Varstvoslovje

Journal of Criminal Justice and Security

Revija za teorijo in prakso zagotavljanja varnosti

O reviji

Varstvoslovje je znanstvena revija, ki spodbuja interdisciplinarno razpravo in izmenjavo ugotovitev s področja proučevanja varnosti. Prizadeva si osvetliti pravne, organizacijske, kriminološke, kriminalitetnopolitične, politološke, sociološke, psihološke in druge vidike varnostno relevantnih pojavov in konceptov. Revija prispeva h globljemu razumevanju vloge in delovanja skupnosti, organizacij in posameznikov, ki sodelujejo pri zagotavljanju varnosti.

Primeri tematskih sklopov, ki jih revija pokriva, so:

- *teoretične osnove varnosti,*
- *organizacija in upravljanje varnostnih mehanizmov,*
- *zatiranje kriminalitete,*
- *policijska dejavnost,*
- *zasebnovarnostna dejavnost,*
- *obveščevalno-varnostna dejavnost in*
- *informacijska varnost.*

About the Journal

The Journal of Criminal Justice and Security is a scientific magazine fostering interdisciplinary discussion and exchange of findings in the field of safety and security studies. In its effort to shed light on legal, organisational, criminological, politological, sociological, psychological, and criminal-policy aspects of security-relevant concepts and phenomena, it facilitates a deeper understanding of the roles and the functioning of society, organisations, and individuals cooperating in the provision of security.

As such, the Journal of Criminal Justice and Security covers the following thematic areas:

- *theoretical foundations of safety and security,*
- *organisation and management of security mechanisms,*
- *combating criminality,*
- *policing,*
- *private security,*
- *intelligence and security, and*
- *information security.*

ARTICLES

Editorial

Dear readers!

Present issue of the Journal of Criminal Justice and Security includes three papers, covering various criminal justice and security topics - the identification and treatment of twins in relation to criminality, psycho-educative group programme the treatment of sexual offenders, and police powers to stop and search.

In the first paper, **Miha Dvojmoč, Veronika Mrak Klavžar and Vanja Erčulj** review the treatment of identical twins in crimes and examine to what extent people notice the switch of identities, to what extent they can distinguish between twins, and what factors are related to the ability to distinguish them. Findings of their survey showed that age, but not gender or length of acquaintance, was related to the ability to distinguish between twins. The ability to distinguish between twins was positively correlated with the observation of confusion between them. The most common indicators for distinguishing between identical twins were found to be facial features, behavior, a distinctive voice, and recognizable accessories. **Nuša Crnković** presented the psycho-educative group therapy, developed at a high-security psychiatric hospital in the United Kingdom, in an attempt to provide a therapeutic input for sex offenders. The results of the study, conducted as a preliminary evaluation of the programme, suggest that there was a decrease in feelings of loneliness for both groups of patients that completed the URI programme, and a limited reduction of interpersonal difficulties. The findings suggest that the evaluated programme might have a limited effect on sex offenders. In their study on police powers to stop and search **Mirče Milenkov and Maja Modic** examine what attitudes police officers in Slovenia have towards the use of these powers. The findings of their study show that police officers are very well aware of the importance of their attitude when dealing with members of the public in police procedures. As police powers to stop and search are subject to strong criticism because of frequent cases of discriminatory use and links to racism and police violence, the authors suggest further research of this area in Slovenia.

We are thankful to the authors for their contribution to the present issue by sharing the results of their interesting research endeavours. We wish you a pleasant and informative reading.

Maja Modic, PhD
Editor of English Issues

Uvodnik

Spoštovani bralke in bralci!

Tokratna izdaja revije Varstvoslovje vsebuje tri prispevke, ki naslavljajo raznolike varstvoslovne teme – identifikacijo in prepoznavo enojajčnih dvojčkov v povezavi s kriminaliteto, skupinsko psihoedukativno terapijo za obravnavo spolnih prestopnikov in t. i. stop & search policijska pooblastila.

V prvem prispevku tokratne izdaje **Miha Dvojmoč, Veronika Mrak Klavžar in Vanja Erčulj** proučujejo obravnavo enojajčnih dvojčkov zaradi kaznivih dejanj in ugotavljajo, v kolikšni meri ljudje opazijo zamenjavo dvojčkov, v kolikšni meri so sposobni ločevati med njimi ter kateri dejavniki so povezani z zmožnostjo ločevanja. Ugotovitve njihove študije kažejo, da je z zmožnostjo ločevanja med dvojčki povezana njihova starost, ne pa tudi spol ali trajanje poznanstva. Najpogostejši indikatorji za razlikovanje med enojajčnimi dvojčki so obrazne poteze, način vedenja, značilen glas in prepoznavni dodatki. **Nuša Crnković** v svojem prispevku predstavi skupinsko psihoedukativno terapijo, ki so jo razvili v visoko varovani psihiatrični bolnišnici v Združenem kraljestvu, z namenom terapevtske obravnave spolnih prestopnikov. Rezultati študije, ki je bila izvedena kot preliminarna evalvacija programa, kažejo, da je prišlo do zmanjšanja občutka osamljenosti in omejenega zmanjšanja medosebnih težav pri obeh skupinah bolnikov, ki sta zaključili program. Na podlagi rezultatov se tako nakazuje omejena stopnja učinkovitosti obravnavanega programa za spolne prestopnike. V študiji o policijskih pooblastil *stop & search* sta **Mirče Milenkov in Maja Modic** ugotavljala, kakšen je odnos slovenskih policistov in policistk do uporabe teh pooblastil. Ugotovitve študije kažejo, da se policisti in policistke zelo dobro zavedajo pomena, ki ga ima njihov odnos pri obravnavi oseb v policijskih postopkih. Ker so pooblastila *stop & search* v Evropi in širše podvržena številnim kritikam, predvsem zaradi pogosto očitane in dokazane diskriminatorne uporabe ter posledično povezave z rasizmom in policijskim nasiljem, avtorja izpostavljata, da je smiselno to področje nadalje raziskovalno nasloviti tudi v Sloveniji.

Avtorjem se zahvaljujemo, da so v svojih prispevkih z nami delili svoje zanimive raziskovalne ugotovitve. Želimo vam prijetno in poučno branje.

Dr. Maja Modic
Urednica številk v angleškem jeziku

Identification of identical twins in police procedures

Miha Dvojmoč, Veronika Mrak Klavžar, Vanja Erčulj

Purpose:

The aim of the study was to review the treatment of identical twins in crimes and to determine to what extent people notice the switch of identities, to what extent they can distinguish between twins, and what factors are related to the ability to distinguish them.

Design/Methods/Approach:

We carried out an analysis of literature and a case review about identification of identical twins in police procedures and for the purpose of the article, an online survey was conducted among the general public.

Findings:

In line with existing research, the survey showed that age, but not gender or length of acquaintance, was related to the ability to distinguish between twins. The ability to distinguish between twins is positively correlated with the observation of confusion between them. Our survey of the public found that the most common indicators for distinguishing between identical twins were facial features, behavior, a distinctive voice, and recognizable accessories.

Research Limitations/Implications:

A review of the literature on the identification and treatment of twins in relation to criminality reveals several gaps in knowledge. More attention should thus be paid to the problem in the future, possibly to establish criteria for prosecution and to raise awareness that such deviant behavior can occur. In our research, we conducted survey among general public in the future maybe a survey of the experts should be conducted for more comprehensive view of the issue. Among the proposals for further research, it would be reasonable to consider the analysis of cases of identical twins in police practice.

Originality/Value:

In our own research, we examined the factors associated with identity swapping among identical twins.

Keywords: identical twins, distinction, identity switch, fraud

UDC: 343.525

Identifikacija enojajčnih dvojčkov v policijskih postopkih

Namen:

Namen prispevka je pregled obravnavanja enojajčnih dvojčkov pri kaznivih dejanjih in prikaz ugotovitev raziskave, v kolikšni meri ljudje opazijo zamenjavo identitete dvojčkov ter kateri dejavniki so povezani s sposobnostjo razlikovanja med njimi.

Metode:

Opravili smo analizo literature in pregled primerov o identifikaciji enojajčnih dvojčkov v policijskih postopkih, za namen prispevka pa smo izvedli tudi spletno anketo med širšo javnostjo.

Ugotovitve:

Ugotovili smo, da več kot polovica ljudi opaža zamenjavo identitete dvojčkov ter da je s sposobnostjo ločevanja med dvojčki povezana njihova starost, ne pa tudi trajanje poznanstva. Ravno sposobnost ločevanja med dvojčkoma je povezana z opažanjem zamenjave identitete, ne pa tudi spol dvojčkov. Raziskava je pokazala, da so najpogostejši identifikatorji razlikovanja med enojajčnimi dvojčki obrazne poteze, vedenje, značilen glas in drugi prepoznavni identifikatorji.

Omejitve/uporabnost raziskave:

Pregled literature o identifikaciji in obravnavi dvojčkov v povezavi s kaznivimi ravnanji razkriva več vrzeli v znanju. Problemu bi bilo zato treba v prihodnje posvetiti več pozornosti in morda vzpostaviti merila za pregon in ozaveščanje, da do tovrstnih deviantnih vedenj ne bi prišlo. V prihodnje bi bilo treba izvesti tudi raziskavo med strokovnjaki za bolj celovit pregled problematike.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

V naši raziskavi smo preučili dejavnike, povezane z zamenjavo identitete med enojajčnimi dvojčki.

Ključne besede: enojajčni dvojčki, ločevanje, zamenjava identitete, goljufanje

UDK: 343.525

1   INTRODUCTION

The problem of swapping and subsequent identification of twins involved in crimes could become increasingly important. According to experts (Vošnjak, 2018), the number of twins has almost doubled in recent years. The reasons for this are the increasing number of fertility treatment users and the increasing age of mothers. With identical twins, there is the possibility of fraud to gain advantages or avoid penalties. An example of this type of cheating is when one of the twins has a driving licence and the other does not, but they both use the same one. Identical twins are difficult to prosecute because of their identical DNA and appearance, and because of the law in Slovenia on the protection of human

rights and fundamental freedoms. Various methods such as facial recognition, fingerprint and palmprint matching, voice recognition, handwriting and iris recognition can be used to separate twins (Informacijski pooblaščenec [IPRS], 2013).

The formation of identical and fraternal twins is influenced by various genetic and environmental factors. Identical twins occur in 3 to 4 cases per 1,000 births worldwide. Most cases of identical twins are not caused by genetic factors, although there are more cases of identical twins than usual in individual families (Spiro, 2015d).

The issue of swapping and treatment of identical twins in criminal proceedings is poorly researched. There is little literature on the subject in Slovenia and in wider Europe. There are also gaps on this topic in the Criminal Code (»Kazenski zakonik (KZ-1-UPB2)«, 2021) or other laws. In our research, we therefore want to find out whether identical twins swap their identity to gain an advantage or escape sanctions, and whether this is related to the gender of the twins. We are interested in whether the ability to separate twins is related to the length of time the observer has known them, or to the age of the twins and the observation of the identity switching itself. We would like to identify the most common indicators that can be used to distinguish between identical twins. To this end, a survey among the general public and an analysis of media articles reporting on the confusion of twins in criminal cases were conducted. Biometrics is a science that deals with identifying people by their unique personal characteristics. The most common biometric distinguishing feature is the fingerprint, a snapshot of the papillary lines of the finger, and others are the individual characteristics of the eye (iris and retina), DNA, face, ears, and characteristic posture (IPRS, 2013), but individuals can also be distinguished on the basis of other physiological or physical characteristics and biological processes (these can, for example, also be based on other physiological and biological characteristics, such as the distance between parts of the face, papillary lines on hands and feet, shape of auricles, smell, body shape, height and weight, hair colour, shoulder width, leg shape) and behavioural characteristics (such as the way a person moves, walks, his/her tone of voice) (Pogačnik, 2013).

Identical twins usually have very similar anatomy and appearance, but greater differences in appearance between them may also be the result of behavioural and epigenetic influences. Genetically, identical twins are identical – they have identical DNA because they are the result of the division of a single zygote (fertilised egg) at the beginning of pregnancy (after division, both fertilised eggs have identical DNA) (Juefei-Xu & Savvides, 2013). Biometric technology is known as a reliable and efficient identification and separation system, which is a product of technological development and represents a significant advance towards greater safety (Pogačnik, 2013).

With our research, we wanted to take a first step towards exploring the above-mentioned issues in order to draw attention to possible shortcomings in the police process and contribute to their elimination in practice. The aim of the work is to highlight and investigate the frequency of the confusion of identical twins in

various criminal proceedings, and the ability to distinguish identical twins in the general population.

2   DISTINCTION BETWEEN IDENTICAL TWINS

Biometric verification is an increasingly common method of identifying individuals in the context of public safety, enterprise systems, and consumer electronics. It is used to verify the authenticity of certain characteristics of a person. Biometric data is data that relates to a specific or at least identifiable person. Fingerprints, for example, always belong to a specific person. Biometric data is stored in a central database, which often depends on local data collection methods. Gillis et al. (n. d.) explains that the main purpose of biometrics is security. Biometric security is a security mechanism that authenticates a person and secures access to a system or facility. It assesses a person's biological data or physical characteristics and is seen as the most seamless and strongest security technique for verifying a person's identity (Gillis et al., n. d.). It is primarily used in environments where higher critical physical security is required, or that are vulnerable to potential identity theft. Biometric security systems use various immutable characteristics of the human body. The physical characteristics of each person are stored in the biometric security system and can only be viewed by authorised personnel. When a person wants to access the system or enter a facility, the biometric scanner reads and evaluates the person's physical characteristics and matches them with the data stored about them. If this data matches, the system allows the person to access the system or enter the building or premises (Rouse, 2016).

A very important feature of any biometric verification is its convenience, as users do not need a password or security token to use it. The components of any biometric device include a reader that verifies and records the presence of the biometric factor and software that converts the scanned biometric data into a standardised digital format and allows the comparison and matching of the captured data with the database where all biometric data is stored. A person is identifiable by means of an identification number or by means of one or more specific characteristics of their physiological and physical identity, the means of identification themselves being reasonably accessible not only to the controller but also to other persons.

Biometric data can also be used to distinguish between identical twins. For example, identical twins do not have identical fingerprints (Spiro, 2015a). While the correlation of whorls, loops, and ridges between identical twins is high, there are differences where skin ridges meet, branch or end. Spiro (2015a) attributes the differences in fingerprints of identical twins to the interaction of different genes in the developmental environment of the uterus. Fingerprints have an important genetic component, but they also reflect the non-genetic environment of early pregnancy, an important time for tissue differentiation and organogenesis. In fact, the embryo begins to develop fingerprint patterns in the first weeks of gestation (Tao et al., 2012), and fingerprints are permanently configured before the twentieth week of gestation.

In addition to fingerprints, twins can also be distinguished by voice recognition. However, previous research suggests that the error rate in automatic voice recognition is higher in identical twins than the general population. Armour et al. (2014) stated that identical twins have similar vocal frequencies because the gross anatomy of the larynx and vocal cords is genetically determined. Similarities in speech production may have both genetic and developmental components due to proximity in childhood. Therefore, we would predict that identical twins would be more difficult to distinguish from each other in an identical environment than unrelated individuals (Van Gysel et al., 2001).

Another of the biometric features used to verify identity is a person's handwriting. In addition to genetics and environment (Spiro, 2015c), several random factors influence a person's handwriting. Handedness, the tendency to write with the right or left hand, is genetically determined. Parents who are left-handed are more likely to have left-handed children. However, this is truer for siblings than identical twins. Many twins have opposite preferences for dominant use of a particular hand in writing.

Srinivas et al. (2012) found that of all the ways to distinguish identical twins through biometric recognition and discrimination, facial recognition has received the most attention. Facial markers and the use of facial regions that develop with the twins' age are the most commonly used. This is because identical twins can look increasingly different as they age, since they are exposed to a more diverse environment (Spiro, 2015b). The results of a study by Mahalingam and Ricanek (2022) suggest that it is easier to distinguish identical twins by parts of the face rather than by the whole face. This is independent of gender (i.e., it works almost equally well for men and women), but is related to age. Research has shown that facial recognition becomes easier as twins get older.

In the scientific literature, surprisingly little attention is paid to distinguishing identical twins with the naked eye. Given the results of biometric procedures for twin discrimination, we were interested in whether the distinguishing of twins is also possible with the naked eye, and whether it is related to the duration of acquaintance, age, and gender of the twins.

3   TWINS AND CRIMINAL TENDENCIES

The topic is situated in various aspects of criminology, of which the biological perspective is the most important. The differences in the propensity to crime between identical and fraternal twins have already been researched in detail (Criminal Justice, n. d.). One of the first twin studies to genetically determine criminality was conducted in the 1920s by Johannes Lange (1929). He studied 30 pairs of identical twins. He found that in 10 out of 13 pairs of twins, both twins were known criminals. Subsequently, extensive studies were carried out to investigate whether at least one of each pair of twins had committed a crime. In 1974, Karl O. Christiansen (1974) studied the criminal behaviour of 3,586 pairs of twins born in Denmark between 1881 and 1910. He found that the probability of one twin being a criminal when the other twin was a criminal was 50% for identical twin pairs, but only 20% for pairs of fraternal twins. The correlation between the genetic

proximity of biological relatedness and criminality was especially true for serious violent crimes and for longer criminal careers.

These findings were confirmed by the results of a study of twin criminality in the 1980s and 1990s by Rowe (1983). This study showed that identical twins were more likely to be involved in criminal activity than fraternal twins. In addition, identical twins reported more criminal peers than fraternal twins (Rowe, 1983). The work of Rowe and his colleagues supports the genetic component of criminality, but also provides evidence of a social component. Although twin studies have provided some evidence for a genetic component in behaviour, it is difficult to separate the influence of genetics from that of social factors. This conclusion was also reached by Adler et al. (1998), who found delinquency in 32% of identical twins and in 12% of fraternal twins. Christiansen (1977) complemented the biological (genetic) view of deviant behaviour with an explanation from a psychological and social perspective. Meško (2016) agreed, and explained that delinquency is not necessarily the result of a person's genetic predisposition, but can also simply be a disposition that develops in a certain environment.

The influence of the family on later criminality (due to the influence of parents on child development) still belong in the realm of heredity in relation to criminality, but it is important to complement them with a psychological view of criminology, where, for example, social learning theory assumes that criminality is learned. Through observation, individuals can shape their own behaviour by imitation and reducing inhibitions about criminal behaviour, and if the latter is encouraged and rewarded, the effect is all the greater. Learning of behaviour through observation, direct exposure and various incentives (such as approval of such behaviour) occurs through the processes of identification and socialisation. In this process, the child identifies with their parents and adopts moral and other norms from them (Meško, 2016).

