UNIVERSITY "Sts. CYRIL AND METHODIUS"- SKOPJE

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL, POLITICAL
AND JURIDICAL RESEARCH

45
ISPJR

ANNUAL 2009

Volume XXXIV Number 1, pp. 266 Skopje, 2010

ISSN 0350-1825

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL, POLITICAL **AND JURIDICAL RESEARCH**

ANNUAL 2009

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL, POLITICAL **AND JURIDICAL RESEARCH**

University "Sts. Cyryl an Methodius"

ISSN 1857-7350

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL, POLITICAL **AND JURIDICAL RESEARCH**

University "Sts. Cyryl an Methodius"

ANNUAL

for 2009
**OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL,
POLITICAL AND JURIDICAL RESEARCH**

ГОДИШНИК

за 2009 година
**НА ИНСТИТУТОТ ЗА СОЦИОЛОШКИ
И ПОЛИТИЧКО-ПРАВНИ ИСТРАЖУВАЊА**

Volume XXXIV,	Number 1,	pp. 266	Skopje, 2010
Година XXXIV,	Број 1,	стр. 266	Скопје, 2010

Lector:
Marija Stankova

Translation from Macedonian in English:
Gabrijela Mircic

Data Cataloging in Publication:
NUB Sv.Kliment Ohridski

Published by:
University "Ss.Cyril and Methodius" - Skopje
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical
Research – Skopje

Partizanski odredi bb, 1000 Skopje
Republic of Macedonia
Tel. 02/3061-119
Fax. 02/3061-282
P.O. Box: 435

Prepress and Print by:
Ekonomiks Print - Skopje

Circulation: 100

FOREWORD

For more than 35 years, the Yearbook of the Institute of Sociological, Political and Juridical Research has been promoting scientific research and since the day of its establishment with great dedication has served Macedonian science and society. The Yearbook is not only a promoter of the Institute's activities, but also its organ, which in best possible way promotes social scientific thought in the Republic of Macedonia, especially in the field of sociology, law, political science, psychology, communication, management and other scientific areas, whose achievements and results are being implemented in practice, too, i.e. in the overall development of the Macedonian society. Hence, the efforts of the associates of the Institute to sustain continuous publication of this Yearbook even in times when the Institute was facing serious financial difficulties. Fortunately, regardless of the many problems that the Institute was facing, which were of most diverse nature, it still continues to develop and the publication of this jubilee issue of the Yearbook is a witness to that fact. The Institute's Yearbook is one form of communication between the scientific and the general public and the scientific and other associates of the Institute as well as its external associates.

This Yearbook comprises of scientific and professional studies, whose authors are the associates of the Institute, and is not only a true reflection of their personal efforts in the particular field of social sciences they've specialized in, but also of the overall orientation and work of the Institute in the perception and study of social events and processes that have been taking place in the Macedonian society over the last 20 years. With their knowledge and experience, as well as in their entire scientific research so far, the authors of the studies in this Yearbook have given their contribution not only by analyzing many important issues in socio-political life, but have also contributed to the development of the sociological, political, legal and social thought in the Republic of Macedonia in general. More specifically, the attention has been directed towards sustainable development of the Macedonian society, violent behavior in the young, the concept of economy of knowledge, development and education, social capital, small ethnic communities in the RM, the right of members of ethnic communities to use their mother language, the left and the right in postcommunist countries, ethnic relations, elections in the RM, small parties, labor market, the position of the juvenile perpetrator in society, the missions of universities in the RM, civil society and corruption, social responsibility of psychology, the media as citizen forums etc. The publication of this Yearbook will enrich Macedonian science with important scientific and professional papers that reflect the social and economic life in the Republic of Macedonia and beyond. I personally feel that these studies with their diversity, topicality and scientific-methodological nature will have a major influence on the development of scientific thought in the Republic of Macedonia and will attract the attention and the interest of the scientific and general public in the country, the region and beyond.

Prof. Jorde Jakimovski, PhD

CONTENTS

Социологија на економијата Economic sociology	УДК/UDC 316.344.233 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Jorde Jakimovski
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

CAPABILITY OF THE MACEDONIAN SOCIETY FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

ABSTRACT

This work analyzes some of the circumstances that have in some way had an impact or have allowed for the high rate of unemployment, which in turn caused a huge gap between the rich and the poor in the Macedonian society and became the primary threat for sustainable development. There's a real possibility that these huge differences will deepen even further and if we don't take the necessary action to change their lives, the poor and the unemployed could lose their faith in the democratic system and will look upon their representatives as mere "bigmouths."

The economic activities that the entities use to express their initiatives and creativity and that enrich society are the fundamental basis for economic and social development. But the question remains: can economic and social development be achieved only through the free interaction of market forces? Do we need to create public policies that will lead to success on the market, supplement market mechanisms, sustain social stability and create a society that will promote sustainable development? The primary objectives for achieving sustainable development are: improvement and increase of the quality of life of all people, bigger and equal opportunities and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law and respect of cultural diversity. Decreasing poverty and unemployment are the biggest challenges that the Republic of Macedonia has been facing and undoubtedly ask for sustainable development. The alarming consequences from unemployment and poverty, which are visible in many environments, are related to their rapid increase and which all of the governments so far haven't been able to address with their management capacities and practices. The model and procedures for the transformation of social capital enterprises has left profound consequences on the sources of

income, the way of life and on the values of people. The gain and the cost of privatization are not equally distributed which has made some social categories in our society face problems in the implementation of this process.

Key words: sustainable development, poverty, unemployment, privatization, social development, quality of life

STRUCTURE OF THE MACEDONIAN ECONOMY

Republic of Macedonia has suffered a huge fall in production and the improvement of this condition has been a long process. Namely, by 1996, the GDP per person had decreased by 24% compared to 1990 and we've had a much slower improvement pace since 1997 compared to the other socialist countries in Europe and Central Asia.

Table 1 *Basic macroeconomic indicators*

	1996	**2000**	**2006**
Real GDP (%)	1,2	4.5	4,0
Total investments % from GDP	14,7	16.2	18,2
Poverty rate	19,0	22.3	29,8
Employment rate	37,4	40.3	39,6
Unemployment rate	31,9	32.2	36,0
GDP per person in the US [$]	1420	1771	2398

Source: Statistical yearbook of the Republic of Macedonia for 1998, 2002 and 2008

The process of market economy and social development do not go hand in hand and are not synchronized: there's been a setback and a weakening of the already complex opposing movements, especially in the field of economy and the management of economic development. Namely, even though there's been an increase in the gross domestic product, the rate of unemployment and the rate of poverty are still on the increase.

The restructuring of the economy is also taking too long. The restructuring process of the economy, among other things, means moving from agriculture and industry to commerce and other industries. This model has been used in many countries of transition, especially in the Baltic countries, but also in countries like Bulgaria, Poland and Romania. Such a trend has not been typical of the Republic of Macedonia, especially since 1994. The structure of the Macedonian economy became more static in this period. This lack of dynamism was most probably a reflection of the slow increase of productivity, but is very important for sustaining economic growth and the increase of salaries. The unsynchronized growth rates of many industries meant that the employees who were let go after their posts had been closed in the falling industries such as the processing industry, mining and construction had small chances of getting a job in some other industry except agriculture.

Table 2 *Employee and GDP structure*

Industries	**GDP participation**		**Employees**	
	1995	**2007**	**2006**	**2008**
Industry and mining	19,9	19,1	28,9	22,3
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	10,5	10,8	19,1	19,6
Construction	5,2	5,9	6,6	6,5
Traffic and communications	6,0	8,3	5,0	6,2
Commerce	10,6	13,5	14,3	14,2

Source: Statistical yearbook of the Republic of Macedonia, 2009, p. 323 and Statistical Overview: Population and social statistics – Survey of the working force in 2006, p. 43 and 2008, p.30

In the transition period, the Republic of Macedonia was deindustrilized and turned into an agricultural country. A great number of people who worked in the industry and were left unemployed had no choice but to go back to agriculture.

The shortcomings in the restructuring process also reflected on the relatively low investment level. In 1991 investments were 18.9% while in 2007, they were 20.2%. Such an investment level puts our country way below the investment level of other countries of average income from Europe and Central Asia. Not only that, compared to the region, Republic of Macedonia has been slow in attracting direct foreign investments. The privatization of Telecom resulted in unusually high inflow of money that reached 12.8% from the GDP in 2001. From 2001 to 2007, foreign investments dropped down to around 2%, again around the lowest in the region.

POVERTY

As far back as the 1970s the concept **basic needs** was used, which referred to the developing countries. This concept meant that when planning economic development in insufficiently developed countries we need to start off by meeting the basic needs at an absolute level first, i.e. starting from the needs of the poorest classes of society. According to the basic needs concept of the International Labor Organization, we need to increase employment and provide normal work conditions since by doing this we'll be able to meet the needs of economic development.

The well-known economist P. Sreeten strived for achieving economic growth which would lead primarily to the improvement of the living standard of the poorest classes of society instead of serving the interests of the privileged ones. (Sreeten, 1979)

Therefore, the concept *basic needs* refers not only to the material needs of the citizens, but also to the social conditions of life, cultural needs as well as the political demands for the eradication of social injustice and inequality. The inclusion of more classes from the population into social life is considered as an important part of the basic needs (Healej, 1979).

Similar views regarding the basic needs concept can be found in the article by Ilija Aceski: *Poverty - Theoretical and Methodological Aspects*. According to Aceski, poverty must not be related to material needs only, such as food and home, but also to the sphere of cultural needs and social exclusion (Aceski, 2000). In the Republic of Macedonia poverty started to increase in 1996, as opposed to the majority of the other countries in Europe and Central Asia.

When it comes to workers, they're underprivileged in every way. Policy is such as to dictate low salaries, while foreign investors promise people that they will be happy with 200 Euro (in 2008, 49% of the employees earned 12,000 MKD and 27% of the employees were unpaid family workers and had not earned any income.) Many of our experts feel that here lies our chance for development.

In the Republic of Macedonia, unemployment rate has increased and the distribution of income has worsened (since growth is not in favor of the poor.) There are some years when economic growth is on the rise, but there aren't any new job openings, there are no sustainable and well-paid jobs. The private sector still doesn't provide any opportunities for new jobs, the working force is not oriented towards the sector of high productivity, i.e. there are still no resources available for income growth.

There are more and more social groups that are left on their own and that are exposed to risk, especially people with no jobs.

Poverty is related to economic status. Namely, the probability of families which have unemployed or inactive members to be poorer is higher than those families whose members have full-time jobs. Poverty is unevenly distributed in terms of the circumstances of the family, too. Single parents are especially at risk from the dangers of poverty. The risk from poverty is also in relation to class status. Most of the members of the working class, especially those that do not have the necessary skills and qualifications required at the labor market are unemployed and poor. Older people who are unemployed are also excluded from the labor market due to the general assumption that at a certain age these same people would want or would have to retire.

The process of weakening of social capital is closely related to the process of weakening of human capital. People who lack the feeling of control over the place they live in and who lack everyday security and trust in other people cannot have faith in their own capabilities to control the aspects of their own lives, too, such as employment or the choice of their living place (Geis, Ross, 1998.) Such conditions make people feel powerless, make them use the help of authorized institutions much less, they have much less trust and feel less need for help, all of which is a part of the educational programs or training courses. The feeling of powerlessness caused by the unfavorable conditions of the environment has an influence on social organizations and individuals, too. Places where there are people who earn low incomes lead to the withdrawal of sales, finance and other services because they are unable to earn profit anymore. This unfavorable environment also has an impact on the withdrawal of social services, which are already too busy in trying to meet the ever-increasing demands of the too many households with economic and social problems. The decrease of social services lowers the trust people place in them. The communication between citizens and public services is also affected and the feeling of powerlessness increased.

Interest groups could also have a strong effect on the local and national economy by encouraging certain activities or by sustaining the economic environment.

LABOR MARKET

Employment or the issue of unemployment in terms of its scope, immediacy and the implications it bears has always been important and familiar to people. This has been proven by the research conducted so far which testifies to the fact that people want to know more about this problem of unemployment which is of exclusively life interest to them and the measures and results in overcoming it.

Employment is the precondition for a productive, socially recognized and complete realization of people's labor; it is the existentialist basis for building financial and social security and provides people with their integral social status. This does not define all of the important values that employment has for people, but it is important to note that in a state or a case of unemployment, the aforementioned premises lead to unfavorable implications. It's because of this that unemployment is qualified as a complex and serious personal and social problem. Namely, when it comes to unemployment there are two constitutive elements present: ***the seriousness of the problem and its social reality***, which provides the basis for activating those subtle social-psychological processes that help define public opinion that most immediately corresponds to the actual social reality.

The expansion of unemployment remains a huge challenge for development efforts; it is not only an economic issue, but a serious social issue. The prevailing social problems of the unemployed have a serious impact on people's security. Namely, the unemployed typically have a "limited access to income, limited finances to start work, limited access to social, health-care, educational and cultural services, accompanied by poverty and malnourishment." (J, Jakimovski, 2000:41). Unemployment also causes depression in people. It has reached absolutely and relatively high proportions so we are right to say that it is the first-ranked economic and social issue in the Republic of Macedonia. However, unemployment is not evenly distributed in all classes of society. It most commonly affects the unqualified working force, women and the young population.

The high unemployment rate points to the fact that a big proportion of people have been denied access to the labor market.

Today, after 20 years into pluralistic democracy and market economy, the issue of labor market in the Republic of Macedonia is such a prevailing and serious one and the increase of unemployment is so dramatic that we rightly pose the question: did this have to happen? We can hardly say that we had done everything that we could or had to, to solve this problem. How do we explain the fact that there were 310,409 unemployed in the Republic of Macedonia in 2008? Nevertheless, we have to admit that many problems, not only in the field of labor market, but in the whole society, have turned out to be more difficult to solve than initially expected. Namely, we didn't really understand the actual severity of the problem, nor did we understand that we had to invest a long-term effort if we wanted to solve it. Also, the policies and measures taken in different areas of social life had not been synchronized.

Addressing unemployment continues in considerably altered conditions in the area of economic development and the area of work force supply. The altered conditions, economically speaking, expressed through the processes of privatization, restructuring of enterprises, managerial or entrepreneurial management, have had implications on the labor market sector also. Society has to have a clear stance and set clear goals when it comes to employment, such as taking proper measures and developing an active employment policy instead of having general and inadequately formulated responses on this issue.

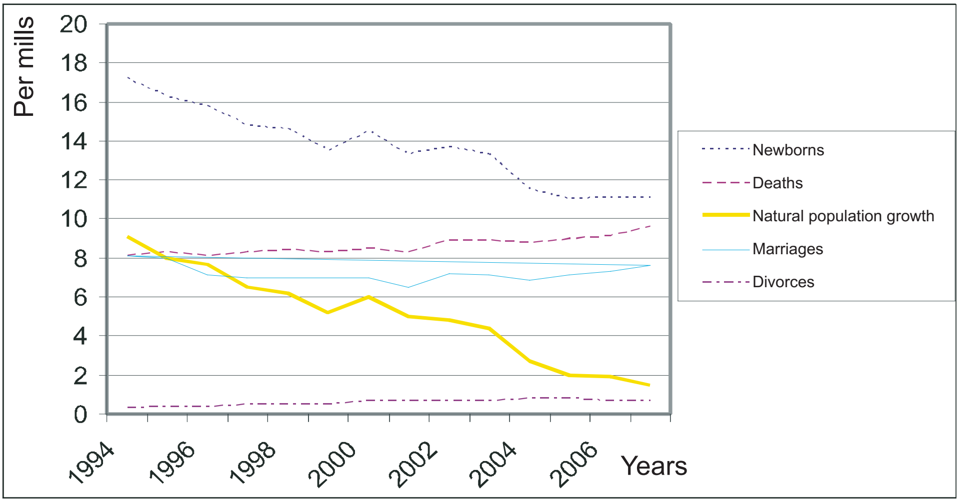
Privatization, as one of the basic components of the transition process, as well as the way in which it was implemented, imposed some serious problems in the use of the labor force. The transformation of social capital into private caused a more rational utilization of the work force and therefore many redundancies. This exposed the issue of overemployment, which in turn created social problems. In the privatization process of the enterprises personal interest oftentimes became more important than social interest. The model of paid privatization excluded many workers in the Republic of Macedonia from the privatization process because managers were given the advantage to buy off companies. There came to a decrease in the price of capital by selling stocks with putting pressure and blackmailing. The fact that the citizens of Macedonia had no control over the privatization process was also one of the reasons why this process was corrupted and why the public held a negative opinion on privatization. Society still doesn't believe in the fact that this privatization process took place in an honest and transparent way and that the best offers were chosen. Quite the contrary, privatization is looked upon as a means for attaining political goals and as a corrupted, non-transparent process that has only made managers from political elite circles richer.

The fact that many young and qualified people have been waiting for a long time to find a job has decreased the reputation of the social-economic order of the country and poses a great threat for social peace and stability of the country. Long-term unemployment leads to the discouragement of employees. The time needed for finding a job is closely related to the socio-demographic characteristics of the work force. Those that are less qualified tend to wait longer than those that are more qualified. This also explains the fact why there there's more poverty in those that are less qualified. Those that have been unemployed for a longer period of time have less chances of getting reemployed because they have lost their skills and their morale is not at the same level as before.

Young adults live off the support of their family, i.e. from the solidarity of their own parents and closest relatives. Long-term unemployment, poverty and social exclusion makes young people frustrated and dissatisfied, which is why they postpone indefinitely some functions which are very important not only for the individual, but for the society as well, such as getting married, becoming a parent etc.

On the one hand, as a result of the longer wait for getting employed, people tend to get married at a later age in life, and on the other, in the already concluded marriages family functions deteriorate. In the period of transition the socio-economic situation of the Republic of Macedonia has also had an impact on lower birth rate and the increase of mortality, as a result of many factors such as high unemployment, low and irregular wages, low quality health-care services and poverty.

Figure 1. *Dynamics of Demographic Movement*



The structure of unemployment points to the fact that the lowest participation on the labor market is that of the relatively young and inadequately educated individuals. Unemployment is not equally present in all social groups; it most commonly affects the ones with inadequate education and the unqualified.

Figure 2. *Structure of the unemployed according to their education degree 1996*

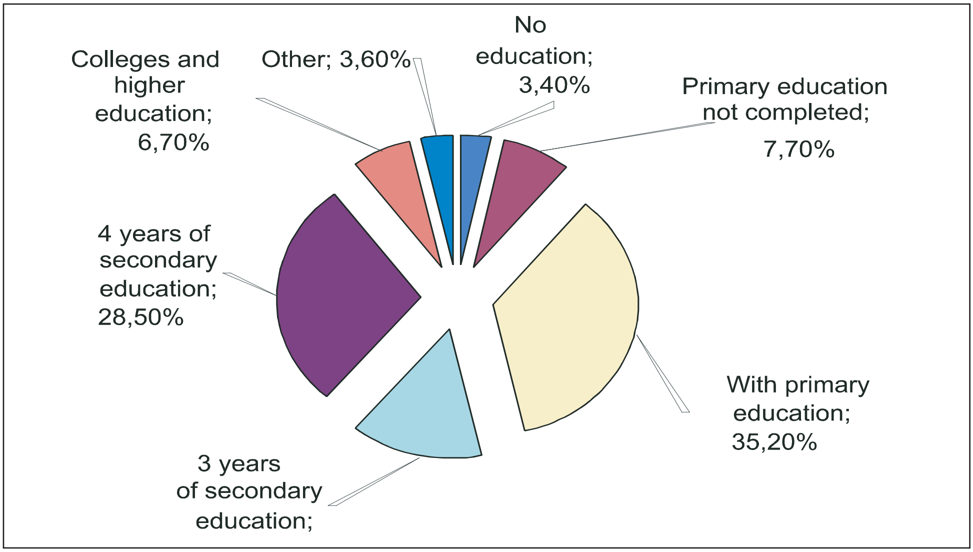
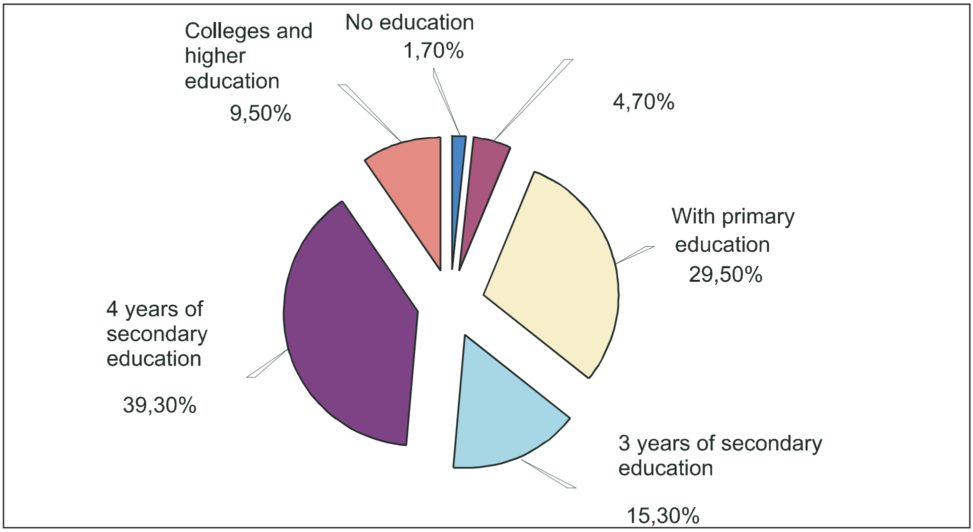


Figure 3. *Structure of the unemployed according to their education degree in 2007*



Research on the emotional consequences of unemployment shows that those that are unemployed go through a whole array of unforeseen stages of adjustment to this newly earned status. Naturally, everyone reacts to these changes differently, but generally speaking, those that lose their jobs go through some kind of shock followed by a feeling of optimism created by the new opportunities that lie ahead. When these optimistic expectations do not get met, which is quite commonly the case, some individuals fall into a period of deep depression and pessimism regarding their future and the prospects of getting a new job. In case this unemployment period is prolonged, the adjustment process comes to an end and the individuals have no choice but to accept the new situation they found themselves in (Ashton, 1986).

According to the results from the project **Unemployment – Risks and Challenges in the Republic of Macedonia**, employment, i.e. unemployment is related to people's perception of their own psychological disorders and psychosomatic reactions, which is why the unemployed are more worried (88.8%) than the employed (67.5%) and the unemployed perceive themselves to be sick most of the time (23.5%) compared to the employed (18.3%).

Unemployment contributes not only to the deterioration of family relations, but to increased family violence, too. As can be seen from the research results, the majority of the respondents (71.9%) have said that unemployment does make family relations worse.

WHAT CAN WE DO TO ATTAIN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

Those that are unemployed most commonly fall victims to isolation and insecurity. The insecurity that they have to deal with at the moment, they would most probably have to deal with in the future too, not only theirs, but their children's also. The challenge lies in finding mechanisms and opportunities that would render all people capable of participating in the creation process of their economic-social life. People can become economic and social actors and make decisions only as **producers, consumers, members of interest groups and organizations, taxpayers etc.**

The Republic of Macedonia must not take this problem likely. We cannot ignore the issue of unemployment by thinking that at present there's not much we can do in this area. Economic problems are the objective factor that impedes the opening of new jobs. Economy is always facing new difficulties and we shouldn't wait to address economy problems first and only then to address the issue of unemployment. The issues in this area, and especially the issue of unemployment ask for appropriate solutions since the social, economic and political conditions ask that these acute problems be addressed as soon as possible. Opening new jobs for the available work force is one if the most urgent tasks of the country. This is the safest and the best way of meeting the economic and social goals in the development of the society. The market can be influenced by the power of consumers through their cooperatives, associations and unions. This requires access to information regarding the local, social, political and cultural influences. Social networks can help by representing the specific economic interests of all of the social groups, especially the vulnerable ones and providing policies for effectualizing the needs and the interests of the local community.

Engaging into economic activities, such as paid work, is the most important component of social integration. Its lack however, signalizes social insecurity. It's the governments' constant and primary responsibility to create conditions for a successful and legal participation of all those that are able to participate in society.

We need a responsible society in which thoroughness and sustainability ought to have advantage over the enrichment of particular individuals. This means we need to ensure economic growth that would create conditions for the poor, or that would bring about technical progress, micro-crediting, small enterprise credits, commercial agreements which benefit both sides and by keeping the promises made to the poor of getting them the necessary help.

We need to create a world of political, economic and social responsibility at all levels of society: personal, local and national.

We need an establishment that would instigate development and that would create a climate to better address economic and social problems. But this creation ought to be rational and not to come as a result of violating the basic rules and principles.

Much of the research so far has shown that people that live off their labor, when it comes to their standard, employment, education and in terms of their social security, were more civilized than in democratic capitalism. If we don't start up a thorough social dialogue, if we don't stop the movement of class inequality – hungry workers and farmers on the one hand and privileged smugglers, businessmen and officials on the other, we won't be able to escape social earthquake.

References:

Acevski, I. (2001). Poverty: theoretical and methodological aspects, *The tendencies of poverty and ways to overcome it*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje (trans. from Macedonian).

Gens, K. and Ross, C. (1998) New Look at Urban Aliention: The Effect of Neighbourhood Disorded on Perceived Powerlessness, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61/3

Healey P. (1979) *Basic Human Needs: Methodology and Mobilization*, The United Nations University, Tokyo

Jakimovski J. (2000) Unemployment and Social Problems in *Economic and social aspects of unemployment in the Republic of Macedonia and Republic of Bulgaria and ways to overcome it*: Skopje: Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje, Economic Institute in Skopje and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Skopje (trans. from Macedonian)

Research project: *Unemployment - risks and challenges in the Republic of Macedonia* (2008) Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje.

Streeten P. (1979) *From Growth to Basic Needs*, Finance and Development.

Социологија /Економска социологија Sociology/Economic Sociology	УДК/UDC 330.341:005.94 (4-672EU: 497.7) 339.924 (4-672 EU: 497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Slavejko Sasajkovski
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

LISBON STRATEGY 2010, THE EU CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY AND THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ABSTRACT

The becoming future of the European Integration processes of the Republic of Macedonia inevitably will bring the country to the moment of immediate facing-up with the EU concept for founding, building and development of the European economy as a knowledge economy. At that point, the Republic of Macedonia necessarily will have to build-up an appropriate relation towards this European concept regardless of the fact that the target year of the Lisbon Strategy - 2010 will be outrun and in addition, regardless of the fact that most of the Strategy's goals will not be realized.

The concept of knowledge economy, an economy founded, built and developed, if might be said, on the bases of the epistemological knowledge i.e. knowledge that is a final product (in a scientifically-theoretical and scientifically-methodological manner) of an indisputably and entirely virtuous process of scientific research, is a heteronomous dictate of the invented formula for a roaring, stable and sustainable growth of the competitive global economies (primarily the economies of USA and Japan). The above stated formula, in fact is the formula of the knowledge-based economy; simply: the economy (a national or regionally united one) which will be founded, built and developed more substantively, more consistently and more effectively as a knowledge-based economy i.e. it will be the "winning" economy in the global economical/social-economical competition.

Key words: Lisbon Strategy 2010; knowledge economy; European Integration processes; economical growth and competitiveness; EU policy of scientific researches and innovations.

INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the 90's, an issue that seriously posed itself against the European Union was the reality and objectivity of the stagnation of the growth rate of the European economy (i.e. the economies of the countries members of the European Union), clearly, intending to become economy of global significance, in relation to the growth rates of the other two globally rival economies, those of the USA and Japan.

This stagnation imperatively forced the governments of the countries members of the Union, as well as their relevant bodies and institutions (the European Council and the European Commission), to devote their work to completely credible scientific (scientific - theoretical and scientific - methodological) research of the reasons and factors for this inferiority. In this context, it has been scientifically and empirically established that one of the most essential reasons / one of the most crucial factors for that inferiority is that the economies of the USA and Japan, as opposed to the European (EU) economy are competitively inferior on the global market. Furthermore, searching for the basic reason, the fundamental factor for such competitive inferiority, through numerous relevant and valid scientific researches, without doubt, it has been determined that one of the essential reasons, i.e. one of the most crucial factors for such competitive inferiority of the European economy is the reason, i.e. the factor - knowledge economy. Namely, there is a scientifically - empirically conclusive finding that the global competitive economies of USA and Japan, in relation to the economies of the countries members of the Union are more theoretically defined and positioned, economically and politically shaped as knowledge-based economies.

Having in mind the fundamental objective, fundamental in the sense of the interest for overall social and economic development of the European societies (their prosperity and wellbeing),the European Council, on its session held in March 2000, in Lisbon, adopted the Lisbon Strategy/ Agenda 2010. It prescribes (in the core thereof), as of 2010, conceptual definition and positioning the economies of the countries members of EU, and furthermore to be economically and politically modeled as knowledge economies; thus, at least on the level of definition, positioning and modeling the global competitive economies of USA and Japan as knowledge economies.

THE LISBON STRATEGY 2010

The Lisbon Strategy 2010[1] is structured in three components: Economic - in order to build competitive, dynamic and knowledge based economy;[2] social - in order to modernize social inclusion models, especially through investments in education, and using that instrument to facilitate employment;[3] environmental (this component was added to the Strategy in 2001, on the meeting of the European Council in Goteborg), to achieve environmentally sustainable economic growth.[4]

The following are the seven fundamental objectives of the Strategy: Broader and more efficient application of the new information - communication technologies; creation of European research and innovation space; completion of the single internal market of the Union; establishment of efficient and integrated financial markets; strengthening entrepreneurship through improvement and simplification of the regulatory context within enterprises; stronger social cohesion, founded on employment growth; promotion of skills and modernization of the system for social protection; and, sustainable development which would provide long-term quality of life/social welfare.

