

COMMUNITY POLICING MODEL IN SKOPJE - FROM IDEA TO REALITY



Authors:
Kaltrina Selimi
Andreja Bogdanovski



Skopje 2015



www.analyticamk.org

Community Policing Model in Skopje - from idea to reality

Authors:

Kaltrina Selimi
Andreja Bogdanovski

Design:
Muhsin Guler

This report was developed by Research Fellows at Analytica think tank (www.analyticamk.org) as part of a research project supported by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, DCAF (www.dcaf.ch).

The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

Contents:

1. Introduction and methodology
2. Theorizing Community policing
3. Context of Community policing development in Macedonia
 - 3.1 Legal side of the community policing model
4. Stakeholders (in the making) of the community policing in Macedonia
 - 4.1 National Prevention Council
 - 4.2 OSCE's Mission to Skopje
 - 4.3 Ministry of Interior (Police) – Sector of Internal Affairs Skopje
 - 4.3.1 Safety Projects- Clubs for Prevention
 - 4.3.2 Centers for Prevention
 - 4.4 Local Prevention Councils
 - 4.5 Citizens Advisory Groups
 - 4.6 Tabular presentation of SWOT analysis of current community policing model in Skopje.
5. Case study- Municipality of Aerodrom, Gjorce Petrov and Cair
 - 5.1 Citizens' involvement in security issues
 - 5.2 Local safety
 - 5.3 Knowledge of local police
 - 5.4 Police work satisfaction
 - 5.5 Getting informed about local community issues
6. Conclusions and recommendations

List of abbreviations

CAGs – Citizens Advisory Groups

CSOs – Civil Society Organizations

EU – European Union

LPC – Local Prevention Councils

MoI – Ministry of Interior

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

O.G. – Official Gazette

OSCE - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

PS – Police Station

SoI Skopje – Sector of Interior Skopje

SOS Children Village – organization in Macedonia that offers support to children that have lost the possibility to live with their biological families.

SUMNAL – organization for development and association of the Roma community in Macedonia

UN – United Nations

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

1. Introduction and methodology

This policy paper evaluates the functionality of the community policing model in Macedonia's capital Skopje by analyzing the structure and the set-up of the community policing practiced in three municipalities: Aerodrom, Cair and Gjorce Petrov. Moreover, it incorporates views from the ground by relying on phone surveys, focus groups and personal interviews, answering the question to what extent community policing is developed in the city of Skopje.

More specifically, it endeavors to determine the scale to which the community policing model is developed. This involves identifying aspects such as: whether the police have embraced new management procedures; introduced training structures for community-oriented policing; adopted changes to the organizational structure of the police forces, and; to what extent police/community partnerships have been established. It also examines the methods and tools the police employ to approach the communities they serve.

The policy paper is divided in two parts: the first part looks into how the community policing in Skopje is organized, on what priorities the work of the police is focused on, who implements them, what works in practice and what does not. Additionally it critically analyzes the work of the implementing bodies (e.g. Local Prevention Councils) and how they contribute to community policing overall.

The second part assesses the community policing model in real terms through investigation which employs a 'bottom-up' approach. For this purpose we employ a case study method, where three municipalities in Skopje were chosen as a representative sample. One is with majority of the population being ethnic Macedonians (Aerodrom), one with an Albanian-majority population (Cair), and the third ethnically diverse (Gjorce Petrov). In regards to methodology, the first part of the research relies on information from state institutions and relevant stakeholders obtained through the use of the law on free access to public information, national and international reports on the police work of Macedonia, as well interviews and media articles. Additionally the methodology used for writing this policy paper includes open-source research, in-depth analysis and review of existing literature and reports.

In an effort to better understand the local attitudes of citizens living in these municipalities, an opinion poll by phone was conducted in all three municipalities and 180 questionnaires were divided equally amongst each municipality. Additionally, three focus groups were organized with participants from the aforementioned municipalities; each focus group had six participants, in which age and gender were equally represented. Answers from the surveys and focus groups were used to better portray how community policing is viewed from a citizen's point of view, with an attempt to identify some urgent needs and suggest new ways of developing further the community policing which would be directly sourced from the citizens. To further research the institutional work of these three municipalities, interviews with members from the local municipalities –including the Local Prevention Councils as well as the Sector for Internal Affairs Skopje within Macedonia's police – were conducted.

Additionally, crime statistics for the years 2012, 2013 and 2014 were cross-analyzed with the main findings from the opinion poll; the aim was to identify whether citizens' needs and concerns were adequately addressed through the current model of community policing in the city of Skopje and whether it manages to build an effective communication channel between citizens, government agencies, civil society and the police. The latter is especially relevant, as the concept of community policing emphasizes collaborative partnerships and organizational transformation for improved crime prevention and problem solving.¹

Furthermore a round table discussion was organized which gathered all relevant stakeholders responsible for community policing implementation in Skopje, with a specific emphasis on those from the three chosen case study municipalities. The round table was also attended by representatives from the OSCE office in Skopje, as well as academia representatives. To a large extent, the conclusions from the round table discussions confirmed our findings and highlighted new ideas for further improvement of the community policing model, stemming directly from the actors involved in the implementation. This is an added value of our paper, and it significantly contributed to the conclusions identified in the recommendations section of this paper.

Due to its applicability to the Macedonian context, community policing is understood as defined by the OSCE Mission to Skopje as “policing that actively involves the community in order to reduce, prevent, and detect crime”; it is a partnership between the police and the community to ensure that the police continually provide quality services to the public.²

1 “Community Policing Defined” –Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), U.S. Department of Justice, Washington DC, first published 2012, revised 2014

2 ‘Community Policing’, OSCE Lesson Plans, OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, in A. Dikici “Introducing Multi-Ethnic Policing in Macedonia: The Role of the OSCE”. Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika 3/10. p141.

2. Theorizing Community policing

Community policing as a concept could be ultimately seen as a policing philosophy. It emerged first and foremost from the need to change how policing was conducted; this was due to the failure of the traditional way of policing being characterized with centralized and bureaucratic organization, a formulation which was unable to address the challenges of today's society – including the growing distrust of the police.³

As a concept it has gained increasing relevance in the research community due to the changes it has delineated from a “centralized and bureaucratic model to a decentralized and open model”⁴ Trojanowicz and Carter provide probably one of the best definitions of community policing, which grasps all of its elements. They consider it to be a “philosophy and not a specific tactic; a proactive, decentralized approach designed to reduce crime, disorder and fear of crime, by involving the same officer in the same community on a long term basis”⁵

Academics in the last several decades, however, have been juggling with several semantic terms when describing the philosophy of community policing. The main competitor in the battle of words is the so called “problem oriented policing”, which can be seen as complementary to community policing but not necessarily fully replacing it. The involvement of citizens in the community policing model is seen as something of necessity, while for problem oriented policing it is not.⁶

Community policing has seen many changes throughout the years but it has simultaneously seen attempts to implement it in new areas and countries that have not necessarily had previous experience with it. This has been especially evident in countries from Central and Eastern Europe as well as the African continent. Yet, there is no single definition or template about how community policing should look. Throughout the world community policing has its own implementational specifics, meaning that the Anglo-Saxon way of doing it differs from the American or continental Europe.

Many authors portray community policing as a western-led process to export it as a ready-made product. Mike Brogden and Preeti Nijhar explain this by saying that “community policing is important... because it is a key component of an export drive from the West in the development of new policing structures in transitional societies...”⁷

Moreover, the export of community policing as a philosophy and as reform process is now becoming embedded to a large extent in the work of international organizations such as the UN, OSCE, EU etc. This is also applicable to Macedonia, where originally community policing as a concept was introduced by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in the aftermath of the 2001 Armed Conflict.

3 Liou, Kuotsai Tom, and Eugene G. Savage. “Citizen Perception of Community Policing Impact.” *Public Administration Quarterly* Vol. 20, No. 2 (1996): 163.

4 *ibid.* 164

5 Trojanowicz Robert C. and D. Carter (1988). “The philosophy and role of community policing”. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

6 Michael D. Reisig. “Community and Problem-Oriented Policing.” *Crime and Justice* Vol. 39, No. 1 (2010): 9

7 Mike Brogden and Preeti Nijhar (2013). “Community Policing National and International Models and approaches” Routledge p2 [p2A&sig=ANxTF1ku6RPuUiiO8eoGH8YjjNE&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](#) pg2

As such, community policing has a special role to play in failed, transitional and post conflict societies, where the police is undergoing major changes in order to become more receptive to the needs of the locals. Zieger and Neild (2002) cited in M. Brogden and P. Nijhar (2013: 4) see the establishment of democratic policing as the foundation of the security and stability necessary for the consolidation of democracy and for a fertile environment for economic development.⁸

3. Context of Community policing development in Macedonia

The concept of community policing in Macedonia is closely associated with the thorough changes of Macedonia's political and institutional landscape stemming from the adoption of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, a comprehensive power-sharing agreement which ended the internal armed conflict in Macedonia in 2001.

Apart from the cessation of hostilities, it also initiated a wide range of reforms across various societal segments, including Macedonia's security sector. The aftermath of 2001 and the Ohrid Agreement laid down the foundation for more ethnically sensitive governance and institutions, including ethnically reflective employment in police forces that were supposed to better represent and address the needs of all communities living in Macedonia. Additionally one of the main components of this agreement was municipal decentralization benefiting all communities equally.

Taking into account the fragile post-conflict situation and the efforts for more equitable representation of non-majority communities, Macedonia's security sector- particularly the police, in the years after the conflict –was at the center of attention. Hence, in the early 2000s there was an impetus for the police to gain back the trust and respect of locals; this translated into a comprehensive reform process, which included an increased visibility of the police and ethnically-mixed patrolling.

More diverse police forces are thought to have greater impact on improving inter-ethnic relations, as well as gaining mutual trust between the citizens and the police, leading to enhanced cooperation.⁹ The need of mixed police units which correspond to the demographics of certain regions in Macedonia further opened the path to embrace community policing as a concept. It should also be seen as a reflection of the local communities they serve in an effort to achieve optimal performance.

