

# Value for Money Unit



## Update of the Spending Review of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic (Police Force)

July 2023

## Authors

This material was prepared under the leadership of Martin Haluš and Adam Marek by Patrik Pružinský, Patrik Jankovič and Jakub Jóbus.

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## Note

This document presents the views of the authors and the Value for Money Unit (VfM Unit) which do not necessarily reflect the official positions of the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic. The purpose of the publishing of analyses prepared by the VfM Unit is to encourage and enhance professional and public debate on topical economic subjects. Therefore, any quotations of this text should refer to the VfM Unit (and not the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic) as the author of these views. The Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and the Police Force of the Slovak Republic provided a part of the data processed in the analysis but did not participate in the analysis as such and the formulation of the proposed measures.

## Notes on the methodology:

For the purposes of international comparison, the V3 countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland) were chosen as the primary reference sample because of the similarity of their economic development levels and structures of police forces. In a long term, Slovakia's ambition should be to advance closer to the developed European countries and, therefore, the countries of the European Union, or the EU 15 countries (Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Austria, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden), were chosen as the reference for wider international comparisons.

Information about the structure and employment in the Police Force of the Slovak Republic was provided by the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic and the Presidium of the Police Force. Information on the sizes and structures of the police forces of the V3 countries and Slovenia was obtained from the police forces through a standardised questionnaire distributed in September 2022 through the International Police Cooperation Bureau of the Presidium of the Police Force of the Slovak Republic.

Further international comparisons were made using the official data published by Eurostat (e.g., expenditures on the police, numbers of police officers). Where official consolidated data were absent, information obtained from publicly available sources was used (e.g., shares of civilian employees in police forces and information on the remuneration of police officers).

For the purposes of this analysis, "police services" are meant to refer to the activities performed by the Police Force of the Slovak Republic. They do not include municipal police services, as defined in the Act of the Slovak National Council No 564/1991 on municipal police.

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## Executive Summary

**In 2022, Slovakia spent 1.12% of GDP on the police, which is comparable with the neighbouring countries, but approximately 0.3 pp more than the EU-15 average.** Since 2015, the police budget has grown by 36%, a rate corresponding to the growth of GDP and the total general government expenditure. The reporting of police expenditure in the budget is unclear, which complicates the analysis and measurement of the effectiveness of the spending on the individual police services. As the country's wealth grows, the spending on the police as a share of GDP is supposed to decline in a long run, as it does in developed countries.

**The per capita number of police officers in Slovakia is comparable to that of the Czech Republic and slightly higher than in Hungary and Poland.** There are currently approximately 20,500 police officers in Slovakia, which means an approximately 6% decrease compared to 2019 when the last review of the Ministry of Interior's spending was published. The long-persisting discrepancy between the actual number of police officers and the number of systemised police positions distorts the budgeting process and hampers the public discussion about the Police Force.

**The levels of police officers' salaries relative to the average wage in the economy are comparable to the neighbouring countries.** In 2022, the average salary of police officers was EUR 2,085 and it has grown over the past 5 years at a higher rate than the average salary of employees with a university degree, but slower than the salary of soldiers. International practice suggests that it might be possible to reduce the proportion of managers in the police from 13% to 10% to reduce labour costs and increase the number of police officers directly involved in crime prevention and detection.

**Clearer rules for granting extra pay would increase the transparency and attractiveness of work in the police.** The remuneration system of the Police Force is unclear and can have a demotivating effect on police officers. There are 20 different extra pay items. Clear eligibility criteria for those most common (housing allowance) are absent, or do not provide a sufficient flexibility for rewarding police officers with above-average performance or qualifications (individual performance-based extra pay).

**Slovakia has the lowest proportion of civilian employees working in the Police Force among the V4 countries.** In addition to police officers, the Police Force also employs 3,711 civilian workers who mainly perform support tasks and administer day-to-day operations (e.g., HR, office work, IT). They account for 15% of the total Police Force's staff, which is almost 8 pp less than the average in the V3 countries.

**At least 900 police positions could be staffed by civilian employees.** Police officers also work in positions that do not require a police authorisation and could be performed by civilian employees. According to the analysis made by the VfM division, there are currently at least 900 positions in the Police Force that could be filled by civilian employees. This mainly includes traffic technicians, communications staff, IT specialists, HR officers and office workers whose work does not require special education and authorisations for police work.

**The cost of a police officer is more than a half that of a civilian employee in a comparable position outside the Police Force.** The estimated total saving from the employment of civilian employees stems from the so-called salary and pension premium enjoyed by police officers. The pension premium (a saving of ~25%) results from the option available to police officers to retire after 25 years of service; the average age of a police officer at retirement is 51 years. The salary premium (a saving of ~13%) results from the higher salary of police officers compared to employees working in comparable positions outside the Police Force.

**An increased emphasis on crime prevention and the use of innovative crime prevention methods, such as involving local communities, could reduce crime and the pressure on the police.** The share of police officers in Public Order Police units and Criminal Police units, i.e., the Police Force divisions responsible for the prevention and investigation of most crime, is lower than in the V4 countries. Slovakia is the only V4 country having a

specialised Railway Police division and the tasks carried out by the Toll Police are in many countries performed by non-police, civilian institutions.

**A more even distribution of police officers based on the amounts and types of crime would improve the public's access to police services.** The numbers of cases per police officer vary as much as fourfold between some police circuits. With higher numbers of criminal offences per police officer, the clearance rates decrease.

**Slovakia has long been among the countries with the lowest public trust in the police.** Only 46% of the population trusts the police, which makes Slovakia the second worst country in the EU for this indicator. Trust in the police is important for effective cooperation with the public and for the reporting and solving of crime.

**The introduction of a transparent system of evaluation of police services could help to improve their quality and increase public trust in the police.** Slovakia does not have an established police evaluation system and the public is not sufficiently informed about the police's performance. The Police Force only publishes crime and road safety statistics that are difficult to access for the public and do not provide a comprehensive picture of the quality of police services.

**A systematic collection of data on victimisation, feelings of safety and the public's perception of police work is key to improving the quality of police services and effectively detecting crime.** Measuring the level of victimisation, i.e., all criminal offences, including those not reported, is important for the work of the police. The monitoring of victimisation in criminal offences involving domestic and sexual violence is particularly important. In addition, the police do not measure the public's feelings of safety and satisfaction with police services, i.e., the public's perceptions of how well the police manage to maintain public order or detect crime.

## Proposed measures

Recommendation	Area
<b>Modify the programme budgeting</b> to reduce the share of expenditures not classified elsewhere in the budget of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic from 20% to 5%.	Budget
<b>Modify the numbers of systemised Police Force officer positions</b> to be more realistic and reflect the existing staffing and the limits of the Ministry's budget (~ 21,000 systemised positions).	Budget
<b>Identify, and re-categorise in a medium term (3-5 years), at least 900 positions in the police</b> that are staffed by police officers while they could be filled by civilian employees.	Employment
<b>In a medium term (3–5 years), reduce the number of managers in the Police Force from 13% to 10% of the total number of police officers.</b>	Employment
Within the boundaries of the existing capacities, <b>adjust the structure of the Police Force to reinforce the units tasked with the prevention and resolution of crime</b> (especially the Criminal Police and the Public Order Police).	Structure of the Police Force
<b>Develop a formalised methodology for the deployment of police forces in the regions and modify the distribution of police officers across regions</b> in proportion to the extent and severity of the crime occurring in a region in order to increase the clearance rate and reduce the length of criminal proceedings.	Structure of the Police Force
<b>Merge the Railway Police and Public Order Police divisions, while maintaining a certain degree of specialisation</b> of the units in charge of solving crime on the railways. Transfer the responsibility for safety and escorting on trains to the railway company.	Structure of the Police Force
<b>Consider options for transferring the Toll Police's tasks to the National Motorway Administrator.</b>	Structure of the Police Force
<b>Modify the investment plan of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic (MI SR) so that the planned annual capital expenditures are realistic, and projects are appropriately prioritised based on the MI SR's investment planning methodology.</b>	Investments
<b>Strengthen crime prevention</b> and employ alternative methods of prevention (e.g., work with the community, Roma patrols, education).	Prevention
<b>Introduce transparent criteria for the eligibility to and amounts of extra pay</b> based on specific labour situations (risk bonus, housing allowance) and <b>increase the flexibility of police managers in rewarding police officers with an above-average performance or qualifications.</b>	Remuneration
<b>Introduce a regular evaluation of the quality of police services</b> based on the data on victimisation, crime and crime clearance rates, feelings of safety and public satisfaction with police services.	Evaluation of police services

## 1. Analysis of the Police Force

Slovakia's budget for police services and the total number of employees in the police are comparable to those of the neighbouring countries, but significantly higher compared to the EU-15 countries. As regards employment, the main challenge is its structure. This mainly concerns the high number of police officers working in positions that do not require police education and authorisation and could be performed by civilian employees who are cheaper for the state. The distribution of police resources is in many cases disproportional to the volumes and types of crime handled. Police officers' salaries are reasonable and the attractiveness of employment with the police could be enhanced by adjustments in the extra pay and allowance granting system.

### 1.1. Expenditures are non-transparent and higher than in the EU 15 countries

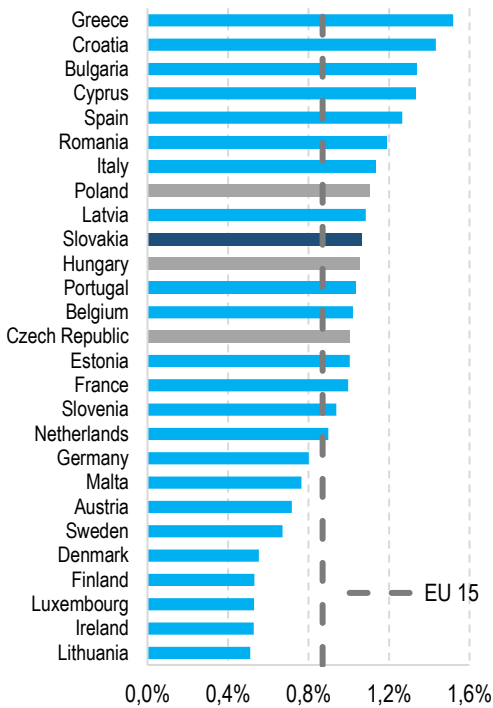
Slovakia spends 1.12% of GDP on police services, which is comparable with the neighbouring countries, but about 0.3% of GDP more than the EU-15 average. The expenditure on the police as a share of the total public spending is not changing significantly over time, while it should normally decrease with growing GDP, as is the case in the EU-15 countries. The reporting structure of police expenditures is non-transparent.

**The share of the public spending on the police is supposed to decrease with increasing wealth.** Countries with a higher GDP per capita spend relatively less on police services than poorer countries. Growing wealth and a higher quality of institutions are associated with lower crime rates and a shift in public policy priorities towards increased spending on education, science, and social areas. Despite the fact that Slovakia's real GDP per capita has increased by 22% and crime has decreased by 40% over the last 10 years<sup>1</sup>, the spending on police services has been growing at a similar rate as the total general government spending. With growing wealth, Slovakia's ambition should be to gradually reduce the amount of the public expenditure on police as a share of GDP to catch up with the average of the EU-15 countries in this indicator (Graph 2).

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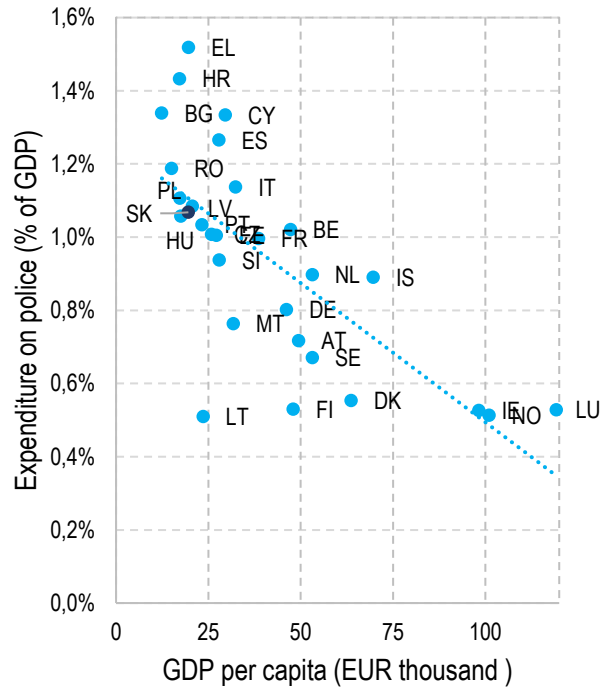
<sup>1</sup>[Crime statistics of the Slovak Republic](#)

**Graph 1: Expenditure on police services (2021, COFOG, in % of GDP)**



Source: Eurostat, MF SR BIS, VFM Unit's estimate

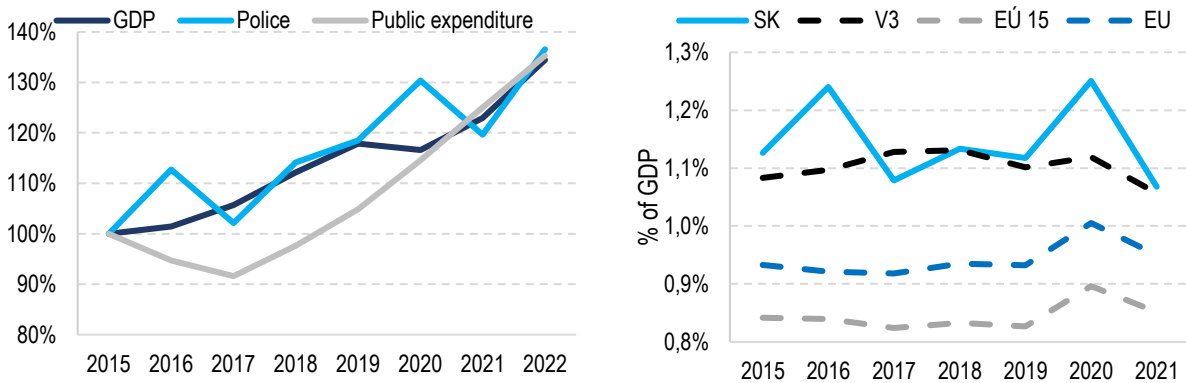
**Graph 2: Expenditure on police services as a share of GDP (%), 2021)**



Source: Eurostat, MF SR BIS, VFM Unit's estimate

The budget for police services grew by 36% in the period 2015-2022, which is in line with the growth of the nominal GDP and the total general government expenditures (Graph 3). Until 2020, the spending on the police grew at a higher rate than the total public spending.

**Graph 3: Development of the expenditure on police services**



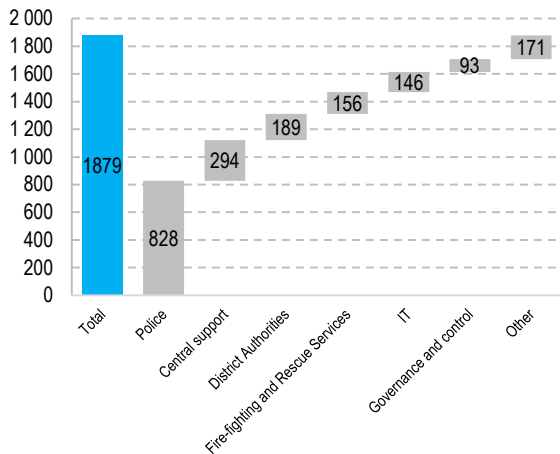
Source: BIS MF SR and Eurostat

Expenditure on the police is higher than reported in the programme budget. Support programmes<sup>2</sup> should be included in the substantive programmes to support the proper quantification of the MI SR's spending on the different services. According to the programme structure of the MI SR's budget, the expenditures on police services make up 44% of the chapter's total budget (Graph 4). But the spending on the police is actually higher, since up to EUR 533 million (28% of the total budget) is spent on support for the substantive programmes.

<sup>2</sup> The support programmes include Central Support, IT and Management and Control (Graph 4), and their services are jointly used by the Police, District Authorities (DAs) and the Fire & Rescue Service (FRS). The substantive programmes are, for example, Police, FRS and DAs.



**Graph 4: The MI SR's expenditure broken down according to the programme structure (in EUR million), 2022**



Note: VfM Unit's estimate

Source: MF SR BIS

**Table 1: Unclassified expenditures on public order and security, MI SR (2022, EUR million)**

Central support	200.4
Governance and control	72.1
Systems of the services of the MI SR (Police Force, Fire & Rescue Service, Crisis Management Section)	50.5
Support infrastructure	33.6
REACT- EU	23.3
Government Cloud	20.4
Other	45.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>446.2</b>
<b>Of which, police services (84%) *</b>	<b>374.8</b>

Note: \*VfM Unit's estimate

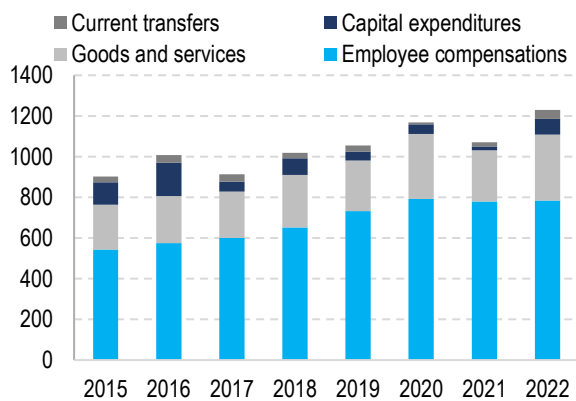
Source: MF SR BIS

**The COFOG reporting of expenditures on public order and security equally lacks transparency.** According to the internationally used COFOG expenditure classification, which classifies general government expenditure by function, up to EUR 635 million of spending on public order and security in 2022 was reported as expenditure not elsewhere classified, of which EUR 446 million was attributable to the MI SR (Table 1).

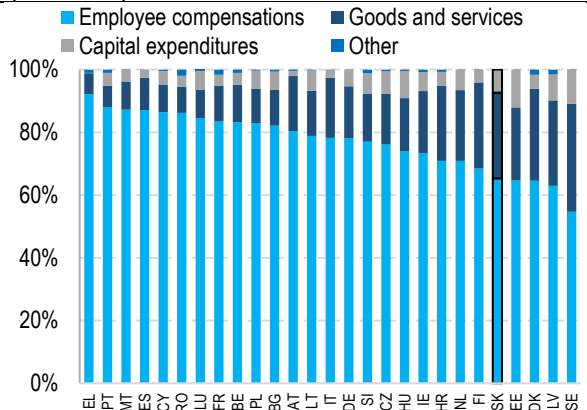
**Salaries and social security and public health insurance contributions account for 65% of the total police spending and have grown by almost a half since 2015, i.e., more than other police spending (Graph 5).** The expenditure on goods and services did not grow significantly until 2021. The sharp increase in 2022 (by 30%) was partly due to higher energy costs. Since 2015, 7% of the total spending amount has been allocated for the police' capital expenditure.

**Compared to other countries, a high proportion of the police spending is on goods and services (Graph 6).** The expenditure on the purchase of goods and services accounted for up to 27% of the total police spending in the period 2015-2021, which is 13 pp more than the V3 average and 11 pp more than the EU average. The police's capital expenditure amounted to 7.4% of the total budget, which is approximately at the level of the V3 countries and slightly above the EU average (5.4%). The proportion of the expenditure on salaries is lower than in the V3 and the EU countries. The higher costs of goods and services may be due to inefficient public procurement, but also to unclear programme budgeting where a large portion of the spending on goods and services is reported in the "not elsewhere classified" category.