In 2005, the European Council revised the Lisbon Strategy,[5] strongly emphasizing economic growth and employment as its priorities.[6] The factors, mechanisms and instruments for realization of these priorities, in accordance with the essence and nature of the Strategy, may be seen in the emphasis on knowledge, innovation and optimization of the human capital.

It is certain that the most significant and most prominent objective of the Strategy is the one which projects that until the end of 2010, countries members of the Union allocate 3% of their GDP for scientific research and innovation. However, it is difficult to claim that this objective is feasible - the estimates show that at this moment, the Union does not allocate more than 2% of the GDP for scientific researches.

1) Lisbon Strategy, www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm
2) Archibugi D. – Lundvall B. – A. : The Globalizing Learning Economy, www.scholer.google.com (2004)
3) Gacs J. : The Macroeconomics Conditions of EU – Inspired Employment Policies, www.econ.core.hu/doc/dp/mtdp0520.pdf (2005)
4) The Future of EU Competitiveness , Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, www.berr.gov.uk/files/file51732.pdf (2009)
5) Facing the challenge. The Lisbon strategy for growth and employment, Report from the Hight Level Group chaired by Vim Kok, www.ec.europa.eu/grouwth andjobs/pdf/kok_report_en.pdf (2004).
6) Sasajkovski S. : Neoliberal flexibilizations of labor markets and EU employment policies, Scientific gathering “Social and Cultural Aspect of Euro-integration”, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research and the Institute for Ancient Slav literature, Prilep (2008).

It is not only due to the negative implications to the realization of this strategic objective, arising from the current global financial - economic crisis (on the other hand, it is also a fact that technical and technological researches, innovations, knowledge and growth may be a significant factor for breaking the crisis, recession and deflation spiral), but also, even if there had not been for the crisis, there would have not been any realization of the objective having in mind the rate of enforcement of the provisions of the Strategy.

It must (also) be pointed out that the concept of knowledge economy does not entail knowledge in the sense that must be acquired through the overall course of the educational process (all its levels/stages), understandably, primarily through the process of higher education, and then be applied on the relevant work post; all in the interest of the relevant economic entity (in the interest of its market competitiveness). It is true that the concept of EU knowledge based economy,[7] understandably, treats the quality of the overall educational process with outmost due attention; quality in the sense of its direct practical exploitation by the market competitive interest of the economic entities. Still, speaking of the concept of knowledge economy (including the concept of EU knowledge economy), under the notion of knowledge, this concept actually means epistemological knowledge, i.e. epistemological cognition (this is the most important *specifica diferentia* of this concept), therefore, knowledge/cognition which is the result/product of scientific - theoretical and scientific - methodological completely relevant and valid scientific and research process, and using that knowledge (including in the form of innovation) directly in the production - reproduction process of the market economic entities, i.e. essentially, in every applicative way, contributes to quality upgrade of the level of the market competitiveness of the (market) economic entities. In this manner (through the concept of knowledge intensive economy),it may be said that there is an equals sign between economy and knowledge (epistemological knowledge/cognition), essentially, modern economy (modern economic entities, both as corporations and as national economies, and also as regionally united economies), the economy of the global economic competitiveness, must not be anything else but knowledge (knowledge in the sense of epistemological knowledge/cognition), the meaning must be its ontology; simply in order to be it - globally competitive economy.[8]

7) Sasajkovski S.: The Lisbon Strategy as a basis for development of the new European knowledge based society and the new European knowledge intensive economy, international scientific conference under the heading “The Challenges of the new economy”, Faculty of Economy – Prilep (2005).
8) Sasajkovski S.: Knowledge in documents and EU policies, International Scientific conference “Knowledge – capital of the future" Institute for knowledge management, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (2009).

It must be further emphasized (something that is conclusively/flagrantly, indicative) that within the frames of the European Commission / the Government of EU, Main Commissariat/ the Ministry which is the main holder of the concept of knowledge economy of the Union is the Commissariat for Scientific Researches and Innovations, and not some of those commissariats which have typically economic integrations (for example, Finance, Economic development, Entrepreneurship and Industry, Trade, etc.).

THE CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY AND THE MACEDONIAN SOCIETY

Some future (possible) building (transformation and restructuring) of the Macedonian Economy as knowledge based economy (finally, regardless whether the Republic of Macedonia shall become a member of EU or not, and regardless of that, if it does not become a member of the Union, what will be its euro-integrative status) indicates to a previous necessary realization of one basic precondition. The precondition is to construct the economy of The Republic of Macedonia as a completely functional "free market" neoliberal economy.[9] This, on the other hand, means that the Macedonian economy shall be economy where the success of economic entities involved on the market (or, the ruthless battle for the market) primarily (actually - solely) shall be dependant and based on their market competitiveness.[10] The market in its essence is a market of completely competitive (ruthlessly competitive) relations, based only on the competitive potential and capacity of the market entities. Only the ruthless market competition may in a true manner (a manner with a characteristic of economic/market immanence) make economic entities (make them necessarily/completely and inevitably in the conditions of market economy) accept and apply all those elements/factors underlying their market competitiveness.[11] That is why even on the very beginning of this text (in the Abstract) it is emphasized that the Lisbon Strategy, which is the conceptual/ theoretical and practical - political basis for the EU economy (or, the economies of the countries members of EU) as knowledge economy, is not a product of some sort of academic/scholastic/cabinet theorizing, isolated from the real conditions and easily recognizable trends on the global market. On contrary, the concept of the European economy, as knowledge based/inten-

9) Hartwich O. M.: Noliberalism: The genesis of a Political Swearword, www.cis.org.au/temp/op114_neoliberalism.pdf (2009); Kotz D. M. : Contradictions of Economic Growth in the Neoliberal Era, www.people.umass.edu/dmkotz/Contradictions_07_05.pdf (2007).
10) Rothbard M. N. : Power and Market, www.books.google.com (2004)
11) Kudrle R. T.: The Globalization of Competition Policy, www.ggc.wu-wien.ac.at/images/kudrle_paper.doc (2004)

sive economy, is a product of the outmost real and objective scientific and empirical social and economic researches, which undoubtedly showed and proved that the key and cardinal factor (in any case, one of the most crucial and cardinal factors) which decisively affects the European economy to degrade from the aspect of its competitiveness, as compared to the competitiveness of the US and Japanese economy, is the fact that the European economy (in relation to the economies of the USA and Japan) is inferior, deficient and insufficient as a knowledge economy.[12] Hence, the EU economy founded as knowledge economy qualitatively legs behind as opposed to the same basis of the knowledge economies of USA and Japan. Such scientific - empiric knowledge (knowledge obtained from a scientific - theoretical, and scientific - methodological, completely virtuous/reference based, scientific and research process) of the fundamental reason for the competitive inferiority, deficiency and insufficiency of the EU economy in relation to the US and Japanese economy, forced EU institutions (primarily the European Council and the European Commission) to start founding (transforming and restructuring) the European economy as a knowledge intensive economy, i.e. economy which shall not only be in a sort of applicative symbiosis with the results (epistemological knowledge); not only that the new knowledge European economy shall be positioned and built on its own fundamental vertical parameters with epistemological (scientific - knowledgeable) nature; it shall also be a qualitative higher level of recognition and definition of a comprehensive economic identity and integrity; that new European economic concept, i.e. the new European economic paradigm, as a concept and paradigm of knowledge economy shall not be other than epistemological knowledge. Knowledge, as an epistemological knowledge (knowledge product of a scientific - theoretical and scientific-methodological, completely reference based scientific and research process) should be in accordance with the concept of the new European economy, as knowledge based economy, the Ontology of the new European economic paradigm.[13] Knowledge - formulated as epistemological knowledge, should be the said alpha and omega of the new European economic paradigm - epistemological knowledge and the new European knowledge intensive economy in their essence should be synonyms and equivalents.

Thus, the future Macedonian economic paradigm, as knowledge (epistemological) economy, should in no case be the product of some "bare" academic/scholastic/cabinet theoretic consideration and formulation, isolated from the real and objective perception and understanding of the true characteristics (the nature) of the

12) Scott A. J. : Regions and the World Economy, www.books.google.com (2000)
13) Soete L.: A Knowledge Economy Paradimg and its Consequences, www.merit.unu.edu/publications/papers/200510_soete.pdf (2005)

Macedonian economy - its economic - theoretic and economic - applicative conditions and trends. Both as inferiority, deficit and insufficiency of economic paradigms of the Macedonian economic entities as to their formulation, establishment and development based on the elements/factors of the knowledge economy, and as inferiority, deficiency and insufficiency of the Macedonian economy within the frames of the ruthless competitiveness on the global market. A global economic competition on a global market, clearly as such (with such market performance) as it is at the moment - meaning, after the successful completion of the Uruguay round of GATT and the establishment of WTO (with all its rules of the global market competition); after the unsuccessful start of the Qatar round of WTO for further liberalization of world trade (primarily of its segment involving agricultural products); as well in the period and conditions of initial overcoming the global financial - economic crisis, accompanied by individual, but completely relevant by their power, economic and political "servings" from the economic and protectionist (meaning anti-market) positions - which were officially overruled on the G-20 Summits in Washington and London, held in April and November 2009.[14]

On contrary, the Macedonian economy (Macedonian economic/market entities) shall have to accept and implement the concept of knowledge based economy, as a result to the tendencies of the market. It is the competition on the market that will force economic entities to require and learn to apply all those elements/factors of founding and development of the necessary level of market competitiveness, including the element/factor of knowledge economy - equaling economy/economic entities (their market competitiveness) and the scientific research and innovations/knowledge as epistemological knowledge. The experience from the realization of the objectives from the Lisbon Strategy 2010 shows exactly that - shows that some form of State interventionism,[15] including the most significant form speaking of the Lisbon Strategy, the objective that countries members of EU invest at least 3% of their GDP into research and innovation until 2010 (whereas 2/3 would be business/corporative investments, and 1/3 would budget/State investments) cannot be optimally functional.[16] It is completely unrealistic to think that it could be possible, in conditions of market economy, in a kind of State interventionism (for example, in

14) Sasajkovski S.: Neoliberalism, State interventionism, Global financial- economic crisis (several ideological /ideological – political focuses), Annual Bulletin of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (2009).
15) Karnik A.:Theories of State Intervention, www.mu.ac.in/arts/social_science/economics/eco5.pdf (1996).
16) Kesner Skreb M.: State Intervention for Growth Promotion in Market Economies, www.ideas.repec.org/p/ipf/occasi.1.html (1997).

form of a law or a by-law, or similar) to force economic entities to do something (anything, including investing in scientific research and innovation), if the competition on the market does not force them to do so.

In this context, it must be firmly emphasized the fundamental fact that if it should be required, formulated, defined (within the frames of Euro-integration processes of the State) Macedonian expression of the European concept of knowledge economy; and if we honestly want the Macedonian knowledge economy to be condemned/ predestined to success, it must be an imperative to completely (re)construct the Macedonian economy as a truly functional market economy. This fundamental/essential conclusion primarily means, as an imminent expression of an ideological will and determination, to maximally devote and efficiently eliminate all counter market elements/factors, which functionally burden/obstruct the construction and function of the Macedonian marker as truly, completely free market (and, of course, Macedonian economy as a truly completely liberal market economy). Macedonian economy/Macedonian market, in this context, shall have to be liberated (we emphasize this once again, since it is of crucial importance: Primarily as an expression/product of an imminent ideological and political will and determination), as for example, from various political-party- businessmen/corporative associations (cooperation due to mutual interest, understandably: of criminal and corruptive nature), furthermore, for example, also from various counter market (monopoly, etc.) businessmen/corporative agreements.[17] It should not in any way be allowed the businessmen/corporative approximation to the holders of political positions (to political party elites), the State Budget and the dispose of the budget or the State tolerance of the monopoly and other anti- market thinking and behavior to be a specific pseudo-businessman/pseudo economic *modus Vivendi*, which in most cases has a decisive affect on the (un)success of the concrete (political - party "favorite" vs. political- party "not favorite") economic entities. It is due to the fact that it is quite normal in such counter - market conditions, economic entities not to be motivated at all in an original and functional market manner, to search for the true market elements/ factors of their market competitiveness, including the element/factor of the concept of knowledge economy.

17) Rose – Ackerman S. : Corruption and the Global Economy, www.iie.com/publications/chapters_preview/12/2iie2334.pdf (1998).

CONCLUSION

Euro-integrative processes of the Republic of Macedonia shall inevitably lead the country to a moment of direct confrontation with the EU concept for founding, building and development of European economy as a knowledge intensive economy. This concept of knowledge economy, economy founded, built and developed based on epistemological knowledge - knowledge which is the end product of a scientific and research process, has been directly imposed by the discovered formula for an energetic, stable, and sustainable growth of the competitive global economies to the EU economy (most of all - the US and Japanese economy).

Namely, in the second half of the 90's, an issue that seriously posed itself against the European Union was the reality and objectivity of the stagnation of the growth rate of the European economy in relation to the growth rates of the other two globally rival economies, those of the USA and Japan. Hence, in March 2000, "the Lisbon Strategy 2010" was adopted, and it is structured in three components: Economic - in order to build competitive, dynamic and knowledge based economy; social - in order to modernize social inclusion models, especially through investments in education, and using that instrument facilitate employment; environmental, to achieve environmentally sustainable economic growth.

The basic precondition for founding and development of the concept of knowledge based economy is to construct and build the Macedonian economy as a completely functional "free market" neoliberal economy. This, on the other hand, means that the Macedonian economy shall be economy where the success of economic entities involved on the market shall be dependant and based on their market competitiveness. Macedonian economy shall have to accept and implement the concept of knowledge economy, as a result to the tendencies of the market. It is the competition on the market that will force economic entities to require and learn to apply all those elements/factors of founding and development of the necessary level of market competitiveness, including the element/factor of knowledge intensive economy - equaling economy /economic entities (their market competitiveness) and the scientific research and innovations / knowledge as epistemological knowledge.

References:

Archibugi Daniele - Lundvall Bengt - Ake: *The Globalizing Learning Economy*, www.scholer.google.com (2004).

Gacs J : *The Macroeconomic Conditions of EU - Inspired Employment Policies*, www.econ.core.hu/doc/dp/dp/mtdp0520.pdf (2005).

Hartwich O. M.: *Neoliberalism*: *The Genesis of a Political Swearword*, www.cis.org.au/temp/op114_neoliberalism.pdf (2009).

Karnik A.: *Theories of State Intervention*, www.mu.ac.in/arts/social_science/economics/eco5.pdf (1996).

Kesner Skreb M.: *State Intervention gor Growth Promotion in Market Economies*, www.ideas.repec.org/p/ipf/occasi/1.html (1997).

Kotz D.M.: *Contradictions of Economic Growth in the Neoliberal Era*, www.people.umass.edu/dmkotz/Contradictions_07_05.pdf (2007).

Kudrle R. T.: *The Globalization of Competition Policy*, www.ggc.wu-wien.ac.at/images/kudrle_paper.doc (2004).

Rose - Ackerman S.: *Corruption and the Global Economy*, www.iie.com/publications/chapters_preview/12/2iie2334.pdf (1998)

Rothbard M. N.: *Power and Market*, www.books.google.com (2004)

Sasajkovski S.: *The Lisbon Strategy as a basis for development of the new European knowledge based society and the new European knowledge intensive economy, international scientific conference under the heading "The Challenges of the new economy", Faculty of Economy - Prilep (2005) (trans. from Macedonian)*

Sasajkovski S.: *Neoliberal flexibilizations of labor markets and EU employment policies, Scientific gathering "Social and Cultural Aspect of Euro-integration", ISPPI and the Institute for Ancient Slav literature, Prilep (2008) (trans. from Macedonian)*.

Sasajkovski S. *Neoliberalism, State interventionism, Global financial- economic crisis (several ideological /ideological - political focuses), Annual Bulletin of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (2009) (trans. from Macedonian).*

Sasajkovski S. *Knowledge in documents and EU policies, International Scientific conference "Knowledge - capital of the future" Institute for knowledge management, Faculty of Veterinary*

Medicine, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (2009) (trans. from Macedonian).

Scott A. J.: *Regions and the World Economy*, www.books.google.com (2000).

Soete L.: *A Knowledge Economy Paradigm and its Consequences*
www.merit.unu.edu/publications/papers/200510_soete.pdf (2005).

Documents

Lisbon Strategy, www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm

Facing the challenge. The Lisbon strategy for growth and employment, Report from the Hight Level Group chaired by Wim Kok,
www.ec.europa.eu/growthandjobs/pdf/kok_report_en.pdf (2004).

Cities and Regions in the New Learing Economy, www.books.google.com (2001).

The Future of EU Competitiveness, Department for Business, Innovation and Skillls, www.berr.gov.uk/files/file51732.pdf (2009).

Социологија Sociology	УДК/UDC 37.014.543 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Petar Atanasov
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

ABSTRACT

The importance of education is seen through its influence on the economic growth and human development in general. In the field of development, investments made in human capital are maybe the key factor. This means that investing in education is a condition without which no society can develop. After the Second World War, the expectations for the role of education in development had been quite big. The expansion and improvement of education were considered essential pre-conditions for development. The governments of many countries invested a lot in education. Unfortunately, towards the end of the 20th century, this optimism decreased. Not all investments in education were decisive for the development. At the same time, resources were insufficient and the quality of education not always attainable. This work is going to analyze the role of education and its relation to socio-economic development. **The central dilemma to this research is: how much is being invested in education and if education is in any way a guarantee for development.** Developing countries and the countries of medium development are oftentimes advised to continue investing in education. Education has both, direct and indirect influence on individuals and societies as a whole. Some of the knowledge gained regarding the relation of the socio-economic development and education is going to be compared with the situation and the experience in the Republic of Macedonia. We will also analyze the education segments which are mostly innovated and invested in. This work is an attempt to analyze the issues related to education and socio-economic development and to elaborate on the main educational theses in this area.

Key words: socio-economic development, education, human capital, developing countries

After the end of the Second World War and according to education chroniclers, the expectations for the influence of education on development were quite big. However, in the developing countries in the period of the 1970s this optimism for the contribution of education decreased. Practice showed that major issues were the insufficient or limited resources as well as the quality of education - two factors that have a huge impact on the end results of the education process. From the aspect of theory, two basic studies were analyzing the relation between education and socio-economic development. According to the theory of human capital, investing in human capital is profitable. The empirical proof for this theory is the correlation between the number of years spent in education and an individual's income. Most frequently, the more number of years a person spends in education means a bigger income (Shultz, 1971). The correlation is obvious, but there's no proof of causality. Supposedly, the relation was the increased labor productivity. At the same time, in the developing countries the rate of the return of investments in education was higher than the rate of the return of physical capital. According to the screening theory, education just reproduces social inequality from generation to generation. The main purpose of education for the masses was to teach them discipline, to have respect towards authorities, teach them timeliness, obedience, to have the ability to cooperate and to be concentrated. A big part of the education in the developing countries is irrelevant. The conclusion from this theory is that education adds nothing to the existing personal abilities of the individual and has therefore no autonomic influence on productivity. The expansion of the education system only contributes to the inflation of diplomas - credentialism. There's no improvement in productivity whatsoever (Szirmai, 2005: 214-9). In the majority of cases, education debates were based more on beliefs and ideological convictions than on empirical evidence. This is why the theses are so extremely different.

The analyses are firm in their conclusions: for the developing countries, investments in education are more than necessary. Basic literacy is still being measured by whether people can read and write or use basic arithmetic operations. Illiteracy in the world has clearly started to decline. According to experts, economy can develop when literacy reaches the level of over 70%. Literacy of the world population has gone up from 70% in 1980 to 80% in 2000. But education by itself is not enough for economic development. What is needed are investments in physical capital and functioning of the institutions that provide conditions for further development. Countries though can benefit from the investments into physical capital when the level of literacy becomes higher and of better quality. **Investments solely in education do not promote economic growth. Education has an impact only if it's accompanied by investments in capital assets and technology**. Complementarity of investments into physical capital assets, human capital and technology is one of the most important conclusions from the contemporary research of economic development and technological change. One thing is certain: **investments in human capital remain to be one of the most important elements for a successful development strategy of the developing countries of today** (Szirmai, 2005: 225). We always have to take into account the complementarity of investments into human capital and other factors of sustainable development. Whether or not a better education leads towards a faster economic development is still a matter of much debate. Many authors feel that school does not create human capital. School does not raise the level of cognitive skills or productivity, but can increase personal income since to employers better education symbolizes ambition and capability (Pritchett, 1996).

One other author conducted research on the relatedness of education and development. According to Krueger, (2001: 1330) micro and macro-literature emphasize the role of education in income growth. However, from a micro-perspective, we cannot say for sure if social return of education surpasses personal return even though there are other positive elements such as decreased crime rate and decreased social welfare, if we invest into the marginalized and underprivileged groups. From a macro-economic perspective and investments made in higher education, the proof is not that reliable. The only thing certain is that the increase of the average achievements in education generates wider national benefits.

Since the middle of the 19th century, education has become an evermore important part in people's lives. In many technologies of today, education is considered as the precondition for high expertise. This begs the question: how do we assess or measure educational development? Important **indicators** for this are the percentages of the population at a certain age included into the corresponding education degree. According to available theory, there are most frequently six education stages differentiated: no education, uncompleted primary education, completed primary education, uncompleted secondary education, completed secondary education and higher education. Another important indicator is the time spent in the education system. Financial indicators show the investments of the government into education per national product, government's expenditure and costs per student at a different level of education. There are other parameters as well, among which physical indicators, such as: number of teachers, teacher-student ratio, the number of infrastructure in education etc. The most difficult indicator to measure is undoubtedly the quality of education.

EDUCATION INDICATORS

One of the basic indicators is the inclusion percentage of the young population in education. The data from the developing countries analyzes this condition with the **overall inclusion into education**, which has quite increased since the 1960s. There was a slight fall in inclusion in the 1980s. The inclusion of the young reached its peak in the period of 1999/2000 with a participation of 77%. According to some data, the gap in the level of education between the developed and developing counties is slowly but surely closing. In some countries, the participation into secondary and higher education increased over the one in primary education. **More detailed analyses show that the data for an overall inclusion are too optimistic**. The data for the inclusion according to school years confirms that real inclusion is much smaller. For instance, in 2000, 18% of all students in the developing countries at the age of 6-11 hadn't attended primary schools at all. This is especially the case for Sub-Saharan Africa where an average of 43% of students at the age from 6-11 did not attend primary schools. A great number of students dropped out of school before acquiring a diploma. The **number of years spent in education** in the developing countries though, calculated as an average per worker, doubled in the period from 1960 to 1980, i.e. increased from 2.7 to 5.5 years per employee. Nevertheless, there is still a huge gap compared to the developed countries, where employees have an average of 12 years spent in education. (Szirmai, 2005: 229)

In most countries, **the realistic expenditure per student** in primary education is increasing. Unfortunately, these are not planned investments. Expenditure on secondary education in the developing countries is quite higher than the expenditure in primary education. Also, the costs for tertiary education are still much higher than the ones for primary education. In 1965, developing countries invested an average of 3% in education from their gross domestic product. In 1999-2000 this percentage rose to 3.9%. That same year, the rich countries invested a 5.1% in education. But the differences in the gross domestic products are huge, as well as financial resources invested into education.

All formally registered indicators refer to **formal education**. There are many forms of education that fit into the category of informal education. The advocates for this type of education believe this to be much more suitable for the practical everyday needs of people than formal education. The progress in information technology and communication has created new conditions for distance learning studies. This is of utmost importance to people from rural and remote regions. Informal education also refers to life-long learning and the accumulation of knowledge and skills as well as experience gained from everyday life. The development of mass media and other means of communication, such as newspapers, radio, cinema, television, internet, books and magazines, has a great influence on the universal learning of all generations.

On the one hand, the developing countries are coming closer to **universal primary education**. On the other hand, the participation in secondary and tertiary education in these countries today is higher than this was the case with France, England and Germany in 1950. This means that countries have finally come to the conclusion that if they want development, they have to invest in education. Different countries have given different priorities to various education degrees. In some countries, primary education had the highest priority, and in others, secondary or higher education. In order to address some issues more easily, in Dakar in 2000, the World Education Forum had formulated 6 major education goals. Among them were the following: by 2010 all children need to be granted access to primary education, to improve the literacy level in adults by 50% and to accomplish gender equality in education by 2015. According to UNESCO reports, 2002, good results have been achieved so far: 84 countries with 32.4% of the world population are going to meet all three goals, 43 countries with 35.8% of the world population are going to meet at least two of the three goals, whereas 28 countries are not going to meet a single of these goals. The last category includes more than 25% of the world population. This is a group consisting of least developed countries whose issues are unlikely to be solved in the near future, both economical and educational. However, with no investment in education, one can expect no development.

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

At the end of the 1970s, the growth rate in education infrastructure started to decline. As opposed to this, **the demands for continuous education were growing** due to several reasons, but also on the account of the growth in population. This gap between the demand for more education and the **limited and available resources** was constantly increasing. That's why special attention needs to be paid on the efficiency of education compared to investments, which will never be quite enough. The cutbacks though will mostly influence primary education, which is unfortunately paid the least attention. The limited resources can, to a certain degree, be supplemented with investments from the private sector, too.

The governments of the poorer countries have **dedicated little attention to education material**. Most frequently, education materials are copied from the western education systems, which are oftentimes inappropriate for the conditions and needs of the citizens from poorer countries. Education by definition focuses on exam preparation and studying by heart. And when the education process is over, we have no way of measuring how much the students have actually acquired, i.e. learned. **Educational inclusion does not guarantee educational results and achievements.**

Education systems in developing countries too, were without exception, copies of the western models. There was almost **no inclusion of local topics**. The language of education was mostly the language of the former colonial oppressor. Everywhere, modern education reflects the social and technological achievements in education systems of the dominant nations of the world society. The purpose of education is to connect the life of people in the underdeveloped parts of the world to the knowledge of the modern developed world. **Very little attention is paid on agriculture**. Educational materials are exclusively oriented towards contemporary urban spaces of society. Primary education is not adjusted to the needs of the young in the rural underdeveloped regions. Not only in primary education, but also in secondary and higher education, subjects with rural topics are considered a rarity.

Almost all authors strive for a **more practical orientation of education**. Although, such reforms always bring about some sort of resistance in students since for them education is an important element of vertical social mobility. Lower vocational education is looked upon as an obstacle to vertical promotion, even though just a small number of students stand a chance to enter the higher levels of education and higher society. We also have to stress the fact that the experience with vocational education so far has proven to be a disappointment. (Szirmai, 2005). Skills acquired in school are hardly used in practice. Here of course it is important to define which activity, skills or practical skills we're talking about, but the fact remains, if these are not specific skills, education oftentimes does not give practical results.

Access to educational institutions is also quite unequal. Firstly, there is a huge difference between urban and rural regions. Rural regions fall behind urban regions in terms of their participation and quality of education. There's **inequality in the education participation between men and women**. In the developing countries, in secondary and higher education, there are far less women than men. The higher the education level, the more gender disparities. Two-thirds of all illiterate people in the world are women. Illiteracy is highest in the Arabic countries, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Education of women is also important for economic development. In the last 20 years, the participation of women has increased on all levels of education. In the developing countries, the overall index of the gender parity has increased from 0.86% to 0.92% in the period from 1990 to 1999. Inequality is also due to **the socio-economic status of families** that students are a part of. It is more likely that the students from well-off families or children that belong to the dominant ethnic group will advance to higher levels of education than their peers although there are countries where the access to higher levels of education is much more open and liberal for the lower socioeconomic strata, too.

There is a huge **discrepancy between education and the labor market** in developing countries. There is almost no education on agriculture in countries where agriculture is the main source for employment or a means to survival. Consequently, the participation in secondary and higher education is growing much faster than the need for highly-educated individuals on the labor market. There are much more doctors than nurses, much more engineers than qualified handymen etc. **And in this process, the people with higher education eliminate those with less education**. There are many people that have gotten overqualified for their jobs. This also reflects on the quality of education in a negative sense. Everything's oriented towards tests and grades while the content is second grade.

Now we have another **new group that arose, made up of unemployed people with higher education**. Investments in higher education could most probably have been reallocated and thus become much more productive in primary education. After the promotion of highly-educated staff, there began a brain-drain from the poorer to the richer countries. In this way, not only are the social benefits of education of no effect, but they are also used by the richer countries. **One of UNESCO's recommendations is to pay more attention to primary education**. This level has the biggest rate of social and personal return compared to the other levels of education. One can do much more in primary education with much less. However, education policies are created by influential political structures, and they usually put more focus on the higher levels of education or they make the planning based solely on social demand.

Planning based on economic justification takes into account the costs per student at different levels of education, as well as the direct and indirect financial benefits from education. The results from the analyses conducted, have shown that the return is much bigger in education investments than in physical capital investments. According to other analyses though, the return from general secondary education is bigger than the one from vocational education. According to third type of analyses, which are also the most common, especially in the poorer countries, primary education has given the biggest return. Overall, women have a bigger return from primary education. But in developing countries this return is bigger in men (20%) than in women (13%). Women get a bigger return from secondary education (18% as opposed to 14%). (Psacharopoulos, Patrinos, 2001)

There's a huge gap between education planning and education practice. Plans are usually abstract and there are always a lot of problems with their implementation and insufficient resources. This explains why so many reforms have never passed the planning stage.