There is also a theoretical problem with the assumption that twins who grow up in the same parental home are exposed to the same treatment and social environment. Even scientists who study the link between criminal behaviour and genetics are cautious in their conclusions, arguing that these types of studies only show that similarities between twins influence behaviour. Whether these similarities are genetic or social, or a combination of both, and which of these explanations (broader social aspects based on similarity and socialisation, or individual-centred biological explanations involving genetic and psychological aspects) has a greater influence, is still controversial (Criminal Justice, n. d.; Newburn, 2007).

Based on research findings, in our study we were interested in the extent to which crimes committed by identical twins were reported. To this end, we examined media coverage of the issue. Dealing with a crime committed by an identical twin is complicated by the strong resemblance and possible collusion between the twins (for reasons of protection or even intentional identity swapping). In this research we were therefore also interested in the extent to which the public observes identity swapping between twins to gain an advantage or avoid punishment, and whether the observed identity swapping between twins is in any way related to the gender of the twins.

4 METHODS

4.1 Data collection

To address the research objectives, an online survey was conducted. The survey was voluntary and anonymous. The sampling was non-random, more specifically snowball and purposive.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first set of questions was related to information about knowing and being able to distinguish between identical twins, and what the respondents knew about identity swapping in this group. When filling out the survey, the respondents were asked to refer to the identical twins they knew best. In the questionnaire, we also wanted to know if the respondents had ever been able to distinguish identical twins, and what were the most common characteristics they used to identify or distinguish them. The ability to distinguish between identical twins and the observation of identity swapping between them were measured by replies to statements using a five-point Likert scale of agreement. The ability to distinguish between twins was measured using seven (7) statements, namely the extent to which the respondents were able to distinguish between identical twins based on different styles of dress, different hairstyles, differences in facial features, differences in the rest of the body, differences in behaviour, handwriting, and voice. Perceptions of identity swapping or confusion between identical twins were measured using four statements and a five-point Likert scale of agreement. The following statements were included: I have observed identical twins swapping identities (for example, at school during tests, social events, in a car); I have thought (suspected) that identical twins have swapped identities; I have heard that identical twins have swapped identities; and It is known that identical twins have swapped identities. The last section of the questionnaire collected demographic information.

4.2 Sample description

The sample comprised 223 respondents, of which women outnumbered men (there were 73.1% (163 respondents) women in the sample). Most (48.9%) of the respondents had a university degree (pre-Bologna and Bologna colleges and universities), while the fewest respondents had a PhD (1.3%). A total of 22.9% of respondents had completed secondary education, 13.9% of respondents had completed a pre-Bologna undergraduate degree or Bologna Master's degree, 9.4% had completed post-secondary education, and 3.6% had completed a master's degree.

The average age of respondents was 34.7 years with a standard deviation of 13.7 years. The minimum age was 18 years, and the oldest respondent was 66 years old at the time of the survey.

4.3 Statistical analysis

The validity of the measurements was checked by factor analysis, and the reliability by Cronbach's alpha. Factor analysis was performed using the principal axis method, applied separately for each set of statements on the ability to identify identical twins and on the observation of twin swapping. We calculated the composite variable as the average of the statements with high weights on each factor. Descriptive variables were represented by frequencies and proportions and numerical variables by the arithmetic mean and standard deviation. Chi-square test and multiple linear regression were used to test the hypotheses. All hypotheses were tested with a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$.

A content analysis of news reports on the topic of fraud with identical twins was also conducted Newspaper and website articles on the topic of fraud with identical twins were reviewed. The articles were searched for in the Slovenian database of Google with the keywords »*enojajčni dvojčki, goljufanje, ločevanje, zamenjava identitet*«. We searched for data on such fraud abroad using the keywords *identical twins, fraud, separation, change of identity*. All the search results were examined and only those reporting the criminal act of identical twins and accompanying police procedures were included in the analysis. The analysis of the articles included information about the country and year in which the offence of the identical twins was committed, gender of the identical twins and the provability of the offence, and summarised the content of each case of the offence.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Recognition of identical twins

5.1.1 Validity and reliability of measurement

Factor analysis revealed that two factors could be identified: the ability to identify identical twins, measured by seven (7) statements on the Likert scale, and the observation of identity confusion, measured by four (4) statements on the Likert scale. Due to the small sample size, factor analysis was conducted separately for each set of statements. These statements were combined into two factors or composite variables that were averaged across the statements with high weights on each factor and used in the rest of the study.

The data on the first set of statements about the ability to distinguish between twins are suitable for factor analysis (KMO = 0.86; $\chi^2(21)$ = 937.2; $p < 0.001$). All statements have a high weight (0.69–0.82) on a single factor explaining 63.6% of the variability of the measured variables. Reliability, as measured by Cronbach's alpha for the discrimination factor, is 0.90.

The KMO measure and Bartlett's test for sphericity indicate that the data related to the observation of identity confusion are suitable for factor analysis (*KMO* = 0.75, $\chi^2(3)$ = 620.7; $p < 0.001$). Two statements are perfectly correlated (I suspect swapping and I notice swapping), so we include only one, I suspect confusion, in the analysis. All statements have a high weight on a factor (0.88–

0.94). The reliability of the measurement of the factor »I notice swapping« was 0.93.

5.1.2 Identical twins and how to distinguish between them

Respondents were mostly friends with identical twins (43%), followed by acquaintances (23.1%), and least likely »other« (7.3%) and (former) colleagues (2.7% of respondents). Under the option »other«, respondents named ex-friend, I am an identical twin, partner, neighbour, ex-boyfriend, teacher, child of an acquaintance, know from kindergarten, brother, father, and brother of a friend (two times each).

Table 1 shows that the average age of acquaintances of identical twins is 11.81 years, with a standard deviation of 9.42 years, and the average age of twins is 29.71 years, with a standard deviation of 13.69 years. Almost two thirds of the respondents know female identical twins (data not shown).

	Average value	Standard deviation
Years of acquaintance	11.81	9.42
Age of twin	29.71	13.69

Table 1: Years of acquaintance and age of twins (n = 221)

The survey found that the most common indicators for recognising identical twins are facial features, behaviour and voice, and distinctive accessories (Graph 1). Other possible identifiers include weight, tattoos, stature, different body sizes when standing together, different points on the hands, knowledge, scar, small mole on the face, and brow ridge injury or scar over the eye, and birthmarks. The average agreement on the ability to distinguish between twins (factor or composite variable) was 2.93 and the standard deviation was 0.96. The average on a five-point scale shows that respondents were quite uncertain about their ability to distinguish between identical twins.
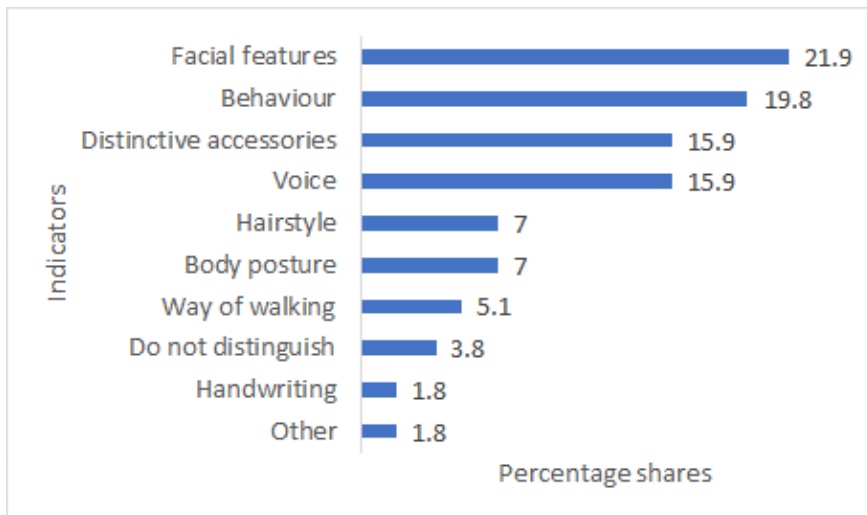
Figure 1: Identification indicators for identical twins (n = 221)

5.1.3 Factors associated with the identification of identical twins

Multiple linear regression was used to determine the relationship between length of acquaintance with identical twins, age of identical twins and ability to identify (distinguish) identical twins. The results of the regression analysis are shown in Table 2. The years of acquaintance are not statistically significantly related to the ability to distinguish between twins ($p = 0.32$). However, controlling for the length of acquaintance with identical twins, we find that there is a statistically significant relationship between the age of the twins and the ability to distinguish between them ($p < 0.001$). The positive value of the regression coefficient indicates that the older the twins, the greater their ability to distinguish between them.

	Regression coefficient	Std. error	p
(Constant)	0.87	0.14	<0.001
Years of acquaintance	0.01	0.01	0.32
Age of twin	0.03	0.01	<0.001

$R^2 = 0.17$

5.1.4 Observation of swapping of identical twins and factors related to the observation of swapping

We were interested in the proportion of people who notice identity swapping between identical twins. We wanted to check whether more than half of the people noticed such a case with identical twins. The analysis included the statement »I have noticed identity swapping between identical twins«, where respondents were classified as not noticing if they chose the answer »I do not agree at all« and as noticing if they chose other answers on the agreement scale. We found that 73.5% of the respondents had noticed the swapping of identical twins. This proportion is statistically significantly different from 50% ($\chi2\,(1) = 48.4; p < 0.001$).

Observation of identity swapping (composite variable as the average of statements measuring observation of the swap) is not statistically significantly ($p = 0.66$) associated with twin gender (Table 3), but is statistically significantly associated with the ability to distinguish between twins ($p < 0.001$). Individuals who rated themselves as having a better ability to distinguish between twins also observed identity swapping to a greater extent.

	Regression coefficient	Std. error	p
(Constant)	0.86	0.17	<0.001
Male twins	0.05	0.10	0.66
Ability to distinguish	0.32	0.07	<0.001

$R^2 = 0.12$

5.2 Content analysis of the cases of fraud and dealing with criminal offences of identical twins

Table 4 shows some of the characteristics of the articles that reported on identity swapping between identical twins. Two of the articles were from Slovenia, and one each from Bosnia & Herzegovina, China, Sweden, and France. All articles discussed male twins, and only in two cases were the investigating authorities able to prove their guilt.

Country	Year of criminal activity (CA)	Form of CA	Gender of identical twins	Age of identical twins	CA has been proved / has not been proved
Slovenia	2011	Theft	Male	Unknown	Not proved
Slovenia	2005	Causing serious injury	Male	Unknown	Not proved
China	(year unknown, fraud lasted for 20 years)	Identification fraud (both twins used one driving licence)	Male	Unknown	Proved
Sweden	2012/2013	Suspicion of murder	Male	Unknown	Not proved
Bosnia & Herzegovina	2019	Suspicion of murder	Male	67	Not proved
France	2012/2013	Three rapes and three attempted rapes	Male	Unknown	Proved (one of the identical twins has confessed to the crimes, but it is not certain if he is the right offender, due to both men having the same DNA)

Table 4: Analysis of cases of fraud and the treatment of identical twin crimes in Slovenia and abroad (newspaper articles)

All these cases involved only the above-mentioned offences and not identity fraud. In Slovenia, two cases of offences involving one or both twins were reported. In the case of the trial of identical twins E.E: and A. E. they were charged with burglary and theft in a commercial building. The burglars were intercepted by police and then fled, leaving behind a car with several burglary tools. Forensic investigators found a biological trace in the perpetrator's car belonging to one of the twin brothers. The lawyers for the twin brothers claimed that criminal proceedings can only be initiated and carried out against a specific person, whereas in the brothers' case it is not known and cannot be established which of them is supposed to have left the biological traces. This is »an extremely unusual case arising from the fact that Alen and Edin Eljezi are identical twins who are believed to have identical STR profiles, i.e. repeating DNA strands« (Predanič, 2016). This case shows how complicated criminal proceedings can be when identical twins are in the dock. In Slovenia, we are also familiar with the case of the trial of an identical twin, the security guard B. L., who allegedly inflicted serious bodily harm to the head of a nightclub guest. Criminal proceedings have been initiated against Lesjak, who denies his guilt and claims that he was at another location on the night in questionand was not working at the club. On the day of the trial,

Boštjan's identical twin brother appeared in court instead of him and made a false statement. Forensic identification during the investigation revealed that the victim had identified Boštjan Lesjak as his attacker. The investigators did not find any DNA on the perpetrator that would have enabled a reliable identification in a conventional DNA analysis. However, experts consider DNA analysis of identical twins to be a grey area, as they have the same DNA profile. However, since the accused had an identical twin who looked very similar to him, it would also be difficult for the prosecution to gather enough evidence for a conviction, which in fact they failed to achieve in this case (Furlan Rus, 2014).

Examining data from around the world, we came across the case of the Yan identical twins in China, where the brothers held the same Class B driving licence for 20 years (A. P., 2019). In France, we came across the case of the Gomis trial against identical twin brothers who were convicted of several offences. They were charged with three counts of rape and three counts of attempted rape. Forensic experts did their best, but because the brothers had almost identical DNA the French police took them both into custody. The brothers were very close, lived in the same flat, wore the same clothes, used the same car and phone, and shared a Facebook profile. The rape victims were able to identify the perpetrator in court, but they were unable to identify the perpetrator or distinguish which of the brothers was the actual perpetrator. One witness identified Yoan as the perpetrator based on his type of speech. Meanwhile Elvin was released, as there was not enough evidence to convict him. After ten months in prison, Yoan broke down and regretted being the 'evil twin' and thus saving his brother (G. G., 2017).

In Sweden (Furlan Rus, 2019), there was a trial of identical twins who were in custody on suspicion of murder. Since they shared DNA it was not possible to identify them from the DNA traces found at the crime scene on a gun cartridge and on cigarette butts found in a jar in the murdered man's car. Since it was never discovered whose DNA was found, the pair of twins were never convicted. Moreover, if it was only one of the twins then clearly they cannot both be tried, because then one of them would be wrongly convicted. Elsewhere there are further cases of identical twins with identical DNA suspected of serious crimes. While researching newspaper articles, we also came across the case of the Stanković identical twins, who are on trial in Bosnia & Herzegovina for the murder of a dentist by shooting him in the chest. A DNA trace was found at the crime scene that is believed to belong to the killer. The trace matches the DNA profile of the arrested brothers. Since they are identical twins, and have the same DNA, it remained to be clarified which of them committed the crime. Dejan is suspected of being the murderer, but the investigation is still ongoing. Later in the court proceedings, the authorities could not prove the guilt of either one or the other of the identical twins (Milinković & Subota, 2015).

6   DISCUSSION

The cases of trials of identical twins show that there are repeated reports in the media about the confusion of male identical twins, and that both investigators and prosecutors face obstacles in establishing the identity of the perpetrator in

such cases. The problem here is because identical twins have identical DNA. However, there are certain techniques, such as biometrics, that make it possible to establish identity based on other characteristics. IPRS (2013) states that the most used biometric characteristics are fingerprints, DNA, iris and retina, ears, face and characteristic body posture. The characteristics of a person include physiological body features and behavioural traits such as movement, gait, eyes, and voice (Pogačnik, 2013). In the case of identical twins, it is impossible to determine the true identity of a person just by looking at a document, since they will have the same photo, same date of birth, and often the same residential address. The main challenge in face recognition for identical twins is to find an approach for feature extraction and to formulate the separation of identical twins in space. It is important to find out which facial components – such as the eye area, nose, or mouth – are the best distinguishing features. A study (Mahalingam & Ricanek, 2022) has shown that recognition performance based on eye area almost equals or even surpasses recognition performance based on the whole face.

Sharing the same DNA profile also makes it difficult for investigators to biometrically identify identical twins, as they usually only secure DNA traces at the crime scene. When investigating a single crime where the suspects could be identical twins, additional evidence and information must be gathered and the alibis of both twins must be verified. Only through comprehensive investigations is it possible to produce evidence that allows conclusions to be drawn as to which of the twins committed the crime.

When investigating a case where it is necessary to distinguish between two adult twins and to know who is responsible for the crime, the police must look for their fingerprints along with any scars, identifying marks or tattoos, in addition to observing the circumstances of the crime where both or at least one of the identical twins was present (Souza, n. d.).

Our survey of the public found that the most common indicators for distinguishing between identical twins were facial features, behaviour, a distinctive voice, and recognisable accessories. Other distinguishing features included differences in weight, which are usually evident in a difference in stature, and distinctions based on tattoos, different marks on the hands and face, and other signs. It is difficult to distinguish identical twins with the naked eye, as we have found in our own research. Our research has shown that the ability to distinguish between twins is related to the age of the twins, as in some other studies (Mahalingam & Ricanek, 2022), but not to the length of acquaintance. This is in contrast to some research suggesting that greater differences between twins occur in adulthood because they are exposed to a more diverse environment, as well as differences in twins' lifestyles, such as exercise, diet, smoking, alcohol consumption, employment, body size, presence of a spouse, and children (Spiro, 2015b). Siblings often start out with very similar personality traits and intelligence, but slowly drift apart over time. E. Turkheimer, , believes this is because small differences that occur early in life – perhaps due to a chance event or genetic change – somehow increase as we grow up (Hamilton, 2013). As an example, he cites identical twin girls, one of whom is slightly more extroverted than her sister due to a random event, which leads to her meeting different people, making

more extroverted friends and getting a different kind of partner to her sibling. The result is a feedback loop that continuously reinforces this personality trait, and possibly even generates new brain cells. Indeed, Turkheimer conducted a study on mice that showed how small changes in behaviour can lead to larger changes and, as a result, even change the brain (Hamilton, 2013).

In our own research, we examined the factors associated with identity swapping among identical twins. This was noted by more than half of the respondents in the survey, and the result could be generalised to the wider population. Identity confusion was not statistically significantly related to the gender of the twins, but it was related to the ability to tell them apart.

The work of Rowe et al. (1983) supports the genetic component of criminality, but also provides evidence of a social component (social factors) that is difficult to separate. Another study examining criminality among identical twin pairs of the same gender, found that in most cases both twins were known criminals (Lange, 1929). Subsequently, extensive studies were carried out to investigate whether at least one of each pair of twins had committed a crime. It was found that there was a 50% chance that one of the identical twins would get involved in criminal activity, when the other twin was already a criminal, and only 20% for fraternal twin pairs (Christiansen, 1974). The correlation between the genetic proximity of biological relatedness and criminality was especially true for serious violent crimes and for longer criminal careers.