Moreover, community policing can help create an early warning system, which may result in a higher reporting rate of crimes. The citizen involvement and participation on preventative projects and campaigns, can contribute to safer neighborhoods and to an overall culture of safety. The gradual decentralization of police competences to the local level is reflective of the effort to bridge the gap between the police and the local communities.¹⁰

⁸ ibid.4

⁹ Policing a Multicultural Community - H I DeGeneste ; J P Sullivan, Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) NW, 1997

¹⁰ C. Koneska "Macedonia: Context Analysis of the Security Sector Reform in Macedonia 1991-2008"

http://analyticamk.org/images/stories/files/cassrm_mk.pdf; pg.19, Skopje, 2011

3.1 Legal side of the community policing model

Community policing does not have specially designated place in Macedonia's primary legislation. Most of the written text regulating community policing is dispersed throughout various strategies and documents.

For example, the Law on Police¹¹ - adopted in 2006 –standardizes community policing with Article 11 (without using specifically the term community policing), which obliges the police to work with citizens, associations and other legal entities, to cooperate with the authorities of all municipalities particularly that of Skopje in order to improve safety and to prevent and detect crimes and misdemeanors. The Law on Police obliges the police to cooperate with the community, but does not make distinction between traditional policing and community policing. This article of the law serves as a base so the police institutions could further develop a community policing model.

Having sporadic interventions in the legislative segment makes the implementation of community policing rather difficult. The lack of clear legal provisions especially in the segment covering the relationship between the police and the local municipalities on community policing matters provides, on one hand, flexibility to the local municipalities but on the other makes it very arbitrary for local authorities on how to engage with police on matters affecting local safety and security. Separate budget lines in the local municipalities' budgets designated for the purpose of developing the community policing in Macedonia are also missing, which further complicates the implementation of the concept.

There have been attempts to address this issue by adopting guidelines for regulating the methods and means of preventive work by the Ministry of Interior in 2013. The effort was to define the role of the Local Prevention Councils (LPC) into the areas of: coordination of local communities; detecting concerns regarding security; defining policy of work and building strategies for solving local problems, and; joint actions and working plans with the police on specific solutions.¹²

This further goes into defining specific tasks to be taken by LPC. This includes: the collection of complaints, requests and demands by the local population; exchange of information with all members who have access to certain confidential information; analysis of the impact of the designated problems; assessing the needs and defining policy of work, evaluating achieved results periodically and, when necessary, re-adapt the action plans, evaluate final results etc.

In spite of this, during our research activities, we could not identify any published work by the Local Prevention Councils that would address the aforementioned tasks.

11 Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia No.114 / 2006, amendments on, Official Gazette no. 145/2012 and the Official Gazette no. 41/2014

12 Guidelines for regulating the methods and means of preventive work, as well planning and registering preventive activities, Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, February 2013

4. Stakeholders (in the making) of the community policing in Macedonia

Even though community policing is not formally stipulated in primary legislation (e.g. Law on Police or Rules of Procedures), the way in which it is exercised (including the city of Skopje) has shown to be done through several main points of entry. These include: National Prevention Council, Ministry of Internal Affairs (Sector for Internal Affairs), Local Prevention Councils, Citizens Advisory Groups and Centers for Prevention. As well implementing various safety projects such as “Clubs for Prevention”. Some tend to show better results than others. For example, even though they are confronted with many challenges, the Local Prevention Councils show better results than the National Prevention Council. While there are workable mechanisms envisaged with the introduction of community policing in Skopje, they are not yet fully recognized by the citizens. Therefore, there is need for more campaigning on the existence of the current mechanisms, whilst working towards institutionalization and standardization of community policing overall.¹³

4.1. National Prevention Council

The National Prevention Council is the main coordinating body that sets the national priorities and ensures proper implementation of the concept of community policing in Macedonia. It was established for the first time in 2008¹⁴ and its members are high level officials such as the Prime Minister, Minister of Interior, Minister of Justice, Minister of Transport and Communications, Minister of Education, Minister of Health, Minister of Finance and the Minister for Local Government. In the absence of the Prime Minister, the National Prevention Council is chaired by the Minister of Interior. According to legal documents, the decision for establishment of this body allows Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) also to take part in its activities.

Although they are obliged to meet at least twice a year¹⁵, there is no publicly available information on the actual frequency of meetings and the agenda. Taking into account that in the last several years there has been an increase in communal violence in Skopje which often times had the potential to inflame inter-ethnic tensions, having no information about the activities of this body questions its purposefulness. Some of the participants of the round table discussion expressed their concerns that this council is not fully functional in practice.

13 Finding from a roundtable discussion held on 22 June 2015

14 Ministry of Interior, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr 110/14

15 Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia No.133 / 2008

4.2 OSCE's Mission to Skopje

OSCE Mission to Skopje has been one of the most important actors in regards to pioneering the idea and establishment of community policing in Macedonia, including the city of Skopje. Much of the OSCE's current mandate stems from the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in 2001, hence implementation of range of confidence building measures¹⁶ such as:

- Redeployment of the police to former crisis areas;
- Police reform and training, including training of new police officers from non-majority ethnic communities;
- Strengthening the institutions of local self-government;
- Providing assistance and implementing projects in the areas of rule of law and media development;
- Ensuring equitable representation of non-majority communities in police, judiciary, public administration, military, media and public enterprises; and
- Continuing efforts on projects to improve inter-ethnic relations, including in the field of education.

Here one can see the core idea for the establishment of community policing structures as part of the wider police reform strategy in Macedonia. The community policing idea was first presented to the Ministry of Interior as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs back in November 2001.¹⁷ The OSCE mission to Skopje started the initial preparations shortly after the end of the conflict and did not rush to push for its implementation, but rather implemented it through developing a two-pillar approach in a span of ten years. The first one is OSCE's work with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, while the second can be seen in the cooperation with the local municipalities related to community policing. It took the OSCE less than a decade to reach the core of community policing with the promotion and establishment of local prevention councils and citizens advisory groups.

In the first several years dealing with training and implementation, the OSCE focused on training MoI officials in the underlying community policing philosophy in order to ensure that it was embedded in the MoI's work ethos.¹⁸ One of the biggest achievements of the OSCE when it comes to community policing can be seen through the establishment of prevention inspectors as part of the Ministry of Interior/police structure, something that did not exist before and is related directly to community policing affairs.¹⁹ Much of the support provided by the OSCE comprised of providing training, working on incorporating these structures within the MoI through supporting the systematization of these new positions, bringing know-how, budgetary support etc.²⁰

16 OSCE, OSCE Factsheet - Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, <http://www.osce.org/files/documents/b/3/14317.pdf>. p2

17 Interview with a representative from the OSCE mission to Skopje, 15 July 2015

18 Interview with a representative from the OSCE mission to Skopje, 15 July 2015

19 *ibid.*

20 *ibid.*

Efforts were also undertaken at the local level; this included the introduction of local prevention councils and citizens advisory groups, which are at the heart of the community policing model. However, there has been a mixed track record when one looks at the performance of these structures, as some of these are still not fully sustainable.²¹ One of the main challenges the OSCE was facing in pushing this reform is the impact local elections have in the performance of these structures due to politicization. In other words, some municipalities would start from a scratch in setting up new local prevention councils due to the election results which would take away the institutional knowledge from the previous set up and drag the entire process.²²

Since 2013 the OSCE has ceased support to the local prevention councils as well as the citizens' advisory groups. Achieving a sufficient level of self-sustainability – especially in the segment of cooperation with the Ministry of Interior (pillar one) – is the main reason that the mission to Skopje is in the process of phasing out from active support to community policing work in Macedonia. Even though the OSCE is stopping the formal support, it will still be engaged in community policing activities indirectly, through the other police reform programs.²³

4.3 Ministry of Interior (Police) – Sector of Internal Affairs Skopje

The Ministry of Interior – through its Sector for Internal Affairs – is undoubtedly one of the most important factors responsible for the development and implementation of the concept of community policing. One of the reasons for such an assumption can be taken from the fact that the local municipalities still do not have specially designated budgets for the purpose of community policing, while the Ministry of Interior has both the financial and logistical means to work in this area.

The Department for Prevention is an organizational unit within the Sector for Internal Affairs that assumes a major role when it comes to community policing. In fact, every police station in Skopje employs a prevention inspector who coordinates the activities with the Department for Prevention and municipalities.

The work of the Department for Prevention mainly consists of developing annual strategies for prevention and the organization of awareness raising activities. The annual strategy for prevention takes into consideration the crime reports produced by the Department for Analytics within the Sector of Internal Affairs. This way, the authorities are better able to address potential risks and undertake preventive measures in sufficient time; it also sets measures for early detection of security risks and develops priorities for prevention departments within the Sectors of Interior in the whole region of Macedonia.

The local municipality chooses/appoints the Commander of the local police station at their municipality. Every six months, or more frequently if necessary, the local police station's Commander reports to the mayor and the elected municipality representatives where the police unit operates. This way, they can draw conclusions together and prepare working

21 ibid.

22 ibid.

23 ibid.

plans for prevention of crime. The members of the municipal council, together with the mayor, then vote on the biannual police report giving recommendations to the police about the priority areas where they need to focus over the next six months. There is, however, neither enough information about the rate of implementation of these recommendations by the police, nor are these reports available for public consumption on the municipalities' websites.

The Sector for Internal Affairs also organizes different campaigns in all existing social clubs throughout Skopje – such as clubs of pensioners – in order to raise awareness of how elderly people protect themselves from attacks and robberies, as there are an increased number of attacks to older people in the early morning hours. Other campaigns include activities for raising awareness on how to prevent robberies of flats, theft of motor vehicles etc. The campaigns are conducted in cooperation with the local government in order to instruct citizens on how to protect themselves and how to be cautious. In the summer period, campaigns are dedicated to topics such as fire prevention, while during winter holidays, the campaigns focus on the unsafe use of pyrotechnics, or safe driving etc.