WHERE DO WE STAND ON THESE ISSUES

It must be pointed out that most frequently education is immensely appreciated by parents as an instrument for the promotion of their children which is why they most often make education the priority in their family budgets.[1] However, in our education process many things have not been standardized to give the expected effect and results. Let us see what the priorities of our country are in terms of the **education policy**. With the National Strategy for the Development of Education 2005-2015 (Ministry of Education and Science, 2004) the government intended to make Macedonia an equal and respected partner at a more general level. There were more strategic objectives planned in different fields among which, from an aspect of this particular analysis, the more important ones are: education for all by providing education equality and raising the educational, cultural and economic competences of the Macedonian society. Education was also one of the four strategic priorities listed in the National Work Program of the Government[2] in the period from 2008-2012 and as main initiatives supported by the government, among others, were the following: expansion of the eight-year education system into nine-year primary education (this has already been implemented), improvement of the school curricula (being implemented), introduction of new classes in foreign languages, physical education and information technology (being implemented), introduction of the "matura" examinations at the end of secondary education as well as the introduction of institutional monitoring of teachers. All of these objectives had been defined due to the low education status of the population which did not correspond to the ideas on including Macedonian economy and society into the contemporary world of today. Unfortunately, our education sector hasn't listed the reduction of the differences be-

1) http://www.britishcouncil.org/eumd-information-background-macedonia.htm
2) http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/FYR_Macedonia.pdf

tween the rural and urban regions as a priority yet. Neither is this the case with the differences between the developed and the extremely underdeveloped municipalities. The differences here are like the ones between the 19th and 21st century. If Skopje lives in the 21st century, many regions in Macedonia still don't have the necessary basic conditions for life, and not just lack of conditions for quality education. The 2005-2015 National Strategy has defined several fields that call for intervention, more important ones being of course the improvement of the quality of teachers, learning conditions, school infrastructure and the access to educational institutions. All was focused on the prevention of the production of poorly-educated staff that would find it hard to fit into today's world of modern technologies, as well as eliminating social exclusion. The government has made several very important interventions. In the field of primary education though, it seems not much has been done.

Education finances are not the government's policy's strongest suit and the finance percentage allocated for these purposes has not been the same always. All in all, finances set aside for education are fairly little. According to data from 2006, 2.9% has been set aside for education from the gross domestic product. According to another piece of data, 3.5% was set aside in 2006. Data shows that 3.8% was set aside in 2007 (UNICEF, 2008a). If we look at the time period from 2001 to 2007, there was an increase in finances of 38%.[3] Finances were stable in the period from 2003-2005, then they went down and then up again in 2007. Also, education finances in 2009 rose by about 40% compared to 2008. (Center for Research and Policy Making, 2009). This increase came as a result of the decision of the government to distribute free books to all students from primary education, and making transportation, the entire inclusion in secondary education and other costs free. Compared to our country, the average resources set aside for educational purposes in the neighboring countries for 2008 is 4%. In our country, this percentage has been growing since 2006, but a lot more needs to be done if we want the government to reach the level of 5% from the GDP by 2015 (UNICEF, 2008b). According to UN analyses, primary education financing in Republic of Macedonia is very poorly orientated. For example, the funds allocated to primary education represent between 44% and 57% from the total education budget. More than 85% of these finances are for teacher salaries, which only goes to show that making investment into education quality is not much of a priority to the government. With its policy, the government has just stated that it strives to stimulate the quality of education. After Macedonia gained its independence and after the conflict of 2001, there were a lot of foreign donations and

3) http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/edu_pub_spe_on_edu_tot_of_gdp-education-public-spending-total-gdp

funds that poured into Macedonia for different purposes. And it seems that these funds at least did not produce the desired effect and the money was most likely spent inefficiently.

The government was somewhat successful in raising the **inclusion percentage of preschool, secondary and tertiary education**. There's been some improvement in the inclusion to secondary and higher education in these last 2-3 years. According to a lot of data, Macedonia is falling behind the average inclusion percentage of countries in Southeastern Europe. For example, the average inclusion in tertiary education is 30% compared to the region of Southeastern Europe (35%) and the region of Central, East Europe and Russia (43%). The inclusion percentage in primary education is 92% (the latest data says there's 95% inclusion) with almost 0% repeaters whereas the inclusion in secondary education is 82% (UNICEF, 2008a). In the period from 2004-2008 the inclusion of the young in secondary education rose from 85% to 95%. Almost 40% from the young so far have not completed secondary education and the capabilities of those that have, are not in line with international standards. According to another analysis, only 11% of children have been a part of the preschool period which refers to children up to the age of 7.[4] (UNICEF, 2008b). These are enormous differences compared to the unincluded children and it seems this is the most urgent objective of the government and society. Organized preschool education can be very efficient compared to the intercultural school environment, not only for the children, but for the parents as well and also in terms of paving a road towards a more inclusive and tolerant society. An important piece of data is that the inclusion of children in primary education has a tendency to decline depending on the wealthiness of the family, the education of the mother and ethnicity. Generally, in Macedonia, the inclusion rates into higher education are much lower than the ones of the EU countries. What should be held important to education planners is that the number of children joining the education process each year is less and less. So in 1989 there were 34,608 children that enrolled and in 2002, there were 27,761 students. The government has made its priority to increase the number of students in higher education, from 2.212 on every 100,000 people to 3.500 students by 2015.

Equal **access to education** is still a big challenge for the government. There are many gaps in the education process and the inclusion of the sub-national groups. The biggest differences are between urban and rural regions, as well as between Macedonians and the Roma people. In terms of the access to secondary education, the division on the grounds of wealth and ethnicity is almost the same as the regional

4) http://www.unicef.org/tfyrmacedonia/MK_SITAN_ENG.pdf

differences. It's thought that the inclusion and the increase of the quality of education in the poorest of groups will give best results in terms of decreasing poverty (UNICEF, 2008b). Equal access and the improvement of education quality should have a positive effect on the decrease of poverty and social exclusion. When talking about access, we can see least differences in gender inclusion and participation in the education process (UNICEF, 2008a). This conclusion is a little different when we look at the girls from rural regions, the girls from poorer families or from some ethnic groups which are of higher risk to be excluded from the education process (UNICEF, 2008b). There's especially a big problem with the girls from Islamic religion in rural regions where the parents are the main obstacle to their inclusion in education due to a number of reasons, and especially because they get married at a very early age in life. Also, women as historical and political figures are mainly absent from textbooks and it seems that gender balance has not been institutionally accepted as a guiding principle in education. For instance, women are predominant as teachers in primary schools whereas in secondary schools, that's men. Several languages are used as instruction languages in Macedonian primary and secondary schools: Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Serbian. It must be noted that the government has also made several steps into making the access to educational institutions much easier for people with special needs. There are 45 schools, with a total of 978 students with special needs, even though most of them have been included in standard primary schools.

The quality of education is also a category hard to attain. From all of the countries in the region that participated in the international tests (PISA 2000, PIRLS 2003, TIMSS 2006) Macedonia came last in all tests in literacy and maths and below the international average. Even though the student-teacher ratio is not bad (the average is 19 students per teacher) the biggest problem seems to be the student's inefficiency due to the old-fashioned studying by heart and the small support that teachers get from the school in the preparation of their classes. Namely, one of the priorities of the government is the improvement of the quality of the social competencies of students. Certain measures were taken with the implementation of the *Modernization of Education* project and the training of teachers, but much more needs to be done as well.

Education needs to be seriously reformed on all levels in order to create a usable and competitive work force, especially on the domestic market. So far, education and trainings have failed to keep track with the needs of the post-transition economy (UNICEF, 2008b). Teachers use mainly dated didactic teaching methods. In primary and secondary education, there's lack of teaching methods that incite participation from the students, while the curricula are old and inflexible. Teachers do not encourage creativity, team work, critical thought or problem solving. Education does not prepare students for life-long learning but only gives them formal knowledge that just helps them pass their tests. The so-called “small corruption” is still practiced by teachers who think their grades are the only ones of any merit that would get the student to move onto a higher education degree. Especially favoritism and discrimination that the government is trying to prevent by implementing external testing, has been seriously obstructed by the teachers themselves as well as their schools. The main idea behind the increase of 5% GDP set aside for education purposes has been facing problems in this time of financial crisis. But there are other projects like free textbooks for primary and secondary vocational education, compulsory secondary education, information technology and two foreign languages as compulsory subjects as well as the access and control of education quality through standardized tests. A nine-year primary education was introduced, in the school year of 2008/2009 in secondary education there were 95% of the students included and the goal is 100% participation. At the moment our country is financing five state universities, one of which is in Albanian. At this moment, everyone who’s a part of the education process is going to spend an obligatory 12/13 years of education, which is a piece of data that we should be proud of and which is in line with the standards of developed countries. Theory has confirmed that the years spent in education are a guarantee for bigger income in a person’s career. At the moment, an average of 98.2% of men and 96.1% of women are literate in Macedonia, which means we still have more to go.

CONCLUSION

Education cannot be held as a guarantee for development. The high hopes of people that have invested in education have not always been met. Nevertheless, education is still one of the most important segments in the development process. Developing countries have been advised to continue investing into education (Szirmai, 2005: 253). Investments should be made on all levels of education. But the percentages of recourses invested would be different from country to country. In poorer countries or the developing countries, the biggest investments should be made in primary education or in preschool education even and thus much bigger results can be achieved with very little.

The progress of civilization, especially contemporary civilization, is mostly result of education being institutionalized and of the benefits from the results of scientific disciplines. Figures are figures, but the quality of education is what differentiates the rich from the poor countries. The conclusion is that education is not a guarantee, but it is a prerequisite for social development. This is why the Republic of Macedonia needs to also invest in education. Quality of education and the increase of finances comes first, second is access and inclusion, etc. Without the first set of priorities being realized, the second can't give good results, either. All additional planning and projects should be just complements to the primary goal which is **a better quality education.**

References:

Center for Research and Policy Making (2009). *How to reach 100% Enrollment in Secondary Schools*? Skopje: Center for Research and Policy Making.

Krueger, A. L. (2001). Education for Growth: Why and For Whom? *Journal of Economic Literature, XXXIX*, 1101-1136.

Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Macedonia. (2004). *National Strategy for the Development of Education in the Republic of Macedonia 2005-2015*. Skopje: Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Macedonia.

Ministry of Education and Science. (2007). *Concept for a Nine-year Primary Education*. Skopje: Bureau for the Development of Education. (trans. from Macedonian)

Pritchett, L. (1996). *Where Has ALl the Education Gone*? Washington: The World Bank.

Psacharopoulos, G. P. (2001). *Returns to Investment in Education: A Further Update*. Latin America and the Caribbean Region: The World Bank.

Schultz, T. (1971). *Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and Research*. New York: The Free Press.

Szirmai, A. (2005). *The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

UNESCO. (2002). *The 2002 Global Education for all Monitoring Report: Is the World on Track*? Paris: UNESCO.

UNICEF. (2008). *Children in FYR Macedonia - A Situational Analysis*. New York: UNICEF.

UNICEF. (2008). *Country Profile - Education in FYR Macedonia*. New York: UNICEF.

Социологија Sociology	УДК/UDC 316. 334. 2 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Ruzica Cacanoska
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE MACEDONIAN SOCIETY

ABSTRACT

Social capital is capital generated through the development of social connections and networks. Social capital is basically the "connective" tissue between the physical and human capital. It incorporates trust, standards and the networking of individuals which enable for the better functioning of the collective or the society as a whole. Trust in society is gained by sharing a system of moral values, projected through the expectations that the others would act in an honest and just way, too.
Social capital animates the fact that the collective operates according to the structure it creates, embodied through the relations between people and the networks that they create, i.e. the trust produced as a constituent element within the relations and networks. On the one hand, the trust in other people and the trust in the system institutions is reflected through the communications and the establishment of relations with the rest of the individuals from the collective and on the other hand by the participation of the established institutional networks. Based on the available empirical data, it is clear that social capital is at a relatively low level of development in the Macedonian society, which is due to the low trust of the citizens in the institutions of the system, in other individuals as well as in the relatively poorly developed civil sector.

Key words: social capital, trust, morale

INTRODUCTION

The theoretical concept and the empirical measurement bases became an extremely important topic of social scientific thought, especially towards the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Social capital is related to the cultural framework of life, embodied in a base of network relations, contacts and, of course, the trust developed among the actors in the society, based on the preferred social values. The concept of social capital explains and elaborates on the very existence and quality of the established relations and formed connections between the individuals and groups. Social capital refers to the establishment of formal relations and contacts, but it especially emphasizes the existence of informal relations, i.e. the established networks that can be especially useful for the individual or the society as a whole. For instance, the basis for the establishment of these contacts, the basis for the establishment of the social networks could be: religious; it could get to develop as a result of the preferred common interest of nurturing certain cultural elements, such as folklore; or it could be sports activities, expressed through the whole group of established sports clubs and associations; it could be on a basis of promotion of certain forms of political action and behavior. In one word, social capital is the attribute of contacts, groups and networks, established for various reasons. The indifference of the citizens toward what is going on in their social community, the low cohesion in the society, the growing rates of the different kinds of antisocial behavior are a result of the underdeveloped social capital, i.e. the lack of trust, not only at individual, but collective level as well. In such a situation, instead of actively participating in the creation and the life of a democratic society, citizens more or less turn into "merely" its passive observers.

BASIC CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

Even though social capital has been a long discussed topic in contemporary social thought, it has still managed to evolve and develop by promoting several dominant concepts.

As a typical representative of the European social thought, Pierre Bourdieu has defined social capital at a level of the individual as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition."[1] Especially interested in the social order and its proper functioning, Bourdieu argues that social capital should contribute to sustaining social standards…The accent on the production of social capital is put on the social networks, i.e. on the "incorporation" of the individuals in them…[2] Bourdieu projects social capital under the influence of the clearly profiled approach of the conflict theory, i.e. Marxist sociology. Economic gain is a result of the activation of the social networks and relations, i.e. the rational utilization of potential resources. In this way, social capital becomes capital that is consciously produced by the individual in order to increase the economic capital.

By making a comparison analysis of the issue of education discontinuation in state and private educational institutions, James Coleman pointed out the degree of development of social capital as the most relevant factor. The higher development rate of social capital in private schools has contributed to the decreased rate of students that have discontinued their education. According to Coleman, social capital should be established on the basis of its functions. It does not represent only the individual entity, but a variety of different entities having common characteristics: they all have social structure basis, and they all contribute to the facilitation of certain actions of the individuals within the structure.[3] This is why Coleman thinks that the basis of social capital is trust which is based on the general standards of reciprocity. The profunctional determination of social capital underlines the achievement of certain goals of the social community which otherwise could not be attained if the social capital had not existed. Social capital consists of the following components: trust, social networks and standards of reciprocity. Coleman has based his pro-collective concept on the integration of the economic and sociological approach.

The creation of informal networks enables the successful collaboration between individuals and groups. Social capital is produced and conveyed by culture, especially religion and tradition, says Francis Fukuyama in his study on trust.[4]

The Harvard politicologist Robert Putnam has emphasized the social dimension of social capital claiming that "social capital can never be the private property of

1) Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, str. 119.
2) In his empirical study on the French middle class, based on a lot of data from cultural capital, Bourdieu equips, provides social capital with one indicator – the membership in golf clubs, which is considered to be especially important for "sweetening up" when conducting business. (Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge, London, p. 291.
3) Coleman, J.S. (1990) *Foundation of social theory*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p. 302.
4) Fukuyama, F. (2000), *Trust – Social Virtues and Creation of Prosperity*, Sources, Zagreb.

anyone that would profit from it."[5] The key idea of the theory of social capital rests on social networks, which are of special importance. "If physical capital refers to the physical objects, human capital refers to individuals, social capital refers to the relations between individuals - social networks and reciprocity norms as well as trust and honesty, as their result."[6] Social capital integrates the basic characteristics of the social community, defined as trust, norms and social networks. Putnam analyzes social capital by measuring the trust one individual places in another, by the size of the institutional trust, i.e. by the participation of citizens into civil associations.

Social capital animates the fact that the collective operates according to the structure it creates, embodied through the relations between people and the networks that they create, i.e. the trust produced as a constituent element in relations and networks. On one hand, the trust in other people and the trust in the system institutions is reflected in the communications and the establishment of relations with the rest of the individuals from the collective and, on the other hand, by the participation of the established institutional networks. Putnam explains the trend of the decrease of social capital most vividly in his most popular study "Bowling alone: the Collapse and Revival of the American Community" (2000) claiming that this is happening because the individual chooses to bowl alone instead of playing in a team. The individualization process is, among other things, an element that has a decisive role in paving the downhill path of social capital. The universal decrease of the involvement of citizens into politics and religion are a part of the final conclusions in his biggest study on the civic involvement of the American population. He still emphasizes that the religious relations within the collectives are the key segment that creates and sustains social capital in America. Half of the entire "amount" of social capital, the American community owes precisely to religion. Mega churches and the internet are the main sources of social capital in the twenty-first century, says Putnam.

Social capital has become the subject of continuous research in World Bank projects. According to their approach, social capital refers to institutions, relations and norms that shape the quality and quantity of social interaction. In that sense, social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society - it is the "glue" that holds them together. The World Bank has integrated social capital into the concept for the struggle against poverty, the struggle against corruption etc.

---

5) Putnam, R. (with Leonardi R. and Nanetti R.) – (1993), *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 170.
6) Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster, стр. 19.

They have defined the noted part from the conceptual approaches in the study of social capital as a **set of social norms, aspect values and specific behavior that influence the creation, development and sustainability of the trust in a society, not only at individual, but group level as well**. Social capital is the connective tissue in the society that helps and facilitates its functioning. Social capital expresses social cohesion; social capital revolves around the axis of trust that is created and implemented in the social community by developing several formal and informal connections and networks among the members of one collective. Because of this, the indicator of trust is considered as an indicator that clearly determines the profile of the social capital of one society. The indicator of trust has its own general dimension by measuring the general trust in society, then the trust in the system institutions and the trust of one individual towards another. This data elaborate on the position and structure of the civil sector.

Social capital basically reflects the rate and the quality of gained trust in the narrower or wider community and is measured by several indicators, the most frequent of which are:

1. trust in social institutions (assessment whether or to what degree they can be trusted…);
2. trust in other people measurable by the extent people place trust in others - if we believe them or not, do we take common action, do we believe that our trust will be requited…) and
3. being a member and taking action in civil organizations (regardless of their type - secular or religious)

The empirical research from the last two-three decades in the field of sociology, politicology, especially the public opinion projects has dealt with the subject of trust in the institutions of the system, trust in other individuals in society, the feeling of belonging to their own collective, structure, development and the qualitative determinants of civil society etc.

SOCIAL CAPITAL EMPIRICAL INDICATORS IN THE RESEARCH IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

There hasn't been special research conducted in the Republic of Macedonia that deals with social capital as a separately defined issue. There have been several researches conducted that dealt with a part of the elements that explain social capital. This is why I will make an effort in this study to set a preliminary sketch of the social capital based on a secondary analysis of the available empirical data obtained from other projects. This study is, first of all an effort to specify the issue of social capital in the Macedonian society. I have no doubt in my mind that the profiling of the Macedonian society is a task that asks for a separate phenomenological and functional-analytical research of social capital. But this study makes an initial effort that, based on the data available, could possibly determine and create a certain profile, i.e. give an elementary picture of the degree of development of social capital in the Macedonian society.

According to the available empirical data, the profiling of the social capital will be developed by using the following indicators:

1. trust in the institutions of the system;
2. trust in people;
3. being a member and actively participating in the civil sector[7]

It is without a doubt that the basic indicator of social capital is trust. Trust in society is gained by sharing the system of moral values projected through the expectations that the others would act in an honest and just way, too. The transition period, developed through several supporting pillars such as, for example, privatization, gets the epithet of moral hypocrisy, moral crisis, i.e. it is reflected through the fall of moral values. Of course, the character of the "transition morale" has an impact on the establishment of trust in the institutions of the system, trust in other people and it is reflected in the communication and the establishment of relations with the rest of the people from the collective, on the one hand, and, of course, in the participation of the established institutional networks, on the other.

According to the indicator of institutional trust, measured in the Early Warning project[8] trust of the Macedonian people in the institutions of the system is relatively low, but it is increasing and becoming stable. Interestingly enough, the Macedonian people place most trust in religious communities.[9]

7) According to the research instrumentarium of the World Bank, social capital is being researched through these six modi: networks, trust, cooperation, information, inclusion and degree of strengthening.
8) UNDP, *Report on Early Warning (based on a public opinion research conducted by the Agency BRIMA Gallup)*, 2007, Skopje
9) This is a moment expressed through the public role of religion aimed above all on taking action in the moral and social sphere.
For more on this subject refer to the following projects and studies: UNDP, *Report on Early Warning (based on a public opinion research conducted by the Agency BRIMA Gallup)*, 2007, Skopje
Slaninka, D.. „*Institution Performance at Local Level*", study of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, 2006, Skopje.
Cacanoska, R. „*Religious Developments in the Macedonian Society*", study of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, 2008, Skopje.
Cacanoska, R. „*Public Religion, Civil Society, Social Capital*", Faculty of Law, Justinian Prima, Anthology dedicated to Vladimir Mitkov, 2010, Skopje.

The section that analyzes empirical data that define the *Political and Institutional Stability* underlines that Macedonia has entered into a period of completing the consolidation process after its transition towards democracy, having spent a long period at status quo which was mostly based on the distrust and pessimism in the national and political institutions.

If we examine the data that refer to the trust citizens place in the institutions of the system, like the Parliament, the President and the Government, we will see that people place "quite a low trust in Parliament (the maximum is 6% in January of 2003) and the President (maximum is 10% in November 2006). The Government from 2003 to 2006 has also been given extremely low trust (except for the period in January, 2003 with 12%). However, after the elections in 2006, people started to put more trust in the Government (November 2006 - 16%, April 2007 - 14%)[10] There was a positive change recorded in 2006, proved by the considerable increase of the trust people placed in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, conclude the authors of the study.

Citizens have related this institutional distrust to the "fact" that 80% of them believe that there is corruption and abuse of public (national) funds or there is abuse of the system institutions such as the Parliament, the ministries, the judicial sector,[11] the police, healthcare institutions, education and customs. This rate has remained unchanged according to the research conducted in the period from September 2004 to March 2007.[12]

The fact why citizens place little trust in the institutions of the system is explained or preconditioned by the degree and perception of the corruption of those institutions. But it should be emphasized that this is a fast-changing situation and that this data is several years old. In the lack of a more recent empirical base we have to use the one available. Nevertheless, the decreased trust in the institutions of the system reflects the decreased optimism of the citizens and the slow establishment of participating political culture. The key points required for building the trust in the institu-

10) UNDP, Ibid. p. 12.

11) A major source of distrust is the sector for the governance of law. They emphasize the fact that all important actors have to obey and support the primacy of law with no exception. With regard to the independence of the judiciary, the authors of this study underline the importance of the legal culture in one civil society, in the transition period, i.e. the lack thereof could be interpreted as a serious threat to democracy in the Republic of Macedonia. The authors feel that the recent judicial scandals that included judges, ombudsmen, prosecutors, attorneys and notaries had disclosed the unfinished transition in that sphere (UNDP, *Report on Early Warning (based on a public opinion research conducted by the Agency BRIMA Gallup)*, 2007, Skopje, p.24)

12) Ibid, p. 18.

tions of the system is among other things a reaction from the institutions followed by decrease of the rate of corruption which in turn would make citizens change their perception of it.

When it comes to the second indicator - the trust in other people - I would like to use the data obtained from the research entitled Civic Responsibility[13] in relation to altruism. This project examines altruism through three modalities, where dominant are the answers with a modality of 45.7% which claims that: "People take care only of themselves and are not interested in others, the community or the country." This orientation points to the fact that the degree of development of social capital is at a very low level, but the data from the next repeated project, according to this indicator shows further decline. In the research published in 2009, the rate of this modality went up to 50.7% and there was a 10% increase in the rate of the modality answers: "People are solidary and ready to help other people and groups when needed."

Especially important "terrain" for the creation and development of social capital is voluntary work which can be of religious, secular or mixed character depending on who's "activating" it. According to the research conducted in 2006 the data on the involvement rate of citizens in voluntary activities in the community shows that the citizens of Macedonia are not that interested in volunteering. Only 24.7% of the respondents said that they are already doing voluntary work organized by their community.

Treading the road of transition by changing one system of values for another, transition societies usually react with a smaller dosage of altruism, but a higher degree of egotism, individuality or introversion. With such rates of individually measured trust, every collective should react with an organized activity that would strengthen the collective activities and bring back the trust into the collective spirit. The mutual trust of people helps them join and participate in different organizations much more easily and respect the norms imposed by the community more appropriately and much more quickly. Not having trust means that organizations and the other people in society are felt foreign and for people to respect them means that there would have to be legal regulations prescribed because the traditional, unwritten table of norms cannot regulate them properly.

The voluntary involvement of citizens in various organizations, associations and clubs represents the civil, citizen sector which is treated as a key segment in the de-

13) There were two project studies published on civil responsibility (MCIC, Skopje), one in 2007, and the other in 2009.

velopment of social capital in post-communist countries. Usually in these countries the civil sector develops "slowly" getting over all of its "childhood diseases." According to the data from the Civil Sector Development Strategy, out of 5,769 civil organizations in 2003 in the Republic of Macedonia, the majority were sports associations or 35.4%, whereas 10.4% were cultural organizations. This table clearly shows the dominance of the sports organizations.

Citizens have started to slowly but surely engage into activities of civil organizations. According to the research data from 2006, the rate of respondents who confirmed their membership into civil organizations was only 15.6%. But in a more recent research,[14] 24% of citizens have said that they are members of various civil organizations. The people of Macedonia are mostly members of party organizations (41.6%).

The revival of the civil sector is very slow. This "ground" of creating social capital is relatively poorly utilized which is reflected on the overall positioning of the civil sector in society, as well as on its proper functioning. Its value orientation characterizes the Macedonian civil society as a society that needs to deal with two very urgent issues: poverty and corruption.[15] It needs to develop its pragmatic actions through a wider and thicker civil network, which will become an active subject of the Macedonian society. People have very little trust in the civil sector and only the proper and purposeful orientation of this sector can make people trust it more and become its active participants. According to the empirical indicators and assessments, generally speaking, the civil society in the Republic of Macedonia is moderately developed.[16] This degree of development shows that the civil sector has a relatively modest impact on the creation of new policies that clearly define the democratic life in the Macedonian society.

14) MCIC, *Social Responsibility of Citizens*, 2009.
15) MCIC Fifteen Years of Transition Later – from Stabilization to Civil Participation, CIVIKUS: Civil Society Index in the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2005
16) According to the indicators that describe and assess the civil sector, the study underlines the practice and promotion of the positive values as its very important determinant. The structure of the civil society in Macedonia is moderate and unbalanced, of limited width and far more limited depth of civil participation… (MCIC After 15 years of Transition – from Stabilization to Civil Participation, CIVIKUS: Civil Society Index in the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2005, p. 110.)

CONCLUSIONS

The outline of social capital in the Macedonian society is based on the secondary analysis of the empirical data obtained from different projects which refer to the indicator of trust at individual and group level, i.e. the development of the civil sector network. It's because of this that this analysis makes it harder to compare this data or development rates against to the rates of the countries in transition or in the neighborhood, for example. This is why the use of this data is limited and clearly asks for a completely new research on social capital, which would give a much better basis for comparison.

People place very little trust in the institutions of the system, but this is slowly but surely changing. The trust rates also include the perceptions of the citizens in terms of the activities that the institutions of the system have taken to deal with the most urgent issues of today, such as corruption etc. However, Macedonians place the most trust in religious institutions. The public role of religion ought to also leave its mark on public morale and the activation of people into the sphere of welfare.

At individual level trust is relatively low which points to the existence of "more radical" forms of individualism in the Macedonian society, i.e. to egotistical and non-altruistic tendencies. Most certainly, this indicator asks for an additional research and appropriate treatment within social life, but it clearly reveals the "quality" of the relations and networks formed among the Macedonian citizens in this period reflected among other things in the oscillations of moral standards, too.

The development of the civil sector is rather slow and because of that it is an inappropriate and insufficiently used base for the creation of social capital in the Macedonian society.

Social capital in the Macedonian society is relatively poorly developed which owes to the modest rates of trust in the institutions of the system, i.e. the very low trust at an individual level and the insufficiently developed and activated network of the civil sector. The low trust rates reflect the "moral crises" Macedonian society has gone and still is going through. All of this points to the fact that social capital hasn't been quite taken into consideration when creating public policies, i.e. in the democratization of the Macedonian society.

References:

Bourdieu, P. (1986), *The Forms of Capital*, in John G. Richardson (edt), Handbook of Theory and Research in the Sociology of Education, New York, Greenwald Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Cacanoska, R. „*Religious Developments in the Macedonian Society*“, study of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, 2008, Skopje (transl. from Macedonian).

Cacanoska, R. „*Public Religion, Civil Society, Social Capital*“, Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Faculty of Law "Justinian Prima", anthology dedicated to Vladimir Mitkov, 2010, Skopje (transl. from Macedonian)

Coleman, J.S. (1990) *Foundation of social theory*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press

Field, J. (2004), *Social Capital*, London and New York, Routledge.

