular (2005)
Stage 1: Plan and conduct a crisis assessment	Standard 1: Avoid harm	Interviewing for crisis intervention
Stage 2: Establish rapport and rapidly establish a relationship	Standard 2: Intervene in person-centred ways	Interviewing with his/her family and assessment
Stage 3: Identify major problems	Standard 3: Share responsibility	Consultation, assessment and informing
Stage 4: Address thoughts and emotions	Standard 4: Address trauma	
Stage 5: Generate and explore alternatives	Standard 5: Establish feelings of personal safety	
Stage 6: Develop and formulate an action plan	Standard 6: Use a strengths-based approach	
Stage 7: Establish a follow-up plan and agreement	Standard 7: Consider the whole person	
	Standard 8: Treat the person seeking assistance as a credible source	
	Standard 9: Focus on recovery, resilience, and natural supports	
	Standard 10: Move from a reactive to a preventative approach	

Crisis Intervention and Social Workers

Seven of the eligible papers found describe social work and crisis intervention. These are displayed in Table 2. The issue of which professionals are best qualified to intervene in a suicide attempt has gained attention over time as the effectiveness of the crisis intervention technique in suicide attempts is increasingly acknowledged in academia and larger society. In pertinent literature on the topic, the duties of those who intervene in the crisis are specific, albeit no discipline or field of practice is clearly mentioned. As stated, social workers have historically provided services in crises and performed crisis interventions (Cacciatore et al., 2011; Granello, 2015; Joe & Neidermeier, 2008). In a study conducted in Turkey, Devrimci-Özgülven (2003) mentioned a crisis therapist who intervened immediately after a medical intervention. A crisis therapist is responsible for assisting the person in crisis in regulating their emotions and ensuring that they are guided to considering alternatives to death. Granello (2015) defined crisis intervention specialists and screeners as professionals who work with children and adults with mental illness and emotional distress who experience psychological crises, identifying appropriate intervention strategies unique to the individual and the particular

crisis. Further, given the historical development of the social work profession, social workers are educated to carry forth in their practices a comprehensive knowledge of working with people in various crises, such as natural disasters, in working with the families of missing children and sudden deaths, in mental health crises including suicidal crisis etc. (Cacciatore et al., 2011; Pittaway et al., 2007; Yanay & Benjamin, 2005).

Crisis intervention is person-oriented, communication-focused, evidence-based and built on principles like cooperation and assistance, qualities central to the social work profession (Cacciatore et al., 2011; McKay et al., 2004). Social workers are also trained beyond the scope of immediate crisis intervention in directly related practices, including crisis prevention and therapeutic techniques like longer-term psychodynamic therapy modalities. They are educated to navigate the various systems governing the assistance a person in crisis needs and to understand the policies and organisational structure of these systems, as well as in victim rights, victimology, the risk and protective factors involved in developing a crisis, the antecedents and potential effects of crises on individuals both with and without treatment and with use of different treatment models (Gönültaş, 2016b; Rector, 2017). With this in mind, there are not enough social workers in the field of crisis intervention currently available to address the number of crises occurring minute to minute in any nation, state or jurisdiction (Joe & Neidermeier, 2008). The interventions of social workers intervening in the crisis have also been criticised for lacking evidence-based approaches in practice, while other academic literature supports that social workers utilise evidence-based practice (Cacciatore et al., 2011; Feldman & Freedenthal, 2006; McKay et al., 2004; Watson, 2010). In Turkey, crisis intervention organisations are unable to meet the demand created by suicidal crises while the number of crisis intervention teams employing social workers is limited (Sarwar et al., 2019).

Suicide and Investigation

We discovered 14 papers that discuss suicide and investigation, as shown in Table 2. In a forensic sense, suicide attempts are initially treated like attempted murder cases because of the violent behaviours involved intended to cause death (Becker & Dutelle, 2013; Gönültaş, 2016a; Hess & Orth, 2016). In the crime investigation of completed suicides, information on the type of death, autopsy reports, information holders, the tool used, behaviours of the person before the suicide attempt (shared social media posts, notes, recent contacts etc.) and whether the person was receiving treatment for any psychiatric or serious disease are collected (Karakuş et al., 2011, p. 32; Laing et al., 2009). In suicide attempts, the most basic information source is the individual exhibiting the suicidal behaviour (Gönültaş, 2016a). Therefore, forensic interviews with the individual are crucial for arriving at a judgement on the case. A careful investigative interview is a purposeful inquiry and part of the crime investigation process that involves eliciting accurate, case-related and full information from the interviewee (Olivero & Hansen, 1994; Schollum, 2005, p. 10). If there is insufficient supporting evidence to reach a general conviction in typical crime investigations, interviews with victims, perpetrators and witnesses (testimonies) may prove very important. Moreover, testimonial evidence constitutes 80 percent of the entire typical crime