A review of the literature on the identification and treatment of twins in relation to criminality reveals several gaps in knowledge. More attention should thus be paid to the problem in the future, possibly to establish criteria for prosecution and to raise awareness that such deviant behaviour can occur.

Women are now choosing to have children later and later in life, leading to increased use of artificial insemination and higher numbers of identical twins (Spiro, 2015d). Identical twins often exploit their similarity for various purposes, including avoiding punishment. A police officer establishes a person's identity with authority and under certain conditions, and to exercise the power of identification, the police officer must assess whether any grounds for suspicion exist. Based on our research, we conclude that swapping of identity by identical twins in relation to police procedures should be regulated by law. For example, a note could be included in a driving licence stating that the person has an identical twin, as in the case of needing to wearing glasses, which would make it mandatory to identify the person by taking a fingerprint. It would be possible to use an application that scans the fingerprint to identify the person's data and verify the match with the ID document. This would help to identify and distinguish identical twins in police procedures, especially for traffic police better and more easily. This would prevent police officers from being held criminally responsible for improperly conducted procedures resulting from fraud by identical twins. In the future, it would be useful to extend this research to other areas of police investigations, especially criminal investigations where only DNA traces are available, if that. The denial of both identical twins can leave the case open, so the very consideration of this issue would help ensure that proper DNA and other identification would bring the real perpetrators of such crimes to justice.

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The Effectiveness of a Psycho-Educative Group Programme Regarding Relationships in the Treatment of Sexual Offenders: A Preliminary Study

Nuša Crnkovič

Purpose:

At a high-security psychiatric hospital in the UK, the Understanding Intimacy and Relationships (URI) psycho-educative group therapy was developed in an attempt to provide a therapeutic input for interpersonal difficulties displayed by patients with sex offending history. This study aimed to conduct a preliminary evaluation of the URI group effectiveness for sex offenders.

Design/Methods/Approach:

A longitudinal study with three groups of participants – sex offenders ($n = 9$) and non-sex offenders ($n = 9$) that completed the URI group, and the control group ($n = 10$), which were assessed at two time points was conducted at a high-security psychiatric hospital. Each group filled out three questionnaires at both time-points – IIP-C, UCLA Loneliness Scale, and ECR-R.

Findings:

The results suggest a decrease in feelings of loneliness for both groups of patients that completed the URI programme, and a limited reduction of interpersonal difficulties. Results of within-subject changes regarding interpersonal difficulties among patients in URI group did not statistically significantly differ from the result of the control group.

Research Limitations/Implications:

The most evident limitation of the study is a very small sample size and lack of objective measurement of patients' difficulties in interpersonal relations.

Practical Implications:

The findings suggest that the URI programme might have a limited effect on sex offenders due to the unsuccessful implementation of the Risk, Need, Responsivity Model, although several study limitations were present potentially affecting the outcome.

Originality/Value:

Longitudinal evaluation effectiveness of a clinical intervention for patients with sex offending history at a high-secure psychiatric hospital.

Keywords: sexual offenders, attachment style, loneliness, psycho-educative group therapy

Učinkovitost psihoedukativnega skupinskega programa za medosebne odnose pri zdravljenju spolnih prestopnikov: preliminarna študija

Namen prispevka:

V visoko varovani psihiatrični bolnišnici v Veliki Britaniji (VB) so razvili skupinsko psihoedukativno terapijo Razumevanje intimnosti in odnosov (angl. *Understanding Intimacy and Relationships* (URI)) z namenom znižanja izraženosti težav v medosebnih odnosih, izraženih pri pacientih z zgodovino spolnega prestopništva. Namen raziskave je bilo izvesti preliminarno oceno učinkovitosti URI za spolne prestopnike.

Metode:

V visoko varovani psihiatrični bolnišnici v VB je bila izvedena longitudinalna študija, ki je vključevala tri skupine – udeleženci, ki so zaključili URI z zgodovino spolnega prestopništva ($n = 9$) in brez ($n = 9$) ter kontrolno skupino pacientov ($n = 10$), ki so bili ocenjeni na dveh časovnih točkah. Vsaka skupina udeležencev je izpolnila tri vprašalnike – IIP-C, lestvica osamljenosti UCLA in ECR-R.

Ugotovitve:

Rezultati nakazujejo na zmanjšanje občutka osamljenosti pri obeh skupinah, ki sta zaključili program URI ter omejeno zmanjšanje medosebnih težav. Rezultati niso pokazali statistično pomembnih sprememb na področju medosebnih težav pri posameznikih od prve točke testiranja do druge točke testiranja v kateri koli od treh skupin udeležencev.

Omejitve/uporabnost raziskave:

Ključna omejitev je majhen vzorec in pomanjkanje objektivnega merskega instrumenta pacientovih težav na področju medosebnih odnosov.

Praktična uporabnost:

Na podlagi rezultatov se tako nakazuje omejena stopnja učinkovitosti programa URI za spolne prestopnike zaradi neuspešne implementacije modela *Tveganje, potrebe, odzivnost*, vendar so predstavljene tudi omejitve študije, ki so lahko vplivale na rezultate.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

Longitudinalna ocena učinkovitosti klinične intervencije za paciente z zgodovino spolnega prestopništva v visoko varovani psihiatrični bolnišnici.

Ključne besede: spolni prestopniki, oblika navezanosti, osamljenost, psihoedukativna skupinska terapija

UDK: 159.964.227:343.541-055.1

1 INTRODUCTION

Intimacy is one of the fundamental human needs that we require for general functioning (Popovic, 2005). Although there is no conclusive definition of intimacy, it can be broadly considered as a relational experience characterised by mutual exchange and proximity, the degree of which is contingent on the individual's perception of the experiences in a relationship (Marshall, 1989; Wynne & Wynne, 1986). The capacity to experience intimacy and form intimate relationships in adulthood is dependent on the attachment style, which first develops with a primary caregiver in childhood (Bowlby, 1973). More specifically, how a person interacts with his or her primary caregiver in infancy and childhood may influence the future personality organisation of that individual. With various experiences in different stages of life, the attachment style continues to develop and modify. It reflects one's manner of formation and engagement in interpersonal relationships (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The attachments styles are broadly classified as secure and insecure. If the child experiences responsive and consistent care as well as supportive relationships, he or she will be more likely to develop internalised relational strategies, which will enable him or her to develop a coherent sense of self and maintain interpersonal relationships (Sroufe et al., 2009).

On the other hand, if the child is exposed to malignant early caregiving, the child's ability to organise and regulate internal affects and cognitions may be distorted on several levels. Consequently, the exposure to interpersonal experiences characterised predominantly by negative emotions may impair the child's organisation and integration of self and disrupt the ability to form and/or maintain relationships in future (Carlson & Ruiz, 2016; Sroufe et al., 2009). Research results suggest that there are various forms of insecure attachment styles, depending on the one's experience with their primary care giver. More specifically, anxious or insecure-ambivalent attachment style, avoidant attachment style and disorganised attachment styles (Ainsworth & Bell, 1981; Ainsworth et al., 2015; Groh et al., 2017; Main & Solomon, 1990). The anxious attachment style, also referred to as insecure-ambivalent style, is characterised by simultaneous dependant and rejecting behavioural response pattern in interpersonal relationship – e.g. despite the desire to form a close intimate relationship one will be vary to do so. Individuals with the avoidant attachment style will exhibit high level of physical and emotional independence as interpersonal relationships bring them discomfort (Ainsworth & Bell, 1981; Ainsworth et al., 2015). Lastly, the disorganised attachment style reflects lack of coherent or consistent behaviour

in interpersonal relationship and is often seen in those who were maltreated or abused by their caregivers (Main & Solomon, 1990).

An inability to form and/or sustain intimate relationships as an adult is highly prevalent among individuals with a history of childhood trauma and is linked to a higher risk of developing psychiatric disorders in the future (Bowlby, 1973; Carlson & Ruiz, 2016; Carr et al., 2018; Cuoco et al., 2021; Maniglio, 2011; Marshall, 1989; Özcan et al., 2016; Waldinger et al., 2006). Moreover, Marshall (1989) proposed in his theory that an insecure attachment style can also be understood as the absence of intimacy and the presence of loneliness. Extant research shows a high prevalence of childhood neglect, physical and sexual abuse, experiences of intense feelings of loneliness, lack of social contact and long-term intimate relationships among offenders with mental disorders (Craissati, 2009; Levenson et al., 2015; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Rice & Harris, 1997). In line with this, there is a substantial body of evidence supporting the relationship between an insecure attachment style, mental disorders, and offending behaviour (Armstrong & Mellor, 2016; Grady et al., 2018; Levinson & Fonagy, 2004; Ogilvie et al., 2014; Smallbone & Dadds, 1998; Van IJzendoorn et al., 1997; Ward et al., 1996).

1.1 Attachment style, intimacy and loneliness in sex offenders

The above findings appear relevant for sex offenders in particular as there is a high prevalence of childhood physical and sexual abuse among this group of offenders, thus raising the likelihood of suffering consequences such as insecure attachment and related feelings of loneliness (Jespersen et al., 2006). Studies have found a high prevalence of insecure attachment amongst sex offenders (e.g. in one study 75% of sex offenders reported insecure attachment style in adulthood), more fearfulness of intimacy and rejection compared to other groups of offenders (Bumby & Hansesn, 1997; McCormack et al., 2002; Ward et al., 1997). They tend to engage less in practices that stimulate intimacy, which is associated with low self-esteem, shame, loneliness and use of sexual activities as means of coping with stressors – all of which are linked to sexual offending (Bumby & Hansen, 1997; Cortoni & Marshall, 2001; Marshall et al., 2009).

However, despite certain similarities in their interpersonal difficulties among sex offenders, researchers report that different types of sex offenders have been found not to share similar early interpersonal experiences and thus, have distinct attachment styles. Rapists compared to child molesters had fewer boundaries set by their caregivers, were subjected to more physical abuse and felt less safe. Child molesters, on the other hand, are two times more likely to report the presence of sexual abuse in childhood than rapists (McCormack et al., 2002; Seghorn et al., 1987). Furthermore, rapists' sexual aggressive behaviour does not necessarily reflect their struggle to form social bonds, but rather their preference to avoid intimacy with close-ones and avoidant attachment style. In contrast, child molesters' intimacy issues may be explained by their fear of intimacy, social anxiety and anxious attachment style (Martin & Tardif, 2014; Ward et al., 1996). Sexual recidivism has been associated with the presence of problematic ways of

relating to other people and specific patterns adopted when engaging in intimate relationships (Thornton, 2002).

Insecure attachment, intimacy deficits, and loneliness as significant aspects of sexual offending behaviour were first proposed by Marshall (1989, 1993) and then further elaborated by Marshall and Marshall (2000). They theorised that insecure attachment has a negative effect on a child's development of self-esteem and flexible social skills resulting in an inability to engage in satisfying interpersonal relationships. Consequently, in order to compensate for the lack of intimacy and sexuality, in adolescence, the individual would start to rely on autoeroticism and adopt sexual coping for life stressors. During masturbation, the individual would start incorporating deviant sexual fantasies in order to release sexual frustration and compensate for the lack of intimacy. The sexually aggressive tendencies would be further entrenched by the use of cognitive distortions, which could lead to the realisation of sexually violent fantasies if the opportunity arose. Several researchers have tested Marshall's (1989, 1993) theory, and have supported the presence of intimacy deficits and loneliness among sex offenders (Bumby & Hansen, 1997; Martin & Tardif, 2015; Seidman et al., 1994). Additionally, attachment difficulties among sex offenders have been repeatedly found by various researchers (Martin & Tardif, 2015; McKillop et al., 2012; Smallbone & Dadds, 1998; Ward et al., 1996) further supporting the association between attachment styles and sex offending behaviour.

1.2 Sex offenders, and the understanding relationships and intimacy programme

Over the years, various treatment approaches have been adopted to reduce sexual recidivism. Most of these treatment programmes follow the principles of cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) and relapse prevention, which have been found to have some positive effects on sexual recidivism (Kim et al., 2016). Recently, Grady and colleagues (2016) reported a significant decrease in insecure attachment among incarcerated sex offenders after undergoing a CBT-based treatment programme targeting their specific criminogenic needs. In a review of 48 empirical studies, Jennings and Deming (2017) found that group cohesion, i.e. "the degree to which the group works together, supports and challenges one another" (p. 742), has a highly significant effect on the treatment outcome for the sex offenders, regardless of the treatment modality adopted (e.g. CBT, psychoanalytical). Group cohesion nurtures disclosure and engagement, which in turn reduces denial, which was found to explain 60% of treatment outcome differences (Levenson & Macgowan, 2004; Levenson et al., 2009). Moreover, Lord (2016) also pointed out the benefit of adopting the Good Lives Model (Ward et al., 2007) for enhancing the treatment motivation of sex offenders with mental disorder, as it helps them develop a realistic narrative for personal change leading to greater self-reliance.

However, there is limited focus on psychoeducational programmes that aim to improve sex offenders' understanding of relationships and intimacy as means of reducing recidivism. An example of such a programme has been

developed and implemented in a high secure forensic hospital in the UK. The Understanding Relationships and Intimacy (URI) programme is a 20-week group-based psycho-educational programme lasting approximately 2 hours per session on a weekly basis. The URI is intended for individuals who have historically experienced difficulties with interpersonal relationships in one or more social contexts. The different social contexts can be for example within the family, and workplace, including committing an offence. Moreover, the URI programme also targets individuals who have experienced aggression, hostility, loneliness, mistrust or any other form of distress within interpersonal relationships. The overall aim of the URI group programme is to support the development and maintenance of healthy relationships intended for offenders with mental disorder that exhibit problems with establishing and/or maintaining relationships in a prosocial manner. This is done by addressing three key topics: *What makes a healthy relationship* (ideas of reciprocity, mutual respect and sharing); *Identifying healthy sexuality* (informed consent, avoiding pressure, combining affection with sexual behaviour); and *Increasing knowledge about boundaries and respecting the limits* (understanding boundaries in different types of relationship, professional boundaries, consequences of not respecting boundaries). Although this group therapy is primarily psycho-educational, it aims to foster a supportive environment supporting patients' active involvement in the discussions, offering support to other patients or challenging one another on the topics discussed.

The current study aims to conduct a preliminary evaluation of the effectiveness of the URI programme specifically for sex offenders, examining its effects on improving their interpersonal relations and intimacy. Based on extant literature it is hypothesised that sex offenders will show less insecure attachment; experience less loneliness; and will report to have improved their interpersonal skills after completing the URI programme. Additionally, their attachment style, levels of self-reported loneliness, and interpersonal skills will be compared to a control group consisting of patients that have not and will not be referred to the URI programme to control for the influence of other factors and programmes offered to the patient in the hospital (e.g. antilibidinal medication, individual therapy).

2   METHODOLOGY

2.1   Sample

The study was conducted with male patients at Broadmoor Hospital, a high secure psychiatric treatment facility in the UK for people detained under the Mental Health Act. Participants were chosen based on the patients' responsible clinician's assessment of suitability (e.g. mental health status) to participate in the study and allocated to three groups: (a) sex offender treatment group (SO-TG), (b) non-sex offender treatment group (NSO-TG), and (c) control group (CG). The SO-TG included patients with history of sexual offending behaviour and were participating in the URI programme. The NSO-TG were patients undertaking the URI programme but did not have a history of sexually offending behaviour. The

CG comprised of patients who at the time of the study were not participating in the URI programme or completed the same programme in the past.

Both of the treatment groups were referred to the URI programme by their multidisciplinary clinical teams based on the patients' past experienced distress in relationships (e.g., aggression, distrust, hostility, loneliness). The sample size used in the study is as follows: SO-TG $n = 9$, NSO-TG $n = 9$, and CG $n = 10$.

2.2 Measures and design

All participants completed the following test battery: (a) Inventory of Interpersonal Problems-C [IIP-C] (Horowitz et al., 2000), (b) UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell et al., 1980), and (c) Experience in Close Relationship Scale [ECR-R] (Fraley et al., 2000).

The IPP-C (Horowitz et al., 2000) is a 32-item self-report questionnaire measuring the presence of interpersonal difficulties. The participants rate the statements on a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely)* based on their belief in how well the short statements describe them. The IIP-C has 8 dimensions measuring potential difficulties one might experience in relations: *Dominance* (difficulties with aggressive, controlling and/or manipulative behaviour), *Intrusiveness* (attention seeking, being too open and overly intrusive), *Self-Sacrifice* (too caring, overly trusting, and attempting too hard to please others), *Over Accommodation* (exploitive and finds it hard to expressing anger), *Non-Assertive* (difficulties with being assertive), *Social Inhibition* (overly socially anxious and inhibited), *Coldness* (struggles to express emotions and sympathy) and *Vindictiveness* (being suspicious, distrusting and egocentric) (Barkham et al., 1996).

The UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell et al., 1980) was designed to measure one's subjective experience of loneliness and social isolation. It is a self-report inventory consisting of 20 short statements, which participants rate on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*often*). It has high internal consistency (coefficient alpha ranging from 0.86 to 0.94) and test-retest reliability ($r = 0.73$) over 1-year period (Russell, 1996).

The ECR-R (Fraley et al., 2000) is a 36-item self-reported questionnaire measuring adult attachment. The responders are asked to rate short statements with a Likert-like scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) based on how they generally feel in an intimate relationship. It has two subscales, which measure *Anxious* and *Avoidant* attachment styles. The former is characterised by fear of abandonment and rejection, whereas the latter represents avoidance of intimacy and purist of independence. Studies on undergraduates found high internal consistency for both subscales – i.e. for the Anxiety alpha ranges from 0.89 to 0.92, and for the Avoidance subscale, the alpha ranges from 0.91 to 0.95 (Lopez & Gormley, 2002; Wei et al., 2004).

Participants were assessed at two time-points, that is, T1 pre- and T2 post-treatment, with a period of 20 weeks between the two test times. Additionally, the nursing staff, who have the most contact with the patients, were asked to fill out the Chart of Interpersonal Relationships in Closed Living Environments

[CIRCLE] (Blackburn & Renwick, 1996) for each patient pre- and post-treatment. The purpose of this was to provide another objective measure of the interpersonal behaviour exhibited by the patients in addition to the self-report questionnaires completed by the patients. However, due to the low numbers of questionnaires being filled out by the nursing staff the data on CIRCLE was subsequently excluded from the study.