Aside from strategy developments and preventive campaigns, the Sector for Internal Affairs Skopje is also responsible for training police officers in the area of prevention. The training sessions usually last 1-2 days and in 2013 and 2014 this initiative trained 200 police officers.²⁴ However, the strategic plan for 2013-2015 on enhancing cooperation and trust between the police and the citizens was designated as a classified document. Any level of classification for such a document – and especially one directly aimed at the citizens as its end users – could be seen as problematic, mainly because citizens and other stakeholders directly involved in the community policing would only benefit from having those documents available for public consumption.

Priorities for the Department for Prevention, SoI Skopje for 2015 ²⁵:
- Prevention of heavy robberies
- Fighting drug trafficking
- Prevention of drug addiction
- Prevention of all forms of violation of public order and peace followed with violence
- Prevention of juvenile delinquency and sociopath behavior among youth

The Community policing model used in Skopje would also benefit a lot from streamlining the cooperation and relationship between the local municipalities' administration and the Ministry of Interior in terms of competences and resources, which at this point is treated with significant flexibility. The segmented approach creates obstacles for the channels

²⁴ Ministry of Interior, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr. 139/14

²⁵ Interview with Risto Jovanovski, inspector in the Department for Prevention of Sector of Interior Skopje, conducted on March 2015

citizens can use in working alongside the police in making their communities safer; a more concentrated approach would also bring more efficient use of the limited resources.

According to the round table participants, one major concern that obstructs the work of the Local Prevention Councils is the lack of clear working procedures and action plans/strategies from the Sector for Internal Control Skopje or the Ministry of Internal Affairs vis-à-vis community policing and local municipalities. There is a lack of vision on how to further develop these councils and how to capture the community needs effectively.²⁶

Yet, streamlining does not necessarily mean unification of community policing around the city of Skopje. What is needed in Gjorce Petrov might not be needed in Aerodrom or Cair, and vice versa; for that reason, community policing should be customized according to the needs of the communities.²⁷ It should be seen more as a strategy to resolve local safety questions and as well less serious crime offences or could be used for information gathering among local communities.

4.3.1. Safety Projects - Clubs for Prevention

An example of an initiative that brings the police closer to the youth demographic is the “School Safety” a project, implemented in partnership between the Ministry of Interior (Department for Prevention) and the OSCE Mission to Skopje. The project was initiated in 2011/2012 in several high schools and was continued after successful evaluation.²⁸ Although the main aim of the project was improving security in schools and decreasing juvenile delinquency, by default the nature of the project’s activities bring the police closer to the younger population.

SoI’s’ Department for Prevention developed project plans and organized activities that focused on high-risk youth who had a greater chance of falling under bad influences. These project plans were developed based on previous crime reports and analytics collected from the Department for Analytics, within the SoI.²⁹ The main target groups are the primary and secondary schools in Skopje and the main activities include establishing prevention clubs in order to conduct workshops on topics such as: human rights; the role of the police in a democratic society; violence in sport etc.³⁰ Besides students, the working groups also involve local NGOs and international organizations such as SOS Children Village, SUMNAL, USAID, OSCE.³¹

The working groups at the Clubs for Prevention are composed from professional educators, representatives from the Parents’ Council, a representative from the Department of Education in the City of Skopje, as well as municipality officials appointed representing the education sector.

26 Finding from a roundtable discussion held on 22 June 2015

27 Finding from a roundtable discussion held on 22 June 2015

28 OSCE Skopje: OSCE Mission to Skopje to extend School Safety Project, available at: <http://www.osce.org/skopje/94516> last accesses 04.06.2015

29 Interview with Risto Jovanovski, inspector in the Department for Prevention of Sector of Interior Skopje, conducted in March 2015

30 Ministry of Interior: Project School Safety, available at: <http://www.mvr.gov.mk/vest/35>, last accessed 04.06.2015

31 Ibid

These groups prepare the working plans, coordinate activities at school for monitoring potential misconduct of individuals or groups in schools, in an effort to prevent early delinquency.³² Meetings of these groups are monthly during the school year; aside from the aforementioned attendees, the meetings are also attended by teachers, the Prevention Inspector – who is a police officer – and the inspector for juvenile delinquency, in coordination with the Department of Prevention Soli Skopje.

However, only selected schools within several municipalities are part of this project. For example, from the three case study municipalities, only the municipality of Aerodrom has such prevention clubs.³³ In Gjorce Petrov and Cair, clubs for prevention have not yet been formed and as such meetings between the police and the pupils occur only when certain campaigns dedicated to them are implemented; however, there are no regularly-scheduled interactions.³⁴ The opinion polls and focus groups conducted in these three municipalities showed that juvenile delinquency is identified as a safety problem among the citizens only in the municipality of Aerodrom; thus, the decision to establish prevention clubs in the schools of Aerodrom could be understood as incidental responses to situational needs rather than systematic implementation.³⁵ However, this shouldn't exclude the other two municipalities of Cair and Gjorce Petrov who – for the past two years – have been subject of violent clashes³⁶ between the police and the population which largely involve the youth of these communities.

4.3.2. Centers for Prevention

Another method for crime prevention and creating greater ties between citizens and the police is the introduction of Centers for Prevention in municipalities and local urban and rural communities. The first such center has been established in the Municipality of Gazi Baba (Madzari) in October 2014 and the rural area of this municipality also received such a center in April 2015.³⁷ The Ministry of Interior has also opened a Center for Prevention in Gjorce Petrov. This Centre for Prevention is located in Gjorce Petrov's centre for culture, and it organizes two meetings a month with citizens to discuss a wide array of topics, ranging from domestic violence to addiction. Once a week, citizens have an "open day" at the centre where they can schedule an individual meeting with a local police officer.³⁸

The relevance of these centers is that they provide citizens an opportunity to discuss security

32 Interview with Risto Jovanovski, Soli Skopje.

33 Ibid

34 Interview with Sabit Shabani, member of Council of Municipality of Cair, conducted on 7 May, 2015 Skopje, and Interview with member of Local Prevention Council of Gjorce Petrov in March, 2015.

35 Telephone survey, at Municipality of Aerodrom 60 people were interviewed, at the question what do they see as the biggest problem to their safety in the area they live, 5 % choose youth delinquency as one of the problems they face.

36 Albanian protests continue in Macedonia, Top Channel, 11.07.2014 - <http://www.top-channel.tv/english/artikull.php?id=12286>; Macedonian Police Action in Ethnic Riots Queried – Balkan Insight, 23.05.2014 - <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/skopje-calm-after-ethnic-riots-over-murder>

37 Based in the local community Stajkovci

38 Interview with Risto Jovanovski, inspector in the Department for Prevention of Sector of Interior Skopje, conducted on March 2015

problems with the police specifically concerning their neighborhood or their local unit, without the need to address everything on a municipal level. This is particularly helpful to the rural areas, such as villages that fall under Municipality of Gjorce Petrov but territorially are not so near the municipal building; as such, they are afforded the opportunity to address issues that are only specific to their rural area.³⁹

Although these centers have been established, there is a lack of situational awareness at a local level. As we have gleaned from our opinion pool and focus group, it is not clear how these centers attract visits from citizens. The concept of police-citizen cooperation and engagement is not widely known, and the role of police is still perceived by citizens as being traditional – that is, only within the scope of law enforcement.

4.4. Local Prevention Councils

The idea for establishing Local Prevention Councils originates from OSCE's involvement in the community policing program in Macedonia. It was first introduced in 2007 with the aim to provide wider institutional and citizen-backed support of the community policing model.⁴⁰

The Local Prevention Councils – together with the Citizens' Advisory Groups – are probably the closest form of community policing institutionalization in Macedonia. The highly-structured approaches, especially when it comes to the Local Prevention Councils, have followed a model which provides a sound platform for discussion of topics relevant to local safety issues. These would usually consist of members of the local municipality council, local police and – depending on the topic of discussion – members from various ministries like Ministry of Education or Labor and Social Affairs. The mayor is the chairman and all ministry representatives in the council must cooperate with him at local level.⁴¹ There is no minimum quota when it comes to the number of meetings that should be conducted. However, due to a variety of reasons to be discussed below, this can be problematic as some Local Prevention Councils do not actually meet, while others – like in the case of Gjorce Petrov – have established a track record of meeting twice a year. Additionally, in the case of Gjorce Petrov there are times when civil society organizations are also invited to the meeting which is something that needs to become practice rather than exception.

In the period of 2010-2014, according to the Ministry of Interior Local Prevention Councils were formed in all municipalities in Skopje⁴², and in 2013 after the local elections MoI initiated a restart of the local councils for prevention with the newly municipal members.⁴³ Having the relationship between the Ministry of Interior and the Local Municipalities unregulated with clear mandates creates confusion in this area. For example according to the Ministry of Interior members of the Local Prevention Councils are elected after every

39 Interview with member of Local Prevention Council of Municipality of Gjorce Petrov conducted in March, 2015.

40 Interview with a representative from the OSCE mission to Skopje, 15 July 2015

41 The basics of preventive policing, Rozalita Dojcinovska, Department for Prevention, SOI Skopje, 2013

42 Ministry of Interior, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr. 117/14

43 Ministry of Interior, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr. 108/14

election cycle- whereas the municipality of Cair conducts an election on an annual basis. However, the municipality of Gjorce Petrov does not suffer from major political shifts due to the consecutive mandates of the current mayor and the wide support he currently enjoys among the public.

There is visible inconsistency in the answers we have received about whether municipalities have established Local Prevention Councils. While the Ministry of Interior responded that all of the municipalities in the City of Skopje have established Local Prevention Councils, this did not correspond with the answers from the Municipality of Aerodrom, which signaled that they have yet to form such a council.⁴⁴

There has been, however, a willingness in the Municipality of Aerodrom to form a Council according to a local municipality employee. He even described the cooperation of the municipality with the police as very high. That being said, it remains unclear why the Municipality has not been engaged more actively in establishing a Council despite the fact that no major obstacles have been identified.⁴⁵

The Municipality of Aerodrom has also developed additional tools⁴⁶ that allow citizens to submit their complaints with a guaranteed 48-hour response and resolution time.⁴⁷ Some of the complaints they receive refer to communal problems like damaged street lighting, which indirectly can also be seen from a security perspective.