**Graph 5: Slovakia's spending on the police (2022, EUR million)**



**Graph 6: Structure of the EU countries' police spending (2015-2021)**



In 2021, the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic published the investment prioritisation methodology and an investment plan, which was updated in May 2023. This was a good starting point for a sound preparation and planning of investment projects. However, despite the update, the investment plan of the MI SR has certain deficiencies because of which it cannot be fully linked to the budget. Long-term planning of investment projects is particularly complicated by an unrealistic estimate of expenditures compared to past years and an improper prioritisation of the planned investment projects (Table 2).

**Table 2: Evaluation of the MI SR's investment plan**

Indicator	Clarity of the plan	Prioritisation of projects	Realistic capital expenditure amount	Inclusion for all capital expenditures	Recommendations
Indicator description	Is the plan prepared using the <a href="#">recommended format</a> ? Is it clear and intelligible?	Are the projects clearly prioritised in the plan?	Is the plan realistic given the level of expenditure to date?	Does the plan cover all areas of the chapter?	Notes and recommendations for future changes
Finding	The plan is unclear; the MI SR did not use the template recommended by the MF SR, which hampers comparison with other chapters. The total annual planned amounts of spending are not clearly identifiable from the plan. The lack of transparency of the plan compromises the general public's awareness.	Only four priority levels are used for the prioritisation of projects. As many as 55 out of 283 projects have the highest priority.	The plan is not realistic. The average capital expenditure per year in the plan is 78% higher than the average spending (for all sources of funding). The state budget allocations envisaged in the plan are 140% higher than the average actual absorption of state budget allocations.	The plan covers the total capital expenditure.	Use an investment plan format based on the <a href="#">MF SR's template</a> .  Determine the priorities of the projects properly.  The plan is unrealistic, we recommend adjusting the plan to realistically reflect the previous spending.
Result	Not fulfilled	Partially fulfilled	Not fulfilled	Fulfilled	

Source: MF SR based on BIS and the MI SR's published Investment Plan

### Box 1: Investment project planning

**Investments are key to ensuring the sustainable development of the police.** The long-term problem of the Slovak Republic is the inefficient use of capital expenditure allocations of the state budget. The main reasons are insufficient planning and support for investment projects, an inadequate preparation of projects and the failure of projects to ensure a reasonable socio-economic return.

**Capital expenditure will not bring the desired results without a proper allocation of funding and it is, therefore, necessary to define investment priorities and develop relevant plans based on an appropriate analysis.** The aim is to implement projects with a high social return on the basis of clearly defined priorities and long-term plans and to improve the project preparation and increase the accuracy of investment budgeting.

**The prioritisation of investments is essential for the efficient use of capital expenditures.** The basis for meaningful investment is a high-quality investment plan, which should be well-arranged, identify the Ministry's investment priorities based on the approved [methodology](#) and determine a realistic amount of planned capital expenditure.

**The priority should be on projects with a reasonable financial return, followed by projects offering a social return with a clearly described mechanism to measure the benefits for the improvement of the police's functioning.** This means that preferred projects should be those bringing financial savings, e.g., on police officers' salaries, goods and services. One example can be the implementation of automated speed measurement to reduce the need for the deployment of physical traffic patrols. Another priority should be projects with a social return that facilitate the work of police officers and allow them to spend more time policing instead of bureaucracy. This will require setting measurable performance indicators (e.g., a higher crime clearance rate) and evaluating them on an ongoing basis ([MF SR, 2017](#)).

## 1.2. The employment is adequate; the challenge is the structure

**Slovakia does not differ significantly from the neighbouring countries when it comes to the total number of employees working in the police. The difference is in the employment structure. Relatively few civilian workers work in Slovakia's Police Force. At the same time, police officers also work in positions that could be staffed by civilian employees who are cheaper for the state. According to the VfM Unit's analysis, there are at least 900 police positions that could be filled by civilian employees.**

**The tasks of the Police Force in Slovakia are comparable to those abroad.** For crime prevention and investigation, the tasks of the police are similar across all EU countries. There are slight differences in the organisation of some security corps in relation to the police force. For example, the protection of borders or railways, or the administration of foreigner-related matters are not handled by the police in all countries. The organisation and tasks of the police in Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary are very similar.

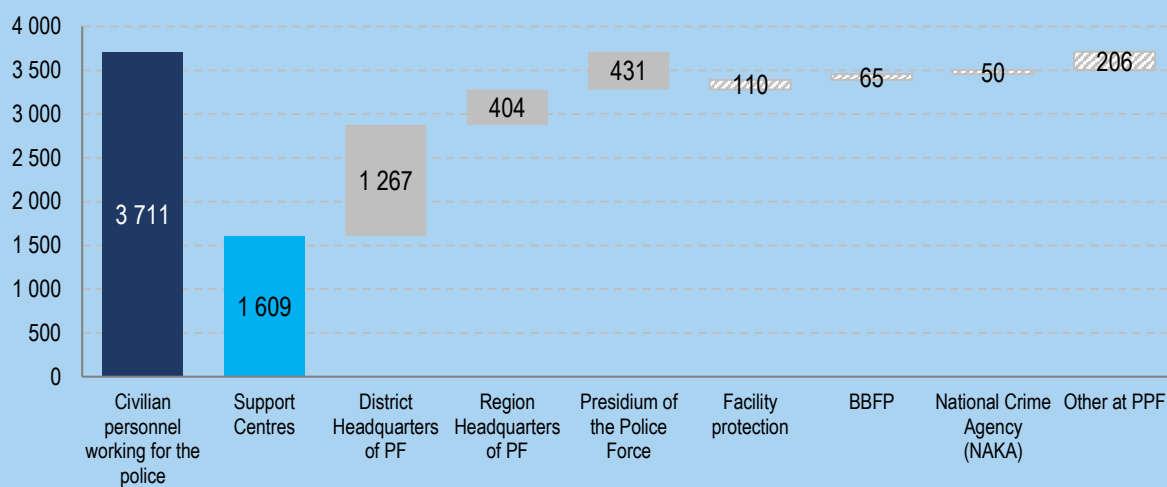
**In addition to Police Force officers (policemen), there are also civilian employees working in the police who hold certain positions that do not require special police education and authorisations.** Civilian employees fulfil duties that are less demanding or perform tasks that support the police officers' work. These are mostly positions involving office work, record-keeping, procurement, HR management, facility protection, maintenance and IT services (Box 2).

### Box 2: Civilian employees working for the police

**According to the VfM Unit's estimate, the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic employs 3,711 civilian employees who work for the police.** The Police Force directly employs 2,102 civilian employees. In addition to these employees, there are additional about 1,609 civilian employees of the MI SR who perform support services for the Police Force at the Support Centres. After the ESO reform implemented in 2013, several services (e.g.,

HR management, procurement, IT services) of the Police Force, the Fire Service and District Authorities were centralised at the MI SR level. The Support Centres employ 2,295 employees and 70% of them have been added to the Police Force's personnel based on the proportion of the MI SR's budget allocated for the police.

**Graph 7: Breakdown of the civilian personnel working for the police (2022)**



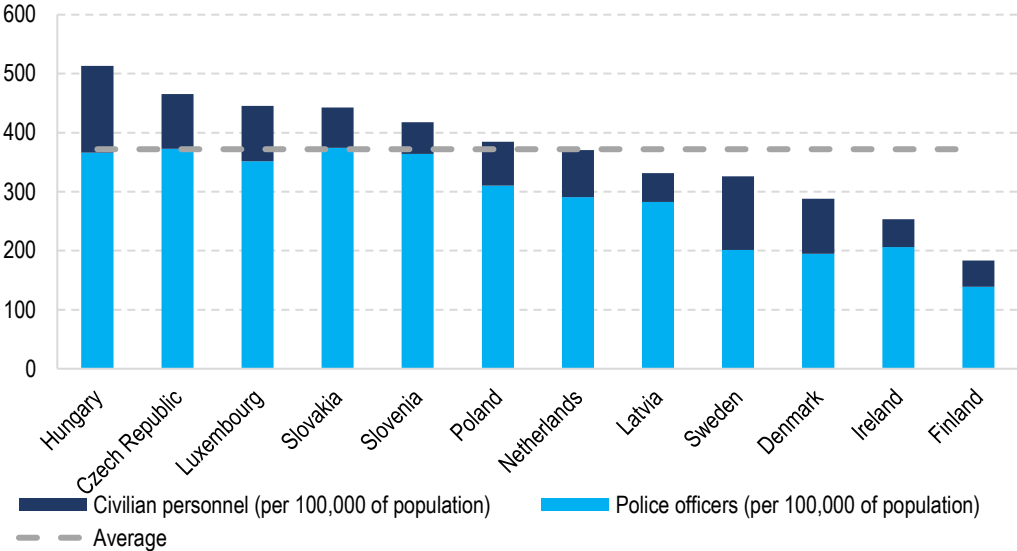
Source: MI SR

The total employment in the police (Police Force and Support Centres) per capita does not differ significantly from the neighbouring countries for which relevant data are available<sup>3</sup> (Graph 8). The total number of employees working for the police is comparable to the other V4 countries. Compared to the EU-15 countries for which relevant data are available, the total employment in the police in Slovakia is higher. There are

<sup>3</sup> Eurostat does not report data on the numbers of civilian police employees. The data for the V4 countries and Slovenia were provided directly by the respective police forces. For the other countries, the data were obtained from publicly available sources. The data on the numbers of police officers are taken from the Eurostat database.

approximately 24,100<sup>4</sup> employees in Slovakia’s police, of which 3,711 are civilians (Box 2) and the rest (20,332) are Police Force officers.

**Graph 8: Number of employees working for the police per 100,000 of population (police officers and civilian personnel) (2022 or the latest available)**



Source: MI SR for the V4 countries and Slovenia; and data obtained from [Finland](#), [Ireland](#), [Denmark](#), [the Netherlands](#), [Latvia](#), [Sweden](#) and [Luxembourg](#)

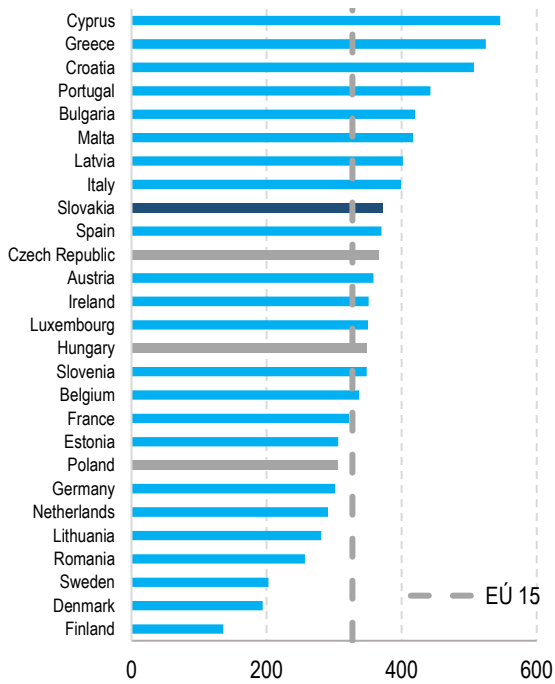
**We have more police officers than our neighbouring countries**

**The number of Police Force officers (i.e., policemen/non-civilian employees) is slightly higher in Slovakia compared to the neighbouring countries (Graph 9).** The number of police officers per 100,000 of population is 374. The figures for the V3 countries and EU 15 countries are 347 and 323, respectively. If the Slovak police had a number of police officer corresponding to those of the Czech Republic, Austria, and Hungary, i.e., our neighbouring countries of similar size and with comparable structures of their police forces, the number of police officers would be about one thousand lower. This disproportion could be eliminated in a medium term by re-categorising selected police positions as civilian ones (this topic is covered in the next sub-chapter).

**Aligning the number of systemised police officer positions with the actual numbers and the real possibilities of the MI SR’s budget would improve the public debate and the budgeting process.** The actual numbers of police officers do not reflect the approved limits, which distorts the public debate about the size of the Police Force. The police staffing limit is reviewed on an annual basis through the so-called systemisation of police officer positions, which is subject to approval along with the general government budget. Currently, there are 22,565 systemised police officer positions, while the actual number of police officers as of March 2023 was approximately 20,500. In addition to the natural personnel turnover, this difference is caused by the addition of 1,120 systemised positions without financial coverage in 2017. The MI SR chapter’s budget for 2023 provides for approximately 21,300 police officers and the number of systemised police officer positions should correspond to this allocation.

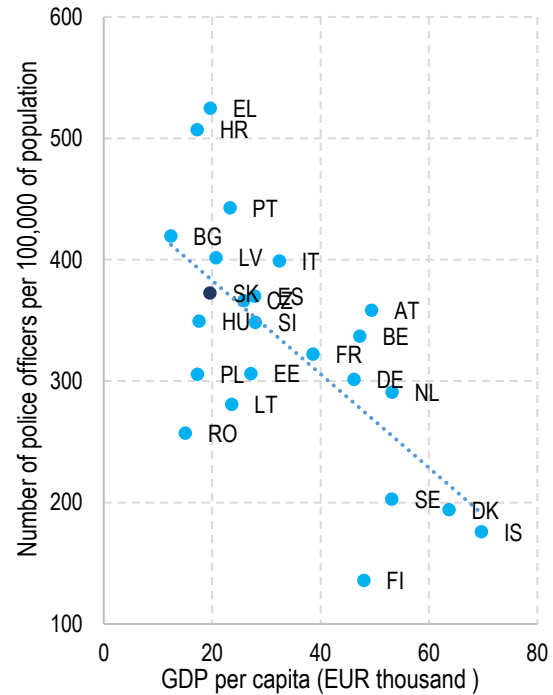
<sup>4</sup> State as of November 2022

**Graph 9: Number of police officers per 100,000 of population (without civilian employees) (2022)**



Source: Eurostat, MI SR for the V4 countries and Slovenia

**Graph 10: Number of police officers and GDP per capita**

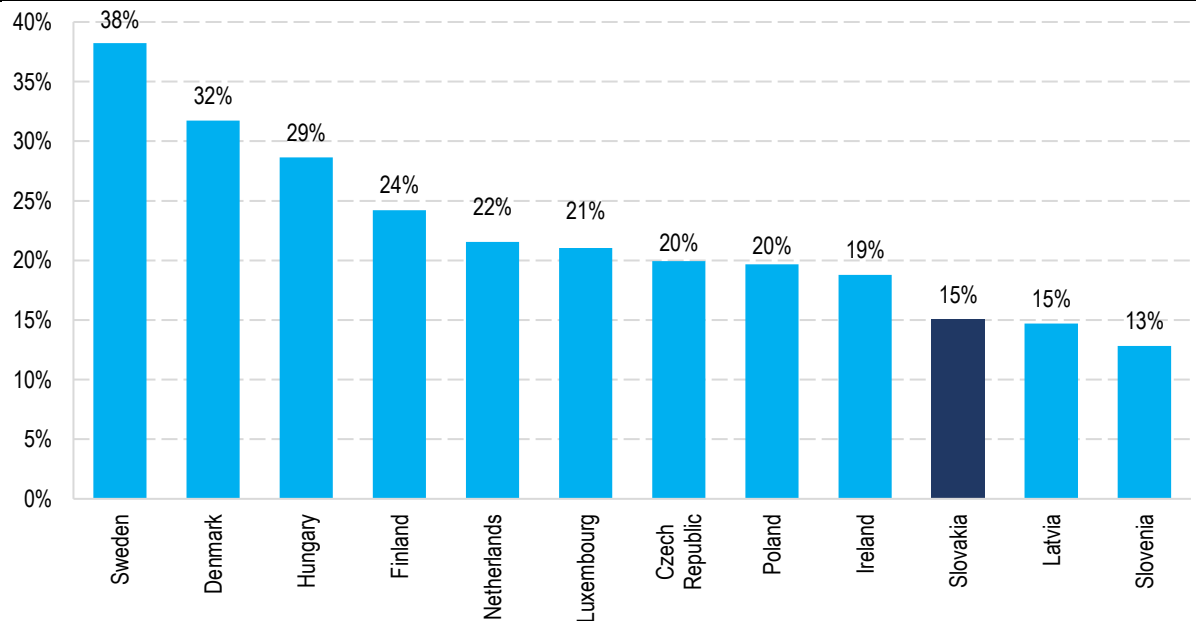


Source: Eurostat, MI SR for the V4 countries and Slovenia

**Too few civilian employees work for the police**

**Compared to other countries, fewer civilian employees work in the Slovak police.** Out of the total number of approximately 24,100 persons who work for the police in Slovakia, only 15% are civilian employees, i.e., civil servants or public servants. The average of the V3 countries is over 22%. In Denmark or Finland, for example, civilian employees make up as many as 30% of the total number of police employees (Graph 11).

**Graph 11: Proportions of civilian employees working for the police (2022)**

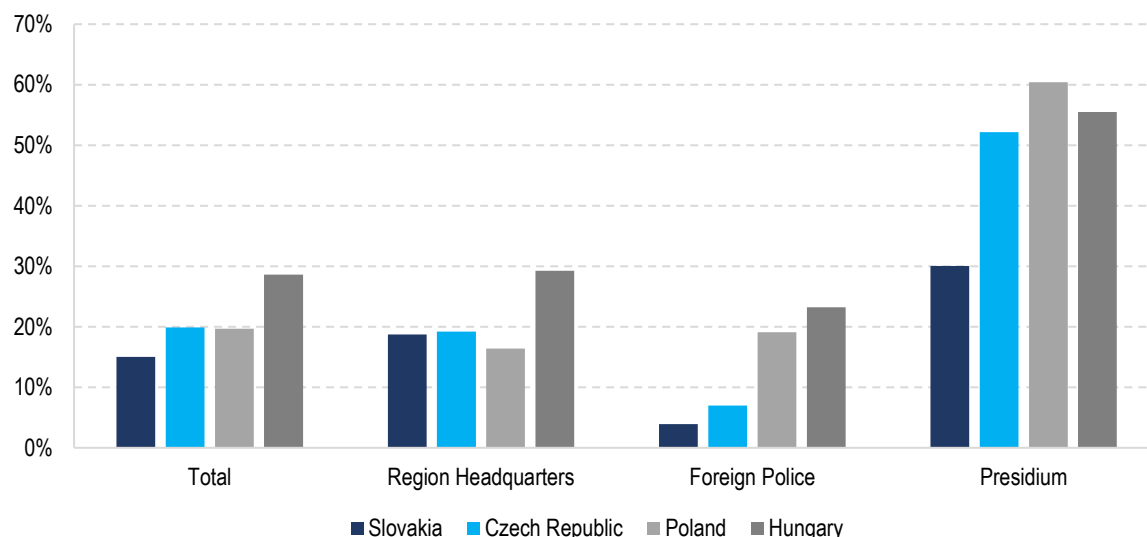


Source: MI SR for the V4 countries and Slovenia; and data obtained from [Finland](#), [Ireland](#), [Denmark](#), [the Netherlands](#), [Latvia](#), [Luxembourg](#) and [Sweden](#)

**The proportion of civilian employees in the police is a third lower in Slovakia than in the V3 countries.** Differences in the degree of centralisation of -support activities between Slovakia and its neighbouring countries,

Poland in particular, hamper a detailed comparison between the different police units. However, the available data indicate that the proportions of civilian workers working in the Slovak police are lower across all units. The most significant differences are between the border and foreign police units and the managements of police forces (Graph 12).

**Graph 12: Proportions of civilian employees in police forces and their units in the V4 countries (2022)**



Note: Support Centres were affiliated to Region Headquarters

Source: MI SR

Police officers work in positions that could be staffed by civilian employees.