2.3 Procedure

The list of participants was formed based on their referral to the URI programme and their offence history – i.e. whether or not they committed a sexual offence. Before approaching the patients, permission to do so from their responsible clinicians and team psychologists. All potential concerns regarding any of the potential participants were discussed at the Clinical Team Meeting with the multidisciplinary team [MDT], and patients who were deemed unsuitable to participate (for example, due to mental health deterioration or upcoming move to a different facility before the end of study) were taken off the list. The patients included in the control group were also suggested by the MDTs and permission from their responsible clinicians were obtained before approaching the patients with an invitation to participate in the study.

Subsequently, the patients were approached individually and asked to participate in the study which would help determine the effectiveness of the URI programme. The patients were assured that they could decline without any consequences and that their responses would be strictly confidential. It was explained to them that there would be two time-points of testing – the second one being after 20 weeks. They were reassured that everything would be anonymous and if they would wish to withdraw from the study at a later point they can do that again without any consequences.

The patients who agreed to participate were first given a consent form, which the researchers explained and checked that the patients fully understood. Subsequently, patients were asked to fill out the ECR-R, the IIP-32 and the UCLA, with researchers being available to answer any potential questions. After the tests were filled out the patients were thanked and told they would be approached once more after 20 weeks for the second testing time.

In 20 weeks, the follow-up testing was conducted, with each patient being once more asked whether he still wishes to participate in the study and once more reassured that he can decline to do so without consequences.

The primary nurses of each participant were asked to fill out the CIRCLE for the patients also at two time-points. The rationale of the study and the purpose of the CIRCLE was explained to them. After 20 weeks, they were kindly reminded to fill out the CIRCLE again.

A positive ethical opinion was obtained for conducting the present study in the NHS (or private sector) by the Nottingham Centre Research Ethics Committee and the West London Mental Health Trust Research and Development Group.

2.4 Data analysis

Prior to choosing the statistical tests the normal distribution for the data was first assessed. Although most of the data was normally distributed, several data were nonnormally distributed as well (see Appendix 1). Due to the small sample size, the outliers were not taken out from the data set. Consequently, the non-parametric tests were used for the statistical analysis. Although there were only a few nonnormally distributed results, it has been found that the nonparametric tests' (e.g. Mann-Whitney U test) power is superior to parametric tests' power (e.g. ANCOVA, two-way ANOVA) for small sample sizes when nonnormally distributed results are present (Vickers, 2005).

More specifically, the Wilcoxon signed ranks test and the Mann-Whitney U test were used. The Wilcoxon signed ranks test was used to determine whether post-treatment scores of the SO-TG indicate lower levels of loneliness, insecure attachment, and more prosocial interpersonal skills compared to pre-treatment. Subsequently, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to compare the difference in the test results from pre- to post-test of the SO-TG with the difference in the results of the NSO-TG, and the CG. This was used to explore if the emerging changes in the SO-TG were predominantly due to the URI programme rather than other treatment programmes offered at the research site, including anti-libidinal medication.

As only two statistical tests were used, no corrections for multiple comparisons were conducted. Nonetheless, this might have resulted in a higher number of erroneous statistically significant results and therefore, interpretation of the statistically significant results must be made with caution.

3   RESULTS

3.1 Participants

The average age of the patients involved in the study was 43.45 years ($SD = 10.23$), ranging from 25 years to 61 years. On average, the participants were in-patients at the high secure psychiatric hospital for 7 years and 10 months ($SD = 6.46$ years), with the longest stay of 24 years and the shortest stay of 7 months. Predominantly patients were White British (57.1%), followed by 10.7% of Black British, 10.7% of Mixed Race, 3.6% Asian, and 17.6% not identifying with either of the ethnicity categories. There was no significant difference in ethnicity between the SO-TG, NSO-TG and CG ($p = 0.26$).

Based on the ICD-10 (World Health Organisation, 1992), 35.7% ($n = 10$) of the patients were diagnosed with Dissocial Personality Disorder, 21% ($n = 6$) with Paranoid Schizophrenia, 10.7% ($n = 3$) with Specific Personality Disorder, 7.1% ($n = 3$) with Mixed and Other Personality Disorder, 7.1% ($n = 3$) with Unspecified Personality Disorder. Additionally, one patient was diagnosed with Emotionally Unstable Personality Disorder, one with Schizophrenia Unspecified, and one with Schizoaffective Disorder. Again, there was no significant difference between the three groups ($p = 0.54$).

While all of the participants in the SO-TG (n = 9) had a history of sexual offending behaviour and no participants in the NSO-TG (n = 9) had a sexual offence on their criminal record, 60% of the patients (n = 6) in the CG had no history of a sexual offence. No statistically significant difference between the groups was found (p = 0.61).

3.2 Between-subjects change from pre- to post-treatment

The differences in scores from the first to second time-point of assessment were calculated for each group. The difference in scores was then statistically analysed by using the Mann-Whitney U test to see if there was a difference between the SO-TG, NSO-TG and CG in the adult attachment style, experiences of loneliness and social isolation, and interpersonal difficulties after completing the URI programme.

Using the SPSS version 23, the Mann-Whitney U test was run. The first step of interpreting the result was to examine the histograms to determine whether the data is similarly distributed or not. If the data distribution was not similar, based on which the usage of medians (if the distribution is similar) or mean ranks (if the distribution is not similar) was used for the interpretation of the results. The results are presented in tables 1–3.

3.2.1 Feelings of loneliness and social isolation

The loneliness scores for the SO-TG (mean rank = 6.50) and NSO-TG (mean rank = 12.50) were statistically different, U = 13.50, z = -2.39, p = 0.014, R = 0.56. Similarly, the difference in the UCLA scores for the SO-TG (mean rank = 7.11) and CG (mean rank = 12.60) was statistically significant as well, U = 19.00, z = -2.13, p = 0.035, R = 0.49.

3.2.2 Difficulties with interpersonal relationships

When exploring the differences between groups, there were no statistically significant results obtained between either of the groups as presented in tables 1–3. Furthermore, there were no significant results found on any of the subscales of the IIP-32 questionnaire when comparing the SO-TG with the NSO-TG or control group. However, one statistically significantly different between the NSO-TG and CG was found in the *Vindictiveness* dimension was statistically significant, U = 81.00, z = 2.96, p = 0.002, R = 0.68.

3.2.3 Adult attachment style

Similarly, when exploring the differences between groups in the attachment style shift from the first to the second time-point of the assessment, no statistically significant results emerged. Neither did the results show a statistically significant difference when comparing the anxious attachment style subscale and the avoidant attachment style subscales between the three groups.

Table 1: Between SO-TG and control group comparison of change from pre- to post-treatment

	SO-TG (n = 9) Mean Rank	Control Group (n = 10) Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Exact Sig.	Z	R
ECR-R: Total	9.67	10.30	42.00	0.84	-0.25	0.06
ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9.50	10.45	40.50	0.72	-0.37	0.08
ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	11.11	9.00	55.00	0.45	0.82	0.19
UCLA	7.11	12.60	19.00	0.04*	-2.13	0.49
IIP-32: Social Inhibition	9.94	10.05	44.50	0.97	-0.04	0.01
IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	8.83	11.05	34.50	0.40	-0.87	0.09
IIP-32: Dominance	9.44	10.50	40.00	0.72	-0.42	0.09
IIP-32: Vindictiveness	10.72	9.35	51.50	0.60	0.53	0.12
IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	7.67	12.10	24.00	0.09	-1.73	0.39
IIP-32: Coldness	9.61	10.35	41.50	0.78	-0.29	0.07
IIP-32: Intrusive	8.39	11.45	30.50	0.24	-1.19	0.27
IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9.00	10.90	36.00	0.49	-0.76	0.17
IIP-32: Total	9.22	10.70	38.00	0.6	-0.57	0.13

*Note: * $p < 0.05$*

Table 2: Between SO-TG and NSO-TG comparison of change from pre- to post-treatment

	SO-TG (n = 9) Mean Rank	NSO-TG (n = 9) Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Exact Sig.	Z	R
ECR-R: Total	11.44	7.56	58.00	0.14	1.55	0.36
ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9.39	9.61	39.50	0.93	-0.09	0.02
ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	11.22	7.78	56.00	0.19	1.37	0.32
UCLA	6.50	12.50	13.50	0.01**	-2.39	0.56
IIP-32: Social Inhibition	8.17	10.83	28.50	0.29	-1.09	0.26
IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	8.06	10.94	27.50	0.58	-1.174	0.28
IIP-32: Dominance	7.72	11.28	24.50	0.16	-1.42	0.34
IIP-32: Vindictiveness	8.17	10.83	28.50	0.29	1.07	0.08
IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	9.89	9.11	44.00	0.79	0.32	0.25
IIP-32: Coldness	7.72	11.28	24.50	0.16	-1.43	0.34
IIP-32: Intrusive	7.33	11.67	21.00	0.09	-1.76	0.41
IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9.22	9.78	38.00	0.86	-0.22	0.05
IIP-32: Total	7.17	11.83	19.50	0.06	-1.86	0.44

*Note: ** $p < 0.01$*

	NSO-TG (n = 9)	Control Group (n = 10)				
	Mean Rank	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U	Exact Sig.	Z	R
ECR-R: Total	8.11	11.70	28.00	0.18	-1.39	0.32
ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9.28	10.65	38.50	0.60	-0.53	0.12
ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	9.00	10.90	36.00	0.49	-0.74	0.17
UCLA	10.22	9.80	47.00	0.91	0.16	0.68
IIP-32: Social Inhibition	11.50	8.65	58.50	0.28	1.12	0.26
IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	10.50	9.55	49.50	0.72	0.37	0.09
IIP-32: Dominance	11.28	8.85	56.50	0.36	0.94	0.22
IIP-32: Vindictiveness	14.00	6.40	81.00	0.02*	2.96	0.68
IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	7.78	12.00	25.00	0.11	-1.64	0.38
IIP-32: Coldness	11.44	8.70	58.00	0.31	1.07	0.25
IIP-32: Intrusive	10.78	9.30	52.00	0.60	0.58	0.25
IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9.61	10.35	41.50	0.78	-0.29	0.07
IIP-32: Total	12.28	7.95	65.50	0.09	1.68	0.38

Table 3: Between NSO-TG and control group comparison of change from pre- to post-treatment

*Note: * p < 0.05*

3.3 3.3 Individual improvement from pre- to post-treatment

A Wilcoxon signed-rank test was conducted to explore whether there was a significant difference in feelings of loneliness, and difficulties with interpersonal relationships and whether the was a shift from insecure towards more secure attachment after completing the 20-week URI programme in sex offenders and non-sex offenders.

3.3.1 Feelings of loneliness and social isolation

The results showed that out of 9 patients with a history of sexual offending, 8 patients reported feeling less lonely and socially isolated (mean rank = 4.5) and one patient reported an increase in the subjective perception of loneliness (mean rank = 9.0). There were no ties. The difference (Mdn = -0.3) in a subjective feeling of loneliness and social isolation was not statistically significant, z = -1.60, p = 0.11, r = 0.38 from pre- (Mdn = 2.6) to post-treatment (Mdn = 2.4).

Among NSO-TG the results suggest that out of 9 patients, 5 perceived to be lonelier and socially isolated (mean rank = 5.4) than prior to completion of the URI programme. There was one tie – i.e. there was no change in the experience of loneliness and social isolation, and 3 patients appear to feel less lonely (mean rank = 3.0). The results showed that the difference (Mdn = 0.047) of feelings of loneliness from pre - (Mdn = 1.95) to post-treatment (Mdn = 2.20) was not statistically significant, z = -1.26, p = 0.21, r = 0.29.

Similarly, out of 10 control participants, 7 reported an increase in feelings of loneliness and social isolation (mean rank = 5.29) and 3 reported feeling lonely less often (mean rank = 6). From pre- (*Mdn* = 2.25) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 2.35) the emerging difference (*Mdn* = 0.075) was not statistically significant, *z* = -0.97, *p* = 0.33, *r* = 0.22.

3.3.2 Difficulties with interpersonal relationships

When exploring the interpersonal difficulties, the results suggested that 5 out of 9 SO-TG patients reported having less overall interpersonal difficulties (mean rank = 5.4) after treatment. There was one tie and 3 patients experienced an increase in interpersonal difficulties (mean rank = 3). The overall difference (*Mdn* = -0.22) from pre- (*Mdn* = 1.25) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 1.09) was not found to be statistically significant, *z* = -1.36, *p* = 0.17, *r* = 0.32. Neither was there any statistically significant difference from pre- to post-treatment found on the dimensions of *Social Inhibition* (*z* = -1.29, *p* = 0.19, *r* = 0.30), *Non-Assertiveness* (*z* = -1.89, *p* = 0.058, *r* = 0.45), *Intrusiveness* (*z* = -1.69, *p* = 0.092, *r* = 0.39), *Self- Sacrifice* (*z* = -1.21, *p* = 0.23, *r* = 0.29), and *Over Accommodation* (*z* = -1.81, *p* = 0.071, *r* = 0.43). However, the results implied that on the *Dominance* dimension there was a statistically significant decrease in experiencing difficulties with aggression for 6 out of 9 patients (mean rank = 3.5), *z* = -1.69, *p* = 0.027, *r* = 0.52. There were 3 ties as well. Furthermore, 5 out of 9 patients scored lower on the *Coldness* dimension (mean rank = 3), and for 3 patients there appears to be no change in score. The difference (*Mdn* = -0.25) from pre- (*Mdn* = 1.25) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 0.75) was found to be statistically significant, *z* = -2.032, *p = 0.042*, *r* = 0.48. Lastly, out of 9 participants, 6 participants were less *Vindictive* (mean rank = 3.5) and for 3 participants there was no change. The results indicated that the difference (*Mdn* = -0.5) from pre- (*Mdn* = 1.25) to post-completion (*Mdn* = 0) of the URI programme was statistically significant, *z* = -2.207, *p* = 0.027, *r* = 0.52.

The analysis of the pre- and post-treatment result for the NSO-TG the results indicated that 7 out of 9 patients experienced more relationship difficulties after attending the URI programme (mean rank = 4.93), whereas for 2 patients there appeared to be a reduction in their interpersonal difficulties (mean rank = 5.25). The difference (*Mdn* = 0.16) from pre- (*Mdn* = 0.94) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 1.03) was not statistically significant, *z* = -1.42, *p* = 0.16, *r* = 0.34. When examining the dimension, only the *Intrusiveness* dimension was found to be statistically significant, *Z* = -2.67, *p* = 0.008, *r* = 0.63. More specifically, the results suggest that for all 9 patients there was an increase (*Mdn* = 1.25) in their difficulties with intrusive behaviour in an interpersonal relationship (mean rank = 5.00) from pre- (*Mdn* = 0.75) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 2.00). For the remaining 7 dimensions the change from pre- to post-treatment was found to be statistically nonsignificant – i.e. *Social Inhibition* (*z* = -0.43, *p* = 0.67, *r* = 0.10), *Non-Assertiveness* (*z* = -0.64, *p* = 0.52, *r* = 0.15), *Dominance* (*z* = -0.12, *p* = 0.91, *r* = 0.028), *Self-Sacrifice* (*z* = -0.95, *p* = 0.34, *r* = 0.22), *Coldness* (*z* = -0.77, *p* = 0.44, *r* = 0.18), *Vindictiveness* (*z* = -0.21, *p* = 0.83, *r* = 0.049) and *Over Accommodation* (*z* = -1.40, *p* = 0.16, *r* = 0.33).

Similar results were also obtained for the control group where overall 7 out of 10 patients had fewer interpersonal difficulties at the second testing time (mean

rank = 5.50). On the other hand, results suggested that 3 patients experienced more interpersonal issues (mean rank = 5.5). Nonetheless, the difference (*Mdn* = -0.17) between first (*Mdn* = 1.11) and second (*Mdn* = 1.05) time-point was statistically not significant, *z* = -1.12, *p* = 0.26, *r* = 0.25. There was no statistically significant change from first assessment to second assessment point on 7 of the interpersonal difficulties dimensions – i.e. *Social Inhibition* (*z* = -0.72, *p* = 0.46, *r* = 0.16), *Non-Assertiveness* (*z* = -1.34, *p* = 0.18, *r* = 0.29), *Dominance* (*z* = -1.19, *p* = 0.23, *r* = 0.27), *Coldness* (*z* = -0.92, *p* = 0.36, *r* = 0.20), *Vindictiveness* (*z* = -1.49, *p* = 0.14, *r* = 0.33) and *Over Accommodation* (*z* = -1.38, *p* = 0.17, *r* = 0.31). For the *Self-Sacrifice* dimension there was a statistically different (*Mdn* = 1.25) result found between the first point of time (*Mdn* = 0.88) and second point of time (*Mdn* = 2.50), *z* = -2.65, *p* = 0.008, *r* = 0.33.

3.3.3 Adult attachment style

The Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that for 3 out of 9 SO-TG participants there was no change in the attachment style. For 4 of the patients their results implied that there was an increase in an insecure attachment style (mean rank = 3.5), whereas for 2 patients there appears to be a change towards a more secure attachment style after the URI programme (mean rank = 3.5). However, the difference (*Mdn* = 0) from pre- (*Mdn* = 4.53) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 4.67) was statistically insignificant, *z* = -0.73, *p* = 0.46, *r* = 0.17. When exploring the change in Anxious attachment style, the results suggest that for 4 out of 9 patients there was a decrease in their insecure attachment (mean rank = 5.50), for one patient there was no change, and for the remaining 4 there was an increase in their Anxious attachment style (mean rank = 3.50). Neither of the changes were statistically significant – i.e. Anxious attachment style (*z* = -0.56, *p* = 0.58, *r* = 0.13) and Avoidant attachment style (*z* = -0.98, *p* = 0.33, *r* = 0.23) attachment style.

For the NSO-TG results showed that for 7 out of 9 patients there was a shift from insecure attachment towards a more secure attachment style (mean rank = 4.79). The results for two patients indicated an increase in an insecure attachment style (mean rank = 5.75). The difference (*Mdn* = -0.22) in insecure attachment from pre- (*Mdn* = 4.47) to post-treatment (*Mdn* = 4.36) was statistically not significant, *z* = -1.30, *p* = 0.19, *r* = 0.24. Out of 9 participants, 6 patients had a lower Anxious attachment style after treatment (mean rank = 4.50), although 3 participants exhibited an increase in Anxious attachment style (mean rank = 6.00). Likewise, there was no statistically significant change on the subscales measuring the Anxious attachment style (*z* = -0.53, *p* = 0.59, *r* = 0.31) and Avoidant attachment style (*z* = -1.01, *p* = 0.31, *r* = 0.13).