Conversely, the Municipality of Cair has formed a Local Prevention Council and has fourteen members coming from different areas of expertise, such as education, sports, health, culture, media, and the fire department, as well as members from the municipality council and the local police station.

In regards to the frequency of meetings, the Local Prevention Councils in Cair on average meet 2-3 times a year, in which security matters are generally the most prominent on the agenda.⁴⁸ However, such meetings occurring in Gjorce Petrov have been identified as the most effective, as concrete measures for improvement have been adopted after every meeting. The Local Prevention Council in Gjorce Petrov has ten members covering areas of education, sports and health, and the other members are the commander of the local police station, the commander of the local fire department, a representative from public prosecutor's office and as well the Mayor of Gjorce Petrov.⁴⁹ These are not permanent positions; they fluctuate, depending of the security challenges being discussed at the particular meeting.

The Local Prevention Council in the Municipality of Gjorce Petrov for 2010 met twice, three

44 Email response of a request for meeting with members from the Local Prevention Council of Municipality of Aerodrom, Skopje; received on 17.12.2014.

45 Finding from a roundtable discussion held on 22 June 2015

46 The tool is online platform where citizens could fill anonymous complaint if they choose to, at the following link <http://service.aerodrom.gov.mk/>

47 Interview with Marjan Kelemen, local economic development officer at municipality of Aerodrom, conducted in June 2015.

48 Interview with Sabit Shabani, member of Council of Municipality of Cair, conducted on 7 May, 2015 Skopje

49 Municipality of Gjorce Petrov, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr. 10-09/1

times in 2011, twice in both 2012 and 2013, and only once in 2014.⁵⁰ As for the Municipality of Cair, in 2014 they met just once. According to the interviews with two members from the Local Prevention Council, one said that in 2014 the council held 3 meetings⁵¹ while the second one said that he did not have any information whether the council met in 2014 because he was not informed or invited to any of those meetings. According to the second member of the Council, the reason might be that some of the members that are not politically affiliated with the mayor's party are left out from these meetings on purpose, and subsequently kept uninformed about the Local Prevention Council's work.⁵²

The lack of having clear regulation of the work of the LPCs could be contributing to this confusion. Some of the councils have adopted practice on inviting members only to those meetings when their field of expertise is needed, while others invite all the members regardless of the subject of discussions.⁵³

It is very rare for Local Prevention Councils to meet with other councils even though some security concerns frequently affect areas of two municipalities. The Municipality of Gjorce Petrov and its Local Prevention Council for example met several times with that of the Municipality of Saraj; this can be seen as a good practice, encouraging others to do the same.

Municipalities	Frequency of meetings				
Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Gjorce Petrov	2	3	2	2	1
Cair	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Aerodrom	/	/	/	/	/

Table no.1 Frequency of meetings of Local Prevention Councils in Gjorce Petrov, Cair and Aerodrom

The infrequent meetings of the local prevention councils show that these councils cannot be seen as active bodies for addressing security issues on a local level. At the moment, in their current state they can be seen more as advisory groups on the municipal level who could be used for analyzing local crime reports, discuss emergency security issues that might arise, suggest and identify areas that need more attention from the police.

In addition to this, the opinion polling has shown worrying results that the citizens of the selected municipalities are not aware of the existence of such bodies. Only 11.7 % have heard about the Local Prevention Councils, with 6.7% in Aerodrom, 10% in Cair, and 18.3% in Gjorce Petrov respectively. This follows the reality that the Municipality of

50 Municipality of Gjorce Petrov, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr. 10-11/1

51 Email interview with member coming from education area of the Local Prevention Council of Municipality of Cair, interview conducted on 01.04.2015

52 Phone interview with member from the Local Council for Prevention of Municipality of Cair, conducted on February, 2015.

53 Finding from a roundtable discussion held on 22 June 2015

Aerodrom does not have Local Prevention Councils while Gjorce Petrov's Local Prevention Council is recognized as the most active council among these three analyzed. These results were confirmed by the focus groups where the participants were not familiar with these bodies. Even amongst those who had heard of the term, there was little knowledge about its meaning or significance. Such a result may indicate that the local authorities in conjunction with the Ministry of Internal Affairs need to rethink the functioning of these structures and, most importantly, make them close and transparent to their constituents.

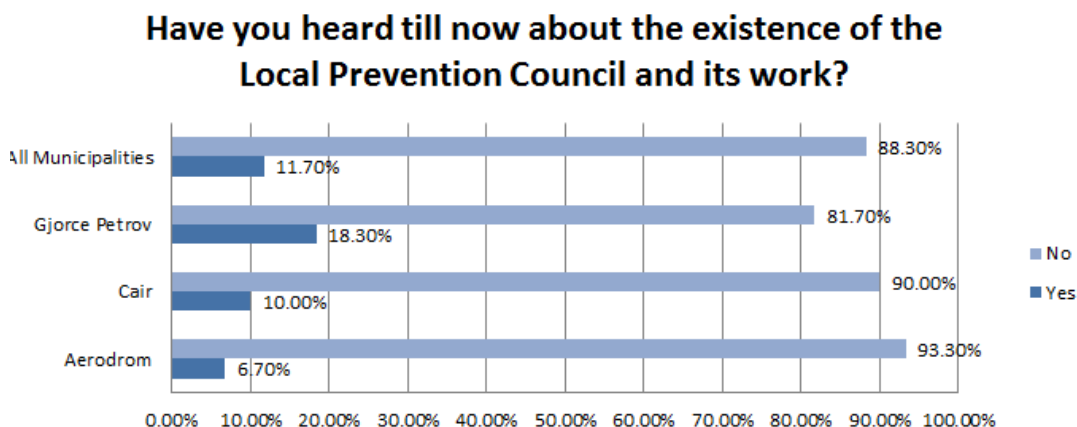


Figure 1. Familiarity with Local Prevention Councils

4.5. Citizens Advisory Groups

The concept of Citizens Advisory Groups was introduced in Macedonia for the first time through a working conference on community policing held in May 2002, organized by the Development Unit of the Police, OSCE.⁵⁴ These groups form on voluntary basis, on citizens' initiatives that share common concerns to their safety. They are composed of both police and citizens, which allows citizens to ask questions that concern them to qualified representatives who are able to give answers, and work together towards resolving local safety needs.

Citizens Advisory Groups are a form of cooperation that allow citizens and police to work together to find solutions based on open lines of communication. This takes the form of regular meetings with citizens and 'open days' for discussions on security matters held at either municipal offices or police stations. The effort here is to improve trust between both bodies, and to establish a proactive relationship. Taking into account the low frequency of meetings of the Local Prevention Councils of the municipalities, the Citizens Advisory Groups are considered to serve as a direct link between the police, municipalities and the citizens to discuss local safety issues.

⁵⁴ The basics of preventive policing, Rozalita Dojcinovska, Department for Prevention, SOI Skopje, 2013

These groups of citizens are envisaged to meet regularly with police officers from the local stations to discuss issues of common interest and seek solutions to local problems and to discuss topics such as: traffic safety, crime, public order and peace, helping and supporting victims and vulnerable groups etc. They should be located in all municipalities of the City of Skopje – official data from the Ministry of Interior identifies that the Department for Prevention has formed 68 Citizens Advisory Groups in the City of Skopje during the 2010 – 2014 period.⁵⁵ However, this mechanism of community policing is not legally regulated, which brings confusion amongst both the citizens and the authorities. Even if there is interest in engagement by citizens in such activities, there is a lack of understanding on how to proceed. For instance, 85% of the citizens that participated in Analytica's opinion poll and 100% of focus group⁵⁶ participants were not even familiar with this opportunity (See Fig.2 below). Therefore, there is a need of awareness-raising activities which would contribute significantly in educating the public on different mechanisms which they can use to address certain questions affecting their personal/community security.

The lack of legislative consideration also affects how the Citizens Advisory Groups are established and operating, ultimately affecting the core idea behind their existence. For example, the Municipality of Gjorce Petrov responded that there are Citizens Advisory Groups across the entire municipality, which is something that provides great coverage and easy access to platforms for discussing local safety issues. Because of its vast territory, the municipality of Gjorce Petrov stretches also to more rural areas; that is why this Municipality has decided to utilize the already existing structures called Rural/Urban Neighborhood Communities (Macedonian: Mesna/Urban zaednica) spread across the municipalities and establish Citizens Advisory Groups.

Functionally, the Citizens Advisory Groups are now embedded within these Rural/Urban Neighborhood Communities' daily activities.⁵⁷ The logic behind this arrangement was to facilitate ease of functionality, and to ensure that local safety problems were addressed at a local level by a local body, rather than at a broader municipal level. As one official articulated: "why bother representatives from one part of the municipality with local safety problems of another part of the municipality?"⁵⁸ Yet, the idea behind the citizens' advisory groups is to have more of a bottom - up approach, instead of top-down. In other words, the ideal manifestation of an Citizens Advisory Group would be one formed of citizens living in smaller area (several streets) who are affected by local safety issues and who would liaise with the local police and municipality in conducting activities for raising the awareness about different sorts of crimes, and/or urge authorities to pay special attention to particular areas of neighborhood.

55 Ministry of Interior, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2014, request nr. 109/14

56 From the three focus groups discussions in the municipalities of Cair, Aerodrom and Gjorce Petrov; January 2015, Skopje

57 Interview with Official from Municipality of Gjorce Petrov, interview conducted on 08.04.2015

58 *ibid.*

Are you familiar with the opportunity of forming Advisory Citizens Groups, who would have the opportunity to discuss on security related issues?