Fukuyama, F. (2000), *Trust - Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, Sources, Zagreb (in Croatian)

Putnam, D. R. (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

World Bank Projects (social capital)

Government of the Republic of Macedonia - *Strategy of the Government for Cooperation with the Civil Sector (with an Action Plan for its implementation 2007-2011)*, Skopje, 2003 (trans. from Macedonian)

MCIC *Social Responsibility of Citizens, 2006* (trans. from Macedonian)

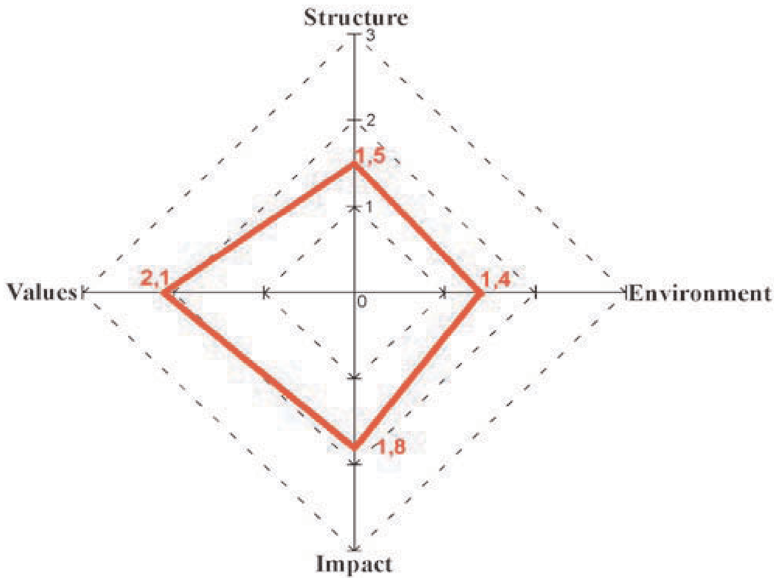
MCIC *Social Responsibility of Citizens, 2009* (trans. from Macedonian)

MCIC *Fifteen Years of Transition Later - from Stabilization to Civil Participation*, CIVIKUS: Civil Society Index in the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 2005 (trans. from Macedonian)

Slaninka, D.M. „*Institution Performance at Local Level*“, study of the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, 2006, Skopje. (transl. from Macedonian)

UNDP, *Report on Early Warning (based on a public opinion research conducted by the Agency BRIMA Gallup)*, 2007, Skopje (transl. from Macedonian)

APPENDIX



Diamond of the Civil Society in the Republic of Macedonia

Општествена патологија / Социологија Social pathology / Sociology	УДК/UDC 316.623-053.6 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Ljubica Choneva
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

SOCIAL IMPACT OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR IN YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is not to present the many forms of conflicts there are in society, but only those where physical force is employed. Therefore, the subject of analysis will be the type of violence that arises from individual interrelations or from the relations between individuals and small social groups within the young population. Such phenomena can be thus defined as socially negative and ask for a more thorough approach, one that would require researching the type, manifestation, intensity and other characteristics of violent behavior.

The most frequently used terms in defining social relations of violence are: antagonism, conflict, opposition etc. Violence and other socio-pathological phenomena are elements of social dysfunction and disorganization. Hence, the sociological study of these phenomena can help reveal the causes and conditions of their appearance in society as well as their immediate consequence of integration of the individual into the social system.

When it comes to the system and especially the individuals and the groups most affected by violence, their affects are most adverse. Our primary focus is going to be on the specific conditions of the young population within the Macedonian society, because of the fact that the violent behavior in young people is one of the most prominent forms of violence. Violent young people commit crimes more often, but there are other manifestations of violence that are on the rise, too. All of these cases of violence in young adults contribute greatly to the overall number of deaths, injuries and disabilities. What also needs to be pointed out here is the close relation between violence in the young and other forms of violent behavior.

Key words: violence, social impact, vandalism, school violence

INTRODUCTION

In the time we live in we have to face the great evil of violence. What is worrying is the fact that evil is generated from and also hurts people and what's more worrying is that it still continues to grow and expand.

This is quite a complex phenomenon which requires the attention of several disciplines: anthropology, biology, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, psychiatry, social welfare etc.

When we talk about the violent behavior of the young we need to focus our attention on its sources in order to be able to explain the many consequences it can have.

The meaning of the socio-sociological study of violent behavior can not be derived from its expansion as a phenomenon; in fact its meaning comes indirectly through the moral integration of young people in societies and their organization. That said, it is much more important to study the social reasons and conditions for this behavioral pattern as well as its consequences on the integration of the social individuals into the given social system. As far the second part of this issue is concerned, there is no doubt that the function of social events causes dissatisfaction of the young, who in turn oftentimes resort to violence. However, it is a known fact that the consequences to the individuals and groups that manifest this violent behavior are multiple and far-reaching.

Violent behavior is a form of dealing with the conflicts arising in groups or among the young and this article will analyze the specific forms of violence in the Macedonian society. The most frequently used terms that express the negative social relations in conflicts are: ***conflictedness, tension, contradiction etc.***

The complexity and the seriousness of this phenomenon is not seen only through the physical injures inflicted, but also through the social and emotional dysfunctions of the young individual who's the victim in these events. It is manifested through aggressive behavior, physical assaults, insults and belittling of their peers, classmates, younger and older friends and other people from where they live, study, relax etc.

1. SOCIAL FACTORS AND VIOLENT BEHAVIOR

Many theoreticians have a different perception and understanding of violent behavior as well as its consequences on the environment and further, in society. However, all of them agree that in every society there are more or less severe forms of violence which have most frequently been characterized as social phenomena. According to Leopold von Wiese, these are related to differentiation and destruction forms which are opposite of integration and construction. The differentiation process means gradation, stratification and submission. Integration as a process has elements of uniformization and superiority.

Albion Small perceives these occurrences as forms of social interaction which represent the stage of the ongoing 'social evolution.' This is actually a form of social interaction that is opposite to social interactive cooperation. These types of conflicting relations are usually perceived as negative since they prevent the ideo-ethical agreement of society and result in the deviances of some social segments.

Reymond Aron defines violence as the opposition between groups and individuals in order to obtain values or achieve mutually exclusive values.[1]

As we know, sociologists have spent much time and research on the conflicts between individuals and on the intergroup, cultural and ethnical to racial and other large-scale conflicts. Thus, most attention has been paid on studies of conflicts in the labor process as well as national and ethnic relations. From the other types of conflicts, most typical is the misunderstanding between groups that occurs within work organizations, between relatives, neighbors and others.

From a sociological point of view, violence is the micro-social application of force in social relations. Hence, this phenomenon is historically preconditioned and is considered to be a variable social category.

The definition of violence depends on the social reactions to some of these behaviors that can jeopardize the biological and social position of the individual. In that regard, violence can be presented as a political concept, too since it also refers to certain protective values and determines the extent to which the country can influence the education process of children and youngsters.

Therefore, these are immediate social relations that are not always characterized by cooperation and mutual understanding, but a lower or higher degree of misunderstanding and conflicts, which can oftentimes be regarded as forms of violence arising between individuals/groups. These situations often result in feelings of violated rights, honor, position etc and lead to the increase of people's impatience while the inefficiency of the social institutions only reinforces the conviction that the abovementioned causes should be defended independently of social help.

1) Raymond Aron, *Les Tensions et les Guerres*, in the Book UNESCO Paris, 1957 p. 203

Individuals or social groups that behave violently reject the accepted patterns of social behavior, normal communication with people and the adherence to important social values and thus herald the beginning of the so-called subcultural forms of violence.[2] They compromise security, public peace and order and the security of the citizens by using force on people and objects, as well as by displaying inappropriate behaviour in public.

This social position of the people with violent behaviour determines their way of life. The explanation for their pathological behaviour lies in the conditions that define the social situation of these individuals and groups as well as in their character traits. These are, above all people that do not have a steady job, organized family life, finances and most commonly, they lack some kind of education. At the same time, from a demographic point of view, we could say that they belong to those generations that possess the greatest amount of energy and are at that age in life when they strive to provide themselves with a good social status and prospects for the future.

When it comes to the character traits of violent people, we can say that these are unadjusted individuals who are typically unemployed, vagrants, alcoholics and emotionally immature. However, the majority of these people are not that different from the average citizen and differ mostly in their social status and way of life.[3] Through their violent behaviour these people express their protest for their dissatisfaction or unreadiness to engage on their own in the standard forms of social life.

When the young behave violently, especially those that are students, shows their relation towards society. Their reasons stem from the social position they're in, which in these young people is characterized by ambivalence. This position of the young makes them come into conflicts with society that are not only characterized by this generation of the young and its dissatisfaction, but also lead towards other conflicts, violence, drug abuse, delinquency etc. Violence in the young can be explained with the immaturity of the person, emotional instability, aggression, peer pressure etc. We also need to take into consideration the stage when the personality of the person is formed, which has its own psycho-social characteristics when the individual feels the need to gain affirmation, identification and self-confirmation.

Finally, we also need to point out the connection between violent behaviour and social-pathological occurrences, the majority of which are vandalism, fights and examples of destructive behaviour to a variety of crime offenses. With this approach, we avoid the simpler analysis of the mutually causal relationship of the pathologi-

2) Kuvacic, I., On the Character of Conflicts in our Society, *Our topics*, Zagreb, No.7, 1982, p.36
3) Milosavljevic, □., Social Conflicts and Aggressions, *Social Thought* No.1-2, Belgrade, 1994

cal occurrences since we already showed which were the social situations where conflicts are most commonly resolved by violent behaviour. This makes us look for the reasons for these types of behaviour in the global social structure and the specific social and collective relations. Such an approach allows us to study the social reasons and conditions of violent occurrences.

When it comes to individual people though, we need to start off by exploring the social condition of the person and the distribution of material wealth and social power. It is thought that violent behaviour is mostly characteristic of marginal groups that don't have secure social status and the lack thereof determines their relationship with other people, their way of life, their moral understandings and other. Aside from this, it's important that we also stress the fact that this occurrence can sometimes be seen as the cause and sometimes as the consequence in a given situation. Overall, these types of behaviour also influence the structure of society.

2. DETERMINATION OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR IN YOUNG PEOPLE

The root of this word can be found in several Latin languages and each of them is related to the basic meaning of the English word *violence*. The term violence is used to denote actions that occur as a result of altered relations. Among the more relevant are the following three definitions:

According to **Encarta World English Dictionary** violence is defined as the use of physical force to injure somebody or damage something and the illegal use of unjustified force, or the intimidating effect created by the threat of this.

Olweus defines violent behaviour as aggressive behaviour where the actor or perpetrator uses his or her own body as an object (including a weapon) to inflict injury or discomfort upon an individual.

According to the *World Health Organization* violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.

The general definition of the UN focuses on violent behaviour which has the purpose on imposing power or control in the mutual relationships of people which often results in threats and injuries as a violent or discrete violation of the person's rights in their private life, school, workplace or the environment of children. Or, according to the same one, violence on children is seen as an even more serious issue due to the lack of regulations, educational materials that inform and educate on the reasons for violence, unsuitable statistical data and inadequate representation of violence in the media.

Generally, violence is used to define incidents like physical assaults (from injury to consequences to someone's life), physical violence that includes verbal insults, harassment, to limiting a person's right to express themselves freely etc.[4]

Aside from the obvious differences to these definitions, what is common for all of them is that they refer to causing damage or threats and refer to purposeful actions.

If we want to give a closer definition of violence in young people, it would be the simplest to accept the Spanish term which refers to a state opposite of the state of violence or **"living together in harmony."** However, statistics on this violence focuses mainly on the **"student to student"** violence.

3. RISK – VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR FACTORS IN YOUNG PEOPLE

Even though violence can be understood and defined differently, there are many factors that have an impact on the violence in young people. By analyzing the characteristics of motivation as well as the interrelation of these phenomena within the environment, Green perceives them as a result of a dysfunction of the school and family environment, friends and other entities, where the young individual is misunderstood and overburdened with all sorts of frustrations.[5]

The etiology of violence on young people is based mainly on the interaction of several groups of factors such as:

a) **individual factors** which are related to the characteristics of the personality, and pattern of behavior such as: hyperactivity, poor control, prolonged aggressive behavior, poor grades in school etc.

b) **the influence of family and friends** that refers to the family atmosphere such as bad relationship with the parents, lack of parental supervision, constant cor-

4) Green, A., Child Abuse , *Handbook of Treatment of Mental Disorders in Childhood and Adolescence*, New Jersey, Inc Englewood Cliffs, 1978, p.432

5) Green, A. H. *Child Abuse*, 1987, p. 441

poral punishment, conflict between the parents in the early stages of the individual's childhood, divorce of the parents, unfavorable financial situation of the family;

c) **social, political and cultural factors** that refer to a low degree of social cohesion in the community, which is also related to a higher degree of violence shown by the young, especially adolescents.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF VIOLENCE IN THE YOUNG

The lack of safety of the young, i.e. the existence of violence in this group of the population most commonly leads to rise of unfavorable events in the following microsystems: the school, institutions and dormitories for young people, stadiums etc, i.e. all the places where young people reside, either temporarily or permanently.

As far as the safety statistics for the young goes, it says that there were 199,000 murders of young people committed in the world in 2000, which is equal to the death of 565 children and young people at the age of 10 to 29, in average, every day as a result of interpersonal violence. However, the death rate of young people caused by violence is variable depending on the region or the country and the death rate of females is much lower compared to males in all countries.

In the period between 1994 and 2000, the murder rate of young people increased in many parts of the world. In many cases, this increase is related to the growing use of guns and other weapons in order to commit some kind of an assault. Not only that, sometimes some young people have to be hospitalized due to injuries from violent conflicts, which is 20 to 40 people on every person killed from violence, according to statistics.

The injuries from violence in the young which do not result in death comprise of considerably lower number of assaults with fire arms. The young here mostly use their fists, knives, sharp objects etc.[6]

In Smith's surveys (2003) that contain data on school violence, it says that this kind of violence was found to be on the rise in Germany and Norway and it varied in Italy and Austria.

6) www.who.Int/entity/violenc….11/14/2007

Due to lack of data on violence in schools, stadiums, cafes and other places that the young visit in Republic of Macedonia, one fact stands out and that is that out of 10,000 calls made to the SOS line at the Child's Embassy Megjashi, 8.6% referred to asking help due to exposure to violence (physical, psychological or sexual). Furthermore, another noteworthy piece of information is that in 1997 there were 13 cases revealed of children abuse, more particularly of girls, by their teachers, relatives or others.[7]

When it comes to the violence in young people, which is considered to be quite a widespread issue nowadays, especially concerning is the violence of students at school. This type of violence is one of the most prominent forms of manifestation of aggression, physical assault, insult and degradation among peers, classmates, younger and older students and in some cases between students and teachers. In such cases, the biggest impact of violence is the damage on school property, i.e. vandalism. It can also bring fear and insecurity in students, which is contrary to the rights of students and the young to live without fear and intimidation (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child)

Oftentimes these violent young people commit crimes in the process or act destructively which is why in many cases this violence bears all the characteristics of juvenile delinquency and therefore is punishable by law. This is why we can easily say that there's close relation between this type of violence and the violence of adults. How can we explain these occurrences? Maybe it's because the usual behaviour in everyday life clashes with the opinion of the society that these occurrences are insignificant or that they are not typical of our environment.

However, reality is different. Namely, it's a fact that this phenomenon is not an exception and that it's becoming a more and more present mark of contemporary social relations in schools and in Republic of Macedonia.

For a great many researchers, and especially for the public it was a real shock to find out that in the 20th century and in the most developed countries in the world, countries with highly developed culture such as the USA, Germany, France and others, there were many killings that took place of students at school, the place where children should feel the most free and safe. In many cases this increase is connected to the ever increasing use of guns at school as a method for assault. It is also estimated that in most firearm incidents among students in school, 20-40 students get injured and are subsequently hospitalized. The use of physical force and intimidation

7) First Children's Embassy „Megjashi“, *Brochure No. 4*, 1997-98, Skopje, p. 26

are also customary of high school students. The incidents that do not end by death among students do not involve the use of firearms and are incidents in which students use their fists, knives, bats, they kick etc.

The reports on violence in some countries say that the number of these violent affairs can be compared to the number of deaths caused by poisoning and infections.[8]

Even though the credibility of this quite arbitrary data needs to taken with extreme caution, one thing is for sure: the harassment of children is considered a leading cause for their injury and even death, including violence in schools.[9] A study focusing on school teenagers in 27 countries revealed that in most of the countries included in the survey, the majority of students, at least once took part in intimidating their classmates from the same school.

The number of violent cases among students in secondary schools in Macedonia is not known. The reason for this is the lack of sufficient information in the public as well as cooperation between certain organizations and institutions that work with children etc. Due to lack of official statistics for these cases, the only information we can come across is from police reports for cases when weapons were used in schools, sports playgrounds, public transportation or in other places where students participated or the police was forced to intervene to ease the tension between opposing groups or young individuals. This is why the methodology of recording these cases is focused primarily on data of criminal offenses and their perpetrators. As a result of this, there's no application of an appropriate and overall model for registering every case of violence among the young as well as other relevant data on violence which is important for monitoring these cases so that we can subsequently take action into preventing them. It is because of this that we can say that the real number of violent cases in this part of the population is much bigger. It is important to point out that according to one research in Canada carried out in the 1990s only one case in twenty is reported.[10]

8) Data from the Internationl Union on the Protection of Childhood, from the article called '*Bruised Soul*', NON, No.337, 1981

9) Green, A. H. *Child Abuse Handbook of treatment of mental disorders in childhood and adolescence*, New Jersey, Inc Englewood Cliffs, 1978, p.432

10) Group of Specialists for combasnting violence against children, *Final Report of Activities of the EG-S- VL*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997

5. RESULTS FROM THE RESEARCH ON SCHOOL VIOLENCE

This survey has been carried out in 6 secondary schools on the territory of Gazi Baba municipality in the city of Skopje: Mihajlo Pupin, Jahja Kjemal, Panche Arsovski Boro Petrushevski, 8mi Septemvri and Partenije Zografski with the biggest number of incidents among students reported.

The principle aim of the research was to raise the awareness of the public concerning this issue as well as awareness of authorized institutions such as schools and the whole country since this is a very pressing issue that is oftentimes neglected and marginalized.

The research was conducted on a sample of 176 students at the age of 15-18, from the municipality of Gazi Baba of a heterogeneous national, social and religious background.

The results from the analysis of the data concerning this issue have revealed that younger students are most commonly the victims of older ones, which is to be expected, since children become stronger as they grow, but also what gets better is their skills to defend themselves against being attacked. Violating norms and taking risks becomes more common in the later teenage years, i.e. in late adolescence than in the early years of secondary school.

The data on the ethnicity of the students - participants in violent affairs within the school shows that the most hostile conflicts are the ones between Macedonians and Albanians in secondary schools, which is the opinion expressed by two-thirds of the surveyed children. The second most common are the incidents between Macedonians and Macedonians (45 replied yes) and not much better are the relations between Albanians and Albanians in secondary schools, either.

A lot of research on these types of relations between students has only confirmed the thesis that ethnic tensions can bring about mutual intolerance which according to media reports and in some schools in Macedonia, has oftentimes led to conflicts.

Students that have personally witnessed violent affairs are merely 11.93% whereas 38.07% have confirmed that they are aware that such events happened, but

10) Group of Specialists for combasnting violence against children, *Final Report of Activities of the EG-S- VL. Strasbourg:* Council of Europe *1997*

11) The research was conducted by the author of this paper throught the NGO "Women's Action", within the Partnership for Safer and more More Secure Communities project, organized by UNDP in 2008.

haven't witnessed them. This goes to show that students feel that violence is not just an incidental occurrence in their schools, but they still deny having been in any way involved.

The most common location where incidents took place among students in schools is the school yard, i.e. before the eyes of many other students (32.95%) and in hidden places of the school yard (11.93%). There are many conflicts that arise in places like school buses, which children use to go to and come back from school, in the form of fights, demolition and destruction of the buses and other forms of vandalism which is 25.57% or more than a forth of the total number of violent cases in high school students.

5.1 Students Carrying Weapons

There's been a sudden rise in interest in the traumatic experiences of children from weapons in the last ten years in Republic of Macedonia. The deliberate or accidental use of weapons has oftentimes ended up with the death of some of the children involved. Especially after the war of 2001, many people could get their hands on guns illegally which meant children also. This is why many of the questions about what children are capable of doing with guns in critical moments have not been discussed enough so that a suitable solution is found to these very dangerous experiences in children.

Carrying weapons at school has become a part of the lifestyle of young people who have participated in school violence. This has been confirmed only by 2.27% of those polled. What should be of concern to adults, in particularly parents and teachers is the case of carrying knives at school by some students. Such cases have been detected in our research with 28.98% of the answers and we therefore feel that this practice of carrying knives at school should be taken seriously, i.e. prohibited and punished accordingly.

In 40.90% of cases students confirmed that some of their classmates carry weapons at school and only 2 of the students surveyed admitted to carrying weapons themselves, which is 1.14% from the total number of students. Carrying a weapon at school is trendy for as much as 51.11% while the rest carry it for self-defence (35.80%) and avoiding threats (19.89%).

Experience shows that there are many causes for these violent affairs among students and they are mutually interrelated which needs to be taken into account when deciding which measures to employ in order to prevent them.

Some of the manifestations of violence are: minor skirmishes in school hallways, waiting in line for the playground, violent ‘acts’ as a way to deal with boredom, insults and swearing between individuals or a group of students, to threats for insults, humiliation, jealousy for a girl etc. Students have listed the following reasons as the most common for this: mutual intolerance (30.11%), standing in defence of their friends (19.89%), personal self-defence (18.18%), having feelings for the same girl (10.80%) and ethnic intolerance (2.27%).

We feel that the answers presented are not accurate enough since many of the children surveyed said that these acts of violence occur as a result of self-defence or when they stand in to defend their friends. This puts more focus on the seriousness of other reasons, such as ethnic intolerance between individual groups, most frequently of Macedonian and Albanian ethnicity, which is hidden from the public as being ‘embarrassing.’

On the other hand, the sample of children surveyed was already in the important stage of life – adolescence when violence is seen as an answer to their internal tensions and external outbursts at school.

However, we have to stress the fact that the fault for the inadequate reactions of children, including those at school used to be looked for in parents and in their psychopathological characteristics. Today we can say that it is the social setting and the culture of the social climate that influences the relationship towards the child. This can be explained by the fact that insufficient conditions for the development of one person are the source for the violent behaviour in children, in the broadest sense of the word.

When asked about the best way to address the issue of this research, the students surveyed said that for the most part the best approach would be to employ the right disciplinary measures (22.52%), then the intervention of the police (15.50%) and their parents’ reprimand (11.14%). Advisory and educational type of help, young people don’t find as really reliable. We’ve come to realize that students think the solution of the problem lies in surpassing the social value crisis, which has lowered the limits of tolerance in our young generation in Macedonia today.

CONCLUSION

The information we've gained on the violent behaviour of the young in Republic of Macedonia has shown to us that this issue opens a whole new field of interest and activities to protect this part of the population, which is at their adolescence age, i.e. when they're students and when every child has the right to be guaranteed a carefree and safe childhood at all times. Our attempt to locate the place of these young individuals within Macedonian society has shown to us that they are facing moral erosion which in turn has resulted in their uncivilized behaviour manifested through various forms of violence.

References:

Brooks, J.B., *The process of parenting* (second edition). Mayfield Publishing Company, 1987

Gormly, A., and Brodzinski, D., *Lifespan human development harcourt*, BracCollege Publishers, 1990

Group of Specialists for combating violence against children. *Final Report of Activities of the EG-S- VL*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997

Fernandez, L.,Villaoslada, E. and Funes, S., *Cinficto en el Centro Escolar*. Madrid, 2002

Marvin, E.S. and Jack, M.W., *Scales for the measurement of attitudes*. Mc.Graw-Hillbookcompany, 1978

Moore O. A.M. Foreward:bullyng behaviour in schools, *Irish Journal of Psychology*, 1997

Obretkovic M., *Violence and the right of the child to protection*. Victim society, Belgrade, Temida, No.4/2000 (transl. from Serbian)

Qvortrup, J., *Childhood as a Social Phenomenon- an Introduction to a Series of National Repots*, Eurosocial- Report, 36, Viena European Centre, 2001

Robson S., and Smedley S., *First things first*, Roehampton Teaching Studies, 1996

Политичка социологија Political sociology	УДК/UDC 316.644: 316.356.4 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Emilija Simoska
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

A REVIEW ON THE OPINIONS OF THE SMALL ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA TOWARDS THE OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is to present the values and the opinions of the members of small ethnic communities in Republic of Macedonia, especially those affected by the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The choice of this topic came as a result of the neglected multicultural dimension in most of the analyses that usually treat only the Macedonian-Albanian inter-ethnic relations. There are results presented in this work from numerous projects conducted at the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research that reflect the changes in the trends of values among members of the small ethnic communities in the past two decades.

Kew words: small ethnic communities, Ohrid Framework Agreement, values

The Ohrid Framework Agreement and its implementation has undoubtedly been one of the most exploited topics in the last decade. This is a topic of discussion present not only in the political rhetoric and the media, but in the everyday conversations of the citizens as well. The political marketing, especially in election years, is still flooded with topics related to this issue and its solutions are a popular choice for logos and strategies of political campaigns. Unfortunately, on all of these levels, the analyses and comments on the Ohrid Framework Agreement are mainly limited to the Macedonian-Albanian relations, to the events related to these two ethnicities, as well as to the inclusion and the proportional representation of the Albanians in the system institutions etc, by neglecting (deliberately or not) the multiethnic diversity of the Macedonian society.

It is a well-known fact that this document finalized the conflict in which the Albanians were the only actors involved on the side of the minorities; however the document is much more dimensional than that. The implications derived from the Ohrid Framework Agreement refer to all citizens and most specifically affect the small ethnic communities in Macedonia. They, unlike the previous, are not such a popular and frequently analyzed topic even though some processes are exceptionally relevant as topics of analysis. This work focuses precisely on those neglected multicultural dimensions.

First and foremost, it's the changes in the Constitution and the new laws that came out as a result of the Ohrid Framework Agreement that led to the restructuring and substantial changes towards 'ethnicization' of the segments of education, employment, political participation etc., which reflected on the small ethnic communities as well. Nevertheless, the opportunities that arose as a result of this new legal framework for these minorities (formally), did not and still do not correspond to the reality.

This context initiated a change in the general political climate of the country, which resulted in extensive changes of the value matrix and behavior of citizens. This was especially the case with the members of the small ethnic communities, which can be seen through the data presented in this work.

Among the many issues that came out of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, and related to the topic at hand, few can be pointed out. First of all, it is necessary to remind that any definition (in the most general sense of the word) of the Republic of Macedonia always includes the fact that this is a "multicultural community" or "multicultural society" (which is especially emphasized in the recent years). There is not almost a single political phrase that does not contain in some way, a declared pride that we live in a country which has many ethnicities, religions and cultures. Even in the researches, the majority of respondents always shows positive attitude towards this statement (although, in the further operationalization it becomes obvious that this is only a repetition of a phrase which has no real acceptance and is maybe not even understood properly).

The Ohrid Framework Agreement and the laws derived by it, have the same "popularity." However, these two categories are not complementary. On the contrary: the Ohrid Framework Agreement contains a highly perceptible dimension that is contradictory to the very concept of multiculturalism, no matter how broadly this concept is understood.

Namely, this document and the very concept it's based on, offered solutions that take into consideration before all the ethno-demographic proportions, more precisely, the registered numbers and the prescribed "sufficient" or "insignificant" quotas. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that the incorporation of this solution in the Constitution of Republic of Macedonia, made it in fact contradictory to its own preamble, concept and spirit. With these changes, its basic value, the **citizen**, is now treated in his numerical dimension. His rights (which have formally been guaranteed to everyone) have in reality reduced to or have become dependent on the quantity of the ethnic group he belongs to. These types of formulations have undoubtedly led to a kind of marginalization of those ethnic groups which cannot achieve the demographic proportions or limits defined in the agreement. This by itself generates new inequalities and dissatisfaction, only with different actors. Most marginalized of all is the very concept of multiculture.

It was as far back as 15 years ago that the analysts and researchers in our country warned that the reduction of the interethnic relations only to the Macedonian-Albanian ones would create an image of bipolarity of the society, which is in fact a distorted picture of the real complex multiethnicity of the country. It was as far back as then that the results of many researches warned of the following danger:

- small ethnic groups would declaratively join the claims of the Albanian minority, without having their own concept or vision, thinking that it is a battle for minority rights in general which they can use to their advantage to improve their own status as well;
- after realizing that the battle is in fact reduced to the Albanians only and does not relate to the rights of minorities in general, these small ethnic groups would develop a negative attitude not only towards the Albanian minority, but towards the state as well;
- The outcome of both of these options is such that would result in developing a sense of neglect and marginalization among the members of the smaller ethnic groups.

It's been emphasized many times before that all of this leads in the wrong direction and is going to have a significant impact on the already complex network of interethnic relations in the country.

Unfortunately, even though it was more than obvious that in certain periods reality proved the existence of both of these processes, we cannot say that the political structures showed enough sensibility for these phenomena. The non-strategic, day-to-day politics created in fact a new hierarchy of the "small and big minorities." Among the citizens, there were also some new differentiations made in this period, dividing the minorities into "those who create problems and those who do not".

Since 1993, the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research has followed and analyzed these very processes. Although in some of the surveys conducted, the sample of the small ethnic groups was not quite representative (since even methodology is unfortunately not immune to proportional representation either), additional quota analyses were made, focus groups and in-depth interviews in order to have a continuous insight into the opinions, values and the political behavior of these Macedonian citizens, too. Without this, we wouldn't really be able to get the real picture of the political culture of all of the Macedonian citizens. These procedures were used in numerous projects that dealt with the political culture of citizens, their ethnic or religious distance or the sources of tension in the Macedonian society. Part of this data is the basis for the topic presented in this work.