When comparing the attachment style change in CG after 20 weeks, the results suggest that insecure attachment increased for 6 out of 10 (mean rank = 5.83) and decreased for the other 4 patients (mean rank = 5.00). The difference (*Mdn* = 0.75) between levels of insecure attachment at the first time-point of testing (*Mdn* = 3.96) and at the second time-point of testing (*Mdn* = 4.22) was statistically nonsignificant, *z* = -0.77, *p* = 0.44, *r* = 0.057. Furthermore, for half of the patients, there was an increase in Anxious attachment style (mean rank = 5.30) and for the other half, there was a decrease in Anxious attachment style (mean rank = 5.70). Similarly,

there was a decrease in Avoidant attachment style for 6 patients (mean rank = 4.17) and an increase for the remaining 4 patients (mean rank = 7.50). The change was not statistically significant for the Anxious attachment style (z = -0.10, p = 0.92, r = 0.17) nor for the Avoidant attachment style (z = -0.26, p = 0.79, r = 0.023).

4   DISCUSSION

The present study aimed to conduct a preliminary evaluation of the effectiveness of the Understanding Relationships and Intimacy (URI) psycho-educative group therapy for sex offenders. It was hypothesised that after completion of the URI programme the sex offenders would report significantly fewer experiences of interpersonal difficulties, feelings of loneliness and social isolation, and would become more securely attached. Thus, if the results would support the hypothesis, it would imply that the URI programme has a beneficial effect on sex offenders' understanding of intimacy and relationships, which might in turn reduce their future recidivism risk.

The results showed that after completing the URI psycho-educative group therapy, SO-TG experienced significantly fewer feelings of loneliness and social isolation compared to the control group. Furthermore, SO-TG reported fewer feelings of loneliness and social isolation in comparison to NSO-TG who also undertook the URI treatment programme. The reduction in loneliness could be because the URI programme is being conducted in a group setting, which was found to be a preferred therapeutic setting by sex offenders (Levenson et al., 2014). Sex offenders, especially child molesters, tend to be highly stigmatised, not only by the general public but also within the criminal system, which promotes their social isolation and loneliness (Ferguson & Ireland, 2006; Ricciardelli & Moir, 2013; Tewksbury, 2012). Group therapy setting, on the other hand, might be the only social setting in which sex offenders disclose their stigmatisation and feel supported (Frost & Connolly, 2004; Jennings & Deming, 2017), thus, reducing their feeling of loneliness and social isolation. Moreover, NSO-TG also reported feeling less lonely after completing the URI programme compared to the control group, which supports the importance of group cohesion on treatment outcomes as pointed out by Jennings and Deming (2017).

However, when examining the within-subject changes in the subjective experience of loneliness and social isolation, the results for none of the three groups of participants were statistically significant. One possible explanation could be that no change was found due to the small sample size and the use of only self-reported questionnaires. The effect sizes for all three groups were small, allowing the possibility that there might have been different results found if the sample size would be bigger. An alternative explanation could be the different criminogenic needs of the URI group therapy participants. More specifically, the patients involved in the URI programme had different ICD-10 diagnoses, varying from personality disorders to schizophrenic disorders, and offending history. The high diversity of the patients involved in the group therapy might have impaired the Need and Responsivity factors of the Risk, Need, Responsivity (RNR) Model (Andrews & Bonta, 1998) by requiring excessive flexibility in the programme, yet

failing to adapt sufficiently to different needs patients with different diagnosis present with and consequently, reducing the treatment effectiveness. Additionally, because the URI programme is psycho-educational, it might not foster group cohesion and expressiveness of one's affects sufficiently enough.

When comparing the presence of interpersonal difficulties between the SG-TG and NSO-TG who completed the URI group therapy, there was no statistically significant difference found. Similarly, no differences were found when comparing the SG-TG to the control group and the NSO-TG to the control group. All of the effect sizes were small to medium, which implies that if the study were to be conducted on a larger sample size, there would be a statistically significant difference. However, when examining the effect sizes, there was a medium effect size when comparing the SO-TG with NSO-TG and NSO-TG with CG. On the other hand, when comparing SO-TG with the control group the effect size was small. This suggests that SO-TG had more interpersonal difficulties before completing the URI group than did the NSO-TG, and thus had a greater reduction in their interpersonal difficulties after undertaking the programme. This notion is also supported by analysing the within-subject difference from pre- to post-treatment. More specifically, although once more the results were statistically not significant, when examining the mean ranks of SO-TG and NSO-TG it can be seen that there was a greater reduction for SO-TG than for the NSO-TG. Moreover, the median difference for the SO-TG implied a reduction in interpersonal difficulties from pre- to post-treatment, whereas the median difference from pre- to post-treatment for NSO-TG implied an increase in interpersonal difficulties. The decrease in interpersonal difficulties for the SO-TG and an increase in interpersonal difficulties for NSO-TG might again reflect the aforementioned high diversity of the patients in the URI programme, again supporting the proposition that the URI programme did not efficiently adopt the need and responsivity factors of the RNR (Andrews & Bonta, 1998) model.

Further exploration of SO-TG interpersonal difficulties was made by examining the eight dimensions of interpersonal issues, namely: dominance, intrusiveness, self-sacrifice, over accommodation, non-assertiveness, social inhibition, coldness and vindictiveness. The results showed that there was no statistically significant difference between SO-TG and NSO-TG or the control group on any of the dimensions. However, there was a statistically significant difference with a strong effect size between NSO-TG and CG on the Vindictiveness dimension. Yet when examining the within-subject difference from the first to the second point of assessment on the Vindictiveness dimension, there was no statistical difference for NSO-TG or CG although the effect sizes were small. Interestingly, there was a statistically significant difference with medium effect size on the Vindictiveness dimension for SO-TG. This suggests that SO-TG compared to NSO-TG and CG had more interpersonal difficulties associated with being egocentric, suspicious and distrusting. Moreover, a statistically significant decrease from pre- to post-competition of the URI programme in the Dominance and Coldness dimensions was also found in SO-TG. Although there was no statistically significant difference found for the Dominance or Coldness dimensions in the NSO-TG, there was a statistically significant reduction in the Intrusiveness dimension.

The diverse findings on the URI group's impact on interpersonal difficulties further support the suggestion that the URI programme still has room for improvement with the implementation of the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta, 1998). Moreover, as the URI is a psycho-educational programme with a more structured agenda this might hinder open expression of affects for all of the patients and group cohesion, the latter being found to be highly important for the treatment outcome for the sex offenders (Jennings & Deming, 2017).

Lastly, the effect of the URI group on the adult attachment styles was explored. There was no statistical difference in overall adult attachment style when comparing the SO-TG with the NSO-TG or the control group. Neither was a statistically significant difference found on the subscales of Anxious attachment style or Avoidant attachment style. Similarly, there was no statistically significant change from pre- to post-treatment in attachment styles in the SO-TG or the NSO-TG. One possible explanation for this is the difference in attachment styles between different types of sex offenders. While rapists tend to exhibit a more avoidant attachment style, child molesters tend to have an anxious attachment style, originating from different childhood experiences and consequently leading to different interpersonal difficulties in adulthood (Martin & Tardif, 2014; McCormack et al., 2002; Ward et al., 1996). Therefore, the lack of statistically significant results cannot be solely contributed to the URI programme, but may also reflect the small sample size used in the study which prevented further exploration of the attachment styles among different types of sex offenders.

Taken all together, the results of the present research suggest that the URI programme fails to effectively achieve its own primary aim for participants with sex-offending history – i.e. to support the development and maintenance of healthy relationships among offenders with mental disorder that exhibit problems with establishing and/or maintaining relationships in a prosocial manner. The manner in which one engages in interpersonal relationships is significantly more complex than solely possessing a rational understanding on »*how they work*«. It is affected by the person's attachment style, which is a complex reflection of early experiences with primary caregiver, social competences and quality of their close relationships (Bowlby, 1973; Fraley et al., 2013; Özcan et al., 2016). Numerous researchers have found significantly high levels of childhood trauma among sex offenders (e.g. Levenson et al., 2014; McCormack et al., 2002; Seghorn et al., 1987), which is also closely linked to insecure attachment styles (e.g. Maniglio, 2011; Özcan et al., 2016). Therefore, with focusing predominately solely on the cognitive aspect of the social skills the URI programme appears to neglect the need and responsivity aspect of the RNR model by underestimating the complex interpersonal dynamics needed for formation and retention of healthy interpersonal relationships.

4.1 Limitations

The current study has several limitations, the most crucial being the small sample size. The small number of participants in the study is a consequence of the patients either not wishing to participate or dropping out at the second time-point of assessment for various reasons (e.g. discharged to a different facility, did not »feel

like it«, mental health deterioration). This prevented a more detailed examination of the URI's effectiveness on different types of sex offenders. Furthermore, the small sample is also partly reflective of the fact that there was a 20-week waiting period in between two time-points of testing and that there was a time constraint on the research, limiting the possibility of expanding the sample size further. Moreover, as pointed out in the discussion section, because of a small sample the question remains whether the statistically insignificant results represent the actual absence of improvement on the tested constructs or whether a different trend would emerge if a bigger sample size would be at the disposal.

The additional limitation is the absence of objective measurements of patients' interpersonal relations. Although the initial study design attempted to include the CIRCLE (Blackburn & Renwick, 1996) it had to be taken out because it was completed only for a few participants. Given that the sample size was very small, the only option was to exclude CIRCLE rather than to exclude the patients for whom the CIRCLE was not filled out. Thus, the entire study is based on self-reported questionnaires without evaluating the validity of patients' responses, leaving the possibility of the results not being representative of the patients' genuine attachment styles, feelings of loneliness and difficulties with intimacy.

Additionally, results would be more informative if a wait-list for the URI programme group would be included. That is if we could compare patients who have completed the URI programme already and patients who have been identified that would benefit from the URI programme but have not yet completed it. Lastly, in order to see whether the URI programme is indeed effective, another follow-up testing after 20 weeks should be conducted in order to assess whether the emerging changes are stable over time. This would make the assessment of the URI group's effectiveness significantly more representative and valid.

5   CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The URI programme was effective in reducing the subjective experience of loneliness when comparing sex offenders that have completed the URI group with the non-sex offenders that completed the URI group and the control group. Furthermore, it reduced SO-TG's egocentrism, suspiciousness and distrustfulness. Overall, URI treatment is not effectively targeting sex offenders' insecure attachment styles, interpersonal difficulties, or feelings of loneliness and social isolation. This appears to be due to the overly diverse treatment group in terms of the ICD-10 diagnoses and the offending history of the patients, reducing the ability to successfully apply the RNR model to the group therapy. Although the URI is not specifically intended for sex offenders, one possible solution might be to form groups based on their attachment styles. That would enable them to adapt the URI programme more according to the RNR model.

Future research should strive to repeat the current study on bigger sample size (e. g. *N* = 100 per group), including the treatment group, wait-list group and control group in order to assess the effectiveness of the URI programme. The sex offenders involved in the study should be split into two different groups – i.e. rapists and child molesters, in order to see whether there are indeed different

emerging trends between these two types of sexual offenders and if so, what are the differences and what are the similarities. It should include observational psychometric instruments (e.g. CIRCLE), and interviews, which would allow a more in-depth exploration of the patients' attachment style, difficulties with interpersonal relationships and intimacy, and feelings of loneliness. Additionally, it should include a third time-point of testing to determine the perseverance of change which might result from the URI programme in order to obtain a genuine reflection of the effectiveness of the URI programme for sex offenders.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Table 4: Normal distribution assessment of the Sex offending treatment group data

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis		Zs	Zk
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error		
Pre- ECR-R: Total	9	4.47	0.64	-0.10	0.72	-0.98	1.40	-0.15	-0.69
Post- ECR-R: Total	9	4.63	0.39	0.19	0.72	0.51	1.40	0.28	0.36
Pre- ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9	4.27	0.39	1.06	0.72	0.69	1.40	1.49	0.49
Post- ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9	4.17	0.41	-1.12	0.72	2.10	1.40	-1.56	1.50
Pre- ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	9	4.69	1.12	0.16	0.72	-1.48	1.40	0.23	-1.05
Post- ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	9	5.09	0.69	0.18	0.72	0.24	1.40	0.26	0.17
Pre- UCLA	9	2.48	0.58	-1.60	0.72	3.46	1.40	**-2.24**	**2.47**
Post- UCLA	9	2.28	0.31	-0.90	0.72	-0.17	1.40	-1.27	-0.12
Pre- IIP-32: Social Inhibition	9	1.14	0.85	-0.15	0.72	-1.39	1.40	-0.21	-0.99
Post- IIP-32: Social Inhibition	9	0.94	0.77	0.87	0.72	0.98	1.40	1.21	0.70
Pre- IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	9	1.72	1.61	0.38	0.72	-1.71	1.40	0.53	-1.22
Post- IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	9	1.0	0.97	0.54	0.72	-1.44	1.40	0.76	-1.03
Pre- IIP-32: Dominance	9	1.53	1.48	0.45	0.72	-1.19	1.40	0.64	-0.85
Post- IIP-32: Dominance	9	0.89	1.09	1.11	0.72	0.19	1.40	1.55	0.14
Pre- IIP-32: Vindictiveness	9	1.33	0.98	0.67	0.72	0.69	1.40	0.93	0.49
Post- IIP-32: Vindictiveness	9	2.03	0.64	0.01	0.72	-0.67	1.40	0.02	-0.48
Pre- IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	9	0.53	0.59	0.48	0.72	-1.61	1.40	0.68	-1.15
Post- IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	9	1.11	1.54	1.09	0.72	-0.22	1.40	1.53	-0.16

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness Statistic	Skewness Std. Error	Kurtosis Statistic	Kurtosis Std. Error	Zs	Zk
Pre- IIP-32: Coldness	9	1.33	1.15	0.42	0.72	-1.15	1.40	0.59	-0.82
Post- IIP-32: Coldness	9	0.97	0.99	1.16	0.72	0.92	1.40	1.62	0.66
Pre- IIP-32: Intrusive	9	1.36	1.47	0.74	0.72	-0.65	1.40	1.03	-0.47
Post- IIP-32: Intrusive	9	0.53	0.71	1.19	0.72	0.84	1.40	**1.66**	0.59
Pre- IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9	1.64	1.39	0.73	0.72	-0.71	1.40	1.02	-0.51
Post- IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9	1.17	1.02	0.08	0.72	-1.55	1.40	0.12	-1.11
Pre- IIP-32: Total	9	1.32	1.09	0.44	0.72	-0.82	1.40	0.62	-0.59
Post- IIP-32: Total	9	0.98	0.65	0.98	0.72	1.02	1.40	1.37	0.73
Valid N (listwise)	9								

Note: The cut-off score $Z = 1.64$ was used to determine whether or not the data is normally distributed. Nonnormally distributed data is marked in bold.

Table 5: Normal distribution assessment of the non-sex offending treatment group data

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis		Zs	Zk
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error		
Pre- ECR-R: Total	9	4.29	0.50	-0.47	0.72	-1.24	1.40	-0.66	-0.88
Post- ECR-R: Total	9	4.14	0.59	-1.19	0.72	1.19	1.40	**-1.67**	0.85
Pre- ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9	3.81	0.47	-0.63	0.72	-0.21	1.40	-0.87	-0.15
Post- ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	9	3.74	0.52	-0.40	0.72	0.24	1.40	-0.56	0.17
Pre- ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	9	4.53	0.98	-0.25	0.72	-1.29	1.40	-0.35	-0.92
Post- ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	9	4.77	0.88	0.19	0.72	-1.50	1.40	0.26	-1.07
Pre- UCLA	9	2.05	0.52	0.59	0.72	-0.96	1.40	0.83	-0.69
Post- UCLA	9	2.21	0.47	-0.60	0.72	1.50	1.40	-0.84	1.07
Pre- IIP-32: Social Inhibition	9	1.19	0.74	0.81	0.72	2.64	1.40	1.12	**1.89**
Post- IIP-32: Social Inhibition	9	1.39	0.76	0.55	0.72	-1.32	1.40	0.76	-0.94

Pre- IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	9	1.19	0.72	-0.25	0.72	-0.92	1.40	-0.35	-0.66
Post- IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	9	1.06	0.61	-0.53	0.72	-0.81	1.40	-0.74	-0.58
Pre- IIP-32: Dominance	9	0.94	0.81	-0.26	0.72	-2.19	1.40	-0.36	-1.56
Post- IIP-32: Dominance	9	0.89	0.64	0.35	0.72	-0.52	1.40	0.49	-0.37
Pre- IIP-32: Vindictiveness	9	1.06	0.73	0.74	0.72	1.00	1.40	1.03	0.72
Post- IIP-32: Vindictiveness	9	3.33	3.64	2.95	0.72	8.79	1.40	**4.12**	**6.28**
Pre- IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	9	0.56	0.65	1.19	0.72	0.21	1.40	**1.66**	0.15
Post- IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	9	1.44	2.29	1.29	0.72	0.29	1.40	**1.79**	0.21
Pre- IIP-32: Coldness	9	1.06	0.77	0.66	0.72	0.10	1.40	0.92	0.07
Post- IIP-32: Coldness	9	1.36	0.80	-0.52	0.72	-0.96	1.40	-0.72	-0.69
Pre- IIP-32: Intrusive	9	0.81	0.54	-0.56	0.72	-0.95	1.40	-0.77	-0.68
Post- IIP-32: Intrusive	9	0.81	0.70	0.66	0.72	-0.55	1.40	0.92	-0.39
Pre- IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9	1.31	0.81	0.94	0.72	-0.73	1.40	1.32	-0.52
Post- IIP-32: Over Accommodation	9	0.97	1.00	1.64	0.72	2.98	1.40	**2.29**	**2.13**
Pre- IIP-32: Total	9	1.01	0.56	0.85	0.72	0.66	1.40	1.19	0.47
Post- IIP-32: Total	9	1.27	0.81	1.55	0.72	2.34	1.40	**2.17**	**1.67**
Valid N (listwise)	9								

Note: The cut-off score Z = 1.64 was used to determine whether or not the data is normally distributed. Nonnormally distributed data is marked in bold.