investigation (Cutler et al., 1989; Schollum, 2005, p. 15). This means that a number of skills and capabilities are absolutely required in terms of investigative interviews, such as recognising and being able to accurately convey the person's psychological and emotional reactions, being objective, sincere and kind, showing empathy and using appropriate physical expressions. Specific trainings are necessary in order to act with professional competence in such interviews (Schollum, 2005). While information is gathered in crime investigations conducted during suicide attempts in Turkey, the interviews with informers are usually performed while the acute condition or medical intervention is still continuing at the scene and in emergency rooms (Bilici et al., 2002). In addition, there are no teams specifically trained to conduct the interviews, thus any team without any other duty at the time is assigned to this task in Turkey.

Due to the stress factors of investigators seeking conclusive evidence, capturing the perpetrator and public pressure, forensic interview processes must be conducted immediately after cases, including suicide attempts (Fahsing et al., 2008). Obtaining accurate information from an individual who has attempted suicide and is still in crisis is problematic. The individual may provide unreliable information regarding the incident due to their emotional state and procuring information from such individuals may take more time than if the individual were able to focus on the interview without also focusing on their own psychological crisis (Hendin et al., 2001). According to Milne and Bull (1999), unsuccessful and poor interviewing is disadvantageous to the individual in crisis and entails inefficiency and a waste time and resources for investigators on the case. Therefore, those seeking information from people alleged to have attempted suicide and are still emotionally vulnerable directly following the crisis are expected to be knowledgeable in psychology and victimisation in order to obtain data for an effective judicial review. Nonetheless, police trainings are typically concerned with security strategies, combating crime and legal processes, ignoring the important details of issues such as victimology and psychology in Turkey and how all of these elements can be integrated to create more effective crisis intervention practices (Lamin & Teboh, 2016). In addition, there are few professional partnerships between social and psychological entities and legal entities that address actual suicides in Turkey, whilst other countries like Australia have moved forward with collaboration that has been both economically beneficial and advantageous to clients, as observed in their outcomes (Coskun et al., 2012; Fry et al., 2002).

Investigation and Social Work

Table 2 depicts the six articles found that discuss investigation and social work. After reviewing the available literature on the collaboration of police and social workers in suicide attempts, no studies addressing crime investigation and the standards of judicial interviews with those who attempted suicide were found. However, Granello (2015) and Knox and Roberts (2008) state that separate interviews by the police or other service providers during the crisis intervention have a high likelihood of adding to the trauma of an individual who has already attempted suicide. The investigative interview must be conducted sensitively with these persons so as to obtain accurate and reliable information about the case and avoid further traumatising the person in crisis.

In a meta-analysis of 131 studies concerned with suicidal behaviours from a social work perspective by Joe and Neidermeier (2008), the authors discovered the existence of many social workers in mental health services who may be competent in crisis interventions for suicides, except that they need further education in suicidology. According to another study, 92.8% of social workers involved in the study (n = 598) had worked with a suicidal person at least once (Feldman & Freedenthal, 2006). Knox and Roberts (2008) state that if police and doctor's interviews are necessary during the crisis intervention, with necessity being a discretionary decision, these interviews should be completed simultaneously and the social worker should be responsible for performing and managing this process in the most effective manner in favour of the individual. Cacciatore et al. (2011) described social workers operating in fire departments. While the fire brigade intervenes in the case, the social workers make the first intervention for persons exposed to trauma (fire, traffic accidents, lost relatives etc.). Similarly, Watson (2010) described Crisis Intervention Teams (CITs) within police units.

These teams intervene in mental health crises in partnership with social workers. The CIT model has led to improvements in crisis intervention due to its inclusion of a clear set of approaches which have led to the minimisation of injury during crisis intervention for both CIT teams and those experiencing crises. Moreover, social workers also help the Jerusalem Emergency Team (JET) staff in some incidents like missing child cases, providing psychosocial support to families (Yanay & Benjamin, 2005). Watson and Fulambarker (2012) discussed the relationship between police and social workers, especially in intervening in those with mental disorders. Their study shows the police can provide protective services for social workers during the crisis intervention and the social workers can provide help and guidance in obtaining information and in the approach on which police should take in crisis intervention cases. As seen in the studies, social workers may offer an important skillset and be a resource for the police and clients in many different types of crisis interventions.