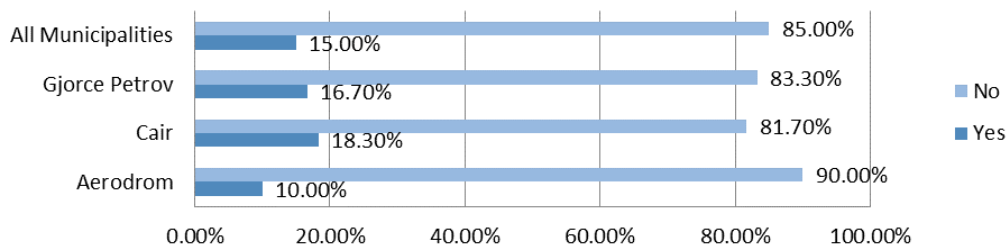


Figure 2. Familiarity with Citizens Advisory Groups

4.6 Tabular presentation of SWOT analysis of community policing model in Skopje.

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory legal framework • Partnerships between police and communities established • Organizational transformation at advanced level • Sector of Interior Affairs Skopje actively involved • OSCE supporting community policing projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy for Preventive work of the police classified, action plans for preventive work of the police not available for analysis • No clear reporting requirements and time-frames • Infrequent meetings of LPC • Monitoring and reporting bodies inexistent • Lack of transparency which results in less inclusiveness • Lack of awareness among the population on existing mechanisms for addressing security concerns • Community policing model at some municipalities is more developed and active, while in others less
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of full potential of the established community partnerships • Higher rate of citizens involvement • Campaigning for rising awareness of existing community bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Delays in re-activating the Local Councils for Prevention • Sector of Internal Affairs not investing equally and proportionally on implementation of the community policing model in all municipalities

5. Case study- Municipality of Aerodrom, Gjorce Petrov and Cair

For the purpose of this assessment we have chosen to analyze and compare the findings from three municipalities in Skopje, those being Aerodrom, Cair and Gjorce Petrov. Although these three municipalities have similarities in regards to population size, they diverge in both density and area, as well as ethnic composition. For example, Cair and Aerodrom have both approximately around 70.000 inhabitants, but they differ in urban sprawl - Aerodrom spreads more than 20km²⁵⁹ while Cair is around 4km².⁶⁰ Likewise, Aerodrom is predominantly inhabited by ethnic Macedonians, whereas Cair constitutes an Albanian majority. Gjorce Petrov, comparatively, is a slightly smaller municipality with around 40.000 inhabitants, and its ethnic composition is slightly more diverse than that of Aerodrom, but it is still predominantly ethnic Macedonians.⁶¹

Moreover, when analyzing findings from the opinion poll and the focus groups in these three municipalities, one must also consider the activities conducted by the Sector for Internal Affairs in these neighborhoods. In line with this, in the municipality of Cair we could not identify the aforementioned safety-partnership groups between the police and the citizens that were seen in the other two municipalities, such as prevention clubs or centers, and no Citizens Advisory Groups were detected. Activities of SoI Skopje in the municipality of Cair could be identified in occasional prevention campaigns but nothing systematic is currently being implemented.

<i>Statistic crimes per year</i>	2012					2013					2014				
<i>Police station</i>	<i>Sol Skopje</i>	<i>PS Cair</i>	<i>PS Bit Pazar</i>	<i>PS Gjorce Petrov</i>	<i>PS Aerodrom</i>	<i>Sol Skopje</i>	<i>PS Cair</i>	<i>PS Bit Pazar</i>	<i>PS Gjorce Petrov</i>	<i>PS Aerodrom</i>	<i>Sol Skopje</i>	<i>PS Cair</i>	<i>PS Bit Pazar</i>	<i>PS Gjorce Petrov</i>	<i>PS Aerodrom</i>
<i>Total number of offences</i>	15857	1397	1692	1145	1633	16431	1519	1701	1295	2008	12503	1315	1353	1180	1283

Figure 3.

Nevertheless, when comparing the crime rates for 2014 in these three municipalities, the number of criminal offences that occur in the municipality of Cair are higher than the number of criminal offences of the other two municipalities summed together.⁶² The same could be recognized in the municipality of Gjorce Petrov where the crime rate is the lowest⁶³, and throughout the research this municipality was characterized as having the most active cooperation between the citizens, the police and the municipality.

59 Website of municipality of Aerodrom, general information : <http://www.aerodrom.gov.mk/portret-na-opshtinata.html>, Accessed on 03.06.2015

60 Website of municipality of Cair, geographic position: <http://cair.gov.mk/pozita.html> Accessed on 03.06.2015

61 Website of municipality of Gjorce Petrov, Demographics: http://www.opstinagpetrov.gov.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2352&Itemid=69 Accessed on 03.06.2015

62 Ministry of Interior, Information obtained by utilizing the Law on free access to public information in April 2015, request nr. 172/15

63 *ibid*.

5.1. Citizens' involvement in security issues

The analysis of citizens' involvement in community policing starts with the level of citizen engagement in security related issues concerning their local communities. Almost one quarter of the citizens polled answered that they engaged locally; it was rare to find citizens who participated in such community actions. Even when they answered positively, it was rare to find concrete examples of engagement. The numbers differ between age groups and it is evident that citizens that were older than 50 are more interested in these issues - 45.2 % answered that they engage in security-related issues within their community. In addition, half of those that answered "yes" have university education.

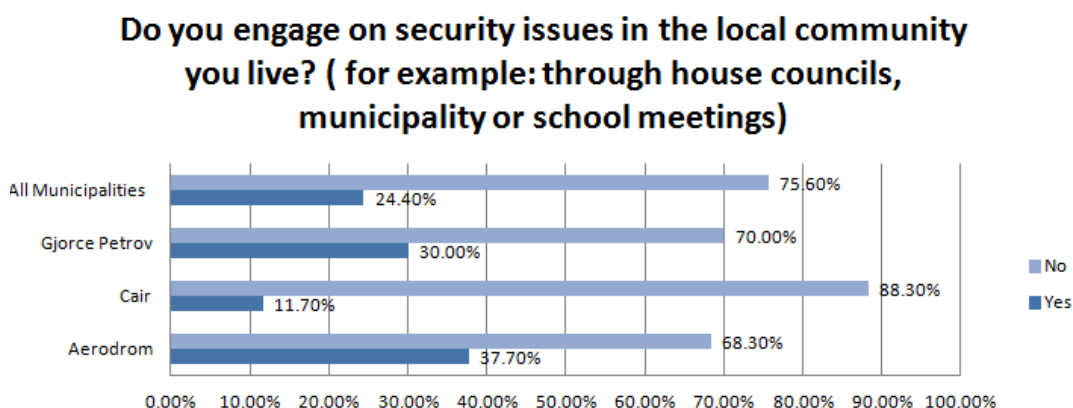


Figure 4.

During the focus groups, citizens criticized the lack of cooperation with neighbors and lack of desire to solve common problems in the immediate neighborhood, which discourages them to believe in successful joint actions. Moreover, there was a level of pessimism that, even if they initiate something, it would not provide results in terms of situational improvement. Local specifics were reflected in the discussions during the focus groups - citizens of Cair found better understanding with their neighbors as they had relatives and close friends among them. Still, there was no willingness for engagement. On the other side, the citizens of Aerodrom that mainly live in apartments practice a more individualistic lifestyle and were not satisfied, for example, by the functioning of the house councils. However, there have been recorded cases of successful initiatives in this municipality, such as joint reactions to combat increased air pollution. The level of engagement or willingness for engagement was the lowest in the Gjorce Petrov municipality. It is worth mentioning that confusion existed amongst those interviews regarding conceptualization – many thought that their engagement in security issues which concerned them would interfere in the work of the police, and many could not conceptualize how they could engage in such affairs as ordinary citizens.

Do you consider that you and your neighbours could improve the security in your neighbourhood?

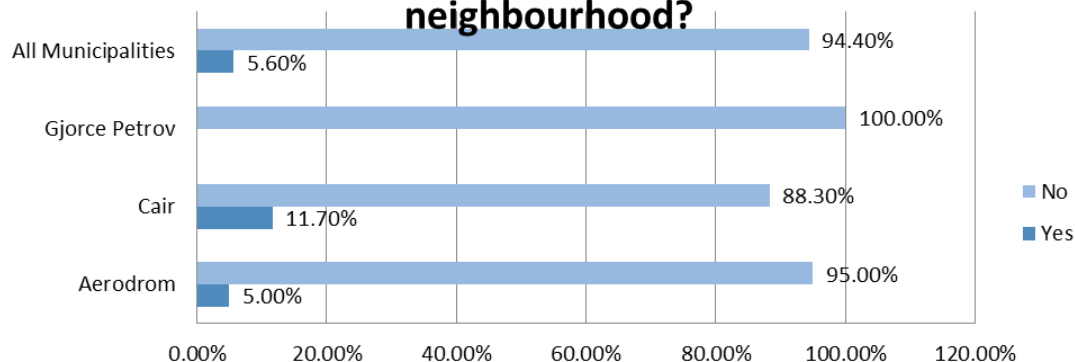


Figure 5.

After having discussed in detail with what kind of security risk they deal in their respective municipalities, to questions when citizen involvement is required we can still see that the majority of citizens do not see themselves taking up an active role. Most disconcerting are the results from Gjorce Petrov, in which 100% of those interviewed in the opinion poll articulated their disbelief that neighborly cooperation could improve security in their respective communities. Comments from the focus group explained the situation as “everyone complains, but no one supports initiatives” as well as “there is not solidarity among the people since they are too much politically polarized and one group doesn’t support the other, when they come from different political parties”.⁶⁴

Similarly from the focus group in Aerodrom, one of the participants suggested that citizen initiatives could be successful only if one of the local citizens knew influential people working in the municipality or in the police.⁶⁵

Cair’s focus group showed a lack of cooperation between neighbors hailing from different ethnics backgrounds. The comments were “we live together very good, but when we have to take joint initiatives don’t believe we could cooperate”, and one individual who lives in a large apartment complex stated that she does not know her neighbors enough to positively cooperate.