Table 6: Normal distribution assessment of the control group data

| Variables | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Skewness | | Kurtosis | | | |
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Err	Statistic	Std. Err	Zs	Zk
Pre- ECR-R: Total	10	4.01	0.51	0.89	0.69	0.61	1.33	1.29	0.46
Post- ECR-R: Total	10	4.22	0.59	-0.16	0.69	-1.01	1.33	-0.23	-0.76
Pre- ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	10	3.78	0.53	-0.59	0.69	0.46	1.33	-0.86	0.34
Post- ECR-R: Anxious attachment style	10	3.97	0.51	0.78	0.69	1.14	1.33	1.13	0.86
Pre- ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	10	4.48	0.86	-0.53	0.69	-0.88	1.33	-0.77	-0.66
Post- ECR-R: Avoidant attachment style	10	4.23	0.94	0.16	0.69	-1.33	1.33	0.23	-0.99
Pre- UCLA	10	2.28	0.39	-0.24	0.69	-0.78	1.33	-0.35	-0.58
Post- UCLA	10	2.35	0.38	-0.70	0.69	0.06	1.33	-1.02	0.05
Pre- IIP-32: Social Inhibition	10	1.50	1.05	0.06	0.69	-1.92	1.33	0.08	-1.44
Post- IIP-32: Social Inhibition	10	1.30	0.76	-0.06	0.69	-1.12	1.33	-0.09	-0.84
Pre- IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	10	1.80	0.75	0.13	0.69	-1.49	1.33	0.19	-1.12
Post- IIP-32: Non-Assertiveness	10	1.40	0.64	-0.04	0.69	-1.01	1.33	-0.06	-0.75
Pre- IIP-32: Dominance	10	1.40	0.91	0.28	0.69	-0.49	1.33	0.41	-0.37
Post- IIP-32: Dominance	10	1.03	0.64	0.21	0.69	0.60	1.33	0.31	0.45
Pre- IIP-32: Vindictiveness	10	1.23	0.46	0.18	0.69	-0.63	1.33	0.26	-0.47
Post- IIP-32: Vindictiveness	10	1.53	0.45	-0.77	0.69	-0.95	1.33	-1.11	-0.72
Pre- IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	10	0.93	0.73	0.98	0.69	1.46	1.33	1.43	1.09
Post- IIP-32: Self-Sacrifice	10	3.40	3.63	1.74	0.69	3.07	1.33	**2.54**	**2.30**
Pre- IIP-32: Coldness	10	1.20	0.85	1.09	0.69	0.88	1.33	1.59	0.66
Post- IIP-32: Coldness	10	0.95	0.64	0.77	0.69	-0.51	1.33	1.11	-0.39
Pre- IIP-32: Intrusive	10	1.43	1.21	1.26	0.69	0.97	1.33	**1.83**	0.73

Post- IIP-32: Intrusive	10	0.95	0.51	-0.06	0.69	-1.01	1.33	-0.08	-0.76
Pre- IIP-32: Over Accommodation	10	1.03	0.64	0.46	0.69	-0.87	1.33	0.67	-0.65
Post- IIP-32: Over Accommodation	10	0.75	0.46	-0.55	0.69	-1.39	1.33	-0.79	-1.04
Pre- IIP-32: Total	10	1.31	0.55	0.75	0.69	-0.99	1.33	1.09	-0.75
Post- IIP-32: Total	10	1.09	0.35	0.35	0.69	-0.47	1.33	0.51	-0.35
Valid N (listwise)	10								

Note: The cut-off score $Z = 1.64$ was used to determine whether or not the data is normally distributed. Nonnormally distributed data is marked in bold.

»Stop and Search«: Slovenian Police Officers' Perspective

Mirče Milenkov, Maja Modic

Purpose:

The purpose of the article is to find out what attitudes police officers in Slovenia have towards the use of powers that can be classified as stop and search police powers. These powers are regulated in Slovenian legislation by the Police Tasks and Powers Act and include establishing the identification of person, security searches and searches of the person.

Design/Methods/Approach :

The article is based on a review of literature and the findings of interviews conducted with Slovenian police officers in various working environments and various positions.

Findings:

We found that the legal regulation of the powers in question is relatively adequate, although certain weaknesses exist that allow the possibility of abuse, particularly in the case of the power to establish identity. We also found that police officers are very well aware of the importance of their attitude when dealing with members of the public in police procedures. Some interviewees also highlighted the fact that police powers in Slovenia are not fully comparable to stop and search police powers as they are known in the United Kingdom.

Research Limitations/Implications:

We limited ourselves to Slovenian police officers, where, however, the sample is not representative, meaning that we cannot generalise the results to all uniformed police officers.

Originality/Value:

Stop and search police powers in Europe and elsewhere are subject to strong criticism because of frequent cases of discriminatory use (both alleged and proven) and links to racism and police violence. Therefore this topic should also be addressed by research in Slovenia, above all from the point of view of the legitimacy of police work and good relations with the community. Our research thus offers a partial insight into the police officers' perception of the use of the powers in question and highlights key needs for further research.

Keywords: Stop and search, police powers, police and community, abuse of powers

UDC: 351.741

»Stop & search«: pogled slovenskih policistov

Namen prispevka:

Namen prispevka je ugotoviti, kakšen je odnos policistov in policistk v Sloveniji do uporabe pooblastil, ki jih lahko uvrstimo v skupino tako imenovanih »stop & search« pooblastil. Ta so v slovenski zakonodaji urejena v Zakonu o nalogah in pooblastilih policije, in sicer gre za pooblastilo ugotavljanja identitete, varnostnega pregleda in pregleda osebe.

Metode:

Prispevek temelji na pregledu literature in ugotovitvah intervjujev s slovenskimi policistkami in policisti v različnih delovnih okoljih in na različnih delovnih položajih.

Ugotovitve:

Ugotovili smo, da je pravna ureditev obravnavanih pooblastil relativno primerna, vseeno pa obstajajo pomanjkljivosti, ki dopuščajo morebitne zlorabe, še posebej pri pooblastilu za ugotavljanje identitete. Prav tako smo ugotovili, da se policisti in policistke zelo dobro zavedajo pomena, ki ga ima njihov odnos pri obravnavi oseb v policijskih postopkih. Nekateri intervjuvanci so sicer izpostavili, da pooblastil v Sloveniji ne moremo povsem primerjati s pooblastili »stop & search«, kot jih poznajo v Združenem kraljestvu.

Omejitve/uporabnost raziskave:

Omejili smo se na slovenske policistke in policiste, pri čemer pa vzorec ni reprezentativen in tako rezultatov ne moremo posplošiti na vse uniformirane policistke in policiste.

Izvirnost/pomembnost prispevka:

Pooblastila »stop & search« so v Evropi in širše podvržena številnim kritikam zaradi pogosto očitane in dokazane diskriminatorne uporabe ter posledično povezave z rasizmom in policijskim nasiljem. Predvsem z vidika legitimnosti policijskega dela in dobrih odnosov s skupnostjo je smiselno to področje raziskovalno nasloviti tudi v Sloveniji. Naša raziskava tako predstavlja delni vpogled v policijsko zaznavo uporabe omenjenih pooblastil in izpostavlja ključne potrebe za nadaljnje raziskovanje.

Ključne besede: stop & search, policijska pooblastila, policija in skupnost, zloraba pooblastil

UDK: 351.741

1 INTRODUCTION

The term »stop and search« refers to powers that, in Slovenian legal system, include the power to identify persons, the power to conduct a security search (frisk, pat down) and the power to conduct a search of a person. It is a broad

term that defines powers which, in some European countries, in particular the United Kingdom, are extremely controversial, with various studies indicating that the use of these powers is frequently very questionable and even detrimental to police–community relations (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Miller et al., 2001). These powers are defined considerably more narrowly in Slovenian legislation (»Zakon o nalogah in pooblastilih policije (ZNPPol)«, 2013) and are nowhere as controversial as in other European countries, at least judging from debates on the lawfulness and manner of use of these powers, or rather the absence of such debates. Yet despite the absence of such debates, it seems to us to be of key importance that discussion of this topic should also develop in Slovenia. The use of stop and search powers has been greatly criticised in other countries because of their link with racism and police violence (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Miller et al., 2001). The discretion to use stop and search powers is frequently abused (Bear, 2016; Jobard et al., 2012; Murray, 2014), including the breaches of privacy rights, as was established by the European Court of Human Rights in the case of the 2000 Terrorism Act in the United Kingdom (Murray, 2014). We believe it is vital to know what the attitude of the people who use these powers on a daily basis actually is, and – even more important – what the attitude of their superiors is towards the use of these powers and how these powers are actually used in practice. If we only start dealing with this issue after problems similar to those seen in other countries regarding the use of these powers have started to occur, it can be too late.

The main purpose of the article is to study the way in which police powers that can be classified as stop and search powers (identification of persons, security search and search of the person) are used, and to ascertain the attitude of police officers towards the use of these powers. We want to find out when these powers are used, what approach is taken by police officers when using them and whether resistance to the use of these powers on the part of the public is a frequent occurrence. We also want to identify the causes of resistance when it does occur.

Numerous studies to date have shown that the attitude of police officers in procedures involving the public is of key importance, since through their approach police officers can significantly influence the response of those individuals against whom a police procedure is being implemented (De Maillard et al., 2018; Flacks, 2018; Hunold, 2015). There are, of course, differences in the approach of police officers when carrying out duties in urban environments and rural environments (Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010), since the attitude of the population towards the police is also different. Slovenian police officers are well aware of this, since they are well trained to deal with and manage various situations, which, however, may also influence their views regarding the implementation of security searches, searches of the person and identification of persons. In comparison to the United Kingdom or France, where police officers have considerable discretion in the use of stop and search powers, the use of powers that can be included in the stop and search category in Slovenia is considerably more clearly and centrally defined.

A first limitation of this study is represented by the relatively small number of interviewees, as a result of which the findings of the study cannot be generalised to all police officers. The next limitation relates to the existing literature consulted, since we only used available literature in either Slovene or English. Similarly, we

limited ourselves to literature relating to Europe, in this way ensuring that the circumstances referred to are as comparable or similar as possible to circumstances in Slovenia. An additional limitation is represented by the fact that the use of stop and search powers is a relatively poorly researched topic from the point of view of the police, which means that the literature on the subject is relatively limited.

2   DEFINITION OF STOP AND SEARCH POWERS

The Slovene language does not have an exact translation for the police powers referred to in English either as »stop and search« or as »stop and frisk«, since these terms actually cover a broad range of powers used by police officers in their everyday work. After reviewing available literature, we found that the expression »stop and search«, which is the one that we will use in this article, is mainly used in Europe and the United Kingdom, while the expression »stop and frisk« is used for the most part in the United States of America. Both expressions refer to the same thing.

In its broadest sense, stop and search is defined as the power of police officers to carry out actions such as checking a person's identity and searching them for the purpose of finding and seizing prohibited substances, a weapon, stolen property or something which officers suspect has been used or could be used to commit a criminal offence (Flacks, 2018; Gov.uk, n. d.; Hargreaves, 2018; Miller et al., 2001; Murray, 2014).

These powers are very welcome from the police point of view, since they enable officers to confirm or allay suspicion that a criminal offence has been committed without using powers that encroach even further on human freedoms and rights such as detaining or arresting a person (Sussex Police, 2020; Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010).

Viewed idealistically, then, stop and search is an extremely good police power, since on the one hand it is very well accepted by police officers, while on the other it is also reasonably well accepted by the public, although only when its use is proportionate and correct (Miller et al., 2001). Just as with all their other powers, police officers must use the powers included in the stop and search category in accordance with specific guidelines, which state that the use of these powers must be: proportionate, meaning that before using them they must consider the needs of the public and the rights of the individual; legitimate, with a correct interpretation of legislation; and responsible, where encroachments on an individual's rights are consistently recorded. Not only that, but these powers must be used on the basis of the best and most reliable information currently available, and only when the use of such powers is urgently necessary in order for police officers to exercise their functions and perform their duties successfully (Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010).

From a legal point of view, stop and search powers are intended above all for the detection and investigation of various criminal offences. In practice, this is not always the case, since some studies indicate that stop and search powers are frequently employed as a deterrent to crime, in other words they are used as a preventive measure, which should by no means be acceptable, since it is

important to be aware that excessive use of stop and search powers by the police can lead to deviant or criminogenic behaviours, which is the exact opposite of the purpose of these powers (Bear, 2016; Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Deuchar et al., 2019; Flacks, 2018; Flacks, 2020).

3   REVIEW OF EXISTING STUDIES

Trends in research into stop and search powers carried out to date indicate that studies of this kind have been taking place in Europe and the UK since at least the 1980s and that such studies are more or less consistent in their findings. The great majority of such studies have found, in fact, that police powers of this type do not contribute to reducing crime and that sometimes their use is extremely questionable, since only a small proportion of such procedures conclude with the detention or arrest of an individual or seizure of prohibited substances or items (Borooah, 2011; Deuchar et al., 2019; Epp et al., 2017; Tiratelli et al., 2018; Topping & Bradford, 2020). In some cases the improper and incorrect use of such powers can even lead to a significant reduction in public confidence in the police work, while at the same time findings indicate that there is considerable discrimination against ethnic minorities and other social groups such as young people when it comes to using these powers (Bear, 2016; Bowling & Phillips, 2007; De Maillard et al., 2018; Flacks, 2018; Flacks, 2020; Hallsworth, 2006; Hargreaves, 2018; Miller et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2020; Topping & Bradford, 2020). While the majority of studies agree that disproportionality and discrimination against various groups occur in the use of stop and search powers, the results are not always the same with regard to the level of such disproportionalities and discriminations (Ariel & Tankebe, 2018).

Stop and search powers are the subject of considerable discussion regarding racism and police profiling, and the subject itself is somewhat controversial (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Miller et al., 2001), since many researchers in this field have found that ethnic groups such as members of the black, Muslim and Asian communities, are subject to considerably greater control or a higher level of attention on the part of the police than members of the white community, with figures showing that members of the black population are stopped by the police between four and nine times more often than whites, while Asians are stopped two to three times more often than whites (Miller et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2020; Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010). These figures relate to the UK where more studies have been carried out on this topic than anywhere else in Europe, but it is still necessary to emphasise that differences in the treatment of ethnic groups by the police are not the same all over the UK, since discrepancies most commonly occur in densely populated urban areas, while as a result of the decentralised organisation of police forces in the UK, there are also significant regional differences (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2013; Miller et al., 2020; Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010).

Not every European country has the same ethnic picture as the UK, of course. Even so, major discrepancies appear when we talk about the use of powers such as identification of persons and security searches, both between ethnic groups

and between social groups. In Germany, for example, discrepancies occur in the case of Turkish immigrants, while in France they relate to immigrants from sub-Saharan and North Africa. In Scotland, on the other hand, young people in general are strongly subject to discrimination of this kind (De Maillard et al., 2018; Jobard et al., 2012; Murray, 2014).

As already mentioned, in addition to differences between ethnic and racial groups, large differences appear between genders and between age groups, with young people – particularly young men – significantly more likely to be stopped by the police on the basis of stop and search powers (De Maillard et al., 2018; Jobard et al., 2012; Murray, 2014; Sussex Police, 2020). Young people spend a lot of time in public areas and spaces, while their wardrobe style, attitude and youth culture in general are frequently and stereotypically associated with deviant or even criminal behaviour, which consequently influences the attitude of police officers when dealing with young people. This type of discretionary use of stop and search powers occurs on an even greater scale in Scotland and in Northern Ireland, where young males aged between 15 and 25 are particularly likely to be stopped by police using such powers (Topping & Bradford, 2020). The excessive use of stop and search powers against young people, regardless of their gender or ethnicity, can be extremely harmful and problematic, since it exposes them to unpleasant experiences in their interaction with the police and they become considerably more reluctant and sceptical about cooperating with them in the future, which not only negatively affects their mental and, consequently, physical health, it damages relations between the police and the community and, of course, the ability for the police to do their job effectively (Flacks, 2018).

The attitude of police officers when dealing with members of the public is always important, but it must be emphasised that when police officers are dealing with young people, their attitude towards them can be of key importance, since it frequently happens that young people who are exposed to deviant behaviour and, as a consequence, to greater attention from the police, are not always well-inclined towards authority and can potentially be more volatile or irritable than other age groups. In such cases, the police officer must be very careful about how they approach such individuals, since an incorrect approach can lead to an individual reacting in an inappropriate and aggressive manner, which can result in them being detained or arrested, despite the fact that an identification or security search would have demonstrated no irregularity or unlawful conduct, which means that in these cases the use of stop and search powers does considerably more harm than good (Deuchar et al., 2019; Flacks, 2018).

Through our review of available literature, we also found that in some areas young people are frequently treated with a greater degree of scepticism by the police, or on the basis of a lower standard of reasonable suspicion, as a result of which they are also subject to more frequent stops or controls (Deuchar et al., 2019; Flacks, 2018; Murray, 2014). One consequence of this can be a greater degree of intolerance and violence, or a different form of punishment from parents and, in some cases, even other close relatives – something that is a particular problem in families of Middle Eastern and Asian origin. It is often the case that parents find it difficult to believe that young people have been unfairly treated by the police,

instead taking the view that the police would not have stopped them without reason if they had not done anything wrong (Flacks, 2018).

Despite numerous attempts to explain why differences occur in the use of stop and search powers, there is still no universal theory that explains this disproportionality. Several authors have tried to explain disproportionality in the police's use of stop and search using the theory of »availability«, according to which some groups – be they ethnic or social – are stopped more frequently by the police because they are more frequently present in public areas where stop and search powers are used. This theory is somewhat self-fulfilling, since the contrary argument is that the police mainly do stops and searches in areas where specific groups of ethnic or social minorities tend to be present (De Maillard et al., 2018; Hunold, 2015; Tiratelli et al., 2018; Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010). Numerous other theories attempt to explain disproportionality using crime statistics, where specific groups are seen to be responsible for the majority of crimes of a particular type, and the police direct the use of stop and search powers on the basis of these statistics (Delsol & Shiner, 2006). This theory does not fully hold up either, since it emphasizes specific criminal offences only being carried out by specific groups of people, while at the same time it does not include the majority of criminal offences, but only a small part of them (Delsol & Shiner, 2006; Tiratelli et al., 2018). Finally, statistical data do not for the most part support this theory (Borooah, 2011). In an attempt to explain disproportionality in the use of stop and search, a 2010 report by the UK's Equality and Human Rights Commission mentions the unreliability of statistical data on the use of stop and search powers, where police officers are more likely to record their use of these powers against certain groups because of the fear of complaint, while in the case of other groups keeping such records is less frequent. It is suggested that this might be the cause of the disproportionality (Delsol & Shiner, 2006). The theory that comes closest to a universal explanation is the theory of institutional and social racism, which states that police officers frequently use stop and search powers unlawfully because their suspicions are based on various stereotypes rather than on objective factors (Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010).