**Positions in the police that do not require special police powers or that are not exposed to the increased demands placed on police officers should be filled by civilian employees.** In addition to carrying out the essential duties of the police, which include primarily the prevention and investigation of crime, a large part of the police personnel administers day-to-day operations. These activities do not entail any increased risk and stress to which police officers are exposed. To ensure the efficiency of the use of public finances and fairness of remuneration in the public sector and the police, it is desirable that these positions be filled by civilian employees.

**According to the VFM Unit's analysis, there are at least 903 police positions that could be filled by civilian employees.** The positions were identified on the basis of data on the nature of police officers' work taken from police statistics and they include mainly traffic technicians, communications staff, or IT workers (Table 3). The actual number of police positions that could be filled by civilian workers is probably higher. However, their total number cannot be estimated for the reason of a very broad job description of many police positions.

**Table 3: Positions that could be filled by civilian employees**

Nature of work	Number of police officers
Traffic technician	182
Communications work	141
Registration of weapons and ammunition	117
Informatics and computing technology	106
HR, training, payroll	99
Music and related activities	41
Psychology, sociology	28
Spiritual and religious activities	22
Courier, driver	29
Keeping of traffic registers	21
Public relations	14
Material and equipment procurement	13
Legal affairs	13
Laboratory work	13

Record-keeping and documentation	11
Other	53
<b>Total</b>	<b>903</b>

Source: MI SR; Vfm Unit's calculations

**Police officers also work in units whose main task is to provide support to the various divisions of the Police Force and that could partially be staffed by civilian employees.** Examples are the Support Centres (311 police officers) and the Office of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic (242 police officers). Some positions in the basic units of the Foreign Police (326) or the registration departments of the Traffic Inspectorates (185) could also be reconsidered. In the surrounding countries, these activities are largely carried out by civilian personnel. In Poland, the Czech Republic and, to a large extent, in Hungary, for example, a part of the duties connected with the administration of foreigner-related matters is carried out by civilian institutions.

**Table 4: Departments and units whose duties could partially be undertaken by civilian staff**

<b>Unit/department</b>	<b>Number of police officers</b>
Support Centres	311
Office of the Ministry of Interior of the SR	242
Bureau of Border and Foreign Police/local units of the Foreign Police	326
District Traffic Inspectorates/Traffic Register Departments	185
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,064</b>

Source: MI SR; Vfm Unit's calculations

#### Civilian employees are cheaper for the state than police officers

**The increased demands on the work of police officers are mainly compensated by higher salaries, a more generous pension system with a shorter average length of service and longer leaves.** Police work is categorised among risky professions and police officers often face situations that can have an adverse impact on their mental and physical health in a long term (McQuerrey, 2019). These increased demands are mainly compensated by a higher salary compared to the average in the national economy, a special pension system that allows police officers to retire after 25 years of service and, also, a longer leave compared to other state employees (six weeks).

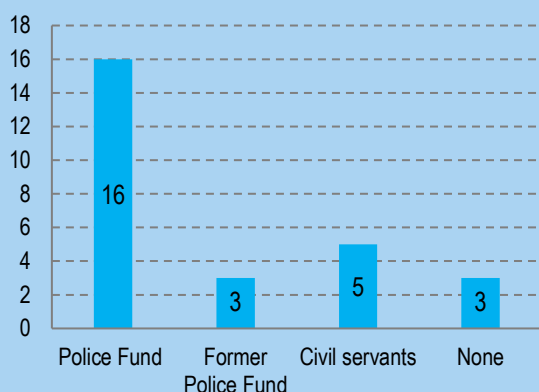


### Box 3: Pension systems for police officers in the EU countries

**In most countries of the EU, police officers are covered by a more advantageous social security system.** For 16 EU countries, police retirement pensions are paid out from special pension funds or armed forces' funds. Out of those countries, police officers are guaranteed earlier retirement in 13 of them and enjoy a higher benefit ratio in 11 countries. Even in countries where police officers are integrated into the general system, they have a lower minimum retirement age.

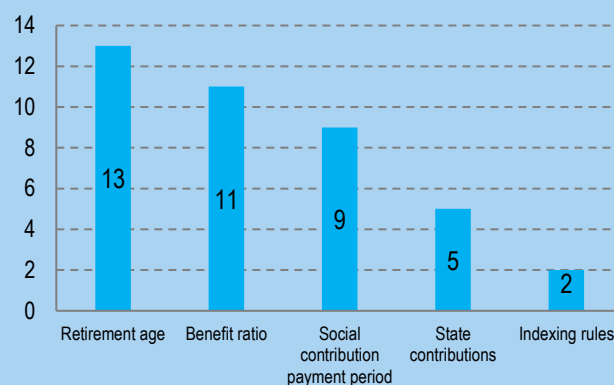
**In several EU countries, the benefits of police pension funds are gradually being reduced.** In response to the demographic development and pressures on the sustainability of public finances, the benefits such as a lower retirement age and a lower minimum number of years of service or the benefit ratio are being revised. Reforms of police pension fund benefits to bring them closer to the general pension security system have recently taken place or are underway in nine EU countries. In Slovakia, retirement pensions were reformed in 2013, when the minimum number of years of service was increased from 15 to 25 and the benefit ratio was adjusted in proportion to years of service. In three countries (Spain, Hungary and Luxembourg), police pension funds are gradually being integrated into the regular pension insurance system.

**Graph 13: Number of EU countries having a special police pension system (2020)**



Source: [PENSREF](#), VfM Unit's elaboration

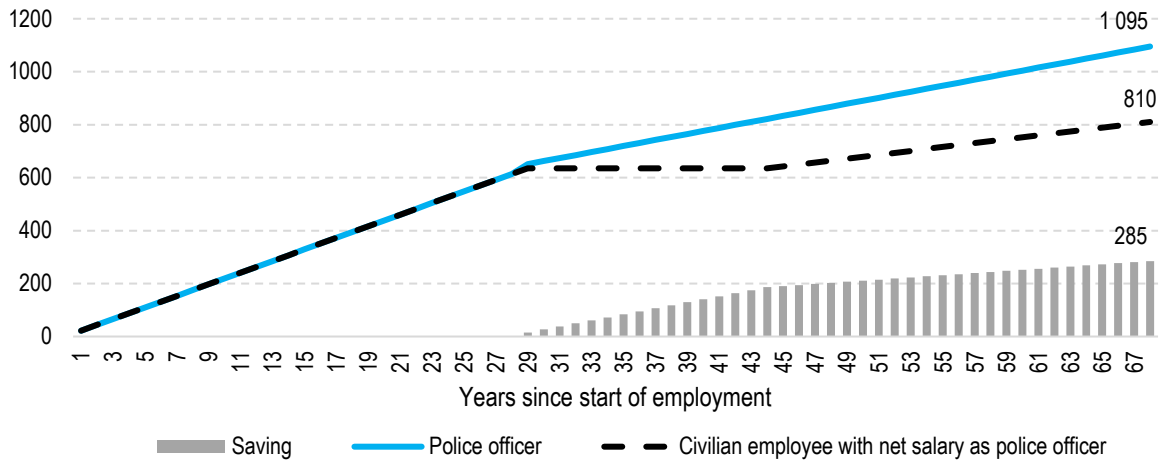
**Graph 14: Number of EU countries with special police pension system benefits (2020)**



Source: [PENSREF](#), VfM Unit's elaboration

**A civilian employee with the same salary as a police officer is 25% cheaper for the state, which is mainly due to the earlier retirement of police officers (pension bonus).** Compared to police officers, civilian employees are not entitled to early retirement and thus spend around 15 years longer in the labour market without the right to a pension than an average police officer. At the same time, the old-age pension after 29 years of service of a civilian employee with the same salary as a police officer is 36% lower than the retirement pension of the police officer (a civilian employee's pension is EUR 606 and a police officer's pension is EUR 949; Box 4). The total difference in compensation and pension costs per employee reaches EUR 285,000 (Graph 15). If 900 places were reclassified, the total savings in 68 years would be EUR 257 million.

**Graph 15: Cumulative expenses per police officer and civilian employee with the same salary after deduction of social security contributions (in EUR thousand)**



Note: \* Salary after the deduction of social security contributions. The growth of salaries and price or pension inflation are disregarded, and future values are not discounted.

Source: VfM Unit

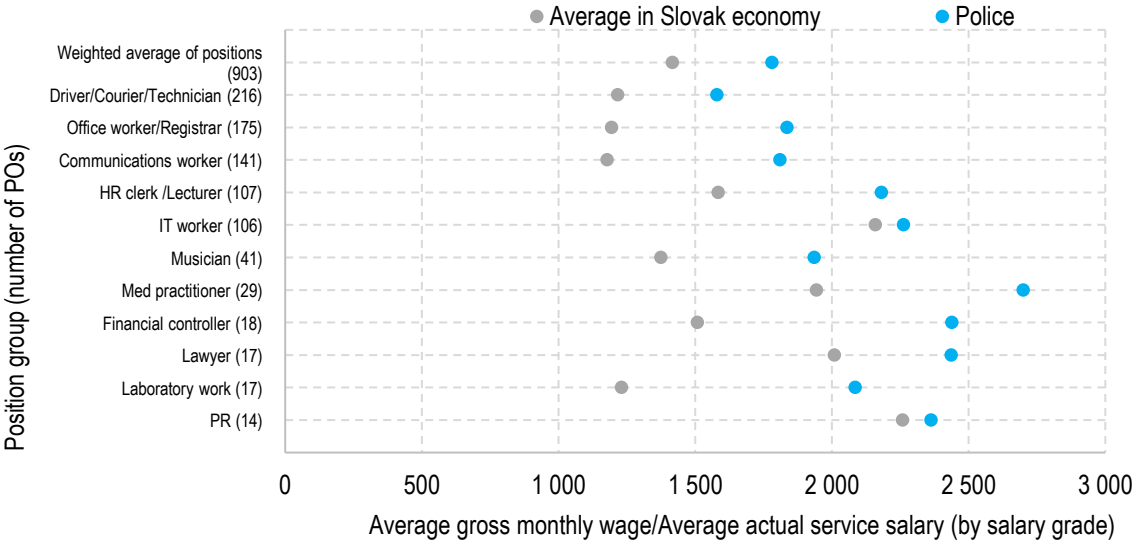
**Box 4: Methodology of the calculation of compensation and pension costs per police officer and per civilian employee**

- *Assumption 1:* The compensation and pension costs per police officer and civilian employee are compared over a period of 29 years worked for the police. After the increase of the minimum number of years of service required for entitlement to a police retirement pension from 15 to 25 years (in 2013), it is estimated that the average length of service for a police officer will stabilise at 29 years. The comparison is based on the same length of service, 29 years, for both a police officer and a civilian employee; both of them can continue their gainful activity, but this is not regarded in the example.
- *Assumption 2:* A police officer's retirement pension contributions amount to 27% of the gross salary<sup>5</sup> (20% paid by the employer and 7% by the employee) and a civilian employee's old-age pension contributions amount to 22.75% of the gross salary (4% paid by the employee, 14% paid by the employer and 4.75% paid as a part of the contribution to the solidarity reserve fund).
- *Assumption 3:* The total amount of social security contributions for a police officer is 38.6% of the gross salary (26.2% paid by the employer and 12.4% paid by the employee) and the amount of social security contributions for a civilian employee is 34.6% of gross salary (25.2% paid by the employer and 9.4 % paid by the employee).
- *Assumption 4:* In Graph 15, the same salary after the deduction of social security contributions is assumed for both a police officer and a civilian employee. The gross salary of a police officer is considered at the level of the average salary of a Police Force officer for 2022 (EUR 2,085); the gross salary of a civilian employee is derived by calculation.
- *Assumption 5:* For the sake of simplicity, the growth of salaries and price or pension inflation are disregarded, and the future income is not discounted. Taxes and public health insurance contributions are also disregarded.
- *Assumption 6:* For a police officer with 29 years of service, the retirement grant amounts to 8.5 times the base; in this case (Graph 15), the base is the average salary of a police officer.

<sup>5</sup> The difference between the fair and statutory rates in the general pension insurance system compared to the retirement pension insurance system of the armed forces is summarised in the [Defence Spending Review](#).

**Police officers who work in “civilian” positions earn more than employees in comparable positions outside the Police Force (salary bonus) (Graph 16).** In addition to the so-called pension bonus, i.e., the right to early retirement and a higher retirement pension, police officers who work in positions that could be performed by civilian employees earn more than employees in similar positions outside the Police Force. For example, the average monthly wage in the national economy for the driver/courier/technician job group is between EUR 1,000 - EUR 1,250, while police officers in such jobs earn between EUR 1,500 and EUR 1,780. A similar salary bonus is enjoyed by police officers across all positions identified in the analysis.

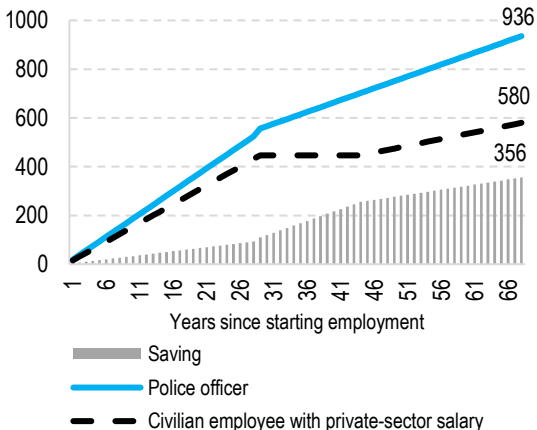
**Graph 16: Comparison of the salaries of selected police positions with the average salary of similar positions outside the Police Force**



Note: The actual service salary of a police officer was estimated based on the average actual salary of the relevant salary grade Source: LPIS; MI SR; VFM Unit's calculations

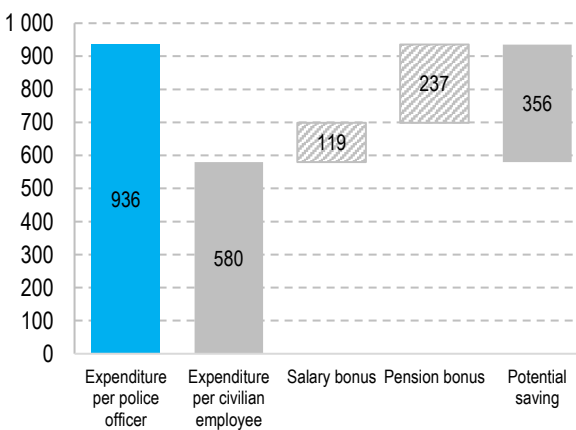
**If non-police positions were filled by civilian employees with a salary at the national economy’s average for the given type of job, the total costs (compensation and pension) per job would be 38% lower.** The total savings per civilian position in the police for the duration of the service and the retirement pension would amount to EUR 356,000, of which EUR 237,000 would be saved on the retirement pension (pension bonus) and EUR 119 thousand on the compensation (salary bonus) (Graphs 17 and 18). The average annual savings per position re-categorised as a civilian position would be approximately EUR 5,600.

**Graph 17: Costs per police officer and per civilian employee in a comparable position outside the Police Force (in EUR thousand)**



Source: MI SR; VFM Unit's calculations

**Graph 18: Pension bonus and salary bonus per police officer in an equivalent position outside the Police Force (in EUR thousand)**



Source: MI SR; VFM Unit's calculations

**The savings resulting from the re-staffing of positions by civilians are not evenly distributed over time and are accumulated especially in the period following the retirement of the police officer.** If the salary of the civilian employee and the police officer is the same, the saving arises only after the police officer retires. Since the civilian employee is not eligible for early retirement, most of the savings will arise during the first 15 years of the police officer's retirement pension. If the salary of the civilian employee is lower than the salary of the police officer in the same position, a part of the savings will arise immediately.

### 1.3. The structure of the Police Force should better reflect the demand for police services

**Compared to the neighbouring countries, Slovakia's Police Force is more centralised, and a lower proportion of police officers are working in its regional structures. The proportions of Criminal Police, Public Order Police and Traffic Police officers, being those responsible for the prevention and resolution of most criminal offences, is lower than in the Czech Republic and Poland.**

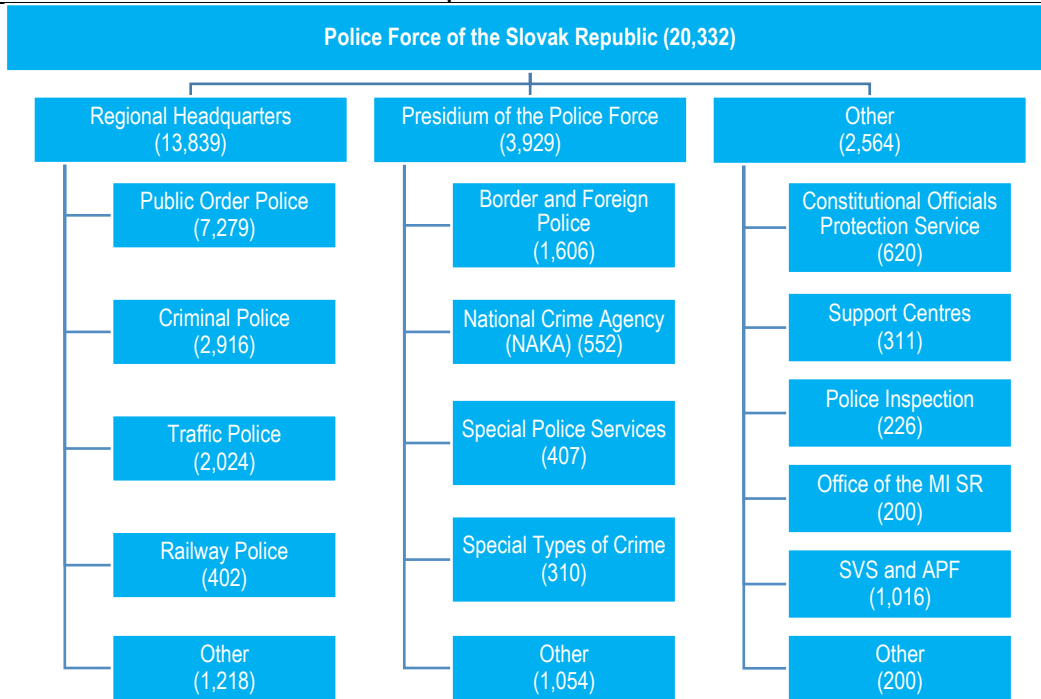
**The organisation patterns of police forces in the V4 countries are comparable, even if differences between the countries exist when it comes to the degree of decentralisation and internal division of police forces.** The police forces in the V4 countries fall under the Ministries of Interior and are managed by central headquarters, such as the Presidium of the Police Force (PPF) in Slovakia. The main divisions of the police forces are further divided into regional and national units. The police forces of Slovakia, the Czech Republic and, to a large extent, Hungary have similar structures. Due to the size of the country, the structure of Poland's police force is different from the other V4 countries, featuring a high degree of decentralisation and delegation of duties to regional headquarters.

**Slovakia's Police Force is relatively centralised and 69% of police officers work under Region Headquarters<sup>6</sup> (Graphs 19 and 21).** 31% of the total number of police officers work in units of the Police Force with nationwide jurisdiction or in its specialised units. The corresponding proportions for the Czech Republic and Hungary are 13% and 21%, respectively. Specialised units with nationwide jurisdiction are more efficient in solving certain types of crime; on the other hand, a lower number of police officers with a local affiliation can have a negative impact on the prevention and resolution of less serious crime in the regions.