A SHORT RETROSPECTIVE OF SOME PREVIOUS RESEARCHES

In order to get a more complete picture of the previously mentioned conditions, it is necessary to give a short overview of some more indicative data from the last 15 years, which illustrate the perceptions and opinions of the members of the smaller ethnic groups, as well as the attitude towards them.

At the beginning of the nineties, immediately after the declaration of independence of the Republic of Macedonia, there was a trend in the political rhetoric and science, (but a real need as well), to keep track of the so-called "loyalty" of citizens. This term was frequently a target for criticism, mostly by the Albanian population in the country, whereas among the Macedonians it was quite popular. Without going further into elaboration of all the arguments that came out as a result of this, in this context we can only specify that in the researches carried out by the Institute,[1] loyalty was not regarded in its authoritative dimension, as obedience, submissiveness (as it is defined in some distorted interpretations). For the purposes of the research, loyalty was seen as nothing more but measurement of the confidence in the institutions of the system

1) Project: "Loyalty of the Citizens of Republic of Macedonia" ISPJR, 1992-93

as well as the readiness to participate in the functioning of the state. Namely, we can easily say that there is not a country in the world which does not keep track or measure these conditions or which is ashamed of this word, since loyalty is one of the most relevant indicators for the cohesion of a community and its future.

Without a possibility to present all the collected data from this project, most of which had been published before, we can say that the picture can be summarized generally as following:

- In that period the majority of the Macedonians (over two-thirds) declared a high degree of confidence in the institutions of the system, even though around one third were of different opinion. Nevertheless, a huge percentage of those surveyed showed unconditional loyalty to the state and readiness to do everything in their power to help the country function and survive.
- The majority of Albanians showed a negative attitude and mistrust towards all institutions. They said that they did not see Republic of Macedonia as their own country, which they explained with their insufficient participation in the institutions at all levels. The Serbs had a quite similar opinion to the Albanian one, but their arguments were also reinforced by their dissatisfaction that they had not even been mentioned in the Constitution in power at that time.
- The members of the Vlach minority, as was the case in many other researches, had opinions with a very similar distribution as the Macedonian ones.

Only a few years later, as the Albanian demands became louder, the attitudes of the members of the smaller ethnic communities also began to change. More precisely, they also became louder. According to researches conducted in the period from 1994 to 1999[2] all ethnic groups and not only the Albanian showed an evident support for the increase of the minority rights. There were many openly and more frequently raised questions among the members of the smaller communities about their status, supported with the dissatisfaction with a principle (which was not functioning) according to which minority rights make sense only if they regard every minority or none. However, in over 90% of the cases in these smaller groups it was constantly emphasized that their aspirations presume a process which should take place only through the institutions of the system.

It is precisely this dimension which was evidently divergent from the attitudes declared by the Albanian population, which at the time was almost evenly divided on

2) Projects: "Sources and Factors of Interethnic Intolerance", ISPJR 1993/95 and "Ethnic Distance in Republic of Macedonia", ISPJR, 1994/96 and 1998/99

the possibility for using force if necessary to gain the demanded rights. It has to be pointed out that in none of the researches so far such a dilemma was ever present among the members of the smaller ethnic groups.

During the conflict of 2001, there were numerous researches carried out (surveys, interviews and focus groups) in which were adequately members of the smaller ethnic groups in Macedonia, considering the importance of the impact of the ethnicity on the political behavior of the entire population. The results showed that an extremely high proportion of the smaller ethnic groups members condemn the use of arms for accomplishing any kind of political aims. They even expressed a certain revolt which increased even more when members of different smaller ethnic groups were killed as policemen or soldiers. Consequently, negative attitudes increased towards the Albanians as a "privileged minority," but also towards the Macedonians who allowed this privilege. This is how the network of interethnic relations got new dimensions or more specifically, became additionally complicated.

As a result of these tendencies, but also quite expectedly, there was a change of values that occurred among the members of the smaller ethnic groups. Compared to the previously mentioned fragmentation of their political culture, there was a "new regrouping" that took place and also a change in the structure of their value matrix, of their attitudes, the forms and manifestations of their political behavior, all of which did not exist or at least was not evident in previous researches.

This paper cannot present all of the relevant data that point to the changes in the interethnic constellation of the country, before and after 2001 (as well as during the armed conflicts that year). However, if we want to give an overview of the opinions of citizens regarding the interethnic relations (the rights of minorities and the attitude towards other communities) in few sentences, from a point of view of their ethnicity, we would get the following picture.

Before the conflict, Macedonians were not really entirely homogenous in their opinion, and could not be differentiated from the other ethnic groups. It was almost impossible to use the expression "the opinions and the values of the Macedonians" in a sense of a recognizable dominant model that would differentiate them from the other ethnicities. The division and the diversity of the degree of tolerance and the ethnic distance was obvious, whereas the line of fragmentation was determined rather by some demographic than ethnic factors.

On the other hand, within all other ethnic groups, especially among the Albanians, one could notice the relative homogeneity in the segment of political culture which relates to ethnic issues.

What was evident in practice, researches[3] conducted after the conflict had confirmed: the attitudes of the Albanians became more consistent and intense which reflected on the value changes within all ethnic groups.

During the conflict, data[4] showed that the polarity of the value matrixes of the ethnic groups was increased and restructured.

- Macedonians became relatively homogenous
- Members of the smaller ethnic groups held almost the same opinion as the Macedonians
- The "Macedonian – Albanian" relation turned into the relation "Albanians - all others"

*

One of the worst, and yet logical and expected consequence of the conflict, was that the negative ethnic stereotypes intensified, which were already quite widely spread among the citizens. But it would be a great mistake to talk about the stereotypes of the Macedonians and the Albanians only, as this issue is usually limited to. It was precisely in this period that the previously dominant Macedonian-Albanian bipolarity turned in a very short time into a widespread, multiethnic, complex network of more or less mutually negative perceptions.

In this period, the negative stereotypes of the members of the smaller ethnic groups towards the Albanians intensified. In the focus group reports with these citizens, we can find statements that they feel as if the Albanians "are doing something behind their back," that the Albanians were using the expression minority right on their behalf too, but for entirely different purposes. The respondents from this research also had a feeling that the outcome of that whole process would not go into their favor, which later turned out to be exactly the case.

In the same period, the stereotypes of the Macedonians tied more intensely to one more category, which had not really been expressed before – the religion. Namely, more and more people surveyed were at the opinion that the events from 2001 are in fact a religious conflict. As a result of this, the negative attitudes towards the Muslims grew among the Macedonians. Considering the smaller ethnic communities, the Serbs and the Vlachs expressed almost an identical opinion, but what

3) Project: "Public Opinion in RM 1999 / 2000, ISPJR
4) Project: "Macedonian-Macedonian Dialogue", 2001, ISPJR

is surprising, is that a big part of the Roma population shared the same opinion as well, including those who were themselves Muslim. The majority of the Turkish population however did not accept the theory about the religious background of the conflict.

However, deeper analyses showed that behind the declared religious factor, there was in fact the ethnicity. More specifically, it was obvious that when the Macedonians, Vlachs, Serbs and the other non-Muslim communities used the word "Muslim," the majority of them do not have in mind the Muslims in general, but only the Albanians. Hence, during the conducted focus groups and interviews[5] on this subject with non-Albanian population, some interesting, but also indicative comments were recorded. For instance, the discussions were led in primarily two stages. In the first stage people expressed their revolt and numerous negative attitudes towards the Muslims as "the ones who inspired the conflict," for (according to the participants) religious reasons. Then, further in the discussion, the same respondents excluded the Turks and the Roma from this group. When the moderator pointed out to them that Turks are just as Muslim, they answered that "those are some other kind of Muslims" or that "we know which Muslims are the problem" etc.

At this point, it should not be analyzed further as to why and who wanted to bring in the religious factor into play, since this is a separate and complex topic. However, it needs to be pointed out that this was an imposed game which had a "successful" outcome. Surveys showed that the stereotype complex became richer, while the consequences reflected (and will for a very long time) upon the diversity and interaction between the ethnicity and religion, within both: big and small ethnic communities.

*

Regarding the biggest disappointment of the small ethnic groups, based on the results from the research, it came with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The dominant opinion in the people surveyed in this period can be summed up in the following:

- power lies within ethnic groups with biggest numbers;
- political goals can be accomplished by using force;
- without "sufficient numbers" there is no real political participation nor a possibility to practice certain rights in a way it can be done by the bigger ethnic com-

5) Project: "Macedonian-Macedonian Dialogue" / 2001, ISPJR

munities, more specifically, the Albanian one.

Practice has many times confirmed these beliefs. All the researches[6] conducted with members of the small communities showed that this population, especially in the period after the signing of the Agreement, evidently felt like they were being neglected or played. The discussions with the respondents did not reveal to whom they were in fact referring to or where this so called treason comes from, but it was more than clear that they were generally and deeply dissatisfied.

The following quote from one of the participants in the focus groups and a member of a small ethnic community, is the best illustration in this context. When asked whether or not there was any progress and success achieved with the Ohrid Framework Agreement, he responded cynically (followed by an applause from the rest of the group): “Yes, there is a success, but only for two groups: if you are Albanian or if there is no one killed from your family in the conflict.”

The general conclusions from the researches conducted in the years that followed the adoption of the Constitutional changes initiated by the Ohrid Agreement can be summed up in the following predominant opinions of the small ethnic group members:

- the Albanians are the only ones to have gained from the Ohrid Framework Agreement;
- the small ethnic groups will never accomplish anything;
- the small ethnic groups have become not second-class citizens, but the lowest class;
- the whole system became unnecessarily complicated with the introduction of ethnic proportions;
- it is not right for some minorities to have a university and for others not to have even a primary school in their mother tongue;
- principles do not rule in Macedonia anymore, but numbers do;
- the only way for the small ethnic communities to participate in the government is through coalitions with the bigger political parties, which will always make them dependant on someone's good will;

The specific question about the meaning of the political parties of the small ethnic communities was often mentioned. Should they exist or should their members be

6) Project: “Inter-ethnic and Intra-ethnic Dialogue”, ISPJR, 2003 /04

distributed within the bigger parties? Would that additionally divide their core or would it provide them with a better negotiating position? The respondents were divided in their opinions in this period, at least within the project presented. The practice, which exists today also, to form a coalition with the winner, whoever that may be (which was introduced by the leaders of the small ethnic communities) left this question still open: is political participation at any cost better or does it disable those citizens to make their choice based on the pluralism of political ideas and concepts?

*

Additional dissatisfaction among these groups appeared when the Law on Territorial Organization was passed. With an exception of Roma, who were satisfied with getting their own municipality, part of the respondents, members of the Turkish and Serbian ethnic communities, expressed their disappointment with this additional fragmentation.[7] A most frequently emphasized point, mainly by the Turks from the rural communities and the cities in Western Macedonia, was that the Albanians are now denying the smaller communities the same rights they themselves fought for.

A major part of the problems that the members of the small ethnic communities pointed out in the researches from this period, were related to education, but brought up specific issues by every ethnic group:

- the Roma pointed two issues: the opportunity to study in their own mother tongue and the discrimination of the Roma children in schools where they attend classes. The second one is a permanent and most painful issue for them. In their opinion, there have always been deep stereotypes towards Roma children, and the worst of all is that they often come from the teachers and the managerial staff of the school. This slows down the children's progress and education and directly influences the overall emancipation of the Roma community and the improvement of their status. Numerous examples and illustrations were given to prove this, which are mainly known to the public, confirming that this community feels the social marginalization the most.
- for the Turkish population, according to what they stated, the biggest problem relates to the fragmentation of this community throughout the country, which has in many cases disabled them from enjoying their legal right to education in their mother tongue (because of the inability to gather enough children to form a class). What they criticize the most is that at higher levels of the education sys-

7) Project: "Public Opinion on Territorial Organization", ISPJR, 2004

tem, not a single group can be formed to attend classes in their mother tongue, even if there are enough candidates, only because the Ohrid Framework Agreement defines this ethnic community as not represented by a sufficient number of members in the country.

- the Serbian comments were also directed towards the opportunity to form classes in their mother tongue, but they were often followed by some positive comments regarding the changes in the Constitution after the Ohrid Agreement, where they were mentioned as a community.
- the members of the Vlach ethnic community however show a high degree of integration in the system and in none of the researches conducted did they express any kind of specific dissatisfaction from the Ohrid Framework Agreement as members of their ethnic group.

The general conclusion from those opinions, regardless which small ethnic group is concerned, is that the biggest problem for the Macedonian society is that it creates only an image of multiethnicity, while in fact, it generates assimilation. The respondents from these communities say that they feel this kind of pressure from both, the Macedonian and Albanian side.

Nevertheless, aside from the comments and dissatisfaction they expressed, when asked: how would they describe and how do they feel about their identity, the majority of respondents from the smaller ethnic groups said that they felt first and foremost like citizens of Republic of Macedonia, contrary to the Albanian population, who had the dominant feeling of belonging to their ethnic community first.

*

Researches conducted in the last several years,[8] have revealed an interesting phenomenon. On the one hand, regarding the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the opinions remain homogenous and almost unchanged. Among all small community members, the dominant attitudes are that:

- “they had not expected anything from the Ohrid Framework Agreement in the first place, and the present situation had only confirmed those expectations”;
- “there won't be anything ever achieved with the Ohrid Framework Agreement”;
- “the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement has only a symboli-

8) Projects: “Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement”, ISPJR 2004/2006; “Public Opinion in RM”, ISPJR 2006 - 2009

> cal meaning while reality is much different from what is written on paper and defined as successful."

In the researches, the majority of these citizens pointed that there was nothing in the Ohrid Framework Agreement and its implementation "that they liked" (except for a part of the Roma population which mentioned the local self-government in a positive context.)

However, regarding all of the political and economic issues, the opinions of the respondents of the small ethnic groups, after almost a decade, became divergent and heterogeneous again.

If we analyze the data more thoroughly, it becomes obvious that the division line is in fact a reflection of the political concepts of the bigger political parties that they are in a coalition with at the moment. On the one hand, the division determined by political instead of ethnic principles can be considered as a good sign. On the other hand though, it is a fact that the ideological profiling of this population once again depends on the ones that are more powerful and numerous.

*

What all ethic communities have in common recently, small or bigger ones, minorities or majority, are their daily concerns as citizens and as people. They include fears of unemployment, poverty, diseases they have no money to treat etc. For the first time, regarding these issues, the pattern of answers is almost the same, while comparing the data according to the ethnicity does not show any differences. Turning to the everyday problems as citizens and not as members of ethnic groups is maybe the only positive process that can be mentioned here. The dissatisfaction with the ethnic quotas and figures in political agreements has obviously been replaced with some other figures - social and economic, which is at least an element they all have in common. It maybe a paradox, but in this post-Ohrid Macedonia, it happens that a negative phenomenon (such as the social and economic dissatisfaction) has become the only category which makes the citizens forget their ethnic and religious differences, the majority-minority hierarchies and the frustrations they produce.

Ganka Cvetanova
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

THE RIGHT OF MEMBERS OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA TO USE THEIR LANGUAGE IN LINE WITH THE OHRID FRAMWEORK AGREEMENT

ABSTRACT

As a universal system of symbols and a means for communication, language has an exceptionally important role in the overall process of socialization. As one of the most important factors in the process of constitution of collective identity, language represents the key instrument in identity policy. Of all the rights that make up the category of cultural rights, the so-called language right or the right to use one’s own language has drawn the most attention. The right of members of ethnic communities to use their own language is one of the most sensitive topics in multiethnic and multicultural societies, primarily due to its multiple functions specifically as a means for communication, as the most vital feature of the cultural and ethnic identity of the community and generally due to its function during the socialization process. The question whether or not members of ethnic communities have the right to use their language is oftentimes politicized and seen as political affirmation and social promotion of communities, but also as an instrument that defines the relations between the majority and the minority communities in the country.
For the needs of this study and in order to determine the extent to which members of ethnic communities can exercise their right to use their own language implemented with the ***Ohrid Framework Agreement***, we drew a parallel with the recommendations from one of the most important international documents - the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities***, which represents the first legally-binding multilateral instrument in protecting the rights of national minorities.

Key words: language rights, the right of members of ethnic communities to use their language, Ohrid Framework Agreement, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

Taking into account the role of culture in the constitution of a person's identity, but also in the process of socialization, it's no wonder that every human being feels the need to have his/her culture recognized and its distinctive features that at the same time are the characteristics of one's own cultural and overall identity as well. Right to culture is one of the basic human rights, i.e. an indivisible human right. In different societies, the struggle to exercise the right to culture has manifested in most diverse forms and had different purposes: struggle for the rights of the individual or the community to express and nurture one's own cultural identity, struggle for general cultural education, struggle for the use and affirmation of the language of one's own ethnic group, struggle for free creative expression unhampered by ideological barriers and religious prejudice etc.[1] On the other hand, cultural struggles oftentimes reflect and/or provoke deep emotions – feelings of patriotism, elitism, racism, sexism, antiracism etc. In other words, they are always related to subjectivity.[2]

Respecting one's own right to culture, proclaimed with acts and charters of the leading international organizations like the ***United Nations, the European Council, OSCE, UNESCO*** etc, implies respecting the right of uniqueness of the culture of communities as well as its distinctive features. Of all the rights that make up the category of cultural rights, the so-called language right or the right to use one's own language has drawn the most attention. According to the ***Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions of UNESCO***, language diversity is the basic element of cultural diversity.

Language as the universal system of symbols and a means for communication has an exceptionally important role in the overall process of socialization. Language is not only a mere communication tool. Language is also one of the instruments that preserve and spread cultural values. By using language, we adopt and pass on the cultural tradition of the group we belong to. Language is the instrument that we use to ensure the continuity of our community's culture.

According to Giddens, all human experience has been literally gained through learning a language. Language and memory are genuinely related to individual memory and institutionalization of collective experience.[3] Language, as a speech of our

1) Cvetanova G. *Cultural Differences and Social Integration: Macedonia before and after the Framework Agreement*. Institute for Economic Strategies and International Relations – OHRID. Skopje, 2007, (transl. from Macedonian) p.16
2) Jordan, G. and Weedon, C. *Cultural Politics - Class, Gender, Race and the Postmodern World*. Templum. Skopje, 1999-2000, (transl. from Macedonian) p.15
3) Giddens, A. *Modernity and Self-Identity*: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Templum. Skopje, 2001, (transl. from Macedonian) p. 43

closest ones, is what relates us to them, to the group where we belong to, but at the same time makes us different from the members of the other groups. It's precisely why the role of language is so important in the constitution of the collective awareness of a particular cultural community. We claim that language is one of the main instruments of identity policies and that it has a special place in the category of cultural rights.

In the group of language rights, apart from the right to use one's own language, there are also the following: the right to education to one's own language, the right to be informed in one's own language (media in one's own language) and the use of one's own language in public and official communication.

In the ***Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*** of ***UNESCO***, the role of education has been emphasized as one of the key elements in the protection and promotion of cultural expressions.

During the education process, by studying, children get familiar with the concept of membership in a certain community and its distinctive cultural and moral peculiarities which are especially important when defining collective identity. Without a doubt, education plays a vital role in the development of the cultural identity of children. In the process of education, the child gets to find out that he/she is at the same time an individual and a member of a larger community. According to the ***Hague Recommendation for the Rights of National Minorities to Education***, all members of national minorities can preserve their identity if they learn their language as a part of the education process.

According to the interpretation of the right to education in Article 6 of the ***Fribourg's Declaration on Cultural Rights***, everyone has the right throughout one's lifespan, alone or in community with others, to education and training that, in response to fundamental educational needs, contribute to the free and full development of one's cultural identity while respecting the rights of others and cultural diversity. This right includes in particular: **a.** Human rights education and knowledge; **b.** The freedom to teach and to receive teaching of and in one's language and in other languages, as well as knowledge related to one's own culture and other cultures; **c.** The freedom of parents to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions while respecting the freedom of thought, conscience and religion of the child on the basis of her/his capacities; **d.** The freedom to establish, to direct and to have access to educational institutions other than those run by the public authorities, on the condition that the internationally-recognized norms and principles in the area of education are respected and that these institutions comply with the minimum rules prescribed by the State.

The subject of analysis in this article is the right to language, i.e. the use of ethnic communities' languages in accordance with the Ohrid Framework Agreement, from an aspect of the right to use their language in public and official communication, as well as the right to education in their own language, by making a parallel with recommendations from international documents that have dealt with the issue on the right to use a minority language.

One of the most commonly used formulations for the Ohrid Framework Agreement is that this document, which was subsequently implemented in the Constitution as well, was a political solution to the armed conflict in the Republic of Macedonia. On the 13th of August, 2001, with the mediation of the international community, the Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed and ended up the seven-month-long conflict in the country. In essence, the agreement meant to redefine the Macedonian political pattern in order to meet the multicultural and multiethnic needs of the Macedonian society, but also, as one of the basic principles listed in the Agreement states: to preserve the multiethnic character of the Macedonian society and its reflection in public life.

The right of the members of ethnic communities to use their own language that came as a result of the adoption of the Constitutional amendments according to the Ohrid Framework Agreement is the following:

- Freedom of identity expression (Article 48 (1));
- The right to use one's native language as official (Amendment 5);
- The right to establish educational institutions (Amendment 8);
- The right to education in one's native language (Article 49);

Amendment 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia came out as a result of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. It defines the status and the use of the Macedonian language, but also the languages of the ethnic communities. Item 1.1 and 1.2 of the Amendment state:

- *The Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language throughout the Republic of Macedonia and in the international relations of the Republic of Macedonia.*
- *Any other language spoken by at least 20 percent of the population is also an official language, written using its alphabet, as specified below.*

In addition it states that "any official personal documents of citizens speaking an official language other than Macedonian shall also be issued in that language and that any person living in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20 percent of the population speaks an official language other than Macedonian may use that official language to communicate with the regional office of the central government with responsibility for that municipality." Amendment 5 allows the members of ethnic communities to use their language in Parliament (starting from the task groups to the plenary sessions), the publishing of laws, in the official records of the ethnic community members, in their communication with the state administrative bodies, in the local self-government, in their communication with the ministries and the bodies and regional offices of those ministries and the state administrative bodies, as well as in court proceedings.

The right of members of ethnic communities to use their language in official records is exercised through the following rights: the right of citizens that speak an official language other than Macedonian to be issued in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet as well as in the official language and alphabet used by the citizen, the following personal documents: the Registry of Births form, the data filled in it and the extracts from the registries; the format of the driver's license, tractor driver's license, driver's certificate, as well as the format for the registration license and the registration certificate and the data entered; the format of IDs and passports and travel papers; the rights of citizens that belong to the national minorities to use their language and alphabet when their names are entered in registries and personal identification papers; the right of citizens that belong to ethnic communities and speak an official language different from Macedonian, to ask that the form for the passport and the travel papers be printed also in the official language and alphabet that they use; the right of citizens that belong to ethnic communities and speak an official language different from Macedonian, to ask that the data for their personal name entered in the passport and the travel papers be in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet and in the official language and alphabet that they themselves use.[4]

The right of members of ethnic communities to use their language in the communication with the state administrative bodies can be met in a way given in Article 61 (3) from the Law on General Administrative Procedure. Thus, the right to communicate with the members of ethnic communities is exercised through: the right to communication of any citizen – member of a certain ethnic community that lives in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20% of citizens speak an official language different from Macedonian with the regional offices of the ministries in

4) Loskoska, G. *Human Rights and Rights of Minorities – Practices, Mechanisms and Protection*. Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R.M. – ESE, 2009, (transl. from Macedonian) p.16 cipacija, solidarnost i ednakvost na `enite na R. M - ESE, 2009. str. 16

some of the official languages and their alphabet; obligation of the regional offices that are in charge of the corresponding units of local self-government to respond in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet and in the official language and alphabet used by the member of that particular ethnic community; the right to communication of any citizen - member of a certain ethnic community that lives in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20% of citizens speak an official language different from Macedonian with the ministries in some of the official languages and their alphabet; obligation of the ministries to respond in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet and in the official language and alphabet used by the member of that particular ethnic community; the rights of citizens, members of a certain ethnic community that live in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20% of citizens speak an official language different from Macedonian to ask for bilingual forms; and the obligation of the ministries and other state administrative organs and administrative organizations to take on the necessary activities for the publishing of bilingual forms for the members of the ethnic communities that live in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20% of citizens speak an official language different from Macedonian.[5]

The right of members of ethnic communities to use their language in the communication with the ministries and the regional offices of the ministries and the state administrative bodies is met through: the right of any citizen that lives in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20% of citizens speak an official language different from Macedonian to communication in some of the official languages and their alphabet; obligation of the regional offices of the ministries in charge of those units of local self-government to respond in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet and in the official language and alphabet used by the member of that particular ethnic community; obligation of the ministries and other state administrative bodies and administrative organizations, as well as public enterprises, legal and other entities which are entitled by law to perform public authorizations for the printing of bilingual forms and the rights of citizens, members of ethnic communities to ask for a bilingual form.[6]

The right of members of ethnic communities in court proceedings is also completely regulated in all administrative, criminal and litigation procedures.[7] In order

5) Loskoska, G. *Human Rights and Rights of Minorities - Practices, Mechanisms and Protection*. Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R.M. – ESE, 2009, (transl. from Macedonian) p.16
6) Loskoska, G. *Human Rights and Rights of Minorities - Practices, Mechanisms and Protection*. Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R.M. - ESE, 2009, (transl. from Macedonian) p.18
7) For more details, refer to: Loskoska, G. *Human Rights and Rights of Minorities – Practices, Mechanisms and Protection*. Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R.M. – ESE, 2009, (transl. from Macedonian) p.19

to determine the extent to which members of ethnic communities can exercise their right to use their language, which was envisaged with the implementation of the ***Ohrid Framework Agreement***, it would be useful to draw a parallel with the recommendations from international documents that address this issue on the right of minorities to use their language. For that purpose, we focused on one of the most important international documents, i.e. the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities***, which represents the first legally-binding multilateral instrument in protecting the rights of national minorities. Namely, according to Article 10.2 of the Framework Convention, which regulates the use of minority languages in the relations with the administrative authorities:

"*The Parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible, the conditions which would make it possible to use the minority language in relations between those persons and the administrative authorities*", but only when the following conditions are cumulatively on hand:

- areas concerned are "*inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers*",
- *"those persons so reques"t* and
- *"such a request corresponds to a real need".*

The first condition, according to the explanatory Report, is deliberately drafted in a vague manner allowing States to take their particular circumstances into account. With regard to the third conditions, the Report specifies that it is again up to the States to assess whether the request corresponds to a real need, though on the basis of objective criteria. Turning to the second stage, one is faced with expressions such as "endeavour" and "as far as possible". Obviously, when the use of the minority languages in official relations is concerned, the Parties are permitted to take into consideration different factors, notably their financial resources, availability of polyglot civil servants, the number of minority members.[8]

If we make a comparison between the recommendations of the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*** and what was implemented with the ***Ohrid Framework Agreement*** we will come to the conclusion that Republic of Macedonia has applied the highest standards regarding the use of the ethnic communities' languages.

8) Dimitrov, N. *Framework Convention*. Matica Makedonska. Skopje & Melbourne, 1999, (transl. from Macedonian) p.166

The right of members of ethnic communities to education in their language. When it comes to the right of members of ethnic communities to use their language, Item 1 of Amendment 8 from the Constitution of Republic of Macedonia states:

- Members of communities have a right to freely express, foster and develop their identity and community attributes, and to use their community symbols;

- The Republic guarantees the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all communities;

- Members of communities have the right to establish institutions for culture, art, science and education, as well as scholarly and other associations for the expression, fostering and development of their identity;

- Members of communities have the right to instruction in their language in primary and secondary education, as determined by law. In schools where education is carried out in another language, the Macedonian language is also studied.

The right to a complete primary education in the language of the ethnic communities and the right to complete secondary education in the language of the ethnic communities have been provided by the Government of Republic of Macedonia according to the conditions proscribed with the law on primary and secondary education. This means that, with regard to the members of the ethnic communities that are instructed in a language different from Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet: the entire educational activity is performed in the language and the alphabet of the corresponding community, while the entire pedagogic documentation is conducted in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet and in the language used in classes. However, these rights do not abolish the obligation of the members of the ethnic communities that are instructed in their language, to study Macedonian as well and its Cyrillic alphabet.[9]

Even though according to Amendment 8 which precisely states that it's the obligation of the State to guarantee and provide the right of the members of ethnic communities to education in their own language only in primary and secondary education, there were changes introduced in the Law on Higher Education too, according to which the State is obliged to provide the funding for the institutions of higher education in those languages that are used by 20% of the population in Republic of Macedonia. Article 95 from the Law on Higher Education guarantees the

9) Loskoska, G. *Human Rights and Rights of Minorities – Practices, Mechanisms and Protection.* Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R.M. – "**ESE**", 2009, (transl. from Macedonian) p.14

members of ethnic communities the right to education at state institutions of higher education according to the corresponding curricula and syllabus to attend classes in their native language, different from Macedonian, whereby the state provides the financing for higher education in a language spoken by at least 20% of the population in Republic of Macedonia.

Taking into account the importance of the role of language in the provision of continuity of the culture of communities and the preservation of their identity, as well as in passing on cultural values and tradition, Article 13.1 from the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*** states that it recognizes and envisages the right of members of national minorities to study in their own language as well as their right to establish and to manage their own private educational and training institutions, as long as they fit into the framework of States' educational systems, which means that these institutions will be subjected to standard controls by the State regarding the quality of teaching and recognition of diplomas. In the second Paragraph of this Article it's been emphasized that the exercising of this right, i.e. the establishing of these educational institutions implies absolutely no financial obligation for the parties.