The frequency and manner of use of stop and search powers are influenced by numerous factors, including the attitude and demands of superior officers and the attitude of other police officers towards the use of such powers, since it is far more likely that police officers will use stop and search powers more frequently if the use of these powers is seen as a measure of performance or if they are likely to be praised by their superiors and colleagues for doing so. The discretion of an individual police officer in the use of stop and search powers is also significantly influenced by discriminatory mentalities or the various stereotypes that apply to specific ethnic or social groups. Another factor, of course, are the various forms of training that raise the awareness of police officers and draw their attention to such mentalities and teach them how to avoid stereotyping (Bear, 2016; Giacomantonio & Litmanovitz, 2017; Lennon & Murray, 2018; Quinton, 2011).

The effectiveness and proportionality of the use of stop and search powers are also influenced by the purposes that police organisations are attempting to achieve through the use of such powers. Our review of the available literature

in fact revealed that stop and search powers are used for different purposes and to achieve different goals. The use of these powers can roughly be divided into proactive and reactive use. The proactive use of stop and search powers means using them in order to deter people from committing or participating in crime. The reactive use of these powers, on the other hand, means using them in order to detect offenders and prevent criminal offences from being committed, in other words the use of stop and search powers for the purposes of investigating or preventing criminal offences (Delsol & Shiner, 2006; Wortley & Tanner, 2005). The purpose for which these powers are used is also strongly expressed in statistics on the use of stop and search powers. In areas where these powers are used for preventative purposes, it is possible to observe a significantly higher degree of disproportionality both between ethnic groups and between different social groups, and, at the same time a lower percentage of cases where the use of these powers has led to the discovery of prohibited items, stolen property or items which police officers suspect will be or have been used to commit a criminal offence. In areas where these powers are used reactively, the rate of successful procedures – procedures where the use of stop and search powers has led to the discovery of prohibited items, stolen property or items which police officers suspect will be or have been used to commit a criminal offence – is significantly higher, while at the same time there is a considerably lower disproportionality rate between the ethnic and social groups against whom these powers are used (Murray, 2014).

The fact is, stop and search powers are very intrusive, since they encroach directly on the personal space and freedoms of the individual. Precisely for this reason, the attitude of police officers when using these powers and the reasons for their use are extremely important (Epp et al., 2017; Hunold et al., 2016; Murray et al., 2021). People, regardless of race or ethnicity, are largely supportive of the use of stop and search powers, since they agree that these powers have the potential to be extremely useful and effective, but only if they are utilised correctly, transparently and impartially (Delsol & Shiner, 2006). By no means are interactions between police and citizens during the use of stop and search powers all negative, but people only tend to remember the ones that are, for which reason it is extremely important that people feel respected during police procedures; that they are given a proper explanation of the grounds for the use of stop and search powers and the invasion of their personal space, not just a standard explanation from a police officer; that police officers behave respectfully and correctly towards them; and that the procedure does not last longer than is strictly necessary (Bowling & Weber, 2011; Stone & Pettigrew, 2000).

The improper use of powers can be far more harmful and criminogenic than a positive outcome of their use can be beneficial, since their improper use and disproportionality on the part of the police increase the mistrust of the community in the work of the police, which can significantly influence the effectiveness with which the police fulfil their functions in other areas of work and, at the same time, reinforce stereotypes and prejudices about the police as a repressive organisation rather than as an organisation to which people can turn for help when they most need it. It also increases people's anger and intolerance towards police work and

the officers who do this work (Bowling & Weber, 2011; Deuchar et al., 2019; Flacks, 2020; Stone & Pettigrew, 2000).

4   STOP AND SEARCH IN SLOVENIA

Powers that may be placed in the category of stop and search powers may be found in the legislations of numerous European countries, despite their different legal systems and the different names given to such powers. As in the UK, stop and search powers are an integral part of everyday police work in France, while we also find them in Germany, Belgium and Slovenia, among other countries. In the case of Slovenia, powers comparable to stop and search powers may be found in the Police Tasks and Powers Act (»ZNPPol«, 2013), specifically in Article 40 (establishing identity), Article 51 (security search) and Article 52 (search of the person).

The following may be counted as stop and search powers from Article 40 (»ZNPPol«, 2013):

- the third indent of the first paragraph, which states that police officers may identify a person who is »in an area, place or building where measures are being undertaken for searching or tracing the perpetrator of a criminal or minor offence or objects and traces relevant for a criminal or minor offence procedure«,
- the fourth indent of the first paragraph, which states that police officers may identify a person who »by their behaviour, actions or the fact that they are loitering in a particular location or at a particular time, gives grounds to suspect that they will commit, are committing or have committed a criminal offence or minor offence«,
- the fifth indent of the first paragraph, which states that police officers may identify a person who »is similar in appearance to a person sought«,

The second paragraph of the same article explains what is meant by loitering in a particular location or at a particular time (»ZNPPol«, 2013):

»Loitering in a particular location or at a particular time shall mean, in particular, being present in public places where free movement is permitted under specific conditions, in the environs of protected buildings or premises of special importance, or in other locations with a high daily, periodic or momentary flux of people, or on public transport in the case of areas that are vulnerable in terms of security«.

As already mentioned, stop and search powers can also be found in Articles 51 and 52 of the above Act (»ZNPPol«, 2013). These two Articles govern, respectively, security searches and searches of the person. Police officers may, in the course of their duties, conduct a security search of a person »if in view of the circumstances it is reasonable to expect that they will attempt an assault or self-harm« (»ZNPPol«, 2013), while searches of the person are carried out for the purpose of seizing items if police officers consider »on the basis of their own perception, that there is a high probability that the person in question has on their person objects which must be seized pursuant to law« (»ZNPPol«, 2013).

Both Article 51 and Article 52 also define the scope of powers and the method by which searches are to be carried out, as follows (»ZNPPol«, 2013):

- »A security search shall consist of a search of the person in question, their belongings and vehicle, by means of which police officers establish whether the person is armed or has other dangerous items or substances on their person«.
- »During a security search, police officers shall pat down the individual's clothes, gloves, headgear and hair with their hands and inspect their footwear. A security search shall not include a body search or personal search«.
- »During a security search of items, police officers shall inspect the items the person in question has on them and which could serve to conceal a weapon or other dangerous items or substances«.
- »During a security search of a vehicle which is in the immediate vicinity and accessible to the person who is undergoing the security search, police officers shall inspect its interior, the boot and other luggage compartments or equipment of the vehicle. In so doing, they may not inspect concealed parts of the vehicle«.
- »If the person referred to in the first paragraph of this Article is in or standing next to a vehicle and police officers have themselves observed that items have been concealed or discarded in the vehicle or are located in the vehicle, they may also inspect the interior of the vehicle, with the exception of its concealed parts«.
- »During a search, police officers shall pat down the person's clothes with their hands and check the contents of items in the possession of or carried by that person. When inspecting items, police officers may not use force to open sealed items«.

On the basis of the above legislation, we may therefore state that the Slovenian police also possess statutory powers that may be included in the category of stop and search powers.

5 RESEARCH AMONG POLICE OFFICERS

Since we wanted to find out what attitude police officers in Slovenia actually have towards the use of powers that can be classified as stop and search powers, we decided to conduct interviews with police officers around Slovenia.

5.1 Methods

We have conducted interviews with police officers in various working environments and various positions. After completing the interviews, we first anonymised the information obtained, in such a way that it is not possible to identify individual interviewees. We then analysed these results, which are presented below.

We divided the interviewees into six groups. We initially divided them into personnel in management positions, individuals with less than three years of

experience in the police (young police officers), and community policing officers or officers with several years of experience in the police. We then further divided all three groups into those who work in an urban environment and those who work in a rural environment.

5.2 Data collection

The interviews were conducted between 15 July 2021 and 22 July 2021 at 14 police stations around Slovenia. Within the area of Murska Sobota Police Directorate, we conducted interviews at Lendava Police Station, where we interviewed four individuals; in the area of Maribor Police Directorate we interviewed a total of five individuals at Ruše Police Station and Maribor II Police Station; in the area of Celje Police Directorate we conducted interviews at Šmarje pri Jelšah Police Station, where we interviewed three individuals; in the area of Ljubljana Police Directorate we interviewed two individuals at Kočevje Police Station; in the area of Novo Mesto Police Directorate we interviewed four individuals based at, respectively, Novo Mesto Police Station, Metlika Border Police Station, Šentjernej Police Station, and Črnomelj Police Station; in the area of Nova Gorica Police Directorate we conducted interviews at Ajdovščina Police Station and Nova Gorica Police Station with a total of seven individuals; in the area of Koper Police Directorate we interviewed two individuals at Izola Police Station; and in the area of Kranj Police Directorate we conducted interviews with two individuals at Jesenice Police Station and Radovljica Police Station.

We thus carried out a total of 29 interviews in the course of our research, of which 24 were carried out face to face in the premises of individual police stations, one was carried out face to face in a police vehicle in the field and three were carried out using the videoconferencing tools Microsoft Teams (one interview) and Zoom (two interviews). One interview was conducted by emailing questions to the interviewee, who then sent their answers back in written form.

Of the 29 interviews conducted, 19 were recorded and the results subsequently transcribed. Nine interviewees did not consent to their interviews being recorded. In those cases we took notes by hand during the course of the interviews. In one case we interviewed two individuals together (joint interview) in order to fit in with their work commitments.

We conducted interviews with police officers in different positions and roles, including one female police station commander and two male police station commanders, one male deputy commander and two female deputy commanders working in a rural environment, and two female deputy commanders working in an urban environment.

We also carried out interviews with four police officers who have been in the police organisation for less than three years. Two of them were employed in a rural environment and two in an urban environment.

The last group with which we conducted interviews consisted of community policing officers and individuals who have been in the police force for more than three years. This group included six individuals (two female and four male) working as community policing officers in rural environments, a female

investigator who at the time of the interview was working as a uniformed officer in a rural environment, and a male police officer working as a patrol officer in a rural environment. The group also included two female police officers with several years of experience working in urban environments, a female investigator who likewise worked in an urban environment, and six community policing officers (five male and one female), all of them working in urban environments.

We obtained candidates willing to be interviewed by sending a request to the Research and Social Skills Department at the Police Academy, in which we sought approval to conduct a research among police officers and requested the contact details of individuals who would be willing to take part in the research. Having received the contact details of individuals willing to take part, we contacted these individuals via email and arranged a meeting with each of them separately. In two cases we obtained additional interviewees by asking the originally contacted person, at the end of the interview, whether at the time of our visit to the police station there was any other police officer present at the station who might be willing to take part in the research. This resulted in two additional interviewees in the first case and one additional interviewee in the second case.

In view of the lack of interviewees from the areas of the Ljubljana Police Directorate and the Kranj Police Directorate, we decided to send an email to community policing officers at stations under the Kranj Police Directorate and at Bežigrad Police Station and Ljubljana Center Police Station, which fall under the Ljubljana Police Directorate, requesting their cooperation. In this way we obtained a further two interviewees from the Kranj Police Directorate.

The sample is, unfortunately, not representative, since despite the fact that we used a qualitative research method rather than a quantitative research method in our research, the sample is still too small for us to be able to generalise the results to all uniformed police officers. Furthermore, we were not able, with our sample of interviewees, to ensure a balance between the groups, since we had too few interviewees among police officers in management positions working in urban environments, while in the case of young police officers or police officers who have been in the police organisation for less than three years, we did not have a sufficient number of interviewees from either urban or rural environments. In none of the three groups were we able to achieve adequate geographical coverage, which means that in some groups we did not have even a single interviewee from some police directorates.

5.3 Description of the questionnaire

To conduct the interviews we used a semi-structured questionnaire consisting of 15 questions and beginning with five demographic questions. The demographic questions asked the interviewees to state their age, their educational qualifications, their work experience in the police, the environment in which they work and their reasons for joining the police.

The first question related to our research asked the interviewees whether they had ever come across the expression »stop and search« before preparing for the interview and what they think of when they hear this expression. We then asked

the interviewees in what situations they would carry out identification of persons, security searches and searches of the person and what, in their view, constitutes suspicious or unusual behaviour. The next question related to the frequency and focus of the above procedures, in other words how frequently these procedures are carried out and whom they are mainly used against. We then asked the interviewees how willing people usually are to cooperate in such procedures, whether they often see resistance or a lack of cooperation on the part of those subjected to these procedures, and what attitude or approach they adopt, as police officers, towards those people against whom they are carrying out or wish to carry out procedures on the basis of the powers mentioned above.

The sixth question related to the legal regulation of the above powers. We asked the interviewees whether they believed that the above powers had an adequate legal basis in Slovenia and whether there was anything they would wish to change or would like to see change in the future regarding the legal regulation of the powers to conduct security searches, searches of the person and identification of persons. We also asked them whether they thought that these powers were used excessively in Slovenia and in their environment, and whether they knew of any cases where abuse or overstepping of these powers had occurred.

The last question related to the attitude of the community in which they work towards them and their work, and attitudes towards the police in general.

5.4 Results

The answers to the demographic questions reveal that the average age of the interviewees was 42, the average age of those in management positions was 43, the average age of young police officers (police officers who have been in the police force for less than three years) was 29.5, and the average age of community policing officers/police officers with several years of experience was 41.4. If we look at the division into rural and urban environments, we see that the average age of all interviewees working in a rural environment is 41.1 while the average age of all interviewees working in an urban environment is 37.8. The average age of female interviewees was 39.8, while the average age of male interviewees was 40.3.

Six of the interviewees had a master's degree, nine had a bachelor's degree, eight had a further education qualification and five had a secondary qualification. In one case, the interviewee's educational qualifications were not given. Both the management personnel working in urban environments had a master's degree, while of those working in management positions in rural environments, four had a master's degree, one had a bachelor's degree and one did not give details of their educational qualifications. All the police officers (in both rural and urban environments) who had been in the police organisation for less than three years had completed a further education qualification. Among community policing offciers/police officers with several years' experience in rural environments, four individuals had a bachelor's degree, two had a further education qualification and two had a secondary qualification. Among community policing officers/police officers with several years' experience in urban environments, four individuals

had a secondary qualification, two had a further education qualification and three had a bachelor's degree.

On average, the interviewees had been in the police for 17.3 years and in their current position for five years. The newest police officers had been in the police for less than a year, or just nine months to be precise (these were police officers in the group of those with less than three years' experience), while the officer of the longest standing was a community policing officer who is currently working in an urban environment and began his career 31 years ago. There were no noticeable or statistically significant differences between rural and urban environments as regards length of employment in the police or length of time in current position.

As regards reasons for joining the police organisation, these varied, although we found that there were no significant differences in reasons for joining the police between officers working in a rural environment and those working in an urban environment. The main reasons given for joining the police were a childhood/long-held desire to become a police officer (this answer was given by 10 interviewees), followed by the desire to help people (six interviewees). Other reasons for joining the police included the desire for a steady job and a regular salary, the desire for a varied, stimulating and interesting job, the desire to please parents or relatives and the desire to get to know the work of the police better. One interviewee did not give an answer to this question.

When we came to the first question, in which we asked the interviewees whether they had ever come across the expression »stop and search« in the past and what they think of when they hear this expression, we found that 25 of our 29 interviewees had never come across this expression before and were unfamiliar with it, although they imagined that it described the procedure in which a police officer stops someone and searches them (suggesting that they were simply translating the English expression literally into Slovene). One interviewee answered that they had never come across this expression before and did not know what it meant but presumed it was another one of »those fancy expressions they think up in Ljubljana« (Interview #24, 20 July 2021). Two interviewees answered that they had never heard the expression before and had no idea what it meant. Two interviewees answered that they had come across the expression before: one of them had heard it during training at the police academy (in a conversation with a lecturer), while the other had encountered it several times both when talking to colleagues from other countries and in various media such as films and newspapers.

With the second question, in which we asked the interviewees about the situations in which they carry out (or would carry out) identification of persons, security searches and searches of the person and what, in their view, constitutes suspicious behaviour, we found in several cases that, instead of giving a concrete answer, they simply cited the legal basis for the use of the powers in question. Those in management positions in rural environments most frequently answered that they would use the powers in question when the legal conditions to do so were met and that they would implement procedures with regard to the circumstances, depending on the place and time, and in cases where someone's presence or behaviour caused them to suspect that they were about to commit or

had committed a criminal offence, or in other words when someone is found in an environment in which they do not belong or is found loitering in a particular place, giving rise to the suspicion of a criminal offence in progress. The interviewees in this group consider suspicious behaviour to include the presence of foreign persons and vehicles with foreign number plates in a particular place, whose appearance and conduct makes them stand out from the environment in which they are located or in which they do not belong.

One interviewee gave the following answer to this question: ». . . it depends, some people are nervous, some have tics or keep repeating themselves, others try to lead you off in another direction. Otherwise it seems to me that over time you develop a kind of sixth sense, so that when you stop someone you know that something isn't right« (Interview #14, 19 July 2021).

Like management personnel in rural environments, management personnel in urban environments answered that they would carry out the procedures in question if the legal basis for doing so was met, and defined suspicious behaviour as loitering in places such as shopping centres or office and commercial buildings at unusual hours.

Like their superiors, young police officers (those who have been in the police organisation for less than three years) answered that they would carry out the procedures in question when the legal basis for doing so was met, in other words that they would carry out an identification of persons when faced with someone they do not know if they suspected that a criminal offence had been committed and when persons were found in particular places at unusual hours, specifically in places where there is an increased rate of specific criminal offences or in places where they would not normally expect to see anyone (e.g. inside the fence of closed business premises at night). The interviewees in this group likewise considered examples of suspicious behaviour to include behaviour such as suddenly changing direction on seeing police officers or a police vehicle, a state of agitation, the presence of an individual in a particular location at unusual hours and the presence of vehicles with foreign number plates in specific areas, particularly if such areas are considered areas of increased risk of property crimes such as robberies and theft. Community policing officers/police officers with several years' experience in rural environments gave similar answers, stating that they would carry out the procedures in question if the legal basis for doing so was met. Regarding the power to carry out identifications of persons, the most frequent answer was that they would use this power (or that they do use this power) when someone was found loitering in a particular area, when they suspected that a criminal offence had been committed, or when they witnessed unusual behaviour by individuals in particular areas at particular times. Regarding security searches, all the interviewees in this group answered that they only carry them out when they wish to ensure their own safety and the safety of the person concerned, while they carry out searches of the person more rarely and only when they have personally seen that an individual has concealed or attempted to conceal something. Regarding the definition of suspicious behaviour, the majority answered that this depends on the circumstances. Some examples they gave included the presence of a person in a particular place at a particular time

(for example around petrol stations or schools when closed) or when a person seen in a particular place at a particular time appeared not to belong there. One of the interviewees from this group gave the following answer to this question: »When conducting a procedure, suspicious behaviour can include exaggerated friendliness, particularly from certain individuals. For example, when we know that someone gets angry and upset every time we stop him, or tries to be clever, but then the next time he is perfectly calm and cooperative, presumably hoping that this will mean that the procedure is completed quickly and he can be on his way« (Interview #11, 16 July 2021). Another interviewee said that, for them, suspicious behaviour meant every unknown individual or every individual who appears not to belong in a given environment (Interview #4, 15 July 2021).