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<sup>6</sup> Including Support Centres

**Graph 19: Police force structure and numbers of police officers**



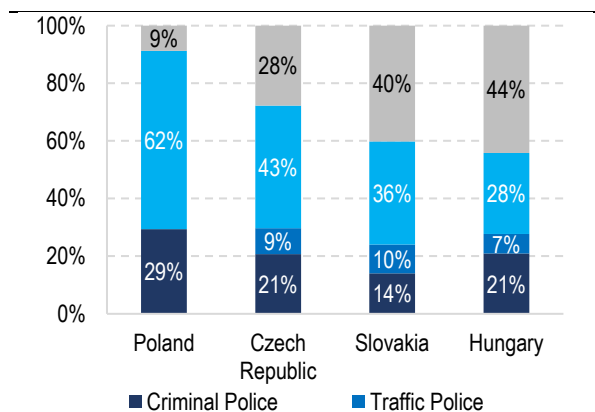
Note: Numbers of staffed police positions, as of November 2022

Source: MI SR

**The share of the Criminal, Public Order and Traffic Police officers is lower in Slovakia compared to the Czech Republic and Poland.** The Public Order, Traffic and Criminal Police divisions are responsible for preventing and solving up to 98% of all criminal offences. The police officers in these divisions make up 60% of the total number of police officers, which is less than in Poland and the Czech Republic, and comparable to Hungary (Graph 20). Adequate numbers of Criminal Police and Public Order Police officers are among the essential prerequisites for the effective prevention and detection of crime without delays.

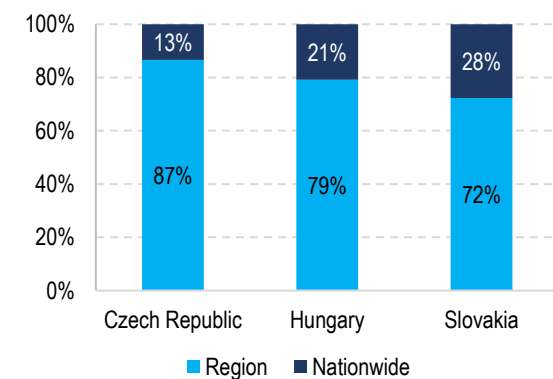
**The sizes of police units with a local jurisdiction are comparable to the other countries despite the latter having generally larger police forces.** The relatively low proportion of police officers with a local jurisdiction may reduce the citizens' access to basic police services such the maintenance of public order or prevention and resolution of less serious crime.

**Graph 20: Structure of the V4 countries' police forces (% , 2022)**



Source: MI SR

**Graph 21: Proportions of police officers with nationwide jurisdiction and regional jurisdiction (% , 2022)**



Note: The units with regional jurisdiction in Slovakia are Region Headquarters and Support Centres

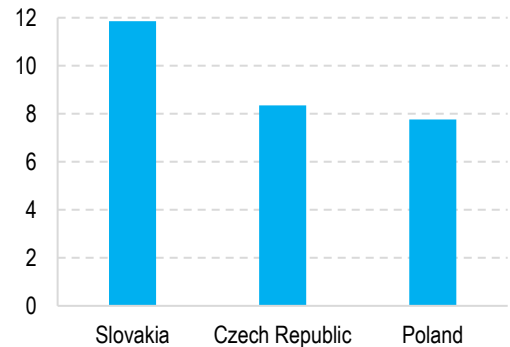
Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

The roles of the border and foreign police divisions differ between the V4 countries, thus making an international comparison difficult. Foreigner-related matters could be handled by civilian employees. The main tasks of the Bureau of Border and Foreign Police (BBFP) are the protection of external borders, the fight against illegal migration and the administration of foreigners' stay arrangements. With the entry of Slovakia into the Schengen area in 2007, border controls at the borders with the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Austria ceased to be carried out. In contrast, demands for the protection of the 97 km long border with Ukraine have increased. The border police of Poland (*Straż Graniczna*) and of Hungary (*Határrendészet*) focus primarily on the protection of borders and the fight against illegal migration and do not handle foreigner-related matters, such as the issuance of stay or residence permits to foreigners, which are primarily administered by civilian institutions. The Czech Republic does not have a Schengen border and it thus does not carry out border controls, except at international airports.

The number of police officers working at police schools is 30% higher compared to Poland and the Czech Republic (Graph 22). The Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic provides police training through three secondary vocational schools of the Police Force in *Pezinok*, *Košice* and Bratislava, and the Academy of the Police Force in Bratislava. Considering the overall size of the Police Force, the number of police officers working as lecturers in the educational institutions in Slovakia is higher than the numbers in Poland and the Czech Republic.

The number of police officers in the police management in Slovakia is comparable to the Czech Republic and Hungary (Graph 23). Employing approximately 500 police officers, the Presidium of the Police Force manages and is responsible for the work of the Region Headquarters and the different police units. The number of police officers of the Presidium of the Police in proportion to the total number of police officers is comparable to the police presidiums of the Czech Republic and Hungary. There is a significant difference when compared to Poland, where the structure of the police force is different due to the size of the country. Also, economies of scale in several areas can be assumed for Poland as its total number of police officers is five times that of Slovakia.

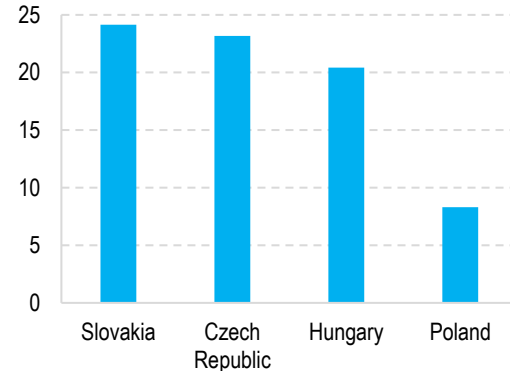
**Graph 22: Number of police officers working in police education per 1,000 police officers (2022)**



Note: Data for Hungary are not available

Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

**Graph 23: Number of Presidium officers per 1,000 police officers (2022)**



Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

**Slovakia is the only one of the V4 countries to have a specialised Railway Police division**

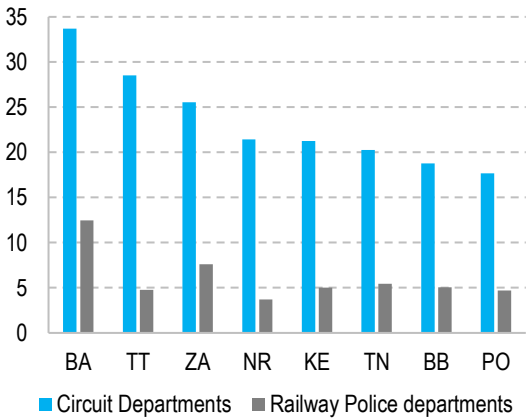
We are the only V4 country that has a Railway Police as a part of the police force. The Railway Police administers a relatively narrow scope of matters concerned with the protection of railway transport and the resolution of criminal offences occurring on railway tracks. No other V4 country has a specialised police force division for railway policing. In the Czech Republic, the Public Order Police and Railway Police were merged, and railway security responsibilities were transferred to the railway operators, similarly to Hungary. Poland has the Railway Guard (*Straż Ochrony Kolei*) to take care of railway security and it belongs to the state railway operator. There are 490 police officers in Slovakia in the Railway Police division and in its management.

**The amount of crime dealt with by Railway Police officers is significantly lower compared to the Public Order Police (Graphs 24 and 25).** This even though the nature of work and the types of crime handled by the Railway Police and the Public Order Police are very similar since both divisions deal with public order related matters. The number of solved criminal offences per Railway Police officer is 75% lower compared to a Public Order Police officer. An even distribution of the volume of work between Public Order Police and Railway Police officers would contribute to more efficient policing and better availability of police services.

**The delegation of the care of safety and security on trains to carriers could lead to improved performance in terms of both safety and costs.** Train carriers, in particular *Železničná spoločnosť Slovensko* (Slovak Railway Company, ZSSK), ensure safety on trains in cooperation with the Railway Police. The absence of management tools for the carrier in relation to the Railway Police and the wider range of duties performed by the Railway Police often lead to a mismatch between the requirements of the carrier and the Railway Police’s capabilities. This discrepancy could be resolved by transferring the responsibility for safety on trains to the carriers, as is the case in the neighbouring countries, where carriers hire private security providers to perform these services (Czech Republic, Hungary), or have their own police departments whose powers are similar to those of the Municipal Police in Slovakia (Poland). This change would require an increase in the funding provided to ZSSK for the management of safety on trains.

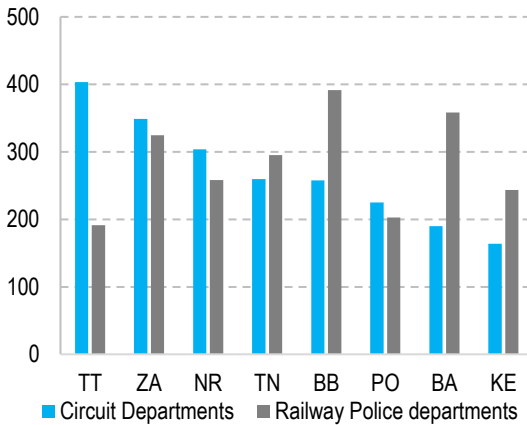
**The existing capacities of the Railway Police could be transferred to the Police Order Police to reinforce the now overburdened Circuit Departments.** The merger of the Railway Police and the Public Order Police would lead to a leaner management structure of the Police Force on the one hand and enable a more effective utilisation of the existing capacities of the Police Force and reinforcement of the most overburdened departments on the other. A similar reform took place in 2012 in the Czech Republic and did not lead to any significant increase in crime on the railways. If the merger were to take place, a certain degree of specialisation of certain Circuit Departments of the Police Force in railway crime would probably suffice to ensure effective crime investigation.

**Graph 24: Number of criminal offences per police officer by region (2018-2022)**



Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

**Graph 25: Number of misdemeanours per police officer by region (2018-2022)**



Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

The distribution of the Police Force resources across the regions is not proportional to the volumes of crime

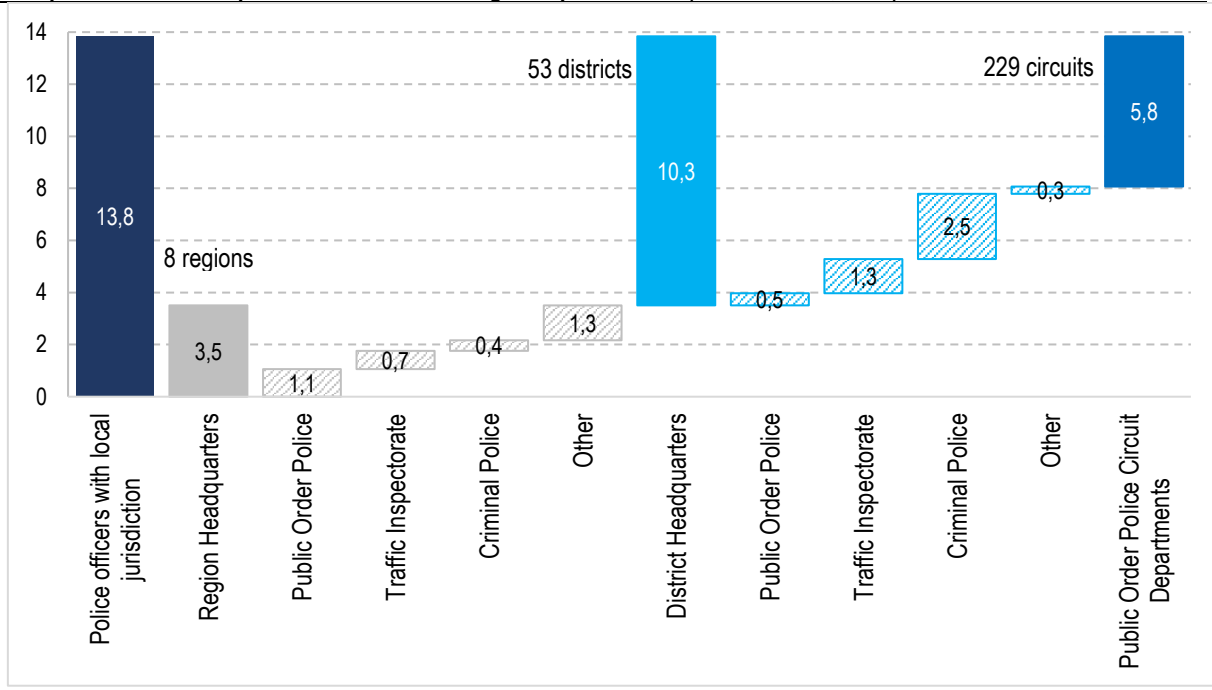
**When related to the population and the volume and structure of handled crime, the regional distribution of police resources is not proportional. As a result of this uneven distribution, there are differences in the speed and quality of criminal proceedings between the district and circuit units. The Police Force does not have a methodology to govern the allocation of police officers to the different District Headquarters and Circuit Departments.**

**The proportion of all police officers working in Police Force structures with a local jurisdiction (under Region Headquarters) is 69%, while they deal with 98.4% of all criminal offences.** The police officers of the



Region Headquarters have a specified local territorial jurisdiction, and their primary task is to provide basic police services, such as prevention, solving criminal offences, handling misdemeanours, ensuring the safety and flow of road traffic, and maintaining public order. As regards the territorial jurisdictions and powers, the eight Region Headquarters are divided into 53 District Headquarters and their Public Order Police units encompass a total of 229 Circuit Public Order Police Departments distributed across Slovakia (Graph 26).

**Graph 26: Division of police officers across regional police units (in thousands, 2022)**



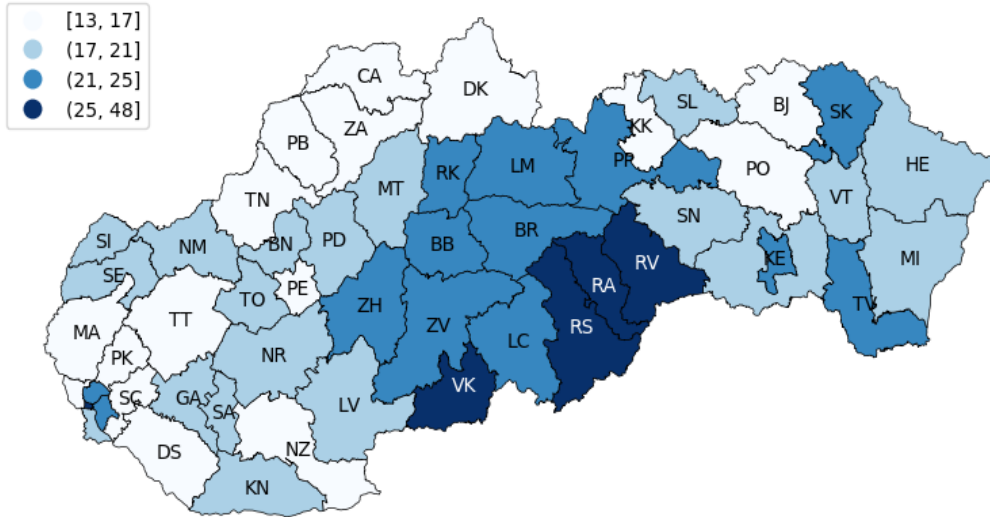
Source: MI SR

**From a subject-matter perspective, the Region Headquarters’ police officers work mainly in the Public Order Police, Traffic Police and Criminal Police units.** More than a half of them work in Public Order Police units (53%), a fifth in Criminal Police units and 15% in Traffic Police units.

**Police officers at the District Headquarters level are not distributed proportionally to the numbers of population (Graph 27).** The highest number of police officers per capita is in the district of Bratislava-*Staré mesto* (48), followed by districts in central Slovakia. For example, in the districts of *Revúca* (29 police officers per 10,000 of population), *Veľký Krtíš* (26) or *Rimavská Sobota* (25), there are twice as many police officers relative to the population as the national average. Conversely, the lowest numbers of police officers per capita are in the districts of *Senec*, *Trenčín* and *Dunajská Streda* (13).



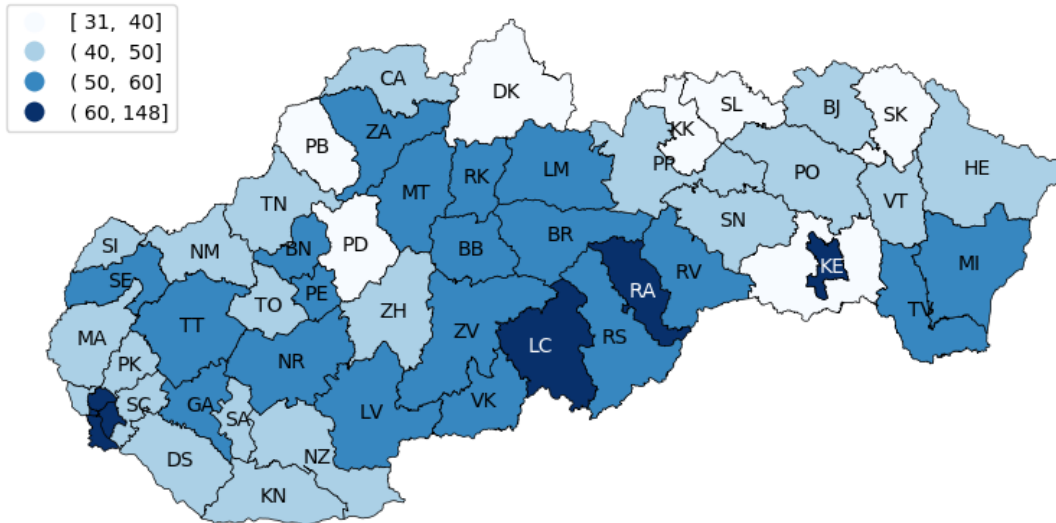
**Graph 27: Number of police officers at the District Headquarters of the Police Force (per 10,000 of population, 2022)**



Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

The highest numbers of criminal offences per 1,000 of population were recorded in the districts of Bratislava and Kořice and some districts of central Slovakia (Graph 28). In line with what foreign practice suggests, higher concentrations of crime are found in the circuits of large district and region centres with a higher concentration of population, wealth, and inequality (Glaeser, 1999). High crime rates per capita are also encountered in major tourism regions. Overall, the highest crime rate per capita is in the circuits of *Kořice-Staré mesto* and Bratislava-Staré Mesto.

**Graph 28: Numbers of criminal offences under the jurisdictions of the District Headquarters of the Police Force (per thousand of population, 2018-2022)**



Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's elaboration

The detection and investigation of crime by the Police Force is systematised into several levels by severity. Misdemeanours or criminal offences subject to a custodial sentence with a length of less than three years as the maximum sentence are handled by circuit units. The solving of more serious criminal offences is the responsibility of District Criminal Police units (custodial sentence with a length of three to ten years) or Region Criminal Police

units (10 or more years). The most serious criminal offences involving a large-scale damage are handled by the National Crime Agency (NAKA).

**The largest volumes of criminal activity are handled by the Circuit Departments of the Police Force (Table 5).** The Circuit Departments are responsible for solving almost a half of all reported criminal offences. They are followed by the District Criminal Police units (38.5% of all criminal offences). The Region Criminal Police units and NAKA clarify the most serious criminal offences, which account for 2.2% of all reported crime.