⁶⁴ From the focus group of Gjorce Petrov, that took part in January 2015, at Analytica’s office in Skopje.

⁶⁵ From the focus group of Aerodrom, that took part in January 2015, at Analytica’s office in Skopje.

Do you consider the municipality you live in has some kind of role in guaranteeing your safety?

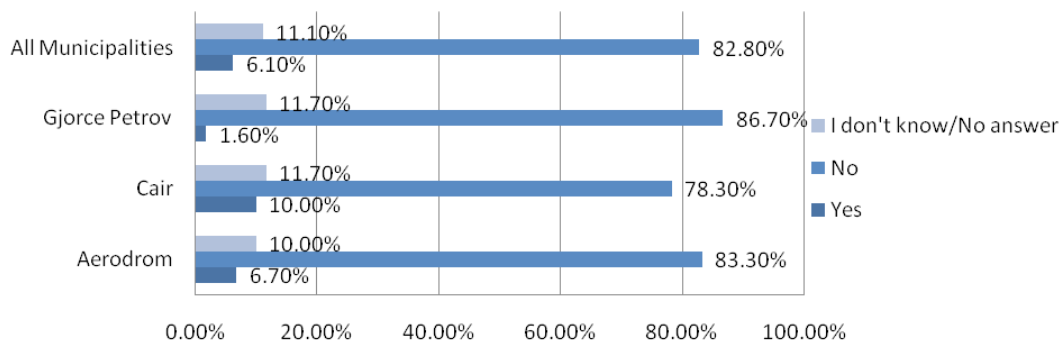


Figure 6.

An important question regarding the figure above is how citizens see the role of the municipality vis-à-vis local security. It is unclear whether their understanding of the municipality's role is limited only to that of a body responsible for improving infrastructural issues, or whether their perception is wider and they do indeed see it as a communication channel between the citizens and the police.

According to our findings from the opinion poll, most of the citizens expected their municipality to take action and have a role when non-human factor security threats exist, such as low lighting into the streets, not enough traffic signs, reckless drivers and stray dogs.

But when the threats were human-caused – such as robberies, attacks and other serious crime offences – they do not see the municipality to have any role in improving their security. This is seen exclusively as a law enforcement mandate.

Findings from the focus groups revealed a similar trend. However, most of them opined that the municipality could have a bigger role in guaranteeing safety. When informed that the commanders of the local police station in his municipality reports to the mayor biannually, one citizen in his thirties from Gjorce Petrov articulated that then the municipality must have some kind of role, but it should be more active in involving citizens more directly in this matter.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The participant from the focus group of Gjorce Petrov, was male in his 30s, with higher education; the group discussion took part in January 2015, at Analytica's office in Skopje.

5.2 Local safety

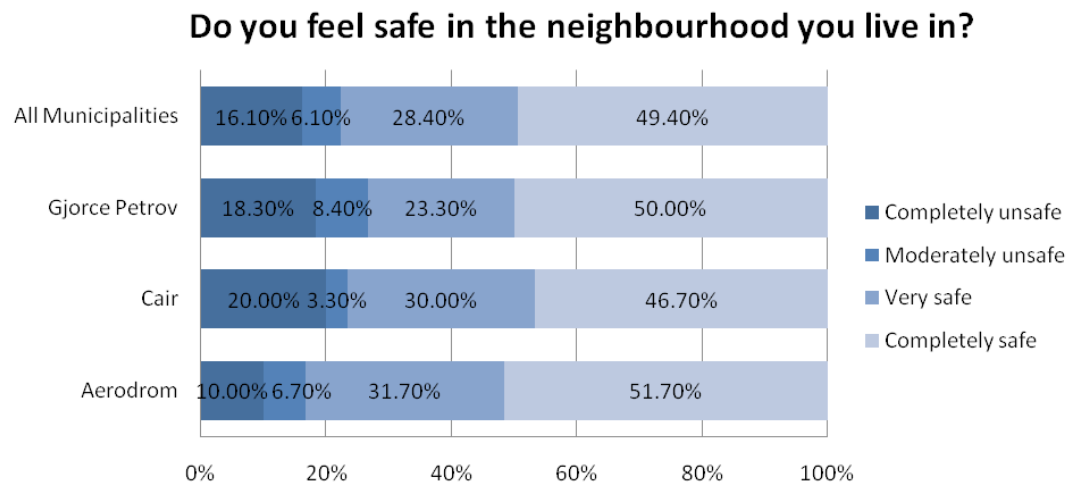


Figure 7.

In general, the citizens of the analyzed municipalities feel safe in the neighborhood they live in – 77.7% of all citizens that were surveyed feel completely or very safe. Those who answered they do not feel safe (16,10% completely unsafe and 6,10% moderately unsafe), mentioned robberies, morning attacks on elderly, existence of dark alleys, stray dogs and fast driving cars as their top reasons.

The municipality which polled the least safe was Cair, although this did not result in a great difference when compared with other municipalities. Likewise, we can identify that the opinion poll results from this question are in tandem with the crime rates and the low number of prevention activities that were carried out in this municipality. On the other side is the Municipality of Aerodrom where 83.4 % feel safe; Gjorce Petrov is somewhere in between, with a percentage of 73.3 %. In these municipalities, more security-related projects and awareness campaigns have been implemented, which could be seen as positive indicator of success.

The focus groups solidified the results from the opinion poll. Participants from all municipalities confirmed that they feel generally safe and the participants from Cair had a slightly lower level of satisfaction in terms of personal safety. The participants from all three municipalities identified common problems such as robberies, traffic issues and breach of peace and disorderly conduct. As specific issues, participants from Cair mentioned a prevalence of drug dealers; Gjorce Petrov’s participants complained that the municipality is especially not safe at night, while the citizens of Aerodrom were very concerned with the air pollution as they consider health security as an important part of the overall human centric security.

5.3 Knowledge of local police

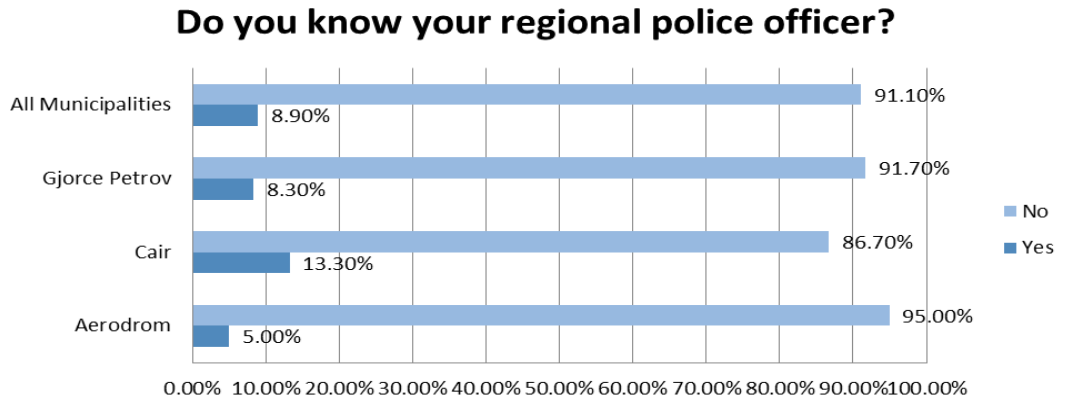


Figure 8.

According to the opinion poll, in all three municipalities we can conclude that the police officer is still seen in his traditional role of law enforcement, distant from the citizens. To the question of whether they can identify their regional police officer, only 5% of those polled in Aerodrom could make a positive identification, whereas that number went up to 13.3% in Cair.

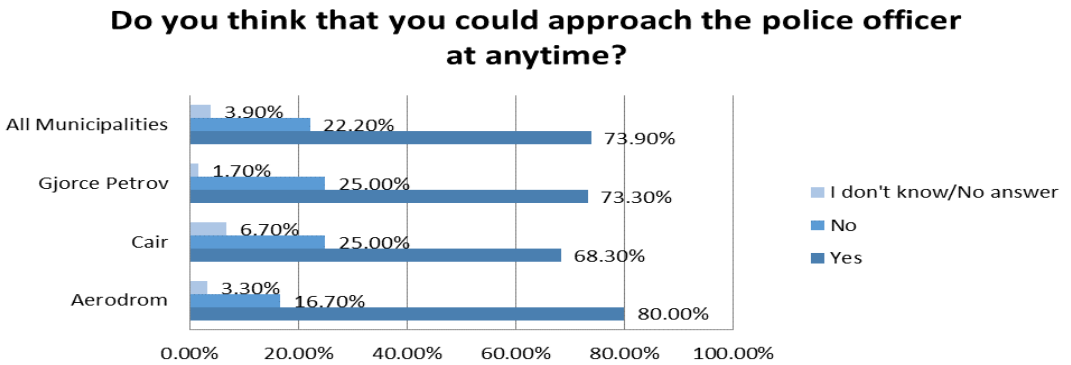


Figure 9.

On the other side, it is encouraging that almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the citizens feel comfortable in approaching a police officer at any time. The percentage is the highest in the Municipality of Aerodrom (80%) and lowest in Cair Municipality (68, 3%), but this percentage is still representative of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the citizens. There is no significant gap between the different age groups; although the most positive answers have been received from citizens aged 40 - 49 and female participants were slightly more open to approaching police officers. Another

encouraging finding supported by the focus groups is that the ethnic background of the police officer was not an important factor for the participants - the only thing that mattered to them was professionalism.