Police officers with several years' experience/community policing officers in urban environments answered that they implemented (or would implement) identification procedures quite frequently, in accordance with the relevant legal basis, when they have been informed about a missing person and see an individual who matches their description, or when someone is found loitering in an area considered a hotspot for crime or in an area where there is an increased risk of crime. They carry out security searches when they wish to ensure their own safety and the safety of the individual in question, but only carry out searches of the person when they personally witness an individual trying to conceal something from them. The interviewees in this group gave similar definitions of suspicious behaviour, for example the presence of an individual in a particular place at a particular time and avoidance of contact with the police. Several interviewees also felt that they had a kind of sixth sense when it came to suspicious behaviour, in other words that they treat people's behaviour as suspicious when they sense that something is not as it should be.

In response to the question regarding the frequency with which they carried out identification of persons, security searches and searches of the person, interviewees from rural environments answered that the most common of these procedures is identification of persons, which they carry out on a daily basis. Regarding groups that stand out in these procedures, five interviewees answered that Roma and migrants stand out as far as the identification of persons and security searches are concerned, with one interviewee stating that »we identify Roma for every slightest thing that could be at all suspicious – we'll certainly check them« (Interview #27, 22 July 2021), and another adding that young people account for a large number of these procedures during the weekend. Four interviewees answered that no specific social or ethnic group stands out as far as implementation of these procedures is concerned. Eight interviewees gave no answer about whether any group stands out in terms of the use of these procedures. One of the reasons given by a police manager working in a rural environment to the question of whether there were discrepancies in the use of the powers in question was that such discrepancies do not occur because they do not have sufficient staff to use these powers for proactive purposes (Interview #14, 19 July 2021).

Interviewees from urban environments answered this question by saying that they use these powers on a daily basis, carrying out identification of persons

most frequently and searches of the person least frequently. Seven interviewees answered that there are discrepancies in the use of these powers, in that these powers are most frequently used against young people and foreigners. »I definitely use the identification procedure most frequently in relation to foreigners, when we are trying to establish whether a foreigner actually meets the conditions to be in this country ... searches of the person are definitely most frequent in the case of young people« (Interview #22, 20 July 2021). Four interviewees answered that there are no discrepancies, while one individual did not give a definitive answer to this question.

In answer to the question of how willing people usually are to cooperate in these procedures, the majority of interviewees responded that in most cases people are willing to cooperate and have no difficulty following the instructions and orders of police officers. They also emphasised that every now and again there are cases of people refusing to cooperate, but these are usually people under the influence of alcohol or in possession of prohibited substances. On rare occasions there are cases of individuals who do not wish to cooperate because they do not accept the police officers' explanation or believe that the procedures against them are unlawful. One interviewee emphasised that this happens more frequently at protests, while in normal circumstances it is quite rare.

Interviewees from urban environments reported a slightly higher degree of unwillingness to cooperate, although even this group emphasised that willingness to cooperate varies from individual to individual and also depends on the place where the procedures in question are being carried out.

»I have the impression that foreigners are very used to people constantly identifying them, so this isn't something that they hold against you personally ... security searches are generally better accepted than searches of the person, because in the latter case the individual usually already knows that we're going to seize something he doesn't want us to seize. The search of the person is therefore the least desirable procedure among the people we deal with, while in principle they are all happy to submit to a security search. As regards the identification of persons, people here are already used to the idea that we can ask them to identify themselves and will often spontaneously hand us the documents they know we need to see« (Interview #22, 20 July 2021).

One interviewee emphasised that if these procedures are being carried out in areas where lots of people are present, for example shopping centres and public places where there are a large number of people, the likelihood that the individual will not wish to cooperate is considerably greater than if these procedures were being carried out in areas where there are fewer people, since in the former case people feel extremely exposed and judged or even mocked by passers-by (Interview #25, 21 July 2021).

Answers to the question about the interviewees' attitude towards the individuals against whom they wish to carry out an identification, security search or search of the person revealed that there are no significant differences between the three groups of police officers (those in management positions, young police officers and community policing officers/police officers with several years' experience) in rural environments. The majority of them answered that

their attitude depends on the situation, but that in the majority of cases they are friendly, respectful and understanding. We did detect a slight difference between police officers in management positions and other police officers in urban environments. Some of those in management positions were, in fact, stricter and more authoritative. »When I used to conduct identifications or security searches, I was serious and authoritative« (Interview #29, 15 July 2021). Meanwhile, young police officers and community policing officers/police officers with several years' experience mainly answered that their attitude is, as a rule, adapted to circumstances and that they usually approach people in a polite and respectful manner, although when circumstances demand it they can also be a lot more authoritative and strict.

»You try to approach people in a human way, because you are intruding on their personal space and must therefore explain exactly what is happening and why you are going to carry out a given procedure. People almost always cooperate if you approach them in a human way« (Interview #10, 16 July 2021).

Several police officers, in both urban and rural environments, highlighted the fact that their attitude towards the person they are dealing with is of key importance if they wish to carry out procedures without problems. They also highlighted the fact that when carrying out such procedures, they »try to be first and foremost a human being, and only then a police officer« (Interview #25, 21 July 2021), and that they try to have the same attitude towards the individuals they are dealing with that they themselves would expect from a police officer (Interview #10, 16 July 2021).

Regarding the adequacy of the legal basis, we found that five interviewees in management positions in rural environments are of the opinion that the legal basis is adequate and they would not change anything, while one interviewee was of the opinion that the legal regulation of the three powers in question is only partly adequate and that powers of this type should be expanded. We obtained mixed responses from police officers, with six of them of the opinion that the legal basis is adequate and that they would not change anything, while two were of the opinion that the legal basis is not adequate. One person thought that only the legal basis of security searches was inadequate, while another did not give a concrete answer to the question. Among interviewees from urban environments, eight felt that the legal basis is adequately regulated, while three felt that the legal basis is only partly adequate and the certain aspects should be improved or changed. One interviewee felt that the legal basis for the identification of persons is inadequate, while another was of the opinion that only the legal basis of security searches is adequate and that the legal basis of searches of the person and identification of persons is inadequate.

»Searches of the person are definitely a power which should be significantly better defined, in legal terms, although as long as they are producing results, nothing will change. The procedure for establishing somebody's identity is a power that is frequently abused ... we always find grounds for it, but these grounds aren't necessarily something that justifies it. In the end it's always wrapped up in accordance with the law and police powers, but irregularities undoubtedly occur« (Interview #22, 20 July 2021).

When we asked the interviewees what they would like to change as regards the legal basis, or what they themselves would change, we discovered that there were no noticeable differences between the answers of police officers working in rural environments and those working in urban environments. All the suggestions offered, with the exception of two, related to the expanding of the powers in question and allowing their use in more cases and in an easier manner. Three interviewees from urban environments and one from a rural environment were of the opinion that the legal basis should be changed so as to enable police officers to identify any individual at any time and in any place, without having to give the individual being identified any explanation as to why they are being identified.

»I think that at least this power – that of identifying persons – should be relaxed a little and not so conditioned by the elements by which you can actually identify someone. If we're being sincere, an individual's identity is established even during a traffic stop, although this doesn't count as an identification. Police officers would actually be a lot happier if they were allowed to establish the identity of any individual at any time, without prejudice, not because we want to abuse our powers but simply because, after all, we're the police and we're just doing our job, which means we have to have the relevant information ... rather than the police officer having to determine in advance if identifying someone is lawful ... this seems a little too restrictive to me: this part, at least, could be relaxed« (Interview #17, 20 July 2021).

One individual from an urban environment also proposed changing the legal basis regarding the identification of persons by adding two further grounds for checking someone's identity, namely the fact that the police have had previous dealings with the individual being identified and the fact that a person looks suspicious (when having to explain why the power is being used, officers could choose one of these two options in addition to the already existing options).

Not all the interviewees were in favour of further expanding powers, with two individuals (one from a rural environment and one from an urban environment) of the opinion that the legal definition of the power to identify persons is too broad, since under the current legal regulation of this power it is always possible to find grounds to carry out an identification.

»With a little imagination you can always find a reason for identifying someone ... it's true that sometimes you have to rack your brains a little but in most cases it is possible to give a plausible reason why any given individual was required to identify themselves« (Interview #11, 16 July 2021).

The interviewed police officers who work in a rural environment were, for the most part, of the opinion that excessive use of powers does not occur in Slovenia, although not all agreed, with two interviewees responding that excessive use of powers undoubtedly occurs, particularly the power to identify persons, while two others responded that this does not occur in their environment but they had the impression that it had happened at the Friday protests taking place in Ljubljana. One of the interviewees in this group expressed the opinion that excessive use does not occur in Slovenia and that police officers could sometimes use these powers more often.

The prevailing opinion among police officers working in urban environments was likewise that excessive use does not occur and the police officers could use these powers more frequently, although not all the interviewees were of the same opinion on this point, with some stressing that despite the fact that excessive use does not take place, police officers sometimes misjudge when it is really necessary to use these powers and when it is not; that police officers look for explanations they can use to retrospectively justify their decision to use their powers – in other words first they carry out the procedure (where the procedure regarding the identification of persons is particularly problematic) and only then attempt to explain their decision in a way that corresponds to the prescribed legislation. Three individuals pointed to the fact that even though excessive use of powers does not occur, the possibility of abuse of these powers is extremely high and is something that might occur in the future, since the relevant legislation, particularly as regards the identification of persons, is written too loosely and in a manner that makes it possible to justify the identification of persons in all circumstances. One individual expressed the opinion that excessive use or even abuse of the power to identify persons definitely occurs and has done for a considerable time (Interview #22, 20 July 2021).

In the case of many of the police officers from both rural and urban environments who, in response to the question of whether excessive use of police powers takes place in Slovenia, answered that it does not, it was apparent that the identification of persons did not seem to them to be a power that excessively intrudes on an individual's privacy. They were, in fact, of the opinion that individuals whom police officers ask for their identity documents should simply hand these documents over without questioning the grounds on which the police officers are requesting them, on the grounds that police officers would not ask for them if they did not really need them in order to be able to do their job properly.

In response to the question of whether they knew of any cases where abuse or overstepping of the above powers had occurred, 11 interviewees from rural environments answered that they were not aware of any such cases; one interviewee answered that they were aware of a case where discrimination had taken place on the basis of appearance; four interviewees answered that they were aware that such cases had occurred but they did not know the exact details. Among police officers working in urban environments, eight individuals answered that they were not aware of any such cases; one interviewee answered that they were aware of a case where abuse of the power to conduct a security search had occurred, but they did not know the details; one interviewee answered that they were aware of a case where an overstepping of the power to identify persons had occurred but did not know what the eventual outcome was. Three interviewees answered that they were aware of such cases but did not know the details.

In response to the question about the attitude of people in the community towards the interviewees and their work, the majority replied that both the attitude towards them personally and the attitude towards their work and towards the police in general depended on the individual, with some people being very happy with them and others strongly disliking them, although generally speaking people's attitude is still relatively good. Even among police officers working in

urban environments, the prevailing opinion was that, to a large extent, people's attitudes towards them and their work, and towards the police in general, were fairly correct and positive, although they did point out that attitudes vary from individual to individual. In principle, though, they believed that a relatively positive attitude still prevailed. Three interviewees disagreed with this view, with one interviewee giving the opinion that the attitude towards them, because they work in the police, and towards the police in general, was extremely negative; two interviewees answered that while people's attitudes towards them are relatively good and positive, goodwill towards the work of the police in general had declined considerably during the pandemic.

6   DISCUSSION

When analysing the results of the interviews we were quite surprised by the fact that the majority of interviewed police officers had never heard or come across the expression »stop and search«. Although it is an expression that comes from English-speaking countries, we did expect a larger number of interviewees to answer that they had at least heard it before. We were particularly surprised by the fact that the majority of management personnel interviewed, who in principle also had higher educational qualifications, had not encountered this expression. Several interviewees highlighted the fact that the powers of the Slovenian police cannot be compared with stop and search powers as they are known in the United Kingdom. In our opinion, this is only partially true. The powers in question are the powers of police officers to carry out measures such as the identification of persons and searches of the person in order to find and seize prohibited substances of various kinds, weapons, stolen property and items which police officers suspect have been or will be used to commit criminal offences (Flacks, 2018; Gov.uk, n. d.; Hargreaves, 2018; Miller et al., 2001; Murray, 2014). A review of the statutory basis confirms that police officers in Slovenia also possess powers on the basis of which they are able to conduct searches of the person and security searches (»ZNPPol«, 2013). These powers are, however, considerably more narrowly defined than in certain other European countries, while analysis of the results obtained through the interviews also showed that it is not these powers that are most problematic, despite the fact that occasional abuses and irregularities do also occur in the use of these powers. What the interviews did show is a similarity between the problems that occur in relation to the identification of persons in Slovenia and the problems that occur in relation to stop and search powers in numerous other European countries – including the possibility of abuses of power. Attention was drawn to this by interviewees from both rural and urban environments and it is also evident in the presentation of the results. Even some of the interviewees who believe that abuses of this power do not occur pointed out that the legal basis is inadequate and that it permits this. Given that the current legal regulation of the power to identify persons has been in force for a number of years, and given that police officers are aware that abuses of this power can occur, it is difficult to believe that this has not happened and that this power is not abused. It is even more difficult to believe this in view of the statements of some police officers that

it sometimes happens that police officers first conduct a procedure and only then attempt to formulate a justification for it that conforms to legislation and other regulations, which can mean that the explanation of the grounds for conducting a specific procedure can sometimes be heavily manipulated and untrue. One of the forms of abuse pointed to by our interviewees is that this power is also used when not strictly necessary. In such cases the abuse of the power does not consist of demanding too much information from the individuals against whom it is used, but rather lies in the fact that these individuals are »booked« too often. These abuses do not occur so frequently as to become a social problem, since judging from the figures contained in the report on the work of the police for 2020, the number of identification procedures carried out in the previous year was 76,225, which is comparable to and does not deviate excessively from figures from previous years (Ministry of the Interior, Police, 2021). The interviews also revealed discrepancies in some parts of the country regarding the groups against which the use of these powers is directed – something which correlates with the findings of the numerous studies from other countries cited in the first part of this article. In our case we saw that certain groups are subject to more attention from the police, specifically that the police use their powers most frequently against Roma and migrants and, in some areas, young people/adolescents.

One finding we arrived at on the basis of analysis of the results of the interviews, which also accords with the findings of existing studies, relates to the attitude or approach of police officers towards the members of the public they come into contact with. We found that the interviewed police officers are fairly mindful of their attitude towards the people they deal with and are well aware of the importance of the attitude of police officers towards members of the public when conducting police procedures. Many of the interviewees were of the opinion that the attitude adopted by officers and their ability to adapt to situations are of key importance for ensuring the smooth implementation of police procedures. Owing to the small size of the sample, we unfortunately are unable to generalise these results to the entire population of uniformed police officers, but we can state that those we interviewed are well educated about the importance of the attitude of officials towards members of the public and the importance of carrying out their work in a professional manner.

Something that we did find slightly more concerning is the fact that quite a number of the interviewees felt that police officers in Slovenia do not make sufficient use of the powers in question (i.e. powers that can be included in the stop and search category), that police officers should identify various groups of people more frequently, and that legislation governing the use of these powers should be expanded so as to allow the more frequent use of these powers. Despite the fact the police officers were of the opinion that the powers they have in Slovenia cannot be fully compared to stop and search powers as they are known in the United Kingdom, we got the impression that they wished their powers were a bit closer to stop and search powers, at least as regards their scope and frequency of use. It is our belief that this should not be allowed to happen, since we cannot pretend that a relaxation of legislation would not lead to more abuses of these powers and, consequently, to the »harassment« of specific social or ethnic groups in Slovenia.

Even on the basis of existing studies, it is evident that, where legislation allows it, certain discrepancies occur in the treatment of various groups by the police, while at the same time these studies show that increased use of these powers does not contribute to a reduction in the number of criminal offences or minor offences, while on the other hand it does have a strong influence on the attitude of the community towards the police (Bear, 2016; Bowling & Phillips, 2007; De Maillard et al., 2018; Flacks, 2018; Flacks, 2020; Hallsworth, 2006; Hargreaves, 2018; Miller et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2020; Topping & Bradford, 2020).

Relatively high levels of public trust in the Slovenian police are something that we must maintain by ensuring that police officers continue to be educated about the importance of police–community relations and about the fact that just because legislation permits the use of certain powers, this does not mean that they must use these powers, particularly when a situation is highly sensitive and the use of these powers would not contribute significantly to resolving it.

7   CONCLUSION

A review of existing literature showed that stop and search powers in other countries, particularly in the United Kingdom, are subject to numerous criticisms because of the discriminatory way in which they are used and because of the links between these powers and racism in the police and police violence (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Miller et al., 2001). The groups in other countries that are most likely to be on the receiving end of stop and search powers include black people, Muslims, young people and other ethnic minorities living in specific areas who are the object of specific stereotypes or prejudices regarding their involvement in crime (Miller et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2020; Van Bueren & Woolley, 2010). In Slovenia, too, we were able to identify groups of this kind and found that Roma, migrants and, in some places, young people are the groups most subject to this treatment.

We would also like to draw attention to the finding that the attitude of police officers towards the people they deal with is of key importance for the successful implementation of police procedures and for ensuring good police–community relations (Deuchar et al., 2019; Flacks, 2018). This is something the police officers in Slovenia are very well aware of, and in fact numerous officers from both urban and rural environments emphasised in the course of the interviews that a correct and respectful attitude towards members of the public is of key importance. On the basis of analysis of the results of the interviews, we find that there are no real differences between police officers working in rural environments and those working in urban environments as regards their attitude towards the use of the powers to conduct security searches, searches of the person and identification of persons. Any discrepancies were too small for us to be able to state that there any significant differences in the attitude of police officers working in different environments in Slovenia towards the use of these powers.

In the course of writing this article we identified a number of opportunities for further improvements. We realised, for example, that it would be a good idea to adapt the questionnaire in the case of interviews with personnel in management

positions, since they are not the ones using the powers in question in the field. We also feel that more detailed studies need to be carried out regarding the use of specific powers, particularly the power to identify persons. Future studies should include a greater number of interviewees and go into greater depth with regard to the manner of implementation of procedures for the identification of persons. Finally, the point of view of citizens should also be included in future analysis.

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