**Table 5: Proportions of criminal offences handled by Police Force units (2018-2022)**

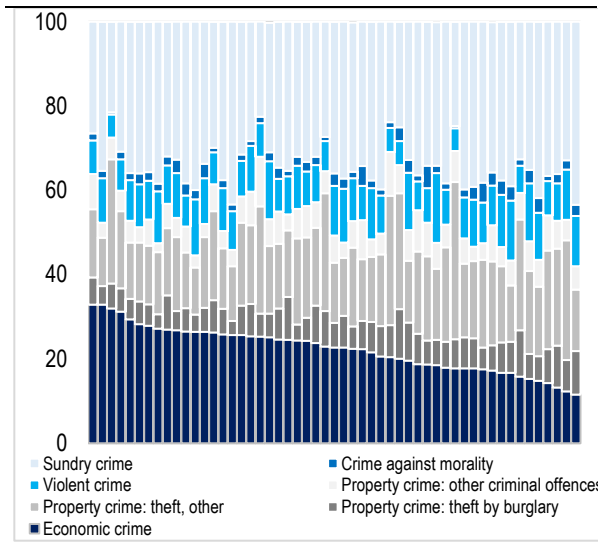
Unit:	Criminal offences (thousands)	Of which, major criminal offences	Proportion of all criminal offences
Circuit Department	133.1	0.1 %	47.9 %
District Criminal Police	107.0	38.4 %	38.5 %
District Traffic Inspectorate	26.1	0.0 %	9.4 %
Region Criminal Police	3.5	82.6 %	1.2 %
National Crime Agency (NAKA)	2.8	59.2 %	1.0 %
Railway Police	2.2	0.1 %	0.8 %
Region Traffic Inspectorate	0.9	0.0 %	0.3 %
Office of the Inspection Service	0.9	30.2 %	0.3 %
Border and Foreign Police	0.8	58.4 %	0.3 %
Motorway Police	0.5	0.0 %	0.2 %
<b>Total / average</b>	<b>278.0</b>	<b>16.7 %</b>	<b>100 %</b>

Source: MI SR

**The investigation of economic crime takes twice as long as the average for other types of crime (Table 6).** The police's performance is influenced not only by the number of cases, but also by their structure and degree of complexity. The investigation of economic criminal offences takes 111 days on average, i.e., approximately twice as long as other criminal offences. At the same time, 47% of all economic crime remains unsolved. The highest clearance rate is for violent crime (79%) and the lowest for burglary (37%). The speed of criminal prosecution depends not only on the work of the Police Force officers, as the proceedings also involve other law enforcement authorities, mainly the prosecution service, and courts.

**There are significant differences between the police districts in the structure of crime they handle (Graph 29).** While the proportions of economic crime in the districts of *Levice*, *Banská Bystrica* and Bratislava I are higher than 30%, in the districts of *Spišská Nová Ves* and *Lučenec*, this type of crime amounts only to 10%, while they cope with higher volumes of property crime.

**Graph 29: Structure of crime by district (in %)**



Source: MI SR; VFM Unit's elaboration

**Table 6: Clearance rates and average clearance times by type of crime (2018 -2022)**

Type of crime	Number of criminal offences (thousands)	Clearance time (days)	Clearance rate (%)
Economic crime	61.6	111	53
Crime against morality	5.4	88	69
Property crime (theft by burglary)	18.7	59	37
Violent crime	25.4	41	79
Sundry crime	57.2	49	89
Property crime (other criminal offences)	18.2	50	36
Property crime (theft, other)	57.7	34	54

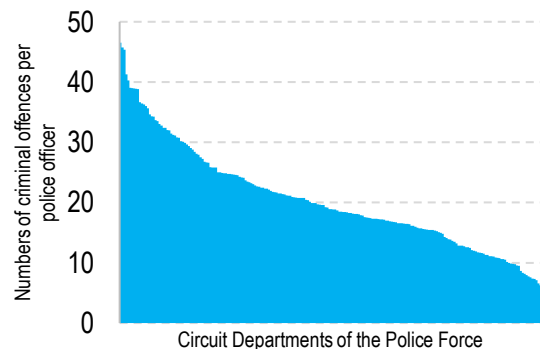
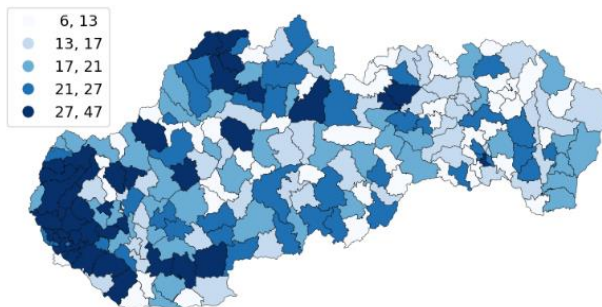
Source: MI SR

### Circuit Departments

The Circuit Departments are the core units of the Police Force that manage the initial communication between citizens and the police in connection with the prevention of crime, intervention at the place of commission and solving of criminal offences. Police officers of the Public Order Police Circuit Departments (hereinafter "Circuit Departments") are responsible for crime prevention and the detection of misdemeanours and minor criminal offences. They also ensure safety on roads and in public spaces. There is a total of 229 Circuit Departments in Slovakia where 5,769 police officers work.

The distribution of workload on police officers across the Circuit Departments is uneven. There are up to fourfold differences in the numbers of criminal offences per police officer (Graph 30). The most criminal offences per police officer are in the police circuits of *Podunajské Biskupice* (46), *Senec* (45) and three circuits in *Petržalka* (41). The least criminal offences, in contrast, are handled in *Spišská Stará Ves* (6), *Spišské Podhradie* (6) and *Koškovce* (7). On average, police officers working at the Circuit Departments in larger towns are overburdened.

**Graph 30: Numbers of criminal offences per police officer across the Circuit Departments of the Police Force (2018-2022)**



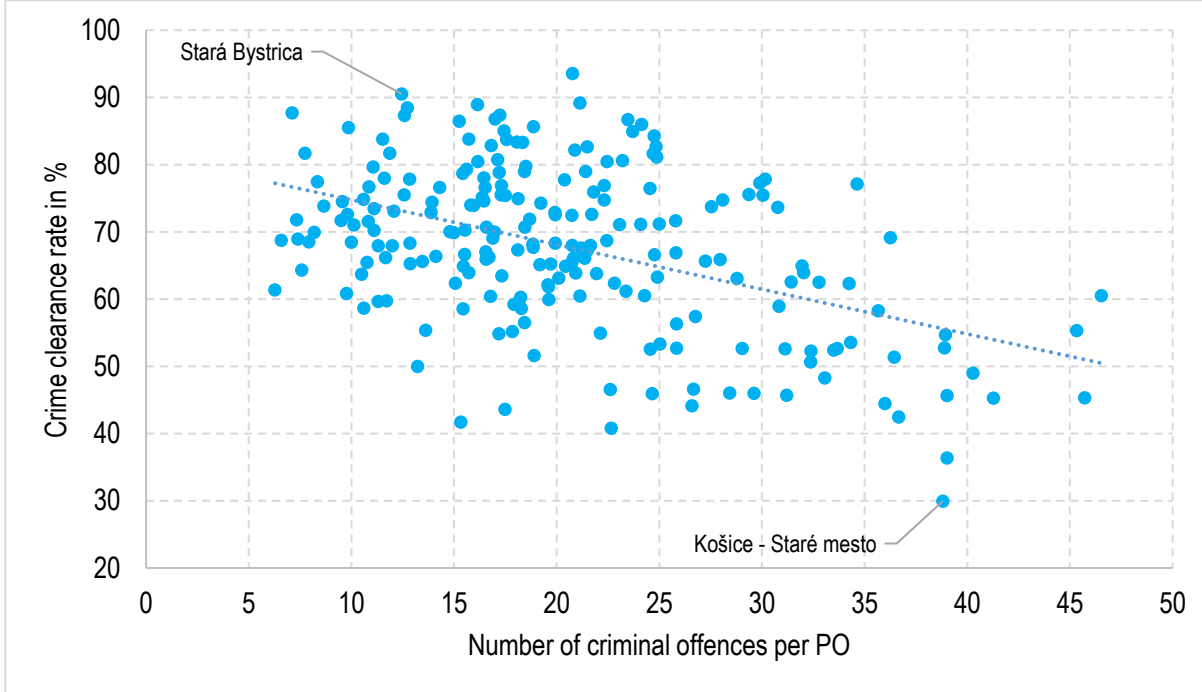
Note: Distribution by region on the left, distribution by Circuit Department on the right

Source: MI SR; VFM Unit's elaboration

The clearance rate is lower in circuits with a high number of criminal offences per police officer (Graph 31). The clearance rate differences between the Circuit Departments are up to threefold, and the clearance rates

decrease with rising numbers of cases per police officer. For example, police officers in the *Košice-Staré Mesto* Circuit clear up only 30% of all reported criminal offences on average and the total number of handled cases per police officer is double the average. For comparison, police officers in the *Stará Bystrica* Circuit solve up to 90% of all criminal offences and the number of criminal offences per police officer is a half of the average. A more proportionate reallocation of police resources to reinforce the busiest departments could help to improve the availability of police services in the circuits with the lowest crime clearance rates.

**Graph 31: Relation between the clearance rate and the number of criminal offences per police officer in the Circuit Departments (2018-2022)**



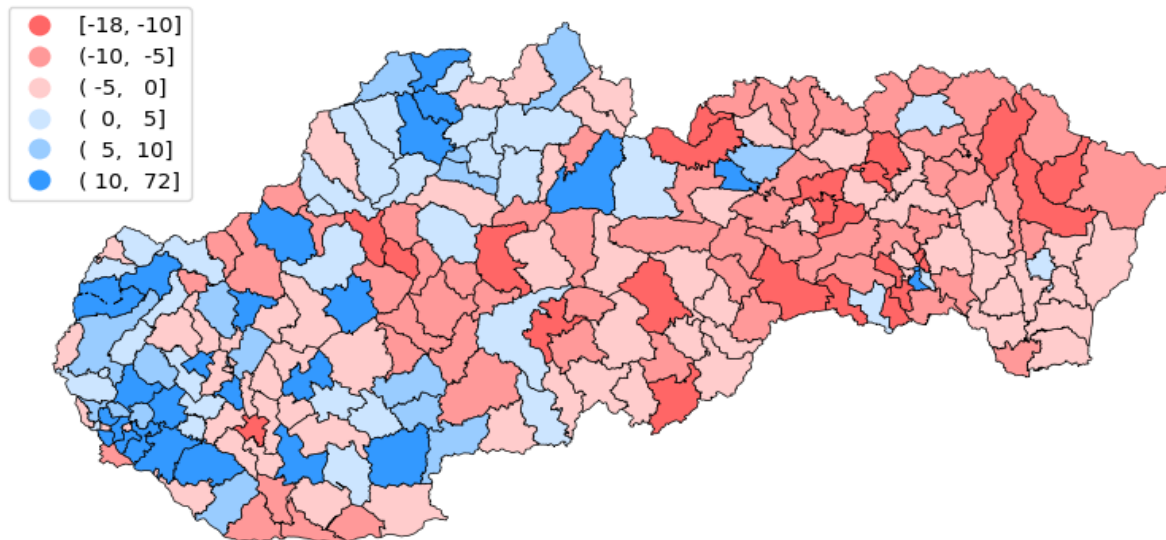
Note:  $R^2 = 0.2148$ ,  $p < 0.01$

Source: MI SR; VFM Unit's elaboration

**Redistribution of police resources with due regard to the volumes and types of handled criminal offences would ensure a more equal access to police services for citizens.** The Circuit Departments differ not only in the amounts of crime they handle, but also the types of crime (Table 6). Economic crime and crime against morality take longer to solve than violent crime, and these factors should be taken in account when making decisions about the distribution of police officers.

**Considering the volumes and types of investigated crime, the capacities of the Circuit Departments in large towns should be strengthened (Graph 32).** The average clearance times for the seven basic types of crime (Table 6) were used as a basis to estimate the time needed to solve all criminal offences handled by the Circuit Departments. The current number of police officers in the departments was then redistributed such that each police officer of a Circuit Department is in charge of the same amount of crime. Based on the result of the application of this method, it is advisable to deploy additional police officers in, for example, three Circuit Departments in *Petržalka* (+72 police officers) and the Circuit Departments in *Žilina* (+55 police officers) and *Košice-Staré Mesto* (+42 police officers). The results suggest that higher than needed police capacities are currently found in *Banská Bystrica* (-18 police officers) and *Prievidza* (-13 police officers).

**Graph 32: Possible changes in the regional distribution of police officers across Circuit Departments to reflect the volumes and types of crime**



Source: MI SR; VIM Unit's elaboration

**There is no formalised methodology for the allocation of police officers to the Circuit Departments to reflect developments in demography and crime.** The current numbers of police officers deployed in the Circuit Departments are determined on the basis of past decisions, which remain substantially unchanged despite significant demographic and socio-economic shifts.

**The analytics are able to explain only 60% of the current variability in the numbers of police officers in the Circuit Departments.** Taking into account the numbers and types of criminal offences and misdemeanours and publicly available data on factors such as unemployment, urbanisation rates and tourism, 60% of the variability in the numbers of police officers across the Circuit Departments can be explained. It is not clear what criteria were applied in the allocation of the remaining 40% of police officers (Box 5).

**Effective crime prevention methods can reduce crime rates and the burden on police officers.** Cooperation between the police and the local community (so-called community-oriented policing) is one of the efficient and internationally proven crime prevention tools. When cooperating with the private and non-governmental sector, educational institutions, social workers and local inhabitants, the police are able to identify risks to prevent crime more effectively.

**Prevention is more efficient in reducing crime than conventional reactive policing methods.** The problem with reactive policing strategies is in that they do not focus on the causes of crime and merely respond to individual incidents, which, however, recur until the causes are tackled (Braga, 2008). The meta-analysis points to the fact that policing methods aimed at solving the causes of crime (problem-oriented policing) are more efficient in reducing crime, as they do not focus only on symptoms. In addition, these methods are more cost-effective as they reduce the police's costs of solving crime (Hinkle, 2020).

**As regards the prevention and allocation of police forces, it is necessary to consider a number of factors that drive an increased risk of crime.** International practice suggests that the key factors increasing the crime commission risk are poverty, unemployment, and income inequality. A higher rate of urbanisation, the absence of community cohesion or the accumulation of wealth are factors that create opportunities for criminal activity. A low quality of public administration also is associated with higher crime rates (VanDijk et al., 2022).

**Local civic public order services (so-called Roma patrols) are an example of an effective form of crime prevention.** Even though the project is not primarily aimed at solving crime, public order service workers often cooperate with the police in preventing and solving crime. With their authority and behaviour, Roma patrol members primarily prevent potential conflicts that could arise on the territory of their municipality, thus reducing the number

of police interventions in the affected locations. They are also helpful in mediating the communication of marginalised groups with the police, act as witnesses, provide assistance in the search for and identification of persons, or report illegal activity<sup>7</sup>.

**Box 5: Factors in the deployment of police resources in the Circuit Departments**

**Econometric analysis was used to examine how the various factors bear on the deployment of Public Order Police resources across the Circuit Departments.** The model is designed not to suggest a redistribution of the Circuit Departments of the Public Order Police but to describe the weight of the individual factors in the current distribution. The variables were selected for the analysis based on scientific articles and the availability of data at the municipal level. The Table below presents four models that explain the highest proportion of differences in the numbers of police officers between circuits.

**The econometric approach cannot explain 40% of the distribution of police officers across the Circuit Departments.** The number of Public Order Police officers in a circuit depends mainly on the volume of crime and the number of offences for the last five years. Additional resources are deployed in region centres with a high concentration of population and their number also grows with the size of the circuit. More police officers are placed in circuits with higher unemployment rates. But there are also other factors in practice that are not included in this analysis while they also may influence deployment decisions.

Variables	(1) Number of police officers per capita	(2) Number of police officers per capita	(3) Number of police officers per capita	(4) Number of police officers per capita
Amount of crime handled by Circuit Dept. per capita		3.274***		0.271
Misdemeanours per capita		8.632***		2.419
Amount of crime/misdemeanours interaction			7.654***	6.334*
Circuit area (ha) per capita	3.208***	2.427***	2.492***	2.392***
Unemployment rate	0.191***	0.917***	0.810***	0.876***
Unemployment rate (squared)		-0.0332***	-0.0293***	-0.0320***
Overnight stays per capita (squared)	0.0153**	0.0114**	0.0101**	0.0109**
Region centre	7.389***	5.601***	5.477***	5.649***
Merged territorial units	-1.759	-2.310*	-1.878	-2.015
Constant	5.232***	-2.310*	1.552	0.753
Number of observations	215	215	215	215
R <sup>2</sup>	0.437	0.613	0.623	0.624

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

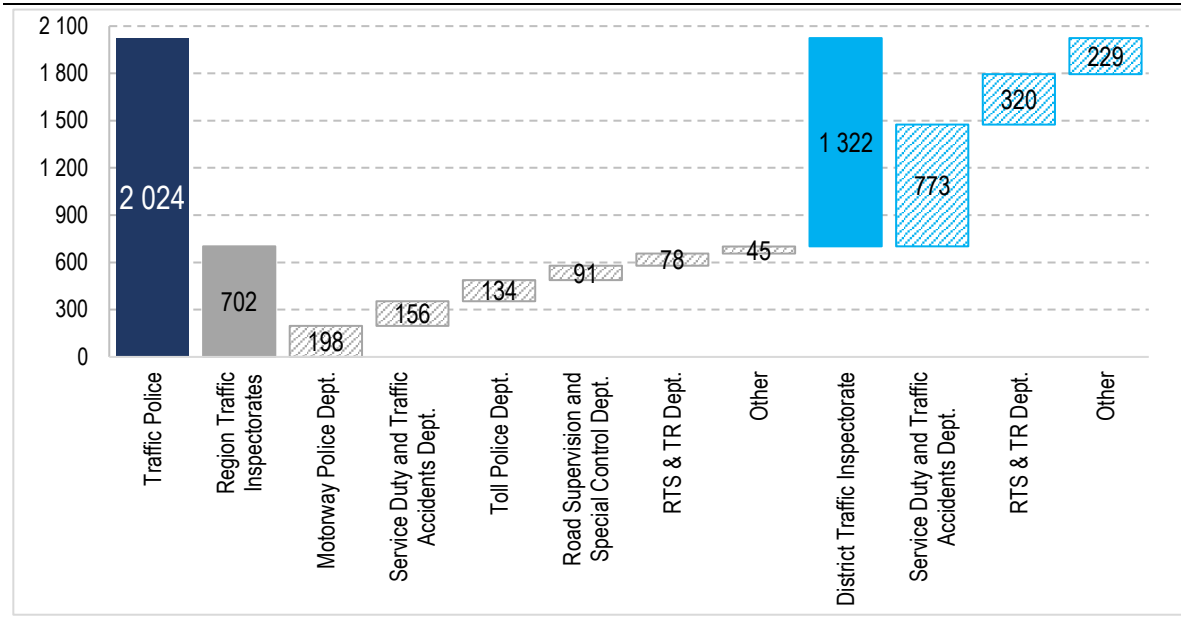
**District Traffic Inspectorate**

**Approximately 10% of the total number of police officers (2,024) work at Region and District Traffic Inspectorates. Their role is mainly to supervise the safe flow of road traffic.** Nearly a half of Traffic Police officers are deployed in Service Duty Units and Traffic Accident Units where they supervise the flow and safety of road traffic, investigate traffic accidents, and detect traffic violations. A fifth of Traffic Police officers work in Road Traffic Safety and Traffic Registers Departments where they administer vehicle registration and driver’s licences, handle administrative offence proceedings, and propose measures to reduce accident rates (Graph 33). A significant part of the matters handled by these departments could be administered by civilian employees. Currently, only 195 civilian workers work at Region and District Traffic Inspectorates (DTIs).