5.4. Police work satisfaction

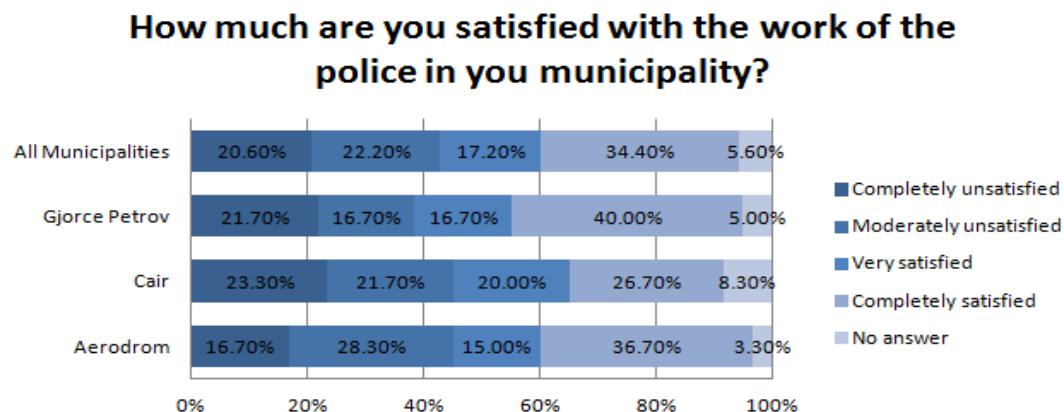


Figure 10.

How police are conducting their work and whether citizens are satisfied by their performance can play a significant factor in conducting community policing because it has the potential to influence the methods used in implementation. This is additionally influential vis-à-vis trust in law enforcement, as well as the efficiency and delivery of results. The opinion poll suggests that there is no major discrepancy in how citizens from the three municipalities feel about the performance of the police. Gjorce Petrov and Aerodrom show most favorable results towards the work of the police, where 40% and 36.7% respectively of those surveyed are completely satisfied. If we add the results of those being “satisfied” by the work of the police in these two municipalities then more than half (50%) of the respondents look favorably to the work of the police. The municipality of Cair does lag a little bit behind the two other municipalities and in our survey did not manage to cross the 50% satisfaction threshold among members of the public. The overall results for all three municipalities suggest that 51% of the respondents are satisfied with the police which overlaps with the last survey conducted by the OSCE in 2014, where 51% of the respondents on national level were satisfied with its work.⁶⁷

Interestingly, however, during the opinion poll most of the interviewed citizens were hesitant to discuss the reasons of their dissatisfaction. However, those in the focus group were more open in discussing greater detail. For instance, one participant in her late twenties coming from Cair articulated her dissatisfaction as being due to the slow response by the police to emergency calls or when reporting crimes, as she witnessed a case when a police officer

⁶⁷ Полицијата сепак не е толку (не) сакана [Un/Wanted police]. Utrinski Vesnik 29.12.2014 <http://www.utrinski.mk/default.asp?ItemID=CF043B4819614F4F8E9EC908845D0EEF>

refused to register a robbery since his work shift had finished for the day, and suggested reporting the crime to his colleague when he came on shift.

Another participant from Aerodrom shared his opinion that police officers should receive more training on communicating with its citizens, since he thinks that young police officers lack the appropriate communication skills – this is something which is lacking amongst the more experienced officers as well.

Do you consider the number of police officers in your municipality is satisfactory, or should be more police officers

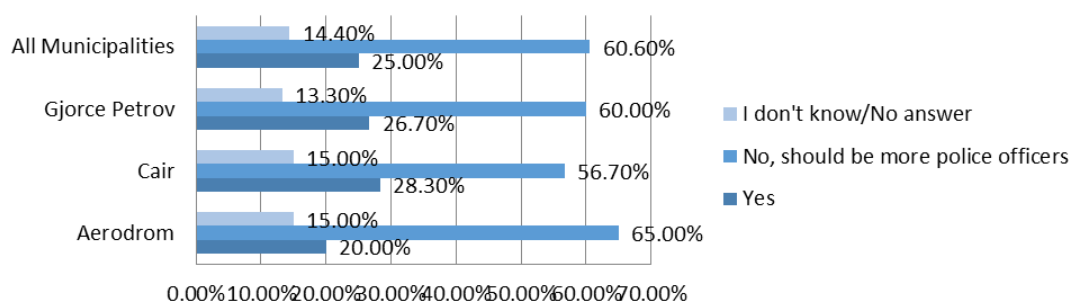


Figure 11.

Regarding this question, approximately 60% in all three municipalities answered that the number of police officers should be increased. However, from the discussions in the focus groups we could draw some specifics per municipality. For example, from the Cair focus group, most shared their opinion that the number of police officers in their neighborhood should be increased; one of them said that he does not know how much the rate policemen/citizens should be, but he thinks for Cair's population the number of police officers is insufficient.

In Gjorce Petrov, all 6 participants had similar answers regarding this question – they required more efficient and better organized police forces. In Aerodrom, the older group participants positively recalled Yugoslavia's Pozornikari (uniformed local police officers) patrolling on the streets in the local neighborhoods.

Quoting one of the participants of Aerodrom focus group, a retired lady in her sixties saying "There used to exist "pozornikari". For each neighborhood two were appointed, and everyone knew them. If anything wrong was happening, you would tell them and the next day the problem would have been solved".⁶⁸ Many of those interviewed in the opinion poll welcomed the idea of street patrols, and the Municipality of Aerodrom stated that it would support such initiative.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Three focus groups discussions, January 2015, Skopje

⁶⁹ Interview with Marjan Kelemen, local economic development officer at municipality of Aerodrom, conducted in June 2015.

5.5. Getting informed about local community issues

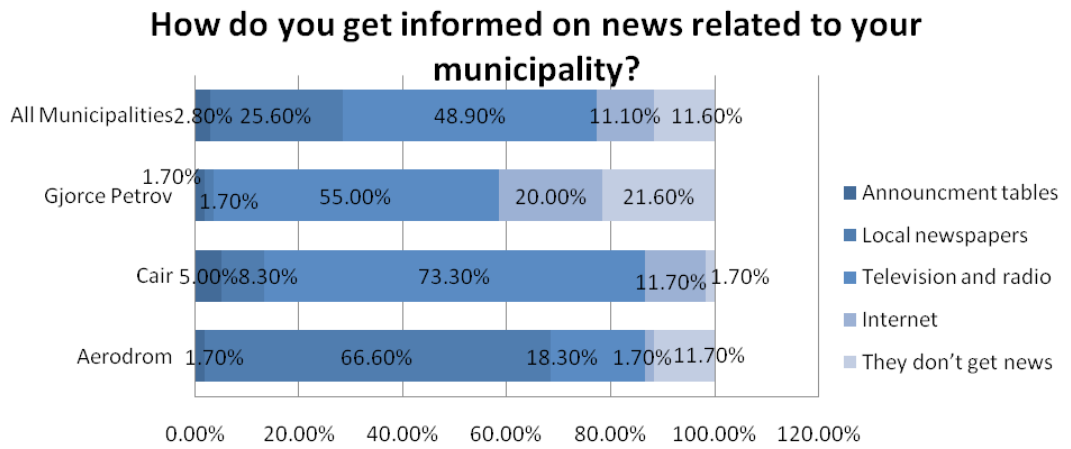


Figure 12.

How citizens are informed about the activities of the municipality can play a major role in promoting the potential that citizens have to engage with community policing issues. This is especially important when you consider the lack of visibility and recognition of the two most important tools of community policing in the city of Skopje: Local Prevention Councils and Citizens Advisory Groups, where an overwhelming number of respondents were unaware of their existence.

When analyzing the findings from this question (fig. 12), each municipality showed different results. For instance the municipality of Aerodrom publishes its own local newspaper which 66.7 % of the citizens stated they read in order to get informed on community issues. Moreover, in the focus group discussion the newspaper was criticized for being too municipally-focused and lacking in material that could be more oriented towards its citizens.

In Gjorce Petrov and Cair, the most informative media embraced by the populace were radio and television, with a significant number of internet users in the former. The younger participants from Gjorce Petrov explained that they largely are informed about their community through the municipality’s official website and social media pages. However, the municipality is not interactively engaging with citizens through these internet channels, and when addressing problems publicly on social media pages, often criticism is not welcomed and accepted; negative comments are habitually removed or censored.

How citizens get informed plays a significant role in the implementation of community policing, and it is advisable to pay attention to the cultural diversities that exist through different municipalities. An example would be Cair: in the opinion poll 73.3% answered that get news mostly from TV and radio, but in the focus group discussion, it was extrapolated that only major events get to be covered on TV. Their most common way of getting municipal

news was through informal gatherings: for men, this was most often manifested through conversations over coffee, whereas women got informed on their way to shopping in the green market, or getting their children to school.

Accordingly to the specifics of every municipality, police campaigns should be developed in order to ensure higher outreach to its citizens. So far, local municipalities do not sufficiently utilize the potential they have in outreach activities which would work to promote community policing.

Aside from the local municipalities, the Ministry of Interior also has an important role to play in informing citizens about the possibilities they have in engaging in community policing activities. So far, their activities have mainly taken on an informative character by predominantly reporting about the outcome of events. In Aerodrom there were efforts to address this issue by promoting grassroots discussions between local police and citizens on local safety needs in May 2014. This was a positive example which mobilized citizens of this municipality to become more engaged regarding robbery prevention tips. For the purpose of the discussions the Ministry of Interior issued press release, contacted local newspapers and information about the activities were also posted on the municipal website. More examples such as this are needed in order to establish a precedent in engaging local citizens and to bring cohesiveness of the approach.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions

The social environment for cooperation between police and citizens has been developing since the early 2000s and some progress has been made in establishing the necessary institutional, organizational and human capacities for implementation of community policing. However, there is still much work to be done and efforts needed to achieve a shift from traditional policing to more community oriented policing model in Macedonia.

For instance, the primary legislation in Macedonia does not clearly define community policing, and most of the relevant work is left to be regulated in secondary documents and different strategies. Therefore it lacks clear legal provisions that regulate the relationship between the police and the municipalities; this resulted not only in high flexibility but also arbitrariness when implementing activities that derive from community policing concept.

Local Prevention Councils in the city of Skopje have not yet undertaken any specific task or activity that would show an active role in community policing on their behalf. Activities of the Local Prevention Councils so far could be described only in a debate and discussion role.