When it comes to the right to be taught or to receive instructions in the minority language, Article 14.1 of the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities***, recognizing its vital role in the transmission, maintenance and development of identity, acclaims the right to learn the minority language in an absolute manner. Yet, Paragraph 2 of the same article 14 states that:

"*In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the Parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught the minority language or receiving instruction in this languages*."

Such a formulation of this provision of the ***Framework Convention*** does not imply any positive measures that Parties should undertake to make easier the right to learn the minority language in absolute manner. States are again free to take their particular financial, administrative and technical circumstances into account in the course of the implementation of this provision. The wording is remarkably flexible, leaving Parties a wide measure of discretion which significantly impairs, and in certain circumstances may nullify, the legally binding force of the obligation.[10]

10) Dimitrov, N. *Framework Agreement.* Matica Makedonska. Skopje & Melbourne, 1999, (transl. from Macedonian) p.172

Unlike the Framework Convention which allows for a flexible interpretation of the use of minority languages in the relations with the administrative authorities as well as in granting minorities the right to learn in their own language and in the establishment of educational institutions, according to the Ohrid Framework Agreement, not only have clear regulations been passed that precisely and strictly define this issue, but also modalities whose financial implementation, according to the positive regulation, has been entirely supported by the State.

So, if we make a comparison between the ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*** and the ***Ohrid Framework Agreement***, we can undoubtedly come to the conclusion that Republic of Macedonia has had applied the highest international standards regarding the right of members of ethnic communities to use and be instructed in their own language. The standards applied in Republic of Macedonia have more than met the international documents' recommendations dealing with the minority languages' issues.

However, despite the fact that the highest international standards have been applied, we stand witness to expressions of dissatisfaction from the Albanian political campus in Republic of Macedonia regarding the right of members of ethnic communities to use their language.

The right of members of ethnic communities to use their language is one of the most sensitive topics in multiethnic and multicultural societies, primarily due to its multiple function specifically as a means for communication, as the most vital feature of the cultural and ethnic identity of the community and generally due to its function during the socialization process of the individual. At the same time, language also represents the link between the individual and the public sphere, work, the media, politics and the whole society. Therefore, the issue on the right of members of ethnic communities to use their own language is oftentimes politicized and regarded as a political affirmation and social promotion of communities. It's also used as an instrument that defines the relations between the majority and minority communities in the country or equalizing the status between the majority and the minorities.

In Article 1 from the ***European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages***, regional or minority languages have been defined as languages that are:

- "traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population" and that are
- "different from the official language(s) of that State;

It does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants."

This definition goes on to further explain that the formulation "territory in which the regional or minority language is used" means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people. At the same time, this definition clearly makes the distinction not only between the status of the official language of the state and the minority languages, but also points out the status of the majority in the state against the status of the minorities.

Amendment 5 of Paragraph 1.1 from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia states that the Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language throughout the Republic of Macedonia and in the international relations of the Republic of Macedonia. Item 6 of the Paragraph says that in the units of local self-government, the language and the alphabet used by at least 20 percent of the population is the official language, apart from Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet. The demands of the Albanian political campus refer precisely to this Paragraph of Amendment 5, i.e. the language and alphabet used by at least 20% of the population be the official language on the whole territory of Republic of Macedonia, in every unit of local self-government, and not only in those where the members of ethnic groups make up at least 20% of the overall population.

According to the Census of 2002 and by ethnicity in the Republic of Macedonia there are: Macedonians – 64.18%, Albanians – 25.17%, Turks – 3.85%, Roma – 2.66%, Serbs – 1.78%, Bosniaks – 0.84%, Vlachs – 0.48% and the rest – 1.04%.[11] Thus, having in mind the structure of the population according to their ethnicity as well as the ratio of the groups, more precisely between the majority and the rest of the ethnic communities, the explicit demand of the Albanians to have the Albanian language promoted to an official language on the entire territory of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. in all units of local self-government and not only in those where this ethnic community forms at least 20% of the population, can not be interpreted as a suppression of the right to use their own language but primarily as an implicit demand to change the status of the Albanian ethnic community from a minority community to a majority one.

11) Source: State Statistical Office

CONCLUSION

By definition, diversity is an undeniable fact and cannot be excluded from reality nor suppressed without exerting some degree of force and oftentimes, not even then. Since all human beings are attached to and shaped by their culture, we come to the conclusion that their self-esteem is closely related to culture, too. Therefore, the basic respect we owe our citizens is to expand their culture and their community. By respecting their culture, we gain their loyalty; this also gives them trust and encourages their integration in the wider society. Cultural diversity as a whole can be a valuable collective possession too.[12]

From the comparison between the Framework ***Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*** and the ***Ohrid Framework Agreement*** we can conclude that the Republic of Macedonia has had applied the highest international standards regarding the minorities i.e. members of the ethnic communities and their right to use and be instructed in their own language. Republic of Macedonia has more than met the international documents' recommendations that deal with these issues.

Paying due attention to the dimension and the importance of the role of the process of preserving, fostering and promoting the identity of the individual and the community, as well as the role of language in providing the link with the entire outside world, more precisely in the public, social, cultural, economic and political sphere, when dealing with the issue on the right of members of ethnic communities to use their language one should carefully grant this right to the ethnic communities, having in mind the fact that this can become a source of additional frustration and tension in the already frail and fragile multiethnic societies. One of the ways to avoid situations that would cause additional tensions in society is to make a clear distinction between the rights of members of ethnic communities that would provide them a non-discriminating and just approach in the public sphere, equal participation and distribution in all social, cultural, economic and political processes in the country and on the other hand, those demands beyond this framework in whose hidden agenda we find the demand for the change of the status of the minority to a majority one.

12) Atanasov, P. *Multiculturalism as Theory, Politics and Practice*. Euro–Balkan Press. Skopje, 2003, (transl. from Macedonian) p.15

References:

Dimitrievic V., Kartag-Odri, A., Milinkovic, B., Serfontein, J.L., Simovic-Hiber, I., Stojkovic, B. *Cultural Rights*. Belgrade Center for Human Rights. Belgrade, 1999. (transl. from Serbian)

Loskoska G. *Human Rights and Rights of Minorities – Practices, Mechanisms and Protection*. Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women in R.Macedonia. – □S□, 2009 (transl. from Macedonian)

Dimitrov N. *Framework Convention*. Matica Makedonska. Skopje & Melbourne, 1999 (transl. from Macedonian)

Atanasov P. *Multiculturalism as Theory*, *Politics and Practice*. Euro–Balkan Press. Skopje, 2003 (transl. from Macedonian)

Jordan G. and Weedon C. *Cultural Politics - Class, Gender, Race and the Postmodern World*. Templum. Skopje, 1999-2000 (transl. from Macedonian)

Giddens A. *Modernity and Self-Identity*: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Templum. Skopje, 2001 (transl. from Macedonian)

Cvetanova G. *Cultural Differences and Social Integration: Macedonia before and after the Framework Agreement*. Institute for Economic Strategies and International Relations – OHRID. Skopje, 2007 (transl. from Macedonian)

Other documents:

Ohrid Framework Agreement;

Constitution of Republic of Macedonia;

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities;

European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages;

Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions of UNESCO;

Hague Recommendation for the Rights of National Minorities to Education

Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights

Политички науки Political science	УДК/UDC 316.48 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Mirjana Maleska
South East European University-Tetovo

INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

ABSTRACT

This analysis is a result of a large empirical research, held at early September 2009. 943 respondents answered to the questions about several aspects of their life and the life of their household. Interethnic relations, analysed here, are one aspect of the survey "People Cantered Analyses", supported by UNDP.

The main finding in these fact-finding analyses is that, while it is dangerous for social cohesion and stability of the country when a minority is dissatisfied, it is even more dangerous when the majority is dissatisfied. According to this research, that is the situation in the Republic of Macedonia. The majority of Macedonians, who work in large scale industry and in the public sector, have been adversely affected by the economic crisis, and feel economically insecure. Dissatisfaction or pessimism among middle-lower class people can negatively affect inter-ethnic relations because this class group will instinctively demand a better status, more by pushing aside people from different ethnic backgrounds. Such people are susceptible to political manipulation, and social conflicts can easily turn into interethnic conflicts.

Key words: ethnic groups, ethnic communities, interethnic conflict; consociational democracy, Ohrid Framework Agreement

Conflicts between ethnic groups or between the states in which they reside present a serious and growing challenge to domestic and international security. Such conflicts are often brutal and violent (Gurr 1998), and as Horowitz (1985) noted, "ethnicity has fought and bled and burned its way into public consciousness". Moynihan (1993) observed that the interest in ethnicity has sprung not from rational analysis by armchair philosophers, but from the desperate search for solutions to end the acute ethnic conflicts which began with the end of the Cold War. In political theory, there are several explanations for ethno-political conflicts, which are sometimes called "internal conflicts". Some authors focus on security issues, in which fear and mistrust between ethnic groups can develop into armed conflict (Posen, 1983). Others emphasize the role of "domestic factors", such as the economy, the capacity of the state, nationalism, or the immaturity of the democratic process (Brown 1993). Yet others locate the basic reason for the outbreak of conflicts in the exclusion of minorities from accessing the instruments of power (Lijphart, 1984). We should also mention the socio-psychological approach, which draws attention to false history or myths that are transmitted from one generation to the next, because they play a significant role in the creation of ethnic identity (Horowitz, 1985). William Zartman (1995) summarized the problem of excluding minorities, saying that "national conflicts … may be summed up in two related categories – negligence and discrimination, or problem of distribution and problem of identity."

In the Republic of Macedonia, separatist ethno-territorial demands have been accommodated through the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA). The OFA was aimed at including ethnic Albanians and other minorities in the government through power-sharing, and at broadening their group and individual rights. Yet even now, after the eighth anniversary of the agreement, there are still many institutional gaps in the extent of decentralization of power in relation to curriculum reform in education, in improved social services to support social integration, in public debate over decisions that affect different ethnic groups and in many other areas. Moreover, according to the OFA principle of equitable representation, the percentage of ethnic Albanians employed in the public institutions should eventually reach over 25%, but as yet many institutions still do not fulfil this stipulation.

Macedonian society can be described as simultaneously multiethnic, multinational, plural and multicultural. In such societies the risk of ethnic conflicts is especially high if the government neglects or discriminates against minority groups. In 2001 the country experienced an armed conflict between the central government and ethnic Albanian guerrilla fighters. The conflict ended in August 2001 with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA). However, the internal relations between the ethnic Macedonians, ethnic Albanians and other ethnic minorities have remained the most sensitive issue that affects the stability and security of the country, as well as its perspective for integration into the European Union.

ETHNIC AFFILIATION

The distribution of respondents according to the ethnic affiliation in the sample broadly follows the distribution of ethnic affiliation in the society as a whole (see Table 1).[1]

Table 1. *Ethnic affiliation*

Ethnic affiliation	Frequency	Percent
Macedonians	637	67.5
Albanians	210	22.2
Other*	96	10.2
Total	943	100.0

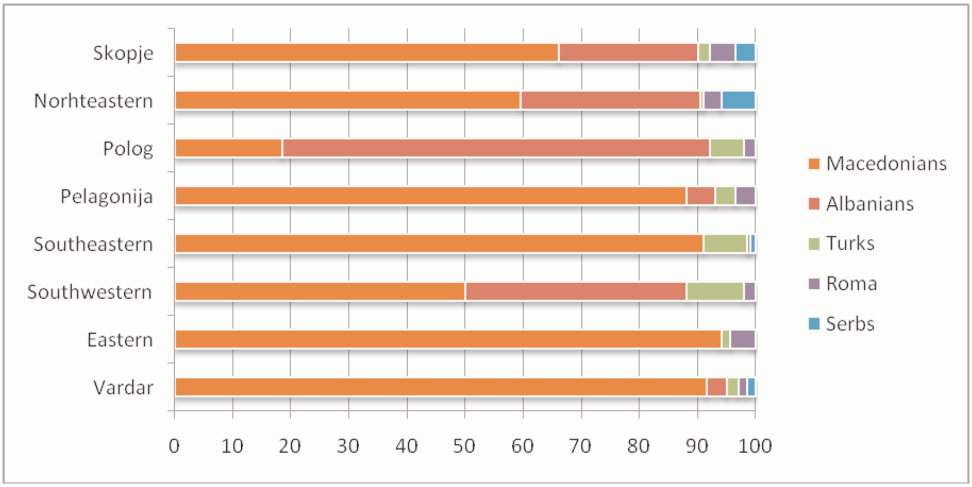
Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

**"Other" includes: Turks-3.8%; Roma-3.7%; Serbs-1.3% and Vlachos-0.1%. In the analysis, we will especially focus on the socio-political exclusion of the Roma as the most disadvantaged minority. (The Roma sample, separated and calculated as a separate booster, has a frequency of 106.)*

In terms of the regions they populate, ethnic Macedonians mostly inhabit the Vardar, Eastern, Southeastern, Pelagonia and Skopje regions. Ethnic Albanians are concentrated in the Polog region, and there are significant numbers in the Southwestern and Northeastern regions, as well as in the Skopje region. Turks mainly inhabit the Southwestern, Southeastern, Polog and Pelagonia regions. The largest Roma concentration is in the Skopje and Eastern regions, while Serbs are mostly concentrated in the Northeastern and Skopje regions (Figure 3.2).

1) According to the 2002 census, Macedonia has a population of just over two million people. Broken down into ethnic groups: 64.2% (or 1,297,981) are Macedonians, 25.2% (or 509,083) are Albanians, 3.9% are Turks, 2.7% are Roma, 1.8% are Serbs, 0.8% are Bosnians, 0.5% are Vlachs, and 1.0% are "others". The country's two major religions are Orthodox Christianity and Islam. There is a general correlation between ethnicity and religious affiliation – the majority of Orthodox believers are ethnic Macedonian, and the majority of Muslim believers are ethnic Albanians and Turks. Approximately 65% of the population is Macedonian Orthodox, and 32% is Muslim. Other groups include Roman Catholics, members of various Protestant denominations, and Jews.

Figure 1: *Ethnicity by region*



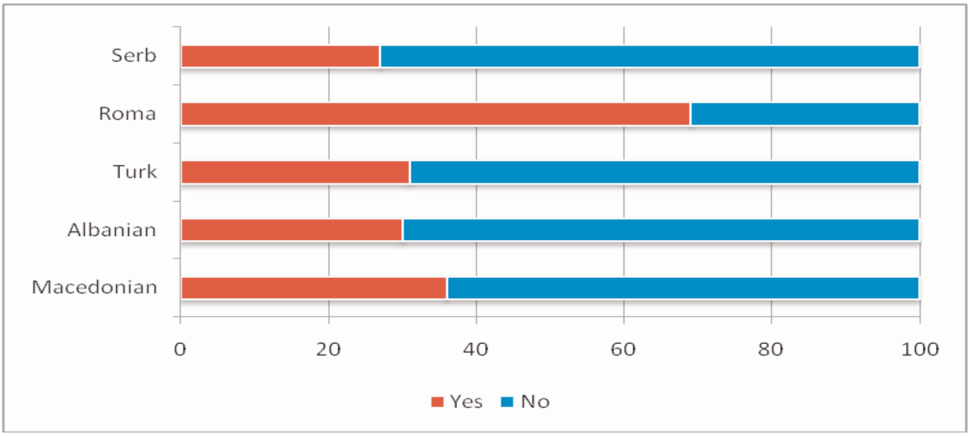
**Source: State Statistical Office.*

The calculation does not include the 43,000 Vlachs, Bosniaks and others because of lack of data, but this does not effect on the breakdown of the listed groups by regions (Figure 2).

FRUSTRATION GAP

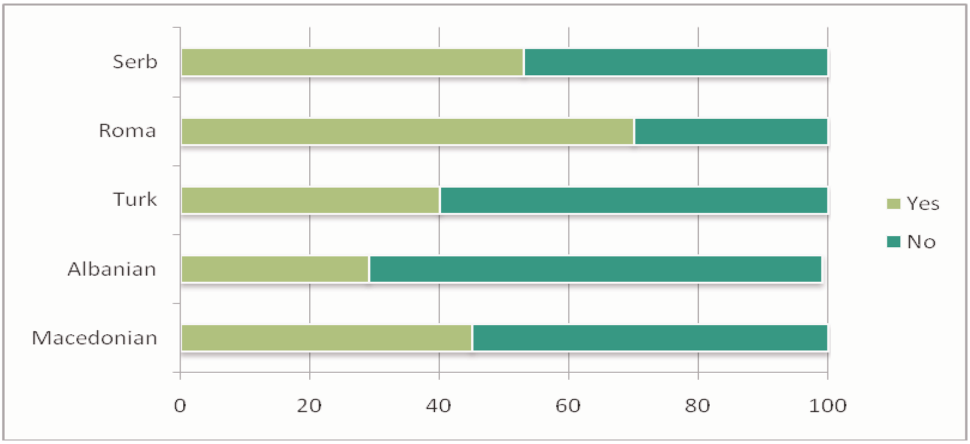
Ethnic conflicts are more likely to happen in plural societies in which there is a discrepancy between people's needs and the ability of the state to satisfy those needs through the provision of public services of various sorts. The starting point of this analysis is that mounting economic and social problems, income disparities and poverty, as well as people's low expectations, have created what can be called a frustration gap, which is a social as well as a psychological phenomenon. The Roma have the most severe level of poverty among all ethnic groups, while ethnic Macedonians have the least severe level. On the other side, ethnic Macedonians are the most unsatisfied, even the most frustrated group, as shown by the findings from this year's People Cantered Analyses survey concerning issues such as job security, incomes, and personal assessments of expectations about the future. Figure 2, shows that more Roma people are looking for work than among other ethnicities. A greater proportion of ethnic Macedonians are looking for work compared to ethnic Albanians.

Figure 2: *Job search by ethnicity*



Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

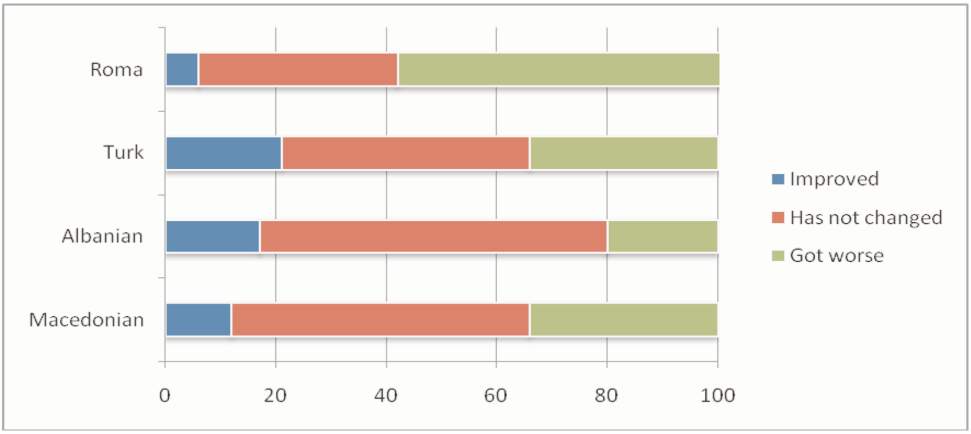
Figure 3: *Job insecurity: likelihood of losing one's job in the six months following the survey*



Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

Insecurity is measured in Figure 3 by the likelihood of losing one's job in the six months following the survey. Over two thirds of Roma consider that there is a risk of losing their job, indicating that this ethnic group has the highest degree of economic insecurity. Just under a half of ethnic Macedonians respondents consider there is a chance of losing their job compared to over one quarter of ethnic Albanians. These data indicate that the ethnic Macedonian population experiences greater economic insecurity than the ethnic Albanian population. Moreover, this conclusion is also supported by other findings from the survey. For example, over half of the Roma respondents (59%) consider that their life "got worse" over the twelve months prior to the survey, compared to one third (34%) of ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Turks (also 34%), while just one fifth (20%) of ethnic Albanians experienced a worsening of the life situation (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: *How respondents' life had changed in the 12 months prior to the survey*



Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

Table 2 shows responses to the question "Thinking of your household's total monthly income, is your household able to make ends meet". It shows that over half of people from all ethnic groups are only able make ends meet with difficulty. As in other dimensions of economic insecurity the Roma stand out as being in the worst position, followed by ethnic Turks, ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians respectively.

Table 2: *Whether the household able to make ends meet*

Ethnicity	easily	Neither easy nor difficult	With difficulty
Macedonians	11.1%	31.5%	57.3%
Albanians	16.7%	29.9%	53.4%
Turks	14.3%	24.5%	61.2%
Roma	4.8%	6.7%	88.5%

Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

The comparison of the data demonstrates that large proportions of people in all ethnic groups suffer from unemployment, economic insecurity, dissatisfaction with their personal lives, and difficulties in making ends meet. The most vulnerable and disadvantage group in this regards are the Roma. But in the in the context of interethnic relations, the situation of ethnic Macedonians should be stressed here. It is very dangerous when the minorities are discontented, but it is even more dangerous when the majority is discontented. The dissatisfaction among ethnic Macedonians comes from several sources: the loss of privileged status when most previously worked in the state-owned sector; the reform of the public sector where a large proportion of them also work (28% of ethnic Macedonians in comparison with 11.5% ethnic Albanians work in the public sector); the perception of 'equitable representation' as a zero-sum-game; the global economic crisis which has hit the larger companies, where ethnic Macedonians predominate (27% ethnic Macedonians work in large companies in comparison with just 13% of ethnic Albanians). At the same time, ethnic Macedonians are on average better educated than are members of other ethnic communities (45% of ethnic Macedonians have four-year secondary education, in comparison with just 29% of ethnic Albanians); they are more likely to be skilled workers (31% of ethnic Macedonians are skilled manual workers, in comparison with just 15% of ethnic Albanians). Moreover, almost half of the ethnic Macedonians who are in work expected to lose their job in the six months following the survey (45%) and believed that they were not well paid for the work that they do (49% of ethnic Macedonians compared with 30.5% of ethnic Albanians). Such a high level of dissatisfaction of the majority ethnic group, despite the relatively favourable social position in terms of educations and skills might easily lead to political radicalisation. The next sections identify some indicators to justify the view that a social layer of ethnic Macedonians with higher education, and that are employed as skilled workers, feel badly paid and insecure. This "generation 300 Euro" (referring to the unrests in Greece, led by the so-called, "generation 700 Euro") perceive inter-ethnic relations to be far worse than do members of other ethnic groups.

ASSESSMENT OF THE INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

The majority of respondents (58%) saw no change in the state of the interethnic relations in the country over the 12 months prior to the survey, while about a quarter (26%) thought they had worsened, and a tenth (11%) thought they had improved (see Table 3.). If we also take into consideration the regions, over a third of the respondents from the Skopje region, where ethnic Macedonians predominate, consider the interethnic relations have worsened (39%).

Table 3: *How do you assess the state of inter-ethnic relations in the country over the last 12 months?*

Improvement	11.0%
No change	57.6%
Worsening	25.8%
Refuse to answer	5.6%

Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

Ethnic Macedonians, more so than the ethnic Albanians or members of other ethnic groups, believe that the interethnic relations have deteriorated in the last 12 months (see Figure 5). Over a quarter of ethnic Macedonians perceive a worsening of ethnic relations compared to just one fifth of ethnic Albanians.

Figure 5: *Proportion who say ethnic relations have worsened in the previous 12 months by ethnicity*

Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

Who are those ethnic Macedonians who believe that ethnic relations in the country worsened over previous 12 months? Considering educational level, respondents with high school education most frequently considered that interethnic relations had worsened. In terms of age, younger as well as older people, think the same way, as do those with paid jobs whose income is between 12,000 and 21,000 denars, and those whose households barely make ends meet.

Asked how they assess the situation in the upcoming 12 months, half of the all respondents (943) answer that there will be no change, while almost a quarter (23%)

consider that inter-ethnic relations will worsen and only 15% consider that there will be an improvement (see Table 4).

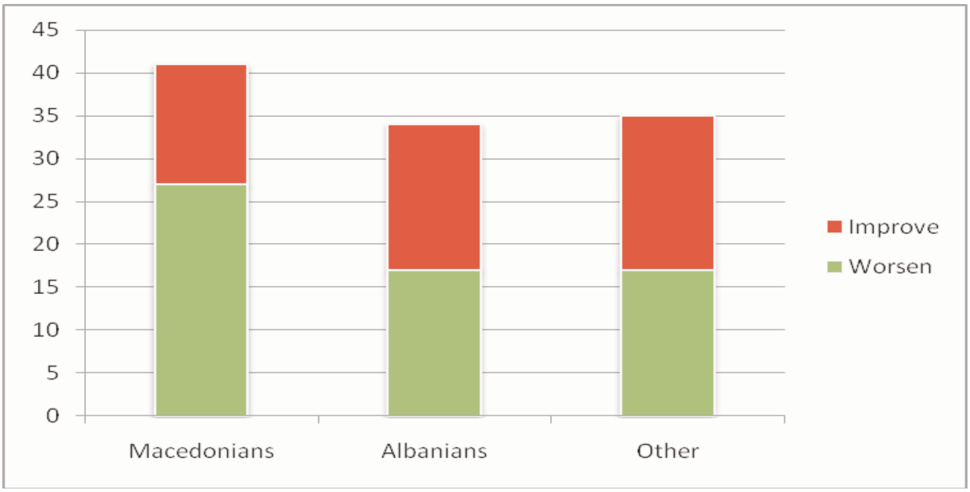
Table 4: *How do you assess the state of inter-ethnic relations over the next 12 months?*

Improvement	15.3%
No change	49.5%
Worsening	23.3%
Refuse to answer	11.9%

Source: PCA Survey 2009

More than a quarter of ethnic Macedonians consider that ethnic relations would worsen over the twelve months following the survey, compared to just one sixth of ethnic Albanians and members of other ethnic groups (see Figure 6). Among the ethnic Macedonians who consider that the interethnic relations will worsen, the majority is again the same category of people with high school education, who have paid jobs, with an income between 12,001 and 21,000 denars, and whose families have difficulties making ends meet, and have a low standard of living.

Figure 6: *Expectations of change in inter-ethnic relations over the subsequent 12 months*

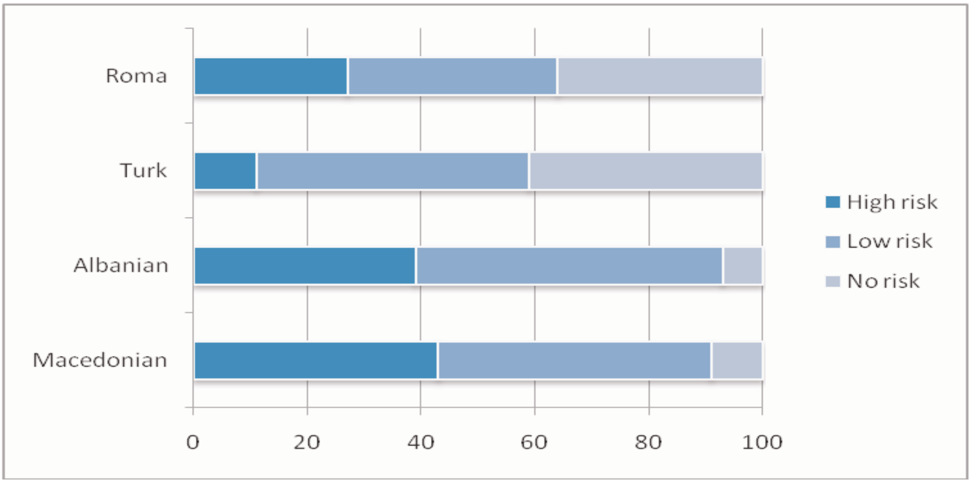


Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

ASSESSMENT OF VIOLENT ETHNIC CONFLICT

Asked how they assess the risk of violent ethnic conflict, most of the respondents answer that "there is no risk" (8.9%) or that the risk is low (45.5%). We were interested in the group that assessed that there was a "high risk" (35.3%). More than two fifths of ethnic Macedonians consider that there is a high risk of violent ethnic conflict. A similar, but slightly lower, proportion of ethnic Albanians hold the same assessment while among Roma and Turks relatively few hold this view.

Figure 7: *perceptions of the risk of violent ethnic conflict*



Source: PCA Household Survey September 2009

Almost half of the respondents (48%) in the Skopje region consider that the risk of violent ethnic conflict is high. The proportion that holds this view is far lower in the Southwest region (9%). Two-fifths of the urban population (40%) considers there is a high risk of ethnic conflict compared to less than one third of the rural population (30%). More men than women consider there is a high risk (37% against 34%). Those aged between 35-44, and those with a monthly income between 12,000 and 21,000, and those whose families find it difficult to make ends meet also assess the risk of violent ethnic conflict to be high.

CONCLUSION

The consociational institutional arrangements, as well as the minority rights, have enabled greater political stability in the country, and have improved inter-ethnic relations. Most of the respondents consider that the inter-ethnic relations did not worsen in 2009, and they do not expect them to worsen in the future. Asked whether they expect a violent ethnic conflict, the majority answered that there was no such risk or that it is very low. Those who consider that the inter-ethnic relations have deteriorated and will deteriorate in the future are mostly ethnic Macedonians, who, according to age, education, income and standard belong to the middle or the lower middle class. Educated, but with low income, and insecure about the future, we can identify a "generation 300 Euros", who can become easily radicalized.