<sup>7</sup>Evaluation of the Local Civic Public Order Services tool



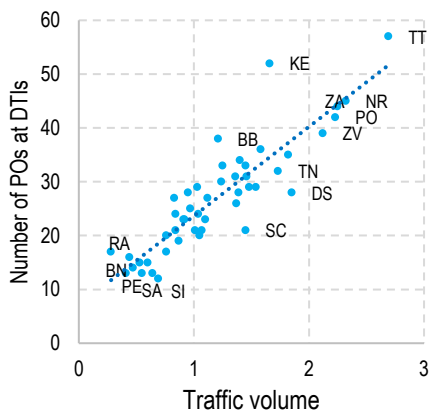
**Graph 33: Distribution of police officers across District Traffic Inspectorates (2022)**



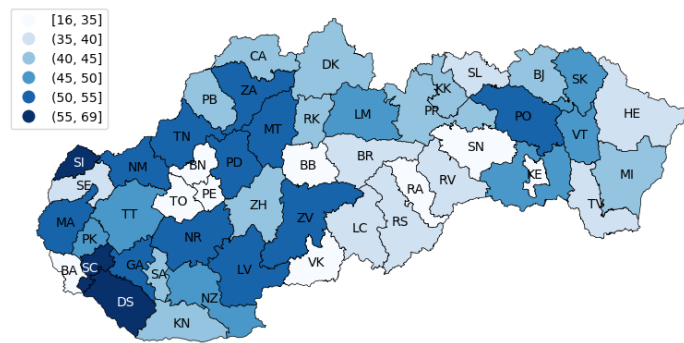
Source: MI SR

The deployment of regional Traffic Police resources in districts ((DTIs) is basically determined by the traffic loads (Graphs 34 and 35). With higher volumes of traffic, the risk of accidents and congestions increases and this places higher demands on the supervision of road traffic. High absolute traffic loads are found in the areas administered by the District Traffic Inspectorates of the region centres, such as Bratislava, Trnava and Žilina (Graph 34). The highest workload due to daily traffic loads is on Traffic Police officers in the districts of Senec and Dunajská Streda because of high numbers of commuters.

**Graph 34: Numbers of Traffic Police officers (DTI) related to a district's traffic load**



**Graph 35: Traffic volume in thousands of vehicle-kilometres per Traffic Police officer**



Note: For Bratislava DTI, 149 Traffic Police officers of the Traffic Accidents Unit and the Service Duty Unit of the Region Traffic Inspectorate were added. The traffic flow data are for 2015; the police officer numbers are for 2022; the road network data are for 2023

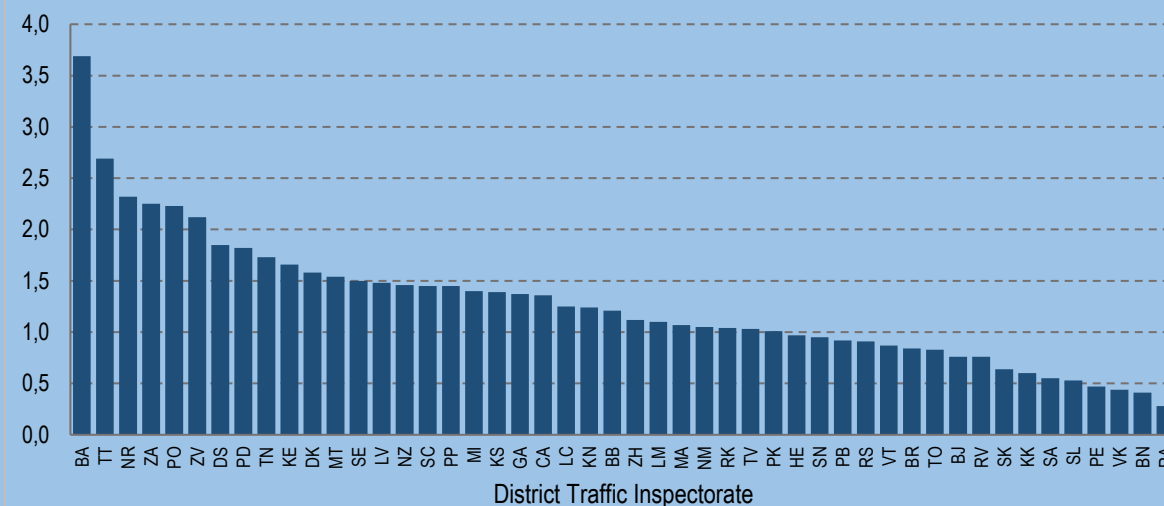
Source: Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic; Slovak Road Administration; VřM Unit's elaboration

**Box 6: Estimated traffic load (in vehicle-kilometres)**

Important indicators relevant to the assessment of the numbers of Traffic Police officers deployed in Traffic Inspectorates are length of serviced roads and traffic density. The volume of traffic on individual roads was calculated based on the length of the road network and the data from the national traffic census of 2015. The data indicate the average daily numbers of vehicles for most sections of the road network structured by road number and road class. The roads included in the calculation were of classes I to III roads (without local roads),

broken down by the jurisdictions of the 48 District Traffic Inspectorates. The census is not available for each road; those omitted are mainly some class III roads and newly built sections. For the omitted roads, flow values equal to the bottom third of the values (33rd percentile) for the given road type in the given district were considered; the approach reflects the deemed lower importance of the omitted and unmeasured roads. The estimated daily traffic load in vehicle-kilometres for the jurisdictional territory of a DTI was obtained by multiplying the length of the road and its average daily number of vehicles.

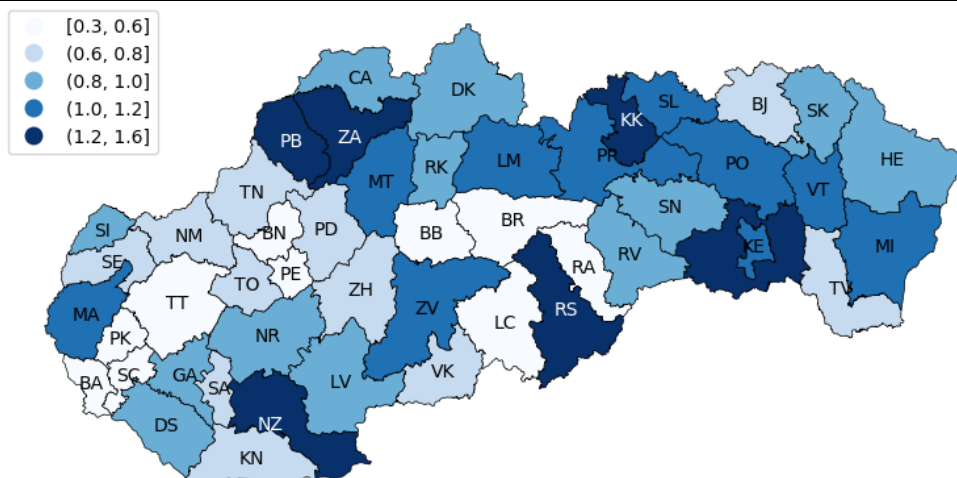
**Graph 36: Traffic loads on class I to III roads in the jurisdictions of the District Traffic Inspectorates (in millions of vehicle-kilometres)**



Source: Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic; Slovak Road Administration; VřM Unit's elaboration

**There are up to threefold differences in the numbers of people killed and severely injured in traffic accidents per Traffic Police officer (Graph 37).** The total number of accidents can be explained relatively well by the volume of traffic, but the numbers of seriously injured and killed persons also depend to a large extent on other factors, such as the road quality, traffic intensity on class I roads in the outskirts of municipalities, or the landscape relief. Appropriately set traffic rules that reflect the accident risk level of a road section (maximum permitted speed, road markings) and increased monitoring of compliance with the rules may help to reduce the occurrence of serious traffic accidents. The highest numbers of killed and seriously injured persons per Traffic Police officer are in the districts of *Rimavská Sobota* (1.8), *Nové Zámky* (1.58) and *Považská Bystrica* (1.56).

**Graph 37: Number of killed and seriously injured persons per police officer (District Traffic Inspectorates, 2018-2022)**



Note: For Bratislava DTI, 149 Traffic Police officers of the Traffic Accidents Unit and the Service Duty Unit of the Region Traffic Inspectorate were added.

Source: MI SR; VřM Unit's calculations



### **Box 7: How to reduce the number of victims on roads**

According to the data obtained from the MI SR, an average of 241 people died in traffic accidents per year in Slovakia in the past 10 years and another 6,343 were injured, of which more than 1,000 were seriously injured. The police report data on the individual traffic accidents and the VfM Unit has created an accident rate map based on the data, which assigns a risk level to the sections of class I and II roads based on the reported numbers of serious traffic accidents. In addition to investments in the transport infrastructure, international experience suggests an array of other measures that help to reduce traffic accident fatalities:

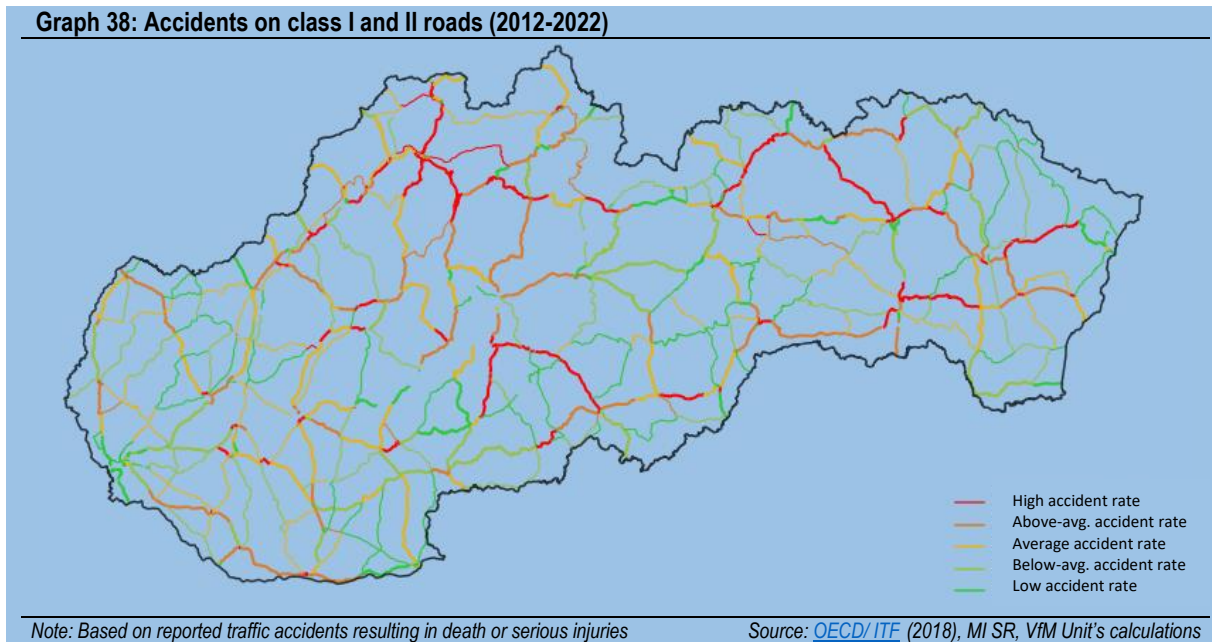
**Speed reduction:** Approximately a quarter of all deaths on Slovak roads are due to excessive speeding. The OECD International Transport Forum (ITF) states in its study that the risk of serious traffic accidents increases significantly with higher driving speeds. For example, when the driving speed increases from 70 km/h to 90 km/h, the probability of a fatal traffic accident doubles. The ITF thus recommends reducing the maximum permitted speed from 30-40 km/h to 70-80 km/h in selected road sections in villages and towns where there is no barrier between the opposite lanes.

**Compliance checks:** A number of studies and scientific articles show that the enforcement of rules (especially with regard to speed and alcohol) leads to a decrease in road traffic fatalities. Placing radars and traffic cameras in high-risk sections may reduce the number of traffic accidents in those sections. The effectiveness of radars depends on the appropriate selection of the type of device and of the location where it is placed. In Austria, for example, the installation of a segmental speed measurement device on a 4.5 km stretch of road marked as a “high accident rate section” led to a nearly 70% reduction in the number of accidents with consequences for health and lives. Data from Italy show that the installation of a similar system on the motorway between Milan and Naples led to a 31% reduction in accidents (OECD/ITF, 2018). The MI SR plans to procure 279 such devices from the funds to be available under the Recovery and Resilience Plan. The number actually needed is probably much higher.

**Sanctions:** Penalising violations of traffic regulations is a common instrument to change the behaviours of drivers and other road users. In international practice, several forms of penalty are used: fines, point systems, withholding of the driver's license, confiscation of the car, alcohol sensors, or even imprisonment. It is true that the amount of the penalty must be sufficient to motivate the road users to comply with the rules. Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom, for example, have introduced a system where the amount of the fine depends on the income of the person who breached the rules.

**Better protection of the most vulnerable:** Pedestrians and cyclists are the most vulnerable road users. Up to 35% of traffic accident victims in 2019 were pedestrians (26%) or cyclists (9%). Again, reducing the maximum permitted speed in municipalities would improve their safety. According to the EU's analysis, crashes between cars and pedestrians or cyclists occurring at a speed of less than 30 km/h almost never end in death. The maximum permitted speed of 30 km/h was introduced on most roads by Paris in 2021 and equivalent rules also apply, for example, in Zurich, Edinburgh, Bilbao and Lille.

**Graph 38: Accidents on class I and II roads (2012-2022)**



**The police's responsibility for the supervision of the collection of electronic tolls could be transferred to the National Motorway Administrator (NDS).** A combination of toll gates and a mobile patrol is necessary for an efficient supervision of the toll collection. In Slovakia, a patrol consists of a member of the Toll Police and an employee of the electronic toll system operator (SkyToll). The presence of a police officer is necessary because of their authority to stop the vehicle and enforce the check. In countries that have a similar toll collection system in place (Hungary, Poland, Austria and Germany), the supervision powers are delegated to a separate non-police body. Transferring this electronic toll collection supervision authority to, for example, the National Motorway Administrator (NDS) would mean that 134 Toll Police officers (with salaries of approx. 3.5 million euros per year) can be released and the costs of supervision be borne directly by NDS. But such transfer of the toll collection supervision duty to NDS or another state institution would require a legislative change and an increase in the institution's budget.

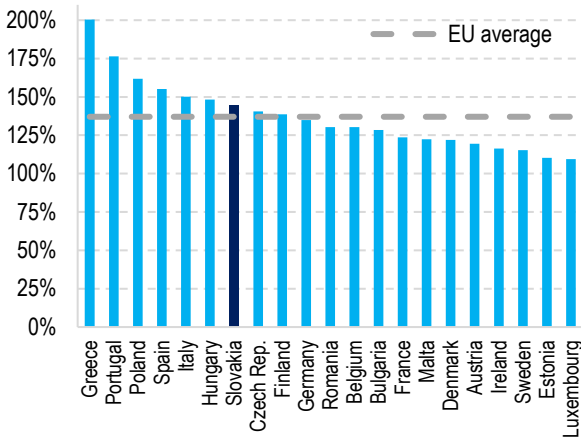
#### 1.4. Police officers' salaries in Slovakia are comparable to other countries

**Police salaries are reasonable, having grown faster than the average wage in the economy in the past five years. The challenge is the non-systematic pattern of granting certain allowances and extra pay items, which can have a demotivating effect on police officers and, at the same time, reduce interest in working with the police, especially in Bratislava and other large towns.**

**Police officers' salaries in Slovakia are comparable to the neighbouring countries (Graph 39).** In 2021, the average salary of a police officer in Slovakia was 1.44 times higher than the average salary in the national economy, while the average of the V3 countries and the average of the EU countries for which the relevant data are available are 1.5 times and 1.37 times the average salary, respectively. As a country's wealth grows, the average wage in the economy should grow faster than police salaries.

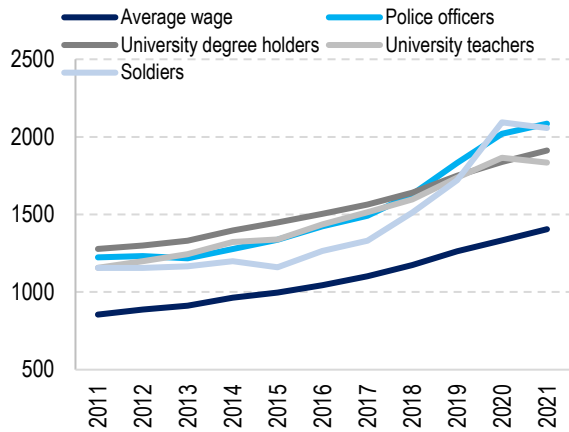
**The growth of police officers' salaries in the last five years was higher than the average wage growth rate in Slovakia (Graph 40).** The average salary of a police officer in 2021 was EUR 2,085. Soldiers' salaries were growing even faster than those of police officers and the average salary of a soldier in 2020 was higher than the average salary of a police officer.

**Graph 39: Police officers' average salary as a percentage of the average wage in the economy (2021)**



Source: Salary Experts.com, Eurostat, VfMU's calculations

**Graph 40: Development of salaries for selected professions (in EUR)**

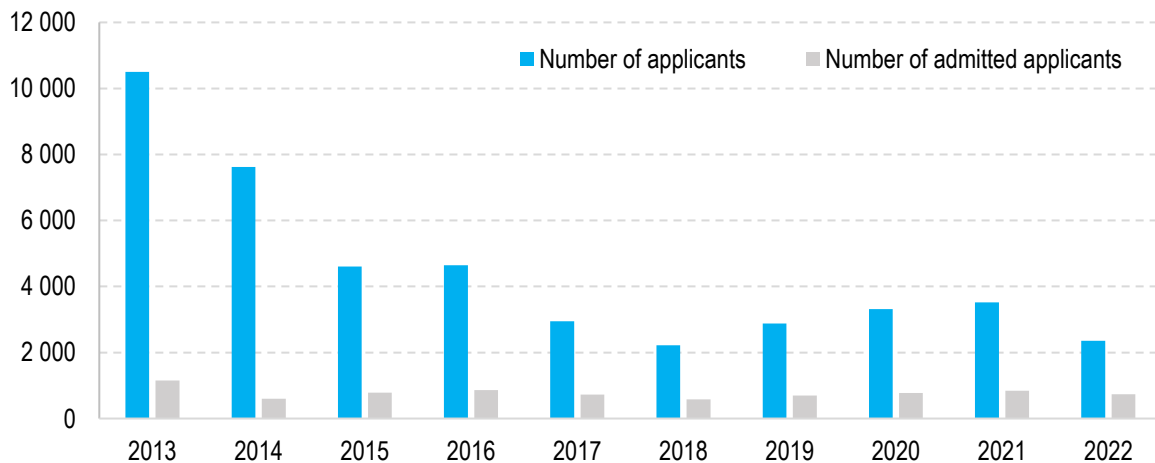


Source: MF SR BIS

**There are too many managers in the Police Force.** The number of subordinates per manager is an internationally used indicator that measures the so-called span of control. For an organisation with a large diversity of production and roles, a smaller span of control (a higher proportion of managing staff) is more suitable (Meier and Bohte, 2003). Higher average span-of-control figures, in contrast, are usually found in large organisations, such as the Police Force for which the indicator is 9.29 (Davison, 2003). The Police Force is an organisation with a high number of employees performing similar tasks with a relatively low diversity, but the proportion of managers is as high as 13%, with a span of control of only 6.7. To address this, it is advisable to merge individual departments into larger units and reconsider the necessity of having a deputy manager, where appropriate. Reducing the proportion of managers to 10% would save labour costs and increase the number of police officers in direct service by around 600.

**Interest in police work is decreasing.** The number of applications for a police officer job has decreased since 2013 and the police, especially in large towns, are unable to attract suitable candidates for employment as a member of the Police Force. In addition to the decreasing number of applications, the share of applicants who do not meet the required physical and psychological fitness criteria increased during the given period from 15% in 2013 to 36% in 2022 (Graph 41). There are thus three applicants per one police officer vacancy. For comparison, according to the VfM Unit's analysis of 16,000 selection procedures for admission to the civil service made in 2020, there is an average of two applicants per external selection procedure (VfM Unit, 2020).