In emergency intervention agencies like the police and fire departments, social workers have assumed roles as mediators and intervention specialists in mental illness cases (Cacciatore et al., 2011; Watson, 2010). In addition, social workers work as judicial interviewers in Child Monitoring Centres and Juvenile Justice Departments in Turkey (Doğangün et al., 2016). The empowerment of the person in crisis, an important element of crisis intervention, is included in intervention models taught in social work education. Person-oriented work, empathy, communication skills and co-operation are among the fundamental values of social work as well. Social workers are also educated in trauma and stress management, psychosocial assessment and psychodynamic therapy models, the identification of judicial cases, victimology and victim rights (Bell, 1995; Gönültaş, 2016b; Roberts, 2002). The social worker's impression and influence on the person in crisis is quite different to that of the police. The social worker's approach is a more objective, neutral and humane position, while the police and the prosecutor may be perceived as untrustworthy, accusatory and apathetic (Cerel et al., 2009; Ofshe & Leo, 1997). In suicide crises, social workers are confronted with challenges they have been trained to treat and are likely to assist significantly in gaining the

desired results for the client in terms of regaining emotional stability and for the justice system in obtaining the information it needs.

5 DISCUSSION

The present study aims to understand whether: 1) investigation and crisis intervention processes can be coupled together in suicide attempts in order to mitigate secondary victimisation; and 2) this can be done by a social worker as an interventionist. For this purpose, we thoroughly reviewed all literature currently available, ultimately discovering that there is no literature on such interdisciplinary work in suicide attempt cases. The present study, however, does indicate that the processes of interviewing and intervention can be carried out together. While the focus of investigation is to obtain specific data, the focus of crisis intervention is to help the victims and their psychological conditions. According to forensic science, healthy issues are a higher priority than collecting data. In this context, new approaches that prioritise human health and psychology and simultaneously ensure effective evidence-gathering should be developed. In light of the literature, suicide victims are generally influenced by an acute crisis which persists after their suicide attempt. Such people in a suicidal crisis are emotionally fragile and psychologically vulnerable. Intervention in these cases should therefore be specific and victim-focused.

While investigating suicide attempts, investigators try to collect data and information by interviewing knowledgeable individuals about the case. The tenets of investigative interviewing include: 1) the most basic information source is the individual exhibiting the suicidal behaviours in the incident ; 2) if there is not enough supporting evidence to reach a general determination on the case, interviews with victims are very important and may be used; 3) obtaining accurate information from an individual who has attempted suicide and still in crisis is problematic, therefore specific trainings are necessary to act with professional competence; and 4) investigative interviews are able to accurately convey the person's psychological and emotional reactions, with the interviewer being objective, sincere and kind, showing empathy and using appropriate physical expressions. In order to acquire information about the causes of any injury quickly, interviews with informers are usually performed while the acute condition or medical intervention is still continuing at the scene and in emergency rooms.

Crisis intervention in suicide attempts would benefit from specialising in: 1) playing a crucial role in both lowering the risk of suicide and helping to stabilise the person's acute crisis; and 2) strengthening the person's psyche so as to reconstruct their lifestyle. In order to carry out these specialties, collecting data and receiving information from the victim should be performed by interview. Interviewing is also an important tool for effective intervention. The highlights of interviewing guidelines during a crisis intervention are: 1) the first intervention in the suicidal crisis is conducted in emergency service departments; 2) the first intervention may provide a sufficient therapeutic effect; 3) discussing suicide may relax individuals; and 4) understanding the current and past condition of

the individual psychologically, socially and environmentally should be gained. Thus, the intervention and interviewing in such cases require more specific and refined education and technique. To be competent interventionists, licensed social workers are trained during their graduate education in various practice theories and modalities, including in crisis intervention.

Briefly, regarding the fragility of individuals who attempt suicide being investigated by the police, it is essential to restructure the investigative interview subsequent to the attempt. The investigative interview must be sensitively carried out with these persons in order to obtain accurate and reliable information about the case and to avoid any further traumatisation of the person involved. The notion of the performance of the crisis intervention parallel to this process emerges at this point due to the fragility of the person in crisis and the psychosocial knowledge and practice background possessed by social workers, which make their presence and services at this stage in the crisis able to minimise or nullify additional trauma that might arise during forensic interviews.