In an unusual structure for community policing, Macedonia's main coordinating body is the National Prevention Council, a body consisting of high-level officials such as the Prime Minister, and other ministries that have a law enforcement responsibility –Interior, Local Governance, Education, Health, Justice, Transport and Communication and Finance. This council is obliged to meet at least twice a year, but there is no disclosure on whether that obligation is met, or what was adopted or what subject was discussed. The lack of information about the activities of this body questions its efficacy.

The Ministry of Interior and its Sector for Internal Affairs bears the main role and responsibility for developing the community policing concept since it has all financial and logistical means for implementation. This further highlights the fact that local municipalities do not have specially intended budget lines for the purpose of community policing and as a result, we notice a less active role from their side.

The Department for Prevention within the Sector for Internal Affairs is also responsible for the training of police officers in the area of prevention. However, the structure of the training is unknown, including whether there is any focus on communication skills since many citizens addressed the issue of lack of assertive communication and attitude from the police officers.

Every six months, the mayors and municipalities councils receive crime reports from the Commander of the local police stations. It is known that these reports get voted on and discussed during council meetings, but it is unclear how many of the recommendations from these reports are forwarded to the police, and how many of these recommendations get implemented by the police since evaluating reports and mechanisms are nonexistent.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of over-classification in state institutions that deal with security issues is present, such as this time when the strategic plan for 2013-2015 on enhancing cooperation and trust between the police and the citizens was told to be as classified document. This could be seen as problematic mainly because citizens and other stakeholders would only benefit from the information being publicly available.

Additionally, there is no clear regulation on competencies or the use of available resources and partnerships between local administrations and the Ministry of the Interior. This could lead to unforeseen activities being treated with a great dose of flexibility by both sides. A lack of quorum was also detected when analyzing the frequency of Local Prevention Council meetings, which could ultimately further contribute to the overall functioning of these councils.

Moreover, confusion over the establishment of the Local Prevention Councils was identified, such as their dependence – or lack thereof – on election cycles. Some municipalities, for example, were re-electing members annually while others had them since the beginning when the councils were formed. Conversely, the municipality of Aerodrom has not yet formed a Local Prevention Council, but described its relationship with the police as very active and engaging.

Furthermore, we identified that Citizens Advisory Groups are not legally regulated, but act as informal citizens groups; this could only create confusion and lack of understanding among the citizens on the most effective way to use these groups and mechanisms.

Lastly, the disproportional development of the aforementioned bodies and others such as prevention centers and clubs highlighted the need for approximation of the same in all municipalities accordingly.

Recommendations

To the Ministry of Interior and police

- The community policing model would benefit significantly from being legislatively regulated. This is especially relevant when it comes to legally defining relationship between the local communities and the Ministry of Interior.
- More actively utilize the existing platforms for communications such as newspapers or social media. The latter in particular should be used for the promotion of police activities targeted towards younger populations.
- The National Prevention Council should convene meetings on a regular basis. Its work should be public and accessible to those interested. This can be accomplished through statements, press releases, invitations to the media etc. Also CSOs working on topics relevant to the agenda of the meeting should be invited to contribute.
- The Ministry of Interior together, with the local municipalities, should avoid over-classification of documents that are relevant to the community policing. For example the strategic plan for 2013-2015 on enhancing cooperation and trust between the police and the citizens should not be considered as classified and should be open to the public.
- Department for Prevention at Sector of Internal Affairs in Skopje should also adopt procedural rules relating to the structure of all mechanisms of community policing, such as the functioning of the Citizens Advisory Groups. These would regulate questions such as frequency of meetings, parties involved, follow up on recommendations and should be publically available.
- Civil Society organizations should be included in drafting any strategic concepts or documents relevant to community policing in order to make the overall process a holistic one.
- The good practices of School Prevention Clubs could also be used in other schools. It is additionally important that students included in the Prevention Clubs activities rotate in order to ensure broader inclusion of the target groups in the projects.
- There is a need for awareness-raising activities for citizens so that they can get informed on the possibilities for civic involvement in police work, such as the formulation of advisory groups.
- Open centers for prevention in other municipalities - especially relevant for Cair due to the high population density in this municipality and relevant for Gjorce Petrov's rural areas as well.

To the Municipalities of Aerodrom, Cair and Gjorce Petrov

- Local Municipalities should also adopt procedural rules relating to the structure of all mechanisms of community policing, such as the functioning of the Local Prevention Councils. These would regulate questions such as frequency of meetings, parties involved, follow up on recommendations and should be publically available.
- Initiate adopting/amending legislation which would oblige local municipalities to participate in community policing matters, such as the law on local-self government.
- Invite Civil Society Organizations to the work of the Local Prevention Councils
- For the purpose of community policing local municipalities should devote separate budget lines.
- Local municipalities, in cooperation with the Ministry of Interior, should make publicly available the biannual reports of the local police activities and local crime for each municipality. Local municipalities, in conjunction with local civil society organizations, should identify members of the community who are already active in local activities, inviting them to take part in community policing. Usually those members would be volunteers as to avoid budgetary constraints or considerations.
- Representatives of the local prevention councils should also meet with their counterparts from the neighboring local prevention councils and discuss safety related questions that might affect citizens of both municipalities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Legislation

- Law on Police of Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia No.114 / 2006, with amendments on, O. G. 145/2012 and O. G. 41/2014
- Law on Police of Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia No.133 / 2008

Other documents and reports

- Guidelines for regulating the methods and means of preventive work, as well planning and registering preventive activities, Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Macedonia, February 2013
- The basics of preventive policing, Rozalita Dojcinovska, Department for Prevention, Sector of Internal Affairs Skopje, 2013

Publications

- Cvete Koneska "Macedonia: Context Analysis of the Security Sector Reform in Macedonia 1991-2008" http://analyticamk.org/images/stories/files/cassrm_mk.pdf; Skopje, 2011
- H I DeGeneste ; J P Sullivan "Policing a Multicultural Community", Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) NW, 1997
- A. Dikici, 'Community Policing', OSCE Lesson Plans, OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje in "Introducing Multi-Ethnic Policing in Macedonia: The Role of the OSCE". Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika
- U.S. Department of Justice - "Community Policing Defined" –Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/vets-to-cops/e030917193-CP-Defined.pdf> Washington DC, first published 2012, revised 2014
- Liou, Kuotsai Tom, and Eugene G. Savage, "Citizen Perception of Community Policing Impact." Public Administration Quarterly Vol. 20, No. 2; 1996
- Trojanowicz Robert C. and D. Carter, "The philosophy and role of community policing". East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1988
- Reisig Michael D. "Community and Problem-Oriented Policing." Crime and Justice Vol. 39, No. 1, 2010
- Brogden Mike, Preeti Nijhar "Community Policing National and International Models and approaches" Routledge 9A&sig=ANxTF1ku6RPuUiiO8eoGH8YjjNE&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false , New York (USA), 2013

Media

- Albanian protests continue in Macedonia, Top Channel, 11.07.2014 – <http://www.top-channel.tv/english/artikull.php?id=12286>
- Macedonian Police Action in Ethnic Riots Queried – Balkan Insight, 23.05.2014 – <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/skopje-calm-after-ethnic-riots-over-murder>
- Полицијата сепак не е толку (не) сакана [Un/Wanted police]. Utrinski Vesnik 29.12.2014 <http://www.utrinski.mk/default.asp?ItemID=CF043B4819614F4F8E9EC908845D0EEF>

Websites consulted

- Website of municipality of Aerodrom, general information:
<http://www.aerodrom.gov.mk/portret-na-opshtinata.html>, Accessed on 03.06.2015
- Website of municipality of Cair, geographic position: <http://cair.gov.mk/pozita.html>
Accessed on 03.06.2015
- Website of municipality of Gjorce Petrov, Demographics:
http://www.opstinagpetrov.gov.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2352&Itemid=69 Accessed on 03.06.2015
- Online tool platform for filling anonymous complaints of Municipality of Aerodrom available at: <http://service.aerodrom.gov.mk/>
- OSCE Skopje: OSCE Mission to Skopje to extend School Safety Project, available at: <http://www.osce.org/skopje/94516> last accesses 04.06.2015
- Ministry of Interior: Project School Safety, available at: <http://www.mvr.gov.mk/vest/35>, last accessed 04.06.2015

Interviews

- Marjan Kelemen, local economic development officer at municipality of Aerodrom (personal interview conducted in Municipality of Aerodrom, Skopje 01.06.2015)
- Sabit Shabani, member of Council of Municipality of Cair, (personal interview conducted in Municipality of Cair, Skopje 07.05.2015)
- Email interview with a member coming from education area of the Local Prevention Council of Municipality of Cair, interview conducted on 01.04.2015
- Phone interview with member from the Local Prevention Council of Municipality of Cair, who chose not to be identified, conducted on February, 2015
- Interview with Official from Municipality of Gjorce Petrov Data who chose not to be identified, interview conducted on 09.04.2015
- Risto Jovanovski, head inspector in the Department for Prevention of Sector of Internal Affairs Skopje (personal interview conducted in Sector of Internal Affairs office, Skopje, March 2015)
- Interview with a representative from the OSCE mission to Skopje, 15 July 2015

Focus Groups

- Discussions with three focus groups or 18 participants from municipalities of Cair, Aerodrom and Gjorce Petrov. All three groups were gender and age balanced; youngest participant in the discussion was 20 years old and the oldest 66 years old. Discussion took part in Analytica's office on the subject of security in their respective communities.

Questionnaires sent via Freedom of Information Act

- 27 requests were sent to the Ministry of Interior, 16 requests to the Municipality of Aerodrom, 17 requests to Municipality of Gjorce Petrov and 12 requests to Municipality of Cair

COMMUNITY POLICING MODEL IN SKOPJE - FROM IDEA TO REALITY

Authors: Kaltrina Selimi & Andreja Bogdanovski

analyticamk



www.analyticamk.org

Skopje 2015