**Graph 41: Number of applicants for employment as a police officer**



Source: MI SR

**Compared to the average salary in the police, the highest-paid police officers have a salary comparable to other general government institutions.** The total compensation of the highest paid employees of the police (5% of the total staff) account for 8.6% of the total compensation package, which is comparable to the other examined public administration institutions. The managers' salaries in selected private companies as a share of the total compensation package is double that in the general government (Table 7).

**Table 7: Distribution of salaries in the Police Force and the Fire Service and selected institutions**

	Average salary	Average salary of the TOP 5%
CLSAFO	853	1,614
ŽSR	950	1,703
Social Insurance Fund	1,091	2,382
Financial Administration	1,228	2,149
Police officers and fire-fighters	1,807	3,093
Private sphere*	1,659	5,344

\* Selected large employers

Note: The Police Force salaries also include fire-fighter's salaries

Source: Social Insurance Fund

**Table 8: Average actual service salary by salary grade**

Salary grade	Average salary (€)*	Number of police officers
1	1,281	1,292
2	1,574	6,028
3	1,883	815
4	1,919	5,477
5	2,273	1,715
6	2,290	1,884
7	2,548	1,412
8	2,707	1,273
9	4,083	62

\*As of October 2022, without bonuses

Source: MI SR

**The remuneration system of the Police Force is unclear and can have a demotivating effect.** The Police Force Act sets the maximum amounts of extra pay items and allowances, but it does not provide clear criteria for the granting of the same. The vague extra pay grant criteria distort the structure of remuneration in the Police Force and the related reporting.

**Senior police officers have little flexibility in granting the individual performance-based extra pay.** This type of extra pay should allow managers to increase the pay of police officers who have above-average qualifications or achieve above-average results. Based on the Collective Agreement, all police officers are entitled to this extra pay in the amount of at least EUR 170, or 210 in the Bratislava Region, and managing police officers have only limited possibilities to increase the extra pay. In practice, this extra pay, which makes up 50% of the total allocation for salary supplements, is used not as a motivational tool, but as a part of the basic salary of police officers (Table 9).

**Housing allowance is received by all police officers and is paid on a non-systematic basis.** The housing allowance should be used to cover increased housing costs due to transfer to a different place of service, or to deployment in a region centre with generally higher price levels, for example. The allowance is presently paid to all police officers and the amount of the allowance is only partially linked to the actual amount of housing costs. In practice, this salary supplement is often used as a form of bonus for police officers. The absence of systematic eligibility rules for this allowance can have a demotivating effect and reduce the attractiveness of the police as an employer, especially in regions with high housing costs (Bratislava, Košice).

**Table 9: Structure of remuneration in the Police Force (2022)**

	Number of recipients	Annual amount paid (in EUR million)	Monthly average per recipient	Monthly average per police officer
<b>Office salary, including an increase for years served</b>	<b>19,715</b>	<b>328.0</b>	<b>1,386.5</b>	<b>1,386.5</b>
<b>Total extra pay amounts</b>		<b>148.4</b>		<b>627.4</b>
Of which:				
Performance-based extra pay	18,799	71.8	318.3	303.5
Risk/special extra pay	17,778	17.9	83.7	75.5
Uneven work-time pattern extra pay	14,851	16.6	93.2	70.2
Weekly over-time service extra pay	6,660	15.9	199.4	67.4
Management extra pay	2,326	13.0	464.1	54.8
Rank-based extra pay	19,715	7.2	30.5	30.5
Police car/boat care and driving extra pay	17,029	4.5	22.0	19.0
Extra pay for substitution or undertaking a temporarily unstaffed position	119	0.7	484.2	2.9
Extra pay for service in a harsh or harmful environment	2,022	0.6	26.7	2.7
Extra pay for care of a police dog or horse	341	0.1	34.3	0.6
Aircraft/helicopter crew member extra pay		0.0		0.1
Diver extra pay	29	0.0	31.2	0.0
Extra pay for the tutoring of a candidate police officer or for language skills	10	0.0	32.7	0.0
<b>Housing allowance</b>	<b>18,799</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>62.0</b>	<b>62.0</b>
<b>Bonuses</b>	<b>18,799</b>	<b>43.3</b>	<b>191.9</b>	<b>191.9</b>
<b>Compensation for standby service duty</b>	<b>3,475</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>79.3</b>	<b>14.0</b>
<b>Healthcare professional extra pay</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>616.9</b>	<b>3.2</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>537.8</b>		<b>2,275.9</b>

Source: Salary Inventory by MF SR

## 2. Evaluation of the police's work

Slovakia has long been among the countries with the lowest public trust in the police. Systematic evaluation of the quality of police services based on data on victimisation, criminal proceedings and the public's perception of police work could lead to the enhancement of their quality and a higher public trust in the police.

The evaluation of police services is one of available means to improve their quality, build trust in the police and increase the responsibility and accountability of the Government and the leadership of the Police Force for the results achieved. Slovakia spends more than 1% of GDP on police services. Similar to other services of the state, the public expects the Police Force to fulfil the tasks defined in law and provide police services at the highest possible level of quality. One of ways to enhance the quality of police services is through defining a set of the police's targets and an evaluation system to monitor the delivery of the targets (Maslov, 2015). The intended aim of such evaluation is to review not the results and work of individual police officers, but the overall performance of the police as a whole.

**Slovakia does not have an established system to evaluate the quality of police services.** The Police Force publishes statistics for crime and traffic accidents, which are difficult to access for the lay public and do not provide a complete picture of the police's work. Apart from criminality trends and clearance rates and road traffic accident rates, they do not monitor other indicators and the public is not sufficiently informed about the police's performance and results. At the same time, the police do not systematically collect victimisation data, i.e., data on total criminality, including unreported offences, and data on the public's subjective feelings of safety and satisfaction with police services.

### Box 8: Evaluation of the police in selected countries

**Norway:** The evaluation covers five areas of police work: (1) Safety and protection of citizens; (2) Crime reduction through effective prevention; (3) Efficient and high-quality criminal proceedings; (4) Accessible and good services; (5) Detection of illegal migrants. As a part of the evaluation, the police conduct large-scale surveys of citizens' satisfaction with the police's work and their feelings of safety ([Police of Norway, 2020](#)).

**Finland:** Trust in the police, the population's subjective feelings of safety and the number of criminal offences are evaluated. Furthermore, complex indicators are used that combine the numbers of inhabitants with the numbers of various criminal offences or traffic accidents. These indicators are measured for the country as a whole as well as for individual regions ([Police of Finland, 2022](#)).

**New Zealand:** The evaluation of the police focuses on three main objectives: (1) Safe homes, free from crime and victimisation; (2) Safe roads: prevention of road traffic deaths and injuries; (3) Safe communities: inhabitants are safe, no matter where they live or work. A number of indicators are measured for these core objectives, while the emphasis is placed on crime data and citizens' perceptions as to feelings of safety and the police's work. The police's speed as regards the investigation and the arrival at the crime scene is also rated, as well as the speed of processing an application for the issue of documents ([Police of New Zealand, 2022](#)).

**Sweden:** The police have the Strategic Plan until 2024 under which the police pursue three main objectives: (1) Successful combating and investigation of crime; (2) Strong local presence; and (3) Police as an attractive employer. Sub-objectives are set for each of the objectives, such as combating of violence against women and children, improved combating of organised crime, or improved quality of police workplaces. There are no target values for the indicators and their development in time is monitored instead ([Police of Sweden, 2022](#)).

**Northern Ireland:** The evaluation of the police is done by an independent institution tasked with the supervision of the police, the Northern Ireland Policing Board. Three areas are measured: (1) Safe communities; (2) Trust

in the police; and (3) Engaged and supportive communities. Each of these areas includes several specific indicators that are evaluated using a three-point rating scale ([Police Service of Northern Ireland, 2022](#)).

**The police evaluation system should reflect the expectations of the public and correctly set incentives and targets for police officers.** Measurable indicators (KPIs) and the police work evaluation process should be designed such that there are no doubts about their objectivity. They must be based on the fulfilment of the polices' legal duties and reflect generally established public expectations. At the same time, the evaluation criteria are supposed to encourage police officers to focus on meeting them, and it is thus important to ensure that the criteria do not distort their work. For example, if the only evaluated indicator were the speed of criminal prosecution, this could give rise to attempts to reduce the length of proceedings at the expense of quality; it is, therefore, necessary to use a combination of indicators that will evaluate both the speed and the quality of criminal proceedings.

**The broad spectrum of tasks of the Police Force and their complexity do not allow evaluating the police against a single indicator.** The Police Force is in charge of a number of different tasks, the core ones being the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, detection of criminal offences and their perpetrators, protection of public order and oversight of the safety and flow of road traffic (Act No 171/1993 on the Police Force). The police also carry out activities to prevent crime and perform a broadly defined role of public administration support.

**International experience and professional literature point to the need for a multidimensional police evaluation system.** Although there is no uniform approach to evaluating the work of the police, most authors and countries that have such a system in place assess the police in terms of how they manage to meet the following goals and expectations of the public:

- **Reducing crime and victimisation:** while this goal is not wholly in the police's hands, there is a general consensus on that reducing crime is one of the most important tasks of the police.
- **Identification of offenders:** the identification and punishment of offenders serves as prevention and, at the same time, delivers justice.
- **Improving feelings of safety:** the rate of crime is not the only factor relevant to feelings of safety. Trust in the police and courts, personal experience with crime, vandalism, and the presence of violence in the media are also elements that bear on the perception of safety.
- **Ensuring safety and order in public spaces:** this function directly follows from the core duties of the police, which include ensuring order and safety in public spaces and road traffic safety. The police are better disposed to take action in public areas than in private premises.
- **Using authority and force in a just and fair manner:** the society has given the police special powers (e.g., to use weapons or restrict a person's personal freedom) and these powers must be used responsibly and adequately.
- **Providing high-quality service to clients:** a large number of people come into contact with the police and they expect a forthcoming approach, fairness and legality.

**Evaluating the quality of police services merely on the basis of crime data is not sufficient: it is also necessary to take into account the public's perception of police work.** Data on the crime rates, clearance rates and the lengths of criminal proceedings are among the traditional police performance indicators, but they do not say anything about how the public perceives the police's work. The public's relationship to policing and trust in the police are important for the society and they influence, for example, the public's willingness to cooperate with the police and report crime (Bowling, 2019). Public opinion surveys are a standard tool used in many EU countries to identify the public's attitudes to the police's work.

**The perception of personal safety is not necessarily linked to the development of overall criminality** and the perception of public order in places attended by people has a significant impact on feelings of safety (Skogan, 1999). Feelings of safety also depend on various factors that may be beyond the police's control, such as the



international security situation, socio-economic factors, or political attitudes. If the police manage to reduce criminality but citizens do not feel safe, this indicates that a greater focus on public order measures is needed.

**Box 9: Recommendations for the implementation of a police work evaluation system**

**Owner:** The Ministry of Interior will be responsible for the preparation of the evaluation system. In order to increase the objectivity of the evaluation in the eyes of the public, an impartial institution should also be involved in the preparations (for example, the Supreme Audit Office, the Institute of Strategies and Analysis or the Vfm Unit).

**Format:** The MI SR will draw up an evaluation report and present it to for discussion by the Government of the Slovak Republic and publish it on its website. Since the main purpose of the evaluation is to inform the public about the results achieved by the police, it is important to make sure that the report is understandable to the general public and communicates the most important findings of the evaluation.

**Frequency:** The evaluation will be carried out annually and the evaluation for the preceding calendar year must be published by 30 September.

**Departments to be evaluated:** The object of the evaluation will be the Police Force as a whole, while all data will also be collected and evaluated at the regional level, in addition to the national level. Given the relatively low incidence, data on victimisation in domestic and sexual violence will only be evaluated at the national level.

**Public opinion survey:** The public opinion survey will be conducted with a representative sample of citizens over 18 years of age by a research agency that is a member of the Slovak Association of Research Agencies. In order to accommodate questions about victimisation and the aim of a regional-level assessment of the results, the recommended sample size is 3,000 respondents.

**Review of evaluation results:** When interpreting the evaluation results, their development over time will be taken into account, such as the year-on-year change. International comparison is also welcome for certain indicators for which international statistics using a comparable methodology are available. The target values of the individual indicators can be set by the Government of the Slovak Republic, or the Police Force management.

**The measurable indicators used in the evaluation must be aligned with the programme budget targets.** The programme budgeting also uses performance targets that indicate how the objectives of a given programme are or have been met; the programme relevant to this review is the “Public Order and Security” programme<sup>8</sup>. The indicators used in the programme budgeting should be included as a subset in those used in the quality assessment of police services.

**Considering the duties of the Police Force, international practice, literature, and specifics of the security environment in Slovakia, we recommend including the following five areas of the police’s performance in the evaluation (Table 10):**

**Table 10: Summary of measurable indicators**

Evaluated area of performance	Measurable indicators (KPIs)
Crime rate and feelings of safety	<b>Crime clearance rate</b>
	<b>Victimisation rate</b>
	Crime rate per 100,000 of population
	Intentional homicide deaths per 100,000 of population
Speed of prosecution*	<b>Violent criminal offences cleared within 60 days (%)</b>
	Average length of criminal proceedings

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.mfsr.sk/files/archiv/priloha-stranky/4618/44/Formulovanie-Z\\_C\\_MU.pdf](https://www.mfsr.sk/files/archiv/priloha-stranky/4618/44/Formulovanie-Z_C_MU.pdf)



	Case reversals due to procedural errors (%)
	Interventions with arrival within 20 min. (%)
Road traffic safety	<b>Number of fatal road traffic accidents per 100,000 of population</b>
	<b>Number of severe road traffic accidents per 100,000 of population</b>
	Accidents involving alcohol-impaired drivers (%)
	Accidents involving speeding as the main cause (%)
Public satisfaction with police services	<b>Trust in the police (%)</b>
	Satisfaction with policing to ensure public order, property protection and road traffic safety
	Satisfaction with the detection of criminal offences and misdemeanours
	Fair and friendly approach to citizens
	Satisfaction in the most recent contact with the police
Domestic and sexual violence and juvenile delinquency	<b>Victimisation rate</b>
	Percentage of domestic violence offences with procedural action taken within seven days
	Percentage of criminal offences committed by juveniles and minors
	Percentage of repeat offenders committing domestic and sexual violence

Note: \* The speed of criminal prosecution and other indicators relevant to this area of performance depend not only on the work of the Police Force officers, which is because the proceedings also involve other law enforcement authorities, mainly the prosecution service, and courts.

Source: VFM Unit

## 2.1. Evaluated areas of performance

### Crime rate and feelings of safety

**Prevention and investigation of crime are the essential duties of the police.** The victimisation rate complements the traditionally used indicators, such as crime rate or clearance rate, to provide a more comprehensive picture of criminality.

**Table 11: Proposed indicators for the *crime and feelings of safety* area\***

Indicator	Specification	Source
<b>Victimisation rate</b>	Percentage of respondents who were victims of a criminal offence in the last five years	Public opinion survey
<b>Crime clearance rate</b>	% of solved criminal offences	PF SR
Crime rate	Number of registered criminal offences per 100,000 of population	PF SR
Number of intentional homicides	Intentional homicide deaths per 100,000 of population	PF SR
<b>Feelings of safety:</b>		
In Slovakia	Percentage of respondents who claimed to feel safe on a scale of 1-4 (definitely yes, rather yes, rather not, definitely not, don't know/prefer not to answer)	Public opinion survey
In the place of residence		
When walking alone at night		

Note: \* The full model public opinion survey questionnaire is set out in the Annex

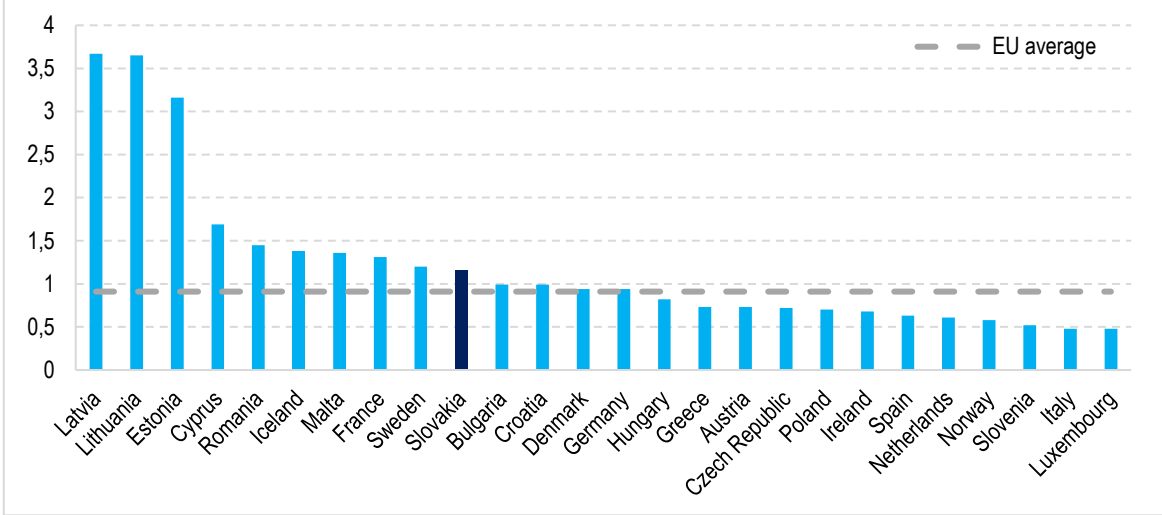
Source: VFM Unit

**An analysis of the level of victimisation can indicate the actual level of criminality better than the data on reported crime.** Not all criminal offences end up being reported, which is due, for example, to the victims' distrust in the police's ability to find the perpetrator or the victims' emotional distress (Roubalová et al., 2019). The victimisation rate indicators answer the question of how many people are victims of crime, not how many criminal offences are reported to the police. Slovakia is among the countries with the lowest public trust in the police. For some types of criminal offence, the reported numbers are even unrealistically low, indicating low reporting rates.

**The crime clearance rate directly indicates the police's success in fulfilling one of its essential duties.** A high clearance rate deters potential perpetrators from committing offences and, also, motivates victims or witnesses to cooperate with the police and report crime (Vojtuš, 2019). The clearance rate needs to be considered in combination with the crime rate, which indicates the total number of registered criminal offences.

**The number of intentional homicide deaths is a reliable indicator of the overall crime rate.** Intentional homicide is one of the types of crime which can reasonably be expected to be reported (Ouimet and Montmagny-Grenier, 2014). The intentional homicide rate is a good indicator of the overall level of crime, as research shows that homicide rates are usually correlated with the rates of other forms of crime, such as theft (Ouimet and Tremblay, 1996; Lauritsen, Rezey, and Heimer, 2015). In addition, intentional homicide data are also suitable for international comparisons, as homicides are similarly defined in different legal systems. For this indicator, Slovakia ranks among the relatively safe countries (Chart 42).

**Graph 42: Number of intentional homicides per 100,000 of population (2020)**



Source: Eurostat

**While the indicators of feelings of safety and perception of crime do not depend only on the work of the police, they are an important indicator of how the public perceives the security situation.** Despite being used internationally, indicators of feelings of safety are omitted in Slovakia at present. In the Czech Republic, questions concerning safety in the country and in the place of residence are a part of a regular survey which also examines, among other things, satisfaction with the work of the police. In England and Wales, surveys also examine feelings of safety at night or when travelling by public transport (UK Office for National Statistics).