In this context, we can say that interviewing for crisis intervention contains almost all of the characteristics for investigative interviewing and that social workers as interventionists can carry out interviewing for the mentioned two purposes. For this purpose, we can see protocols for how this could be done. The protocols present evidence-based intervention tactics for interventionists. In crisis intervention processes, an understanding of what the crisis is and what triggered it are vital for its resolution. In the circular issued by the Ministry of Health in Turkey, this information is not disclosed, but mentions the obligation of an interview during a crisis intervention. The stages of the crisis intervention protocols as concerns the cause and definition of the crisis are as follows: The biggest problem that has triggered the crisis or caused suicidal behaviour should be identified and the damage caused by the suicide crisis should be determined, along with the person was driven to the brink of suicidal behaviour (SAMSHA, 2009, stage 4; Roberts, 2005, stage 3). To realise this process, an interview requires various communication principles (empathy, listening, sincerity etc.) including inviting the person to express themselves freely. The self-expression of the person enables the emotional disclosure needed for investigators and interventionists to identify the source(s) of the crisis (Roberts, 2005, stage 3). These stages of the intervention protocol are crucial for an effective investigative interview process in crime investigations because as the conditions of the information (such as the cause and method of the (attempted) suicide, how the suicide method was chosen, whether there were people who encouraged the person to commit suicide and who (if anyone) assisted in the (attempted) suicide to be collected in the interview are formed and added to the collected information on the crisis. Thus, an appropriate approach in the crisis intervention which acknowledges the person's psychosocial state can serve in the intervention and interview yet exist in a single process. When the crisis intervention process is prioritised over the crime investigation, a person's well-being may become stable enough for the person to provide the police with more reliable information. Schollum (2005) proposed video recording investigative interviews with people in crisis so as to avoid further traumatisation that might occur through repetitious interviewing. The current study recommends

that in future interventions the first contact with the person in crisis be structured, and that close attention be paid to the psychosocial state of that person in order to prevent any further traumatisation or mistrust toward the individual and the interventionists and investigators they come into contact with directly after their suicide attempt.

Across the world one may find several similar examples of collaboration between social workers and police for critical incidents and missing child cases. In these examples (CIT, JET), social workers provide expertise on non-investigative issues like protection, prevention, stabilisation during the crisis, and psychosocial support. Given this context and the study results, investigative interviews and crisis intervention processes can also be coupled together in suicide attempts, potentially benefitting the individual in the crisis more than if such processes were conducted separately.

6 CONCLUSION

The collaboration between social workers and the police investigation in suicide attempt cases brings a specific innovation as the training of social workers in psychological intervention as well as their ability to navigate short- and long-term aftercare systems is uniquely valuable. Investigative interviews, when integrated into the intervention process in a suicidal crisis, can be conducted in a secondary way, meaning that information taken by the interventionist such as memories, the development of the suicidal behaviour and how major problems contributed to development of the crisis can be of use to the forensic interviewers while building their case. Further, collaboration between interventionists and forensic interviewers can allow the interventionist to incorporate questions forensic interviewers need answered as part of their assessment of the person in crisis. When this method is used, the crisis intervention process is not interrupted by new faces or attitudes and the approach favours the individual's mental safety. Crime investigations of suicide cases can be sensitively conducted to assist in the emotional regulation of the person in crisis. Further, this model may be successful when applied to other crisis intervention cases like domestic violence, sex crimes and in the immediate grief people face with the unexpected loss of their loved ones. Nonetheless, the education and practical experience of the intervention specialist who will assist in crime investigation must be considered. This professional must be able to intervene in the crisis effectively on-site and to minimise trauma in the interview setting. As stated in the available literature, the tasks of the professional who intervenes in the crisis are to identify appropriate crisis intervention strategies, stabilise the crisis, and direct the individual involved to alternatives other than death. Those who conduct investigative interviews are expected to have training and previous experience in interviewing, be skilled in verbal and physical communication, to analyse the psychological and emotional state of the individual in crisis and display objectivity and empathy.

The conceptual framework revealed in this study may be used as a valuable source for future studies on the topic of collaboration between the justice system and social and psychological crisis intervention services. Further, the effectiveness

of practice with social workers involved in crime investigation processes should be empirically studied in suicide attempt cases. The effectiveness and number of social workers as crisis intervention specialists in suicide attempts should also be increased and enhanced, and specialists should be trained in investigative interview techniques. In order to constitute effective and appropriate crisis interventions and avoid interruptions in the crisis intervention process, a cooperative culture between the police and social workers and other interventionists should be established. Future policies that include mandating social workers to be involved in the investigation of attempted suicide in countries where suicide is illegal could benefit greatly those afflicted with suicidality based on the qualifications social workers hold in their ability to competently address crises from both psychological and sociological perspectives. Moreover, the skill level of the investigators who intervene in suicidal crises should be improved to include trauma, mental health, victimology and victim rights education.

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