**Speed of prosecution**

**The public expects the police to respond quickly when necessary and to investigate crime without delays and errors.** The speed of police intervention and criminal prosecution has a positive effect on public trust in the police (Solakoglu, 2016). According to non-governmental organisations, the length of proceedings in Slovakia is disproportionately long and a reduction is possible (Fair Play Alliance, 2021).

**Table 12: Proposed indicators for the speed of criminal prosecution area**

Indicator	Specification	Source
Violent crime clearance speed	Percentage of violent criminal offences solved within 60 days	MI SR, MJ SR
Length of criminal proceedings	Average time to clearance in days	MI SR, MJ SR
Speed of intervention	Percentage of interventions by a called patrol with an arrival time of up to 20 minutes	PF SR
Delays in proceedings	Percentage of files where the preliminary proceedings lasted more than 30 days	PF SR
Quality of criminal proceedings	Percentage of cases reversed by the prosecutor for the reason of procedural errors	PF SR

Note: The full model public opinion survey questionnaire is set out in the Annex

Source: VFM Unit

**The public expects a fast criminal prosecution without unnecessary delays.** An effective and quick action soon after the crime has been committed enables acquiring a large amount of material to assist the investigation. Eyewitnesses' statements need to be obtained as soon as possible while the memories are still fresh and

uninfluenced by other persons (Carter, 2016). A faster prosecution also has a positive effect on the trust in police services and the rate of crime reporting.

**The police must be able to respond quickly to requests for help from citizens.** A longer waiting time for the police to arrive reduces clearance rates (Blanes and Vidal and Kirchmaier, 2017) and, also, increases the risk of harm (DeAngelo, 2021). The arrival time of a police patrol is one of the most frequent internationally used indicators of the police forces' performance. The positive effects of reducing this time are obvious at first glance: a higher chance of catching the perpetrator right at the scene of the crime, a better chance of protecting any traces from deterioration and a higher probability of solving the case (Blanes i Vidal and Kirchmaier, 2017). At present, more than 90% of police interventions have an arrival time of less than 20 minutes.<sup>9</sup>

**Criminal proceedings must not be sped up at the expense of quality. Shortening the duration of proceedings without monitoring the quality can lead to quick but low-quality action and errors.** Monitoring the length of proceedings without checking their quality can create negative motivations for police officers, who may be tempted to close criminal proceedings regardless of the outcome. Low-quality proceedings lead to a higher rate of error on the part of investigators. The correction of such errors after their discovery by the prosecutor or the judge further extends the proceedings.

Road traffic safety

**Supervising the safety and flow of road traffic is one of the main tasks of the police.** Ensuring the safe and smooth flow of road traffic in Slovakia is primarily the responsibility of the Traffic Police and partly of the Public Order Police.

**Table 13: Proposed indicators for the road safety area**

Indicator	Specification	Source
Number of accidents involving fatalities	Number of traffic accident deaths per 100,000 of population	PF SR
Number of serious accidents	Number of people seriously injured in a traffic accident per 100,000 of population	PF SR
Accidents involving alcohol	Number of accidents involving the presence of alcohol in the at-fault party	PF SR
Speeding accidents	Number of accidents where speeding was the main cause of the accident	PF SR

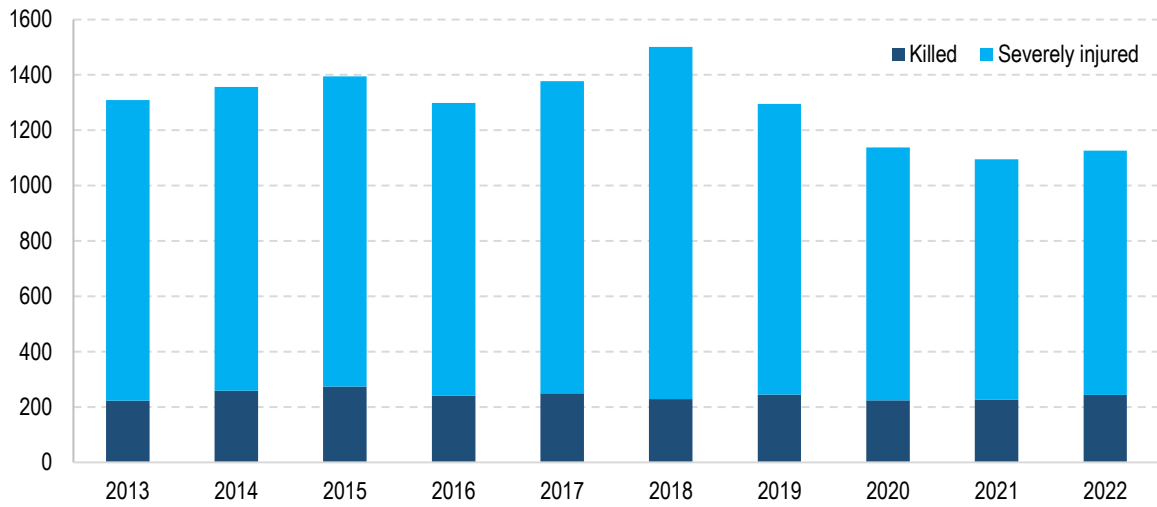
Note: The full model public opinion survey questionnaire is set out in the Annex

Source: VIM Unit

**Despite the overall reduction in the number of accidents, the numbers of people killed or seriously injured on Slovak roads are not decreasing (Graph 43).** The numbers of people killed and seriously injured in traffic accidents provide a reliable picture of road safety and are commonly used international indicators that best describe the main goal of the Traffic Police, which is ensuring road safety. According to the data obtained from the MI SR, an average of 241 people died in traffic accidents per year in Slovakia in the past 10 years, and another 6,343 were injured, of which more than 1,000 were seriously injured. Despite the fact that the total number of traffic accidents has dropped, the number of deaths has not changed, and the number of seriously injured people has decreased only slightly.

<sup>9</sup>Public administration budget: General Ledger

**Graph 43: Numbers of persons seriously injured or killed in traffic accidents in Slovakia**



Source: MI SR

**Approximately a quarter of all deaths on Slovak roads is due to excessive speeding.** In 2019, speeding was the main cause of 12% of traffic accidents and up to 31% of fatal accidents in Slovakia. The OECD International Transport Forum (ITF) clearly states in its study that the risk of serious traffic accidents increases significantly with higher driving speeds.

**Driving under the influence is one of the top four causes of fatal accidents (along with speeding, not wearing seat belts and the driver's inattention).** Even a small amount of alcohol, 0.5 ‰ (approximately 1 litre of beer), increases the risk of a fatal accident up to five times. Different states have different drunk driving limits, and these indicators are, therefore, not suitable for international comparisons, only year-on-year changes can be compared.

#### Public satisfaction with police services

**Public trust in the Police Force is a necessary prerequisite for effective police work.** Public trust positively affects the effectiveness and legitimacy of the police (Hough, 2012; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). Citizens who trust the police tend to support the work of the police, whether by reporting crime or through other forms of cooperation (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009).

**Table 14: Proposed indicators for the public satisfaction with police services area**

Indicator	Specification	Source
Trust in the police	Percentage of respondents who answered that they trust the police on a scale of 1-5 (trust, rather trust, neither trust nor distrust, rather don't trust, don't trust, don't know/prefer not to answer)	Public opinion survey
<i>For all indicators below: Percentage of respondents who agreed to the below statements on a scale of 1-4 (definitely yes, rather yes, rather not, definitely not, don't know/prefer not to answer)</i>		
Overall satisfaction with the work of the police	Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in carrying out their core duties?	Public opinion survey
Maintenance of public order and protection of property	Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in protecting property and maintaining public order?	Public opinion survey
Detection of criminal offences and misdemeanours	Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in detecting crime and misdemeanours?	Public opinion survey

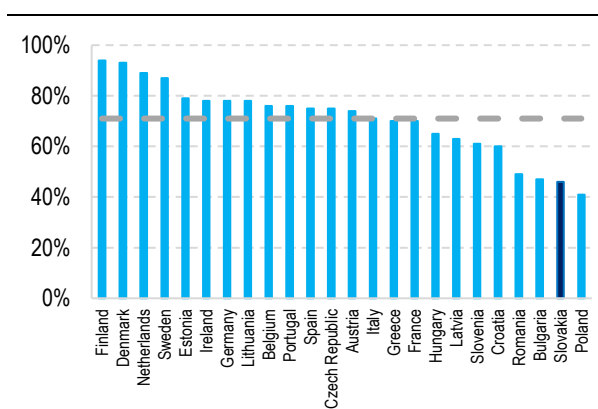
Ensuring road safety	Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in ensuring traffic safety?	Public opinion survey
Fair and friendly approach to citizens	Do you agree to the statement that the police have a fair and friendly approach to citizens?	Public opinion survey
Satisfaction with police services in the most recent contact with the police	Are you satisfied with police services based on your last contact with the police?	Public opinion survey

Note: The full model public opinion survey questionnaire is set out in the Annex

Source: VFM Unit

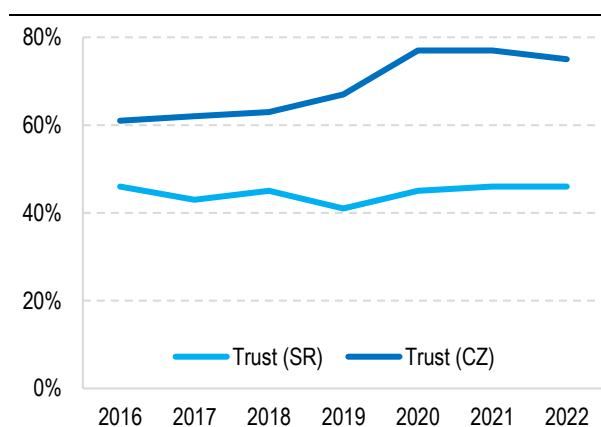
**Slovakia has the second lowest level of trust in the police among the EU countries (Graph 44).** According to the Eurobarometer, only 46% of Slovaks trust the police, while the EU average is 71%. Slovakia is among the worst countries in the EU for this indicator and is at a level comparable to Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. In the Czech Republic, up to 75% of the population trusts the police. In contrast to the Czech Republic, the low level of trust does not change over time and has been consistently low since 2016, in contrast to the Czech Republic where it increased by 15 percentage points over the same period (Graph 45).

**Graph 44: Trust in the police in the EU countries (2023)**



Source: Eurobarometer

**Graph 45: Development of trust in the police in the Czech Republic and Slovakia**



Source: Eurobarometer

**Public satisfaction with the police's work is important in terms of trust and willingness to cooperate with the police.** Satisfaction with police services, i.e., the credibility of the police in detecting crime and ensuring public order affects the public's willingness to report and cooperate in the detection of crime (Merenda, 2021). Satisfaction is largely influenced by the personal experience of police work and is built when the police perform their tasks effectively (Kääriäinen, 2008). Accordingly, it is appropriate to evaluate the public's view of the police's performance of these tasks and thus motivate the police to constantly improve the quality of their services.

#### Box 10: How to increase public trust in the police

**Effective fight against crime:** Trust in the police depends on the rate of crime and the feeling of safety in one's neighbourhood. Trust in the police is higher in communities with stronger feelings of safety.

**Objective and professional communication with citizens:** The so-called procedural justice has a great influence on the perception of the police. A decent and fair treatment of citizens improves the perception of the police in the society. The individual negative or positive experience of an individual has a multiplicative effect on the perception of the police in their surroundings.

**Transparency and public disclosure of crime and policing statistics:** Trust in the police can be increased by objectively informing the public about the police's performance and, in particular, the use of force in policing. It is appropriate to use statistics to point to significant trends and their changes over time.

**Communication with victims:** Citizens' experience with the police in crisis situations has a great influence on public opinion. The training of police officers in communicating with victims in a way that takes regard of their

mental health and providing adequate advice and services according to established standards has been accepted as a proven practice abroad.

**Building relationships with communities:** Active communication with juveniles and with marginalised groups about the roles and competences of the police (expectation setting) helps to prevent crime and improve the image of the police. Effective tools include regular surveys of the communities' perception of the police to inform the development of strategies for the improvement of mutual relations.

**A fair treatment of the public by the police is an important factor in how the public perceives the work of the police and its legitimacy.** The society has granted the police special powers such as the authority to use weapons and restrict personal freedom. These powers must be used responsibly and appropriately, and the police must treat all citizens in a fair and forthcoming manner. Public trust in the fairness bears on the police's legitimacy (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

### Domestic and sexual violence and juvenile delinquency

**Domestic and sexual violence is among the types of crime which, despite their seriousness, are the most overlooked by the society.** Official statistics place Slovakia among countries with low crime rates of this type, but data obtained from independent surveys indicate that in reality, there are many more such cases. A survey conducted by the European Agency for Human Rights (FRA) in 2012 shows that up to 10% of women in Slovakia have experienced sexual violence. The findings of a representative survey of domestic violence in Slovakia indicate that up to 25% of women and men experienced domestic violence after the age of 15 (Fidelfiadelova, Gerbery and Vittek, 2017).

**Table 15: Proposed indicators for the *domestic and sexual violence and juvenile delinquency* area**

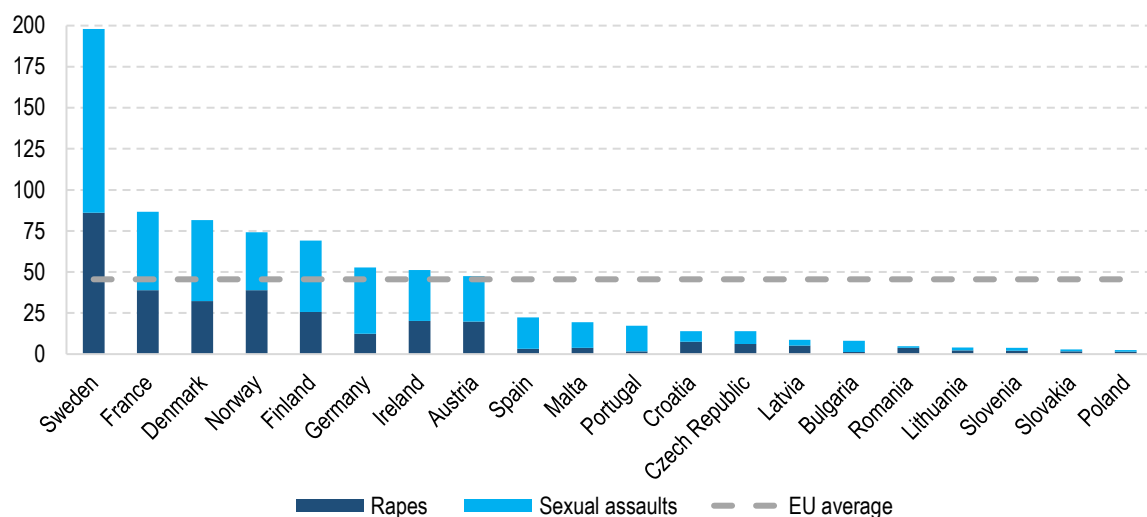
Indicator	Specification	Source
Victimisation rate	Percentage of respondents who answered that they had been a victim of domestic violence or sexual crime in the last 5 years	Public opinion survey
Speed of prosecution	Percentage of domestic violence offences with procedural action taken within 7 days	PF SR
Repeat offenders	Percentage of repeat offenders committing domestic and sexual violence	PF SR
Juvenile delinquency	Percentage of offences committed by juveniles	PF SR

Note: The full model public opinion survey questionnaire is set out in the Annex

Source: VIM Unit

**Slovakia is among the countries with the lowest rate of reporting sexual crime and domestic violence (Graph 46).** Victims of sexual crime and domestic violence often do not seek help, which significantly distorts the official statistics on these types of crime. According to a survey by Očenášová and Michalík (2017), almost 86% of women did not seek out any of the organisations or institutions that could help them. Victimisation rate data can capture the picture of the prevalence of these types of violence in Slovakia better than official statistics, which are influenced, among other things, by the stigmatisation of sexual violence in the society.

**Graph 46: Number of victims of rape and sexual assault per 100,000 of population (2020)**



Source: Eurostat

**The speed of procedural action and, also, the proportion of repeat offenders are particularly important for victims of domestic violence.** Many of the victims are afraid to report such cases for fear of the perpetrator's revenge, especially in cases where the perpetrator is a person with whom the victim was in a partner relationship (Očenášová, Michalík 2017). Swift action by the police and a reduction in the repeat offending rate can thus encourage victims to report the cases of this type of crime.



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## Abbreviations and acronyms

<b>Abbreviation/acronym</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
APF	Academy of the Police Force
COFOG	Classification of the Functions of Government
SC	Support Centres
RTS & TR	Road Traffic Safety and Traffic Registers
ESO	Effective, Reliable and Open Public Administration
EU	Member States of the European Union
EU 15	Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Austria, Portugal, Spain and Sweden
FRS	Fire and Rescue Service
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LPIS	Labour Price Information System (information on average earnings)
IT	Information Technology
ITF	International Transport Forum
RTI	Region Traffic Inspectorate
KPIs	Key Performance Indicators
RHPF	Region Headquarters of the Police Force
MF SR	Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic
LCPOS	Local Civic Public Order Service units
M&E	Material and Equipment
MI SR	Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic
NAKA	National Crime Agency
NDS	<i>Národná diaľničná spoločnosť, a. s.</i> (National Motorway Administrator)
DTI	District Traffic Inspectorate
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
CDPF	Circuit Departments of the Police Force
DHPF	District Headquarters of the Police Force
DAs	District Authorities
pp	Percentage point(s)
PO	Police officer
PPF	Presidium of the Police Force
PF	Police Force of the Slovak Republic
R <sup>2</sup>	Coefficient of determination
CMS	Crisis Management Section
SVS	Secondary Vocational School
COs	Criminal Offences
BBFP	Bureau of Border and Foreign Police
VfM Unit	Value for Money Unit
V3	Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland
V4	Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland

## Annex: Draft public opinion survey questionnaire

**1. What is your gender?**

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Other / I prefer not to answer

**2. What is your age?**

- a. 18-29
- b. 30-39
- c. 40-49
- d. 50-65
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer
- f. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**3. What is your highest level of education?**

- a. Basic
- b. Secondary without a school-leaving examination
- c. Secondary with a school-leaving examination
- d. Tertiary
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**4. In which region do you live permanently?**

- a. Banská Bystrica
- b. Bratislava
- c. Košice
- d. Nitra
- e. Prešov
- f. Trenčín
- g. Trnava
- h. Žilina
- i. I prefer not to answer

**5. What is the size of the municipality you live in?**

- a. Less than one thousand inhabitants
- b. Between 1,000 and 5,000 inhabitants
- c. Between 5,000 and 20,000 inhabitants
- d. Between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants
- e. More than 100,000 inhabitants
- f. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**6. Have you been the victim of a criminal offence in the last 12 months?**

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

[the following question applies only if the answer in 6 was "Yes"]

**7. What criminal offence?**

- a. Spontaneous response
- b. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**8. Have you been a victim of domestic or sexual violence in the last 5 years?**

- a. Yes
- b. No

c. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**9. Do you feel safe in Slovakia?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**10. Do you feel safe in your place of residence?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**11. Do you feel safe walking alone at night?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**12. Do you trust the police?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**13. Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in carrying out their essential duties?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**14. Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in detecting crime and misdemeanours?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**15. Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in protecting property and maintaining public order?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**16. Do you agree to the statement that the police are successful in ensuring traffic safety?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**17. Do you agree to the statement that the police have a fair and friendly approach to citizens?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

**18. Have you or a member of your family come into contact with the police during the last year?**

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know / I prefer not to answer

[the following question applies only if the answer in 18 was "Yes"]

**19. Were you or a member of your family satisfied with the police services based on this contact?**

- a. Definitely yes
- b. Rather yes
- c. Rather not
- d. Definitely not
- e. I don't know / I prefer not to answer