It should be stated once again that, from the aspect of interethnic relations, it is dangerous for social cohesion and stability of the country when the minority is dissatisfied, but it is even more dangerous when the majority is frustrated and dissatisfied. More then 40% among the group of Macedonians(respondents) believe that here is a "high risk" of violent ethnic conflict. The feeling of social insecurity and frustration is a favourable environment for abusing national feelings. In such a situation, each social conflict can end up as an interethnic conflict.

References:

Bieber, F. (2008) *Power-Sharing and Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement*, Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Brown, M. (ed.) (n.d.) *International Dimension of Internal Conflicts*, CSIA, Harvard University

Gurr, T.R. (1998). *Minorities at Risk*. US Institute of Peace Press. Washington, D.C.

Horowitz, D. (n.d.) *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press

ESI (2002) *Ahmeti's Village – the political economy of inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia*, Skopje, Berlin

Lijphart, A. (1984) *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries*, New Haven: Yale University Press

Maleska, M. (n.d.) *Power-Sharing: A New Concept of Decision-Making Process in Multicultural Municipalities*, Research Report, EU-Funded project, carried out by MCMS, ADI, Ian Collins Centre for Peace and Democracy.

Maleski, D. (2003) The Causes of War, *New Balkan Politics*, Vol.8

Moynihan, D. P. (1993) *Pandemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Posen, B. (1993) The security dilemma and ethnic conflict, in: M. E. Brown (ed.) *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Zartman, W. (ed.) (1995) *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil War*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution

Политички науки Political science	УДК/UDC 316.334.3: 329 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Lidija Hristova
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

LEFT AND RIGHT IN THE POSTCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

ABSTRACT

By giving a short overview of the relevant politicological literature for the ideological positions of political parties in post-communist countries, the purpose of this work is to reveal to which extent these differ from the conditions and processes in established democracies and what these differences owe to. The knowledge gained will serve as a reference framework in the analysis of ideological profilation of the parties in the Macedonian post-communist society. Here, we will pay special attention on the position of the political subjects (political parties and citizens/voters) on the two-dimensional specter: left - right and conservatism - liberalism. With the use of the data from the empirical research of the political identities in Republic of Macedonia, the author has come to the conclusion that in the Macedonian case the intriguing Kitschelt's thesis (of 1992) according to which economic liberalism in post-communist societies is accompanied by political liberalism (double liberalism) has only partially been confirmed.

Key words: political parties, party politics, ideological specters, post-communist countries

There's a really rich politicological literature that focuses its attention on the political parties in post-communist societies,[1] encompassing either several dimensions of the problem or is concentrated on one aspect of the complex structure of the issues regarding the political and party systems, such as: interparty democracy, party elites, social cleavages, ideologies, financing, corruption, party policies, party identities, election behavior etc.

The text that follows is going to give only the most important findings related to the ideological profilation of the political parties and their positions on the ideological specters in order to present the specifics of the post-communist societies, creating a wider framework that will allow evaluation of the processes and political developments in the Republic of Macedonia.

In the comparative analysis of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, Milada Vaduhova sets forth the following thesis: the moderate right-wing parties are the best promoters of democracy in post-communist countries.[2] The key factor that explains the dominance of these parties in politics is the existence of strong and organized political opposition in communism before 1989. In the first years of the transition process, they promoted themselves as a strong cohesive factor of democratization only in a small number of post-communist countries, whereas in the other countries dominanted the parties that had focused on the defense of the nation and the national culture of the countries that they considered as a threat, as well as the defense of the status quo situations in the economy, says Vaduhova. The first group of countries included Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic while the second one included Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia and Slovakia; where in the second group dominant were the extreme right/radical wing and/or the national-communist parties. This contributed to making the national issues and the economic populism become dominant transition landmarks of political life of the second group. Nevertheless, the end of the nineties was marked by a marginalization process or a transformation of the parties with communist or national orientation while the moderate right wing assumed authority in almost all transition democracies, which influenced their political stabilization and their approach to the liberal democracies.[3]

1) Diamond, L. and R, Gunther (2001), von Beume, K. (2002) Vahudova M. A. (2008), Kitshel H. (1992, 1995) Merkel (1997), Klingeman (1994), Kaldor M. and Vejvoda I.: (2002), De Waele J. M (ed), (2002). Literature actually uses both terms: post-communist and post-socialist societies.

2) Vachudova, M. A., Centre-right parties and political outcomes in East Central Europe, *Party Politics*, 4/2008 pp.387-405. Vaduhova's thesis can be seen in other authors as well.

3) Vahudova, 2008, p. 389

Vaduhova's thesis according to which the strength and the coherency of the right wing is in great deal a result of the character of the opposition in communism, is contradictory to the basic thesis of the ones that felt that only the communist party was the only applicable political force at the end of the eighties. This kind of tabula rasa standpoint for the post-communist politics suggests that everyone started from zero in the political transition, i.e. all post-communist countries in the transition period started with the same baggage – a monolithic communist past. The representatives of this hypothesis (Jon Elster, Claus Offe & Ulrich Preuss)[4] had practically neglected not only the meaning of the differences in the political life of countries of the so-called Eastern block, but also the meaning of the pre-communist period. And there had obviously been many differences.

HOW DOES THE LEFT– RIGHT POLITICAL SPECTER WORK IN THE POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES?

Maybe we have to start by finding out the answer to the question: what is "right" in the post-communist countries? The strong support for the market reforms and the nationalistic agenda, which are the two crucial elements that differentiate the right wing from the left, have a specific meaning in post-communist countries. If we took into consideration the economic programs and policies of the parties in these countries, it would be impossible to make a differentiation between the left and right wings. All parties promised higher living standard of the people, slow reforms, more substantial social transfers by the state, and with that a firmer position of the state itself. In this way, the economic liberalism, whose social price as a rule was higher and needed to be mitigated, was found on the agendas of both, the left and the right wing parties, making it harder for analysts to differentiate them according to the classical criteria. The findings from some researchers who point that painful economic reforms are always preceded by a difficult economic crisis, leads to the conclusion that they are not a result of the ideological concepts of the parties, but a result of the realistic (cruel) demands of the economy.

How do we then differentiate the right from the left wing in post-communist countries? A fair number of authors feel that we should be looking for the answer by analyzing the relation of the parties towards national and socio-cultural issues (Kitschelt 1992, Marcs et al. 2006). Herbert Kitschelt,[5] for example offers triple classification:

4) In Vahudova 2008, p. 397

5) Kitscheld, H. Formation of Party Cleavges in Post–Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions, *Party Politics* 1995/1, 447-472

1. liberal parties (secularism, tolerance, civil liberties, mild decommunization, pro-market orientations, cosmopolitism, support for the integrations towards the West); 2. christian-national (authority, social order, collective morale, hard decommunization, populist corrections of market legitimacies, national autonomy); 3. post-communist or social-democrat parties (express liberalist concern for the social libertarianism, but also mild support for the economic populism).

The famous researcher of parties and party systems in Yugoslavia and later in Serbia, Vladimir Goati, who refers to Sartori, says that in conditions of multidimensional political space, the dichotomy left wing – right wing is not a sufficiently strong analytical tool to express its complexity. This is why he says that aside from the X-axis we need a Y-axis too and offers the following classification of the political parties in the Republic of Serbia: 1. left - pro-European, 2. right – pro-European, 3. traditional-left, 4. traditional-right. So according to Goati, the role of the Y-axis in the case of Serbia is played by the dichotomy pro-European - traditional.[6]

Klaus von Beyme[7] supports the thesis that the clear structure of the social cleavages is an important factor in the establishment and consolidation of the party system. What happens in a situation when those rift lines are difficult to identify, as is the case in the post-communist countries? According to the author, the political memory related to the pre-totalitarian era, as well as socialistic experience helped the new parties in their profiling only slightly. The traditional lines of division have the same meaning (village - city, church – secular state) since through the intensive process of industrialization and secularization, socialism relativized their meaning substantially. The classic and most important cleavage of the line labor – capital was completely underdeveloped, especially in the first years of democratization when neither capital nor labor were represented in politics.[8] Those conditions emphasized the conflict between the center and the periphery, rationalized through nationalism and regionalism.

The social setting of post-communism which allowed for the development of party systems was quite complex and atypical (from a point of view of western democracies) in order for the four-element Rockan's typology to be sufficient. Thus, von Beyme considered more appropriate the eight-element division, but emphasizing that the meaning of certain divisions in specific environments is preconditioned

6) Goati, V. Partiski program kao klucni element partiskog identiteta, in Goati, V. *Programski identiteti socijaldemokratskih partija*, Socijaldemokratski klub Friedrich Ebert Stifung: Beograd, 2005
7) von Beyme K. *Transformacija politickih stranaka*, Fakultet politickih znanosti Sveucilista u Zagrebu, Zagreb 2002
8) Klaus Von Beyme, also p. 83

by other variables as well. So for example, the dominance of the socio-cultural conflict is to be expected where strong ethnic fragmentation persists and here, he mentions Republic of Macedonia as well as in cases where the process of separation from a bigger state community has not yet been finalized (Slovakia). The author points out that the desirable dominant type of conflict is the social-economic one, which is oriented towards the future and which we come across in conditions of market economy (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Latvia).

Based on the analyses on the democratization in six post-communist societies, Kaldor and Vejvoda[9] have come to the conclusion that after the year of 1989 there were three basic types of parties that were created: 1. ex communist parties that got rebranded under different names, taking up the space left of the center; 2. parties that tried to pick up from the political traditions in the period from before the Second World War; 3. completely new political parties that were made up of communist dissidents or other individuals that were not related to the communist nomenclature. The inherited infrastructure (party network, membership), political experience as well as the strong ties with certain state institutions turned out to be quite an important comparative advantage over the ex communist parties, which resulted with them winning the elections.[10] It is very difficult to differentiate parties according to their philosophical or ideological concept is the opinion of the authors. Basically, we're talking about the so-called catch all parties (which advocate for market reforms, social justice, integration within the European Union etc) among which one general distinction can be made: a part of them are of mostly civic orientation while the other part are closer to some national and/or religious values.[11]

An observant analyst will notice that in the attempt to identify some regularity in the structure of the party systems, authors have the tendency to call upon exceptions to specific historic, socio-cultural and other circumstances in certain countries. The numerous intervening variables further complicate matters and the authors are likely to be aware of this, too. In his conclusion, von Beyme admits that the research on party change is a field of many hypotheses and not much accuracy in the results. "The one who lists a number of reasons in fact has none," says Kant. Or in more

9) Kaldor M., Vejvoda, I. *Democratization in central and Eastern Europe*. London-New York: Routledge, 2002

10) According the authors, in the coalition with the liberals with whom there was almost a consensus with regard to the rule, politics was becoming a boring or normal thing. As opposed to this first mode, typical of Slovenia and Hungary, in other countries a serious political front opened, i.e. a severe polarization between the communists and the anticommunists (Romania, Bulgaria, Poland and Lithuania).

11) The big political debates turn mostly towards the past – communism as apposed to anticommunism, or around certain public figures like Mečiar and Kováč in Slovakia, Kalus and Havel in the Czech Republic, Valensa and Kvasnevski in Poland, Brazauskas and Landzbergis in Lithuania, Kaldor and Vejvoda, also, p.11

modern language: the hunt for the independent variable continues.[12] This observation does not deny the analytical and methodological value of these comparative studies, but it surely makes more careful the researcher himself.

If this was the first general conclusion that can be drawn from the literature, the second one refers to the inevitability of the use of the two-dimensional specter, if we wish to present the ideological positions of the parties, and also of the other political subjects. This second dimension is related to the social issues and on the two-dimensional specter is marked mostly as liberalism against authoritarianism. Before operationalizing these categories, the key task of the researchers would be to identify the issues that are a subject of political debate in certain countries. Most frequently, these are issues regarding economy (the height of taxes and a country's expenses, rationalized through the dimension regulation-deregulation). Empirical research shows that those that have chosen to go for a free market have different understanding in terms of the state-owned/private enterprises, in terms of the progressive income taxes, the scope of healthcare, free education and social welfare from those that went for or accepted egalitarianism as the core value. When it comes to the policies related to the economic dimension, the ideology is expressed through the position of the party or the voter on the one-dimensional scale of left- right. But this scale doesn't take into account the second dimension – liberalism against authoritarianism, which on the ideological specter is related to the social issue, most commonly operationalized through the standpoints of the political subjects on tradition, abortion, sexual orientation, protection of the environment etc.[13] When it comes to the post-communist countries what stands out also is the position of the parties regarding privatization, religion, the participation of the ex communists in political life, free media expression, EU integration, nationalism etc.

THE USE OF THE TWO-DIMENSIONAL SPECTER IN THE DETERMINATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE POLITICAL SUBJECTS

How do we merge the two dimensions? Is it possible to combine them at all? There is numerous research that refers to certain regularities or usual patterns of behavior. Such is the case with Britain and most of the European countries where the egalitarian and the liberal voters position themselves on the left wing, whereas the anti-egalitarian and authoritarians on the right wing. Even at a level of political elites

12) von Beyme, 2002, p. 184

13) In some countries other specific issues can arise, in terms of the country's stance on immigration, foreign and safety policy, different aspect of the EU policy etc.

these two dimensions have the same correlations, even more than is the case with ordinary citizens.[14]

But even though these are similar or same combinations, there are many differences between these two dimensions in the terminology, definitions and measurements that these authors refer to. In the early 50s of the twentieth century Eyscenck (1954) analyzed diverse political attitudes in terms of radical/conservative and weak/strong; Inglehart though, talks about post-materialism as well as a new approach to measuring liberal/authoritarian values. Similarly, from Palmer's analysis (1995) of the data obtained from Eurobarometer for the period of 1979-1987 we can see that the libertarian - authoritarian values were a much more powerful determinant for the support of the Laborists and Conservatives than the income and the occupation of the voters (i.e. the class dimension). Some researchers drew a conclusion from this data that these values can provide a strong basis for electoral behavior in the lack of deep social rifts or long-term party identities.[15]

When it comes to post-socialist societies, Herbert Kitschelt reached an interesting yet essential observation according to which in post-communist countries the party support for economic liberalism is followed by political liberalism and not political conservatism as is the case in the West.[16] Therefore, the merging of the two dimensions on the ideological specter in these societies is going to be different from the one in the established democracies. This will be the key characteristic of the party systems of these societies, says Kitschelt, as a result of his analysis of the post-communist societies at the beginning of transition.

Does this observation of Kitschelt's refer also to the Macedonian post-communist society? The answer to this question is neither simple nor onefold. Firstly, because the analysis can be conducted at a level of political parties and at the level of citizens/voters where the conditions of both these levels may not be the same and secondly, because in Republic of Macedonia, as in many other post-socialist countries, it is very difficult to differentiate between the left and the right wings in the classic sense of the word.[17]

14) Miller, W. L., Timpson, A. M. and Lessnoff, M. H., *Political culture in contemporary Britain: people and politicians, principles and practice*. Oxford, U.K and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1996 pp. 100-1, 304

15) William, L. M. and Niemi, R. G. Voting: Choice, Conditioning, and Constraint in. LeDuc L, Niemi R.& Norris P. *Comparing Democracies 2- new challenges in the study of elections and voting*, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Thousand Oaks, 2006, pp. 172-175

16) Kitschelt, H. The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe, *Politics&Society*, March 1992, p.7-50

17) Because of the lack of space and the specifics of the political scene in RM, the upcoming analysis will be reduced to the biggest / most important political parties of the Macedonian / Albanian political block: VMRO DPMNE, SDSM, DUI and DPA.

DETERMINING THE POSITION OF MACEDONIAN POLITICAL SUBJECTS ON THE TWO-DIMENSIONAL SPECTER

In the case of Macedonia, the left wing is usually identified with SDSM, while the right with VMRO DPMNE.[18] Not only because of the self-identification (the first group refer to themselves as socio-democrats, left-wingers while the second one, right-wingers, conservatives/demo-christians), but also because of their association with the international party families.[19] This polarization is confirmed with the fact that VMRO DPMNE was oriented in great deal towards the improvement of the business climate in the country and strived more to implement the denationalization project than its main political opponent, cut down taxes considerably etc.

However, many experts, as well as results from public opinion surveys will agree that realistically in their policies, the left and the right values are intertwined, which is (somewhat) visible in the programs of the parties as well.[20] The poor social foundation of the parties, i.e. the lack of target groups to address as well as the inconsistency regarding the division of the free market – egalitarian values will make many include them both in the catch all parties, which in fact gravitate towards the center.[21]

When it comes to determining the position of the parties on the conservatism-liberalism specter, it seems that the situation is much clearer. VMRO DPMNE is turned more towards the affirmation of values related to patriotism, defense of national interest, family, religion (by introducing religious education in schools), also

18) The very creation process of the parties reveals their profiling. SDSM is the heir of an earlier communist party (at the beginning of the transition period its name was SKM-PDP, whereas VMRO DPMNE, according to its name and the way it was formed is related to the traditions/endeavors of the Macedonian people for the creation of an independent country. For more, refer to Hristova L. Electoral Behavior of Citizens and in Hristova L., Shopar V., Jovevska A. Sasajkovski S. *Parliamentary Elections in 1998 in Macedonia*, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research: Skopje, 1999, p. 60-70 (in Macedonian)

19) The former are members of the Socialistic International and an accompanying member of the European Socialist Party, while the latter have the status of an accompanying member of the European People's Party and have contacts with the sororal demochristians parties of Western Europe.

20) Thus, the objection to SDSM is for their implementation of the managerial, paid privatization which allowed for a bigger concentration of the national treasure with a small number of people, for having close ties with the economic oligarchy, fro cutting down on the rights of the employees and having poor collaboration with the unions, while the objection to VMRO DPMNE was regarding their implementation of social policies typical of the left oriented party (the increase of pensions, increase of salaries in the state and public administration, accepting the demands of (just one category) of workers of bankrupt enterprises etc. For more, refer to Hristova L. Political Identities in the Republic of Macedonia. Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje, 2010 (in print, in Macedonian)

21) Siljanovska- Dafkova G., Macedonian political parties through the prism of ideology, in Lutovac Z., (edit.) *Political parties and voters in the countries from ex Yugoslavia*, Institute of Social Sciences, FES, Beograd, 2006 p. 213-214 (in Serbian)

introducing order, applying severe punishments for those who violate the law which made the party profile itself as a conservative party. SDSM did not succeed to profile itself sufficiently through its actions, and its limited ideological positions included promotion of, for example, secularism (by opposing the introduction of religious education in schools), internationalism etc.[22]

The ideological profiling of the political parties of the Albanian political block is even more specific of an issue. Even though the two most important parties DUI and DPA have positioned themselves as the left (the first one) and the right (the second one) on the ideological specter, it is very hard to find evidence in their policies that would justify their decision to take up those positions.[23] The policies of both parties have their focus on the so-called Albanian national issue, which was rationalized with the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the only differences in their policies lie in how radical their standpoints are with regard to this issue.[24]

Therefore, on the level of political parties, the use of a two-dimensional space model (aside from all of the relativizations) points to a usual pattern of behavior which is typical of the Western democracies: economic liberalism is accompanied by cultural/social conservatism. This means that Kitschelt's thesis cannot be applied in the case of Macedonia, at least when it comes to the political parties. Do we see the same behavior pattern in citizens/voters as well? As it is customary, when it comes to the ideological profiling of citizens, we obtain our findings by using a questionnaire on a national sample[25] where several scales of values were used.

How are the values from both of the scales combined: left wing – right wing and conservatism – liberalism in Macedonian citizens? Do they follow the same pattern

22) "…people knew us as: a party of peace, stability, dialogue, interethnic tolerance, secularity and for respecting differences. It's time we said something more: we believe in solidarity and social justice; we fight for equal opportunities and protecting the weak (Radmila Shekjerinska, president of SDSM: the Utrinski Vesnik newspaper, issue from June, 30th, 2007)

23) "... the parties in Macedonia still haven't been ideologically profiled,… there's no competition of ideas and programs and the position chosen by the governing power serves only one purpose: to make e personal profit. (from the interview with Ali Ahmeti, president of DUI, from the weekly Globus, May, 6th, 2008)

24) And radicality depends on whether that is a ruling party or a party in opposition which basically means that there are virtually no differences.

25) The survey was carried out as a part of the scientific research project Political Identities in the Republic of Macedonia, implemented by the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (2006-2009), with Lidija Hristova as the main researcher. The first scale referred to the classic division of left wing – right wing, related to free market and equality. The second one was supposed to express the division liberalism – conservatism, while the third scale of values referred to the personal dimension of autonomy against social conformism, where we started off from the premise that all of them can reveal the political (ideological) positions and positions of values of the citizens.

of logic as the one of the political parties, to which we've pointed out before or are they in line with Kitschelt's thesis?

Table 1. *Percentage of Conservatives and Liberals that Support the Values of the Left-Right Scale*

Left-right values (attitudes)	% of liberals that support the particular attitude	% of conservatives that support the particular attitude
The social differences in one society should be as small as possible	45.5%	77.5%
Private enterprises are more successful than state-owned ones	86.2%	38.0%
In the time of socialism, everyone was taken care of	18.2%	78.4%
All citizens are entitled to the same health care services (private-state heath care system)	62.1%	89.2%
The state should provide social security for its citizens	56.1%	76.6%
The more state-owned enterprises, the bigger the benefit for economy	31.8%	71.6%
All citizens are entitled to the same quality education (state-private)	60.6%	80.2%
In socialism people had enough liberties	38.6%	73.1%
When making decisions about the main issue regarding the development of companies, the opinion of the workers should also be taken into consideration	45.5%	75.5%
Countries should provide better public services (education, health care, culture, social security) even though that would mean imposing higher taxes	81.8%	63.1%

The analysis of the answers obtained from the survey shows that the conservative voters support the so-called left values, i.e. they have a bigger understanding/expectations for the regulatory role of the state than the liberal voters that support in great deal the free market and the consequences resulting from it in the socio-economic sphere, i.e. the so-called right values (Table 1).

Why do we have such a combination of specters in the case of Macedonia? By analyzing the data available, we tried to identify more specifically the liberals and conservatives. Or in a few words: the majority of the citizens with a lower degree of education, those from the older category of respondents, pensioners and unemployed were of more conservative standpoint than the respondents with a higher degree of education, the young, the students and those who own a private business. (The second ones are a part of the category of liberals much more frequently). One can assume that the first category of citizens – the conservatives – are of smaller capacity (according to age, education, occupation) for dealing with the challenges of transition and it is precisely because of this that they are more susceptible to accepting the left values, i.e. the protective role of the country in the socio-economic sphere. And vice versa, the category of liberals, according to their socio-demographic characteristics (again this would be age, education, occupation, but in a different direction) shows greater capability to deal with the challenges of the market economy and entrepreneurship, which classifies them as supporters of the so-called right values. It is precisely on this assumption that one of Kitschelt's special hypotheses is based on: "those who expect to become winners" in the market system will accept the libertarian/pro-market policies whereas the potential losers will seek protection from the process of privatization and market economy."[26]

What is the conclusion here? According to many of its characteristics, the political scene of the Republic of Macedonia resembles the one of the rest of the post-communist societies. But in reference to the basic thesis of Kitschelt's, that in these countries the support for economic liberalism is accompanied by political liberalism and not political conservatism, it is only partially confirmed in the case of the Republic of Macedonia, which means that in the Macedonian post-communist society there are some other variables present. The type of circumstances concerned here is a totally different matter of discussion and asks for a completely new research that would have to take into consideration all elements that Kitschelt's model is based on and of course, all of the specifics of the Macedonian transition story.

26) Refer to Kitschelt, also p. 26

References:

de Waele, J. M. (ed.) *Partis politiuqes et democratie en Europe centrale et orientale*, Bruxelles: Editions de l' Universite Libre de Bruxelles, 2002

Diamond, L. and Gunther: *Political parties and Democracy*, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press 2001

Goati, V. *Parties and party systems in Serbia*. Belgrade: OGI CENTAR, 2004 (transl. from Serbian)

Goati, V. Party program as the key element of party identity, in Program identities of sociodemocratic parties, Beograd: Sociodemocratic club Friedrich Ebert Stifung, 2005 (transl. from Serbian)

Goati V. *Party struggles in Serbia in the post-October period*. Belgrade: FES, IDN, 2006 (transl. from Serbian)

Gunther, R., Ramon-Montero, J. and Linz, H. *Political Parties-Old Concepts and New Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Heywood, A. *Political ideologies-an introduction*, second edition, New York: Palgrave, 1998

Hristova, L. et al. *Political identities in the Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje: Institute for Sociological Political and Juridical Research, 2010 (in print) (transl. from Macedonian)

Hristova L., Shopar V., Jovevska A. Sasajkovski S. Parliamentary Elections in 1998 in Macedonia, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research: Skopje, 1999,

Ingelhart, R. Globalization and postmodern values. *Washington Quarterly*, winter 2000

Kaldor, M., Vejvoda, I. *Democratization in central and Eastern Europe*. London-New York: Routledge, 2002

Kitschelt H., Formation of Party Cleavages in Post–Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions, *Party Politics* 1995/1, 447-472

Kitschelt, H. The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe, *Politics & Society*, March 1992, p.7-50

Klingemann, H. Fuchs, D. (eds.) *Citizens and State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

Lutovac, Z. (edit.) *Political parties and voters in the countries from ex Yugoslavia*. Friedrich Eberd Stiftung, Institute of Social Sciences: Belgrade 2006 (transl. from Serbian)

Millard, M. *Elections, parties and representation in Post-Communist Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. 2004

Miller, W. L., Timpson, A. M. and Lessnoff, M. H., *Political culture in contemporary Britain: people and politicians, principles and practice*. Oxford, U.K and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1996

Siljanovska-Dafkova, G., Macedonian political parties through the prism of ideology, in Lutovac Z., (edit.) *Political parties and voters in the countries from ex Yugoslavia*, Institute of Social Sciences, FES, Beograd, 2006 (transl. from Serbian)

Vachudova, M. A. "Centre-right parties and political outcomes in East Central Europe". P*arty Politics*, 2008: 14 (4) pp.387-405

von Beyme, K. *Transformation of political parties*. Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb:, Zagreb. 2002 (transl. from Croatian)

William, L. M. and Niemi, R. G. Voting: Choice, Conditioning, and Constraint in L. LeDuc, R. Niemi & P. Norris: *Comparing Democracies 2- new challenges in the study of elections and voting*, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Thousand Oaks, 2006

Политички науки Political science	УДК/UDC 342.8: 342. 511(497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Aneta Jovevska
University American College

Natasha Gaber - Damjanovska,
Constitutional Court of the Republic of Macedonia

DIRECT PRESIDENTAL ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA, YES OR NO

ABSTRACT

It is usual for our scientific audience to take interest in the elections processes, but only in the area of the parliamentary elections and their outcome. The possible reason for this could be the numerous controversies that followed these elections. In contrast, the interest for the presidential elections was more of a trigger for clashes between parties, rather than a reason for a serious scientific analysis. In the meantime, with the amendment of Article 31from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia in 2008, as well as with the last presidential elections, certain aspects that deserve the attention of the scientific audience have been actualized yet again.

The constitutional position of the President further emphasizes the actualization of the method by which a President is elected, by general and direct elections, which by itself implies even greater accreditations and power which this titleholder has. Although as a formality, these powers are limited and to an extent sublimed to ceremonial rites, nevertheless, if he/she has leadership capacities, a President can extend his/hers influence on the general public and support the reformational processes which are taking place in the state. In absence of such capacities, or in the presence of a strive to impose politics that don't communicate with the interests of the citizens, such limitations of authority act as a counterweight to the proclaimed aspirations of power. At the same time, the legitimacy of a President is closely connected to this issue, related to the needed census quotas in the second round of elections. Namely, the reduction of the census corresponds to the actual climate in the Republic of Macedonia, but keeping in mind the trend of electoral behavior, there should be an open option for unsuccessful realization of the electoral process, helped by electoral abstinence. Therefore, this type of resolutions should be analyzed from the aspect of the current political context, as well as the effects expected to be fulfilled by such conceptualized model. At the same time, the next presidential elections will be facing yet another challenge in the participation of the diaspora. The operational issues related to logistics and voting techniques set aside, this issue is expected to produce numerous disputes, because the diaspora votes could be crucial in winning the elections.

Key words: presidential elections, electoral system, legitimacy

INTRODUCTION

Starting with the initial processes of pluralization in our country, the issue of jurisdictions and methods of electing a President was in the shadow of the discussions about the method of electing members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. This situation was a logical consequence of the dynamics and sequence of the political changes in our country.[1]

The locus of attention was the establishing of the first multi-party Parliament, which was supposed to pass the first Constitution of the independent Republic of Macedonia and following that and in accordance with the new institutional resolutions, to establish the rest of the governmental institutions. Hence, in the absence of appropriate regulations, the first President of the Republic of Macedonia was elected by the members of the first multi-party Parliament and not via direct elections, as it was regulated afterwards with the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. Naturally, after the first competitive elections for members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia in 1990, the process of engineering the Constitution began simultaneously, posing numerous discussions and arguments. However, the debates that occurred about the position of the President of the state, focused mainly on the consistency of the resolutions from the aspect of control over the two opposite legislatures, the executive and legislative power.[2] But the question of the electoral model, i.e. the method for electing a President of the state, did not produce more serious arguments. Promoting the majority electoral model with two rounds of elections,

1) Refer to: Jovevska, A. (1999) *Electoral concepts in the theories of democracy*. ISPPI,. Skopje, pg 170-172
2) Strict following of this principle, represents precisely defined correlations of the governing bodies. From this aspect, in case of a mutual clash, i.e. political crisis that cannot be overcome by compromise, the procedure of dissolution of Parliament takes place. As the Parliament elects the government, the government should, i.e. the chief of state, under given circumstances should have a jurisdiction to take this action. Our Constitution does not give this right neither to the government, nor the president. In fact, this power is granted to the members of parliament, which decide self-dissolution with absolute majority of votes. It is obvious that we have an inconsistent solution, which is divergent when compared to the promoted model.

the constituent organ determined the absolute majority variant for the first round. More precisely, elected President was the candidate that won the majority of votes-50% plus 1, from the total number of voters registered.[3] When in the first round not a single candidate meets this condition, the two candidates that won the most votes are voted for in the second round, taken that the election will be deemed valid only if more than half of the registered voters have exercised their right in that round. As long as the right for presidential nomination of candidates, the Constitution gives that right to at least 10.000 voters or 30 members of Parliament.

1. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1994 – 2000)

Even though according to the Constitution, the presidential mandate is five years and the one of the Parliament members is four, which means that their campaigns do not overlap, but nevertheless, the first direct elections for President of the Republic of Macedonia in 1994, were organized simultaneously with the elections for members of Parliament. Considering the fact that, the mandate of the current President was coming to its end, around one month after the one of the Parliament members, the President of Parliament, who according to the Constitution is authorized to call for elections,[4] did so for both elections of president and members of Parliament. Besides the fact that this decision provoked severe party disputes, the Constitutional court did not find legal obstructions against it. Also, this set aside, the fact that the presidential elections can to a certain degree influence the elections for members of Parliament and their outcome should not be underestimated. Simultaneous execution of these elections, grants an opportunity for the more powerful political parties to create an advantage in the race for electing the president of state, and this advantage cannot be excluded from influencing the outcome in the elections for members of Parliament.

And so, in the presidential elections in 1994, two candidates took part. The members of the ruling party SKM-PDP (current SDSM) as a candidate for the Alliance for Macedonia,[5] sponsored Kiro Gligorov, who was president until then, while the Parliament members from the oppositional VMRO-DPMNE, sponsored their own candidate, Ljubisha Georgievski. In the meantime, another two candidates tried to collect 10.000 signatures in order to confirm their candidatures, but didn't succeed in realizing it, in the relatively short deadline they had to work within. On 16.10.1994 the presidential election

3) Refer to: Article 81 from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, 1991 and refer to Articles 11 and 12 from the Law on Presidential Elections in the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia no.20/94

4) Refer to: Article 81 from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia.

5) The Alliance for Macedonia represented a coalition consisted of three political parties: SDSM, DPM and SPM.

in the Republic of Macedonia started off with two candidates. Kiro Gligorov was elected, winning a significant majority of the votes, early in the first round.

Namely, out of 77,76%[6] voters from the General electoral list (GEL) that exercised their electoral rights, 52,44% voted for the candidate of the Alliance for Macedonia, while his counter candidate won 14,47% from the votes. Data worth mentioning is that 130.133% (around 11%) of ballots were declared invalid, predominantly in electoral units where the majority of voters were ethnic Albanians. In comparison, if the contributing part of votes for the Alliance for Macedonia[7] (21,43%) in the total quota of voters registered in the GEL is to be analyzed in contrast to the received support of their candidate (52,44%), the counter-positioning of the electoral decision for president of the state towards the decision for the composition of members of Parliament. Even though the voters manifested a more critical attitude towards the activities of the actual government, nevertheless, despite this discrepancy, the Alliance for Macedonia received relevant support from the voters, which lead to absolute majority in the Parliament. Understandably, this outcome in the mandates distribution was before all, a result of the "undeserved (artificial) majority", as a consequence from the majority electoral model, in two rounds, according to which were elected the members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. But in this case, the trust given to the presidential candidate that supported this coalition should not be neglected. It was obvious that, in these elections, when it came to the winner, identification with a person had a stronger mobilizing influence than identification with a party.

For the main oppositional parties, VMRO-DPMNE and The Democratic Party of Macedonia, the results in the first round were a product of "numerous forgeries and irregularities in the first round, with which the ruling structures committed a coup d-etat in Macedonia" (PULS, 27.10.1994 g.) At the same time, criticism and disbelief were aimed towards the regularity[8] of the presidential elections, i.e. it was thought that candidate Kiro Gligorov didn't meet the legally set quota, for getting elected in the first round.

6) Refer to: Newsletter for elections results no.7 from 26.10.1994

7) At the same time, the elections for members of Parliament, as opposed to the last parliamentary elections, were decided in the first round.

8) Namely the Law on Electoral Roll was passed early in 1976 and wasn't adapted to the changes. Confusions arose, especially with the corrections that had to be made in the GEL because of coordination with the claim of citizenship of the Republic of Macedonia, as a condition for electoral rights, according to the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia from 1991. This obligation was the instances in the Ministry for Interior and the State Statistics Office. Because of the poor coordination, they took the greater part of the blame for unprofessional working on the assignment. Additional confusion and doubts were incited by the slow and incohesive reports of the republic elections committee. Of course, the reasons for this could be located in the inconsistencies and inaccurate provisions of the Law on Electing Parliament Members and Councilmen of SRM. For example, refer to Article 52 of the law.

These were the arguments noted as a reason for the abstinence of the opposition in the second round of elections.

These were the parameters that followed the first direct presidential elections, but they left their mark on all future elections for this function. To be more precise, as early as 1999, the electing of the candidate for VMRO-DPMNE, Boris Trajkovski, for president of the Republic of Macedonia, cause numerous controversies which escalated with denial of his legitimacy by the opposition and addressing him with “citizen” and not president of state. What was the reason for these qualitative parameters?

These presidential elections took place just one year after the parliamentary elections, when SDSM lost its governing positions after a six year rule. Otherwise, besides the candidates of the two dominant parties, candidates of four more political parties took part in these elections. News was the candidatures of two Albanian political parties, DPA with their candidate Muharem Nedzipi and PDP with Muhamed Halili. Participants in these elections were the leaders of two smaller political parties, Stojan Andov (LDP) and Vasil Tupurkovski (DA). It was obvious in these elections that, the leaders of the major political parties, decided not to run and left that role for their eminent members. The first round was not decisive in these elections. Therefore, a second round was organized and only two candidates were left to run, Tito Petkovski (SDSM) and Boris Trajkovski (VMRO-DPMNE). Even though after the first round, the candidate from SDSM had advantage, there was a turnabout, i.e. the candidate from VMRO-DPMNE won the majority of votes – 53% (Table 1). In comparison to the previous elections, when the majority of invalid ballots came from electoral units with ethnic Albanian population, in this case it was exactly those ballots that decided the winner. Of course, a change like this in the Albanian voters would not have been much of a surprise, if the winning candidate and his party led a campaign, oriented towards promoting and articulating the interest of these voters as well. It was this fact, helped by the result of the elections in the first round, precisely in those electoral units and localities where an illogical voting trend was registered, that initiated numerous accusations and protests two weeks later, claiming that the elections were rigged. Even though in general, the impression in these elections was that, identification with a political party was a dominant model of voters’ behavior, the allusion that party obedience decided the winner, i.e. the control of the election process in some of the electoral units by the ruling coalition.

The tragic death of president Trajkovski in 2004, was a new challenge for Macedonia. For the first time, early presidential elections were supposed to be organized- an act that put the state institutions to an unexpected test, but most of all, the political parties, which had to suggest their candidates in a relatively short timeframe. These were the third in a row, direct presidential elections. In these elections the candidates were appointed as followed: the leader of SDSM, Branko Crvenkovski, who was at the time the actual prime minister, Sashko Kedev (nominated by a group of voters and supported by VMRO-DPMNE) and the candidates Zidi Djelili (nominated by a group of voters) and Gzim Ostreni (nominated by a group of voters and supported by DUI). These elections as well, had the major battle between the candidates, located inside the frames of the same ethnic block. Likewise, a characteristic of these elections was the first ever appointment for a candidate of the leader of one of the biggest political parties- Branko Crvenkovski. His advantage in the first and second round was never obstructed by the speculations for the regularity of the elections and the alleged fabrication of the needed election turnout (Table 1). These accusations set aside, the candidate Branko Crvenkovski had a significant electoral support and was elected for this position. However, his legitimacy was constantly disputed by VMRO-DPMNE, which especially reflected on their co-operation (restless cohabitation) after the parliamentary elections in 2006, when this party won the governing majority.

Five years after, in 2009, the fourth presidential elections in a row took place. Understandably, these elections had their specifics that differentiated them from the previous ones. Firstly, simultaneous taking place of the campaigns for president of state and the local government elections, which imposed various questions from national character on the local government campaign. Secondly, the party leaders of the two biggest Macedonian political parties let the battle take place between candidates that were not perceived by the public as persons with strong connections to the party's elite members. However, the electoral campaign for VMRO-DPMNE fell on the responsibility of the party leader, practically establishing himself as a promoter and the lead role, both in the local government and presidential elections as well. Thirdly, the candidate of the Albanian political party, New Democracy, Imer Selmani, who decided to have a moderately exposed campaign, managed to gather votes from the Macedonian electoral body in the first round, thanks to his built-up image of a modern and citizen's politician. Fourthly, identification with the party and not the candidate during the voting process was crucial and decided the winner. This fact is especially crucial because the two candidates were renowned professors at the Law Faculty in Skopje.[9] Fifthly, the general grade for the regularity of the elections, added on to the acceptance of the outcome, from all participants. It can be said that these were the first elections where the legitimacy of the winner was not disputed.

9) The candidates referred to are: Gjorgje Ivanov, supported by VMRO-DPMNE and the candidate supported by SDSM, Ljubomir Frchkovski

2. THE ELECTORAL MODEL ACCORDING TO WHICH A PRESIDENT IS ELECTED AND EXPECTATIONS FROM IT

It is evident that the presidential elections in the Republic of Macedonia from1994 until now, have been followed by numerous controversies which, amongst other questions, were closely connected with the issue of the legitimacy of the elected person, most of all, in relation to the credibility of the of the elections outcome. But the trend of decreased percentage of elections turnout (Table 1) which is a problem of other modern democracies as well, imposed a need of a constitutional intervention, which determined a lower minimal percentage in the second round of elections, but at the same time, a minimum that does not bring the legitimacy of the elected candidate to question. As a result to these changes, the relevant political parties came to a census in 2008 which stated that, in order for the elections to be legitimate, the minimum voting turnout in the second round should be lowered from 50% to 40%.[10]<<

Proof that this constitutional change was passed on time, is the election turnout of voter, in the last presidential elections in 2009. Here, in the second round of elections, the minimal turnout was surpassed only by minor 2%. If the old constitutional resolutions were in power, the Republic of Macedonia could have entered an endless circle of presidential champagnes, what could have cause a blockage of state institutions and the political system of the state.

From this aspect, the example with the presidential election in Serbia is very interesting, where the problem with the minimal turnout, in order for the elections to be legitimate, was first detected in 1997, when in the second round of elections none from the candidates got elected (Zoran Lilik – SPS and Voislav Sheshelj – SRS). For a second time the identical problem was detected in October 2002, when the elections just like the former ones, ended up unsuccessfully. More precisely, even though the candidate Voislav Koshtunica won 2.000.000 votes, twice as much as his opponent, still, the minimal turnout of 50% was not met in the second round. Two months later, this same resolution once again acted as an obstacle in the presidential elections in Serbia, i.e. the actual one was 45,17%. The third in a row presidential elections (November 2003) prove that the voting turnout was not satisfactory- 38,80%. This “agony” finally comes to an end in 2004, only after the constitutional changes, when the minimal voting turnout was lowered from 50% to 40%. It was this intervention that finally provided Serbia with a president (with a voting turnout of 48,3%) when Boris Tadikj won in the second round, with the support from all DOS partners, lead by the current prime minister, Voislav Koshtunica.

10) Amendment to Article 31 from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008

Precisely this experience was the main motive for such a constitutional change in the Republic of Macedonia. Of course, this question pushed forward certain aspects, related to the specifics of the Macedonian political context. On one side, is the census (turnout) really necessary when the right to take part in the elections is not a legally-bound duty, i.e. the act of voting is a frivolous of the citizens and it is up them to decide whether they will exercise that right or not.[11] On the other side, if there is no census set, the question arises whether or not a low turnout would dispute the legitimacy of the chosen candidate.

Other dilemmas arise from the plausible idea that no minimal turnout percentage should be set in the second round of elections. In that case, there is a potential devastating effect from the electoral majority principles (the effect of majorization). With this method, the candidates that are still running in the second round would not have to feel a need to input additional subjects in their campaign, which would incite interests in specific target groups of voters that have given their ballot to candidates which did not pass into the second round. In case of majorization in fact, will have higher expectations and rely solely on their own, loyal supporters (from the same ethnicity, religion, ideology, etc.), keeping in mind the indifference and inactivity of the others and will not try to reach other social groups, what would be expected from a future president of state. The pointing out of this type of unwanted effects is especially important for the Republic of Macedonia, from the aspect of the function of the elections over the social cohesion (socially-integrative meaning) as well as the aspect of the addressing a larger target-group, by the candidates that went in the second round, in order to avoid voting abstinence. In fact, a president of the state is being elected and he/she is expected to represent all citizens, in the country and on international plan as well.

In this context, the model for electing a president is in close relations with the aspect of the realization of relations between the two instances of the executive authorities – the president of state and the government.[12] Namely, the fact that the president (usually nominated by a certain party) is elected on direct elections reassures his position and eliminates the possible danger eventual confrontations with the government, whose mandator

11) The comparative experiences state that the implementation of the electoral census as a condition in electing a president was more characteristic for so called new-democracies. As opposed to them, France for example, which also has direct elections for president, does not use the minimal turnout percentage. Such is the case with Ireland, Austria and Portugal, where a trend of decrease in presidential jurisdictions is noticed. This elections model is used by states like Croatia and Serbia, which with appropriate constitutional, i.e. legal interventions (Croatia in the Constitution (People's Paper no.28/2001 and Serbia with the Law on Presidential elections 2007), already eliminated the minimal elections turnout as a obligatory condition for successful termination of the second round of elections.

12) Refer to: Treneska, R. (1999) *Executive authority in democratic systems*. Matica makedonska. Skopje, 227-228

can be from another, opposing party. In fact, the method of his election, determined by the Constitution is more of a mark of the presidential model of governing, rather than the parliamentary one. This type of affirmed relations of cohabitation, in scientific arguments puts forward the question: Do the presidential or parliamentary system weaken or increase the democratic capacities of political regimes in handling political conflicts? It is obvious that even in theory, there's no unparalleled stand point about this question. As an illustration, we can point out Lintz, who solves this dilemma in favor of the parliamentary system, as more appropriate in managing conflicts. As an argument he points out the fact that the match for the presidential function is led by the "winner takes all" principle, which allows the president the right to call upon his democratic legitimacy, which his quite often interweaved with plebiscitary elements. This can represent a combination of the qualities of the chief of state, as a representative of the nation with the executive government, which "creates a special aura and image for the function and persona of the president".[13] Of course, there are opposing points of view, i.e. the advantages of the presidential system are being accented. It is considered that, by formal separation of authorities, as a characteristic of the presidential system, the marginalization of certain groups, which acts limiting towards the government, primarily by the use of the, veto can be prevented. In this case, the danger of majority in parliamentary systems is pointed out, which usually end-up with a single-party government that holds the danger of generating permanent party conflict and radicalization of the options, rather than their balance.[14]

These debates have been actualized in our country with a certain period of delay, after the third in row parliamentary elections in 1998, when the opposition won for the first time and the mandate of the current president, Kiro Gligorov was still active. In this context, a debate was opened the question-whether or not this type of direct presidential elections is suitable for the jurisdictions this institution has, as defined by the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. Even though the register of jurisdictions is much reduced,[15] characteristics that play an important role in this context are the personality of the candidate, as well as his agility, authority, credibility and dignity to win the support while promoting certain policies which represent important national interest. Using this process for policy-making, in fact, the Republic of Macedonia could gain on quality, from the aspect of the affirmation of a different concept of cohabitation and democracy, which his broader and more meaningful than the interests within a party. The duty of the president of state to address the parliament once a year, is in favor of that process, which may serve

13) Refer to: Gunther, R. and Mughan, A. (1993): *Political Institutions and Cleavage Management*, in Weaver, R and Rockman, B.a.eds. Do Institutions Matter? Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1993, pg. 273-302.
14) Vasovik, V. (1992) Dilemmas and controversies of parilamentarism, between parliamentary romanticism and parliamentary nihilism. *Archive of legal and social sciences*. No.1, 1992, pg.21
15) Refer to: Article 75 pg.3-4 and Article 84-86 from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia

for constructive political gain and furthermore, as a tool for presenting summaries and valorizing of the realized policies on annual level, including here some propositions for further steps in function of strategic interests of the state. The President has also a guaranteed constitutional right to intervene, i.e. by not signing the decree for passing a law to postpone the application of the said law (suspensive veto).[16] In this way, an opportunity is created for estimation of the offered legal solutions, which may have incited abrupt discussions and different opinions in the public. This opportunity is presumably, not a reflection of some real power of the involvement of the president in creating the legislative policies, because that procrastination is until the next parliamentary assembly. Nevertheless, the practice of this authorization shows that, in certain periods of their mandate, specific Macedonian presidents have exercised that right.[17] Even though this practice effectively presents the possible conflicting relations in political cohabitation, it does not represent an obstacle in government policies. In that way, experience demonstrates that the president can have influence in the creation of state policies, through opening debates for sensitive issues that concern the Macedonian society, through actively promoting of state interests and aspiration on an international level, even for insisting on and promoting certain political processes at critical times. These are the real subjects that should concern a president.[18]

The reduction of the presidential elections to the election of a candidate promoted by a certain political party, against eminent individuals, has instigated the issue of whether or not, this type of direct presidential elections is the happiest solution, in certain expert individuals and in some political parties as well.[19] This is the basis for the idea that the presidential elections should be put back in the Parliament, where the political census would be crucial in the selection of a president, and with that solution the problems with the legitimacy would be overcome. Opposite to this is the fact that the direct election of

16) Refer to: Kitanovski, L. (1996) *Distribution of power*, Skopje, 1996, pg.260

17) The absence of cohabitation was evident in the case with the recognition of Taiwan as an independent state by the government of Ljubcho Georgievski and the disapproval of president Kiro Gligorov. The same case happened with the case when president Boris Trajkovski, even though he was a candidate of the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE, nevertheless, he declined the government's request to declare state of war in the Republic of Macedonia in 2001. There were similar examples in the mandate of Branko Crvenkovski, who used his right on veto on several legal projects of the government. Particularly indicative was the case when a public disagreement was exclaimed about the inclusion of Martin Protugjer by Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski, as a second representative (alongside Nikola Dimitrov) in the negotiations with Greece, mediated by Matthew Nimetz. Because of this action, the current president Branko Cvenkovski, without consultation, revoked Nikola Dimitrov from the position he had since the mandate of president Trajkovski.

18) An illustrative example here is the conduct and contribution of President Boris Trajkovski in the negotiations and the signing of the Framework Agreement in 2001.

19) Refer to: Maleska, M. The general and direct elections for President of the Republic should be abandoned. New Balkan Politics. http://newbalkanpolitics.org.mk/editorials/see_tetovo.html

a president has its function in the mobilization of the general public, especially as a reflection on their mood at the time these elections take place.

In that manner, there is certainly space for discussion on the extent of jurisdictions a president has, but it is important to keep account of the cause and effects which are expected from such modeled functions. Therefore, in the valorization of the current solutions, a starting point should be the fact that the Constitution determines the Republic of Macedonia as a parliamentary democracy, which implies a parliament and a government stronger than the president, but still, the attempt to secure some sort of system "balance of power" exists. In anyway, this doesn't mean that the president is obstructed from establishing himself/herself as a person with high moral integrity and respect and in that sense, to win over a part from the political space in which he/she could impose their own style of actions.[20]

3. CONCLUSION

Regarding the fact that, the legislator's intention was that the governing power in the Republic of Macedonia be organized on the principles of parliamentary democracy, it is a general impression that the jurisdictions given to the president are just partially appropriate with that model. It is precisely this position of the president that actualizes the question about the way a president is elected – on general and direct elections – which by itself implies greater authorizations for the bearer of this function.

Of course it could not be argued that the role of the president of the Republic of Macedonia is strictly ceremonial. Albeit, he/se could, if they posses leadership abilities, to impose their influence on the general public, make words count and give support of all reformational processes that are taking place in the state. In future, regarding the fact that the Republic of Macedonia is a small state, the manner in which a president would represent the country is of crucial importance, especially in the means of crating democratic stability in the state. A solid individual could articulate the general interests of the state and the subjects that concern the whole society more efficiently than the political parties. It is expected from a president to successful overcome the positions of the parties and such presidents are often more popular than the parties that have supported them. These qualities are not always connected to with the realistic jurisdictions of a president; on the contrary, it is more closely related to the personality of the president and the leadership

20) It is informative here to point out on the notion of Sartori that, structures cannot replace persons; "Even when a structure is good, a wrong person can do an awful job. But, bad structures in combination will waste a real person" Sartori, G. (2008) *Comparative constitutional engineering*. Tabernakul. Second edition. Skopje, pg.161

capacities he/she possesses. In the absence of such capacities, or in the presence of will to impose policies that do not communicate with the interests of the citizens, the limited register of jurisdictions that will act as a counterweight to the aspirations of power will act as a benefit. But if the president would be elected by the Parliament, indirectly, there is a realistic possibility that, because of party negotiations and compromises, a person who does not possess neither of these, nor it's a guarantee for peaceful cohabitation. In any case, the degree of political culture of the actors involved in our case does not vouch for a relaxed negotiations atmosphere, nor does it vouch for keeping the credibility of the candidate elected undisputed from the very people that chose him, by using this method.

At the same time, the dilemma about the legitimacy of the president, related to the census in the second round comes to question. Namely, the new constitutional change is appropriate of the current setting in the Republic of Macedonia, but there should be awareness present that, considering the trend of electoral behavior, it could happen for this census to be unreachable. In that sense, some transitory solutions should be considered, which would surpass such a situation and would provide unobstructed functionality of the system. Therefore, one of the possibilities is to try and foresee if there should be a repetition of the presidential elections, which would take place at a predetermined time-to annul the minimal electoral turnout, while the other possibility is (which is more present in comparative law) to completely eliminate the need for a minimal turnout in the second round of elections.

The next presidential elections will face a new challenge in the participation of the diaspora. Besides the serious operational questions related to the logistics and voting techniques, essential issues come forth, related to the registration of the voters abroad, the voting turnout and its influence on the constitutionally confirmed minimal percentage of turnout, the legitimacy of the elected candidate, implications on the election's outcome, managing the campaign, preservation of electoral rights and a whole line of aspects related to the standards of electoral law.[21] It is sure that this question will produce arguments, especially from the aspect of which votes will have a ruling role in the election of a president, i.e. it is not ruled out that it will be precisely the votes of the diaspora that will decide the winner.

It is troublesome work to argue this question only from one perspective and at the same time not put forward the context in which this type of institutional arrangements should function. The settings and atmosphere, in which our society works, as well as the

21) Gaber, N. and Jovevska, A. (2007) The electoral system of the Republic of Macedonia – actual dilemmas. *Annual of ISPPI*, Skopje 2008

numerous divisions that require an "entry" in the institutions and representation, impose meticulousness in the design of the institutions and their adjustment to the relevant political variables. When the institutions are put under pressure of redesign, it is crucial to give advantage to their stabilization and not their frequent changing, which creates conflicts in the relations between the political subjects.

Table 1. *Presidential elections of the Republic of Macedonia-overview of electoral cycles*

Year elections	Regular / early	Number of candidates in the first round	Votes won per candidate %	Candidates in the second round	Votes won per candidate %	Turn-out %	Disputed legitimacy	Electoral identification
1994	Regular-Parallel with the parliamentary elections	**1. Kiro Gligorov** (supported by SDSM) **2. Ljubisha Georgievski** (supported by VMRO-DPMNE)	52% 14% 11% irregular	/		77,76	Yes	persona-lized
1999	Regular elections	**Boris Trajkovski** (supported by VMRO-DPMNE) **Tito Petkovski** (supported by SDSM) **Muarem Nedjipi** **Stojan Andov** **Vasil Tupurkovski** **Muhamed Halili**	219.098 21% 343.606 33% 155.978 (15%) 111.983 (11%) 163.206(16%) 45.731(4%)	**Boris Trajkovski** (supported by VMRO-DPMNE) **Tito Petkovski** (supported by SDSM)	591.972 53% 514.599 47%	69%	Yes	Party-oriented
2004	Early - elections	**Branko Crvenkovski** (promoted by 30 parliament members leader of SDSM) **Sashko Kedev** (group of voters supported by VMRO DPMNE)	385.300 42% 309.131 34%	**Branko Crvenkovski** (promoted by 30 parliament members-leader of SDSM) **Sashko Kedev** (group of voters supported by VMRO-DPMNE)	548.583 63% 326.951 37%	53%	Yes	Party - oriented

		Zidi Xelili (promoted by a group of voters) **Gzim Ostreni** (promoted by a group of voters)	78.269 9% 134.048 15%					
2009	Regular elections parallel with the local government elections	**Gjorgje Ivanov** (promoted by a group of voters) **Nano Ruzin** (promoted by a group of voters) **Ljubomir Frchkovski** (promoted by a group of voters) **Ljube Boshkovski** (party leader and promoted by a group of voters) **Imer Selmani** (leader of New Democracy and promoted by a group of voters) **Mirushe Hodja** (promoted by a group of voters) **Agron Budjaku** (promoted by a group of voters)	35% 4% 20% 15% 15% 3% 8%	**Gjorgje Ivanov** (promoted by a group of voters) **Ljubomir Frchkovski** (promoted by a group of voters)	63% 37%	42%	No	Party-oriented

References:

Gunther, P. and Mughan, A. (1993): *Political Institutions and Cleavage Management*, in Weaver, R and Rockman, B.a.eds. Do Institutions Matter? Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1993

Gaber, N. and Jovevska, A. (2007) *The electoral system of the Republic of Macedonia – actual dilemmas*. Annual of ISPPI, Skopje 2008 (transl. from Macedonian)

Jovevska, A. (1999) Јовевска, А. (1999) *Electoral concepts in the theories of democracy*. ISPPI,. Skopje (transl. from Macedonian.)

Kitanovski, L. (1996) *Distribution of power. Skopje, 1996, pg.2600* (transl. from Macedonian)

Maleska, M. *The general and direct elections for President of the Republic should be abandoned*. New Balkan Politics. (transl. from Macedonian) http://newbalkanpolitics.org.mk/editorials/see_tetovo.html

Treneska, R. (1999) Executive authority in democratic systems. Matica makedonska. Skopje (transl. from Macedonian)

Sartori, G. (2008) *Comparative constitutional engineering*. Tabernakul. Second edition. Skopje (transl. from Macedonian)

Vasovik, V. (1992) Dilemmas and controversies of parilamentarism, between parliamentary romanticism and parliamentary nihilism. Archive of legal and social sciences. No.1, 1992 (transl. from Serbian)

Normative acts:

Law on Electing Parliament Members and Councilmen of SRM - 1990.

Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, 1991

Law on Presidential Elections in the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette, no. 20/94.

Law on Presidential Elections in the Republic of Serbia - "Official Gazette R.S.", no. 111/07 (transl. from Serbian)

Constitution of RC – People's Journal no.28/2001

Политички науки Political science	УДК/UDC 316.334.3: 324 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Dijana Stojanovic - Gjorgjevic

ANALYSIS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA THROUGH THE SPECTRE OF ELECTION MODELS

ABSTRACT

With the introduction of political pluralism in the Republic of Macedonia, the climate was set for the first free, direct and multi-party elections, as a necessary precondition for the improvement of the Macedonian political and democratic order. After their completion, instead of stabilization of the political and party scene in the Republic of Macedonia, the party system reached extreme polarization, which produced a Parliament where not a single party was able to win the absolute majority of votes, contributing to the formation of unstable governments. Because the practice in the Republic of Macedonia showed that neither the majority election model contributed to the creation of stable political institutions, nor it presented a realistic picture of the mood of the constituency, after two election cycles, the third parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia were organized according to the mixed election model. The advantages that this election model possesses in theory, did not work in the desired way in practice, therefore after only one elections cycle, this model was changed and the parliamentary elections in 2002 were conducted using the proportional method and according to D'Hondt's formula for mandate allocation. The elections in 2006 and the early parliamentary elections in 2008 were conducted using this method, and because it has managed to "survive" for three elections cycles, we can hope that the Republic of Macedonia has finally found the "real" election model.

Key words: elections system, election model, majority election model, proportional election model, mixed election model, parliamentary elections, Republic of Macedonia

1. INTRODUCTION

The reaching of a decision for electing the people's representatives, that will pass and conduct the decisions in the name of the people, represents a democratic act in a state. The elections represent a mechanism that constitutes the government and "in representative democracies the elections have two main goals: 1) they provide legitimacy for the execution of governing power of those elected by the citizens; and 2) they serve as a tool with which the elected politicians are held responsible for their actions during their mandate" .[1] From its independence in 1990, all the way to 2010, there were six election cycles in the Republic of Macedonia that used different election models with their own characteristics which, despite of their theoretical definitions, when practically applied in our country, show completely different characteristics.

The election system itself can be defined as a combination of normative with which the election principles and relations are regulated, as well as a combination of procedures and actions that conduct the election of government and other organs. It is in fact "a method that transforms the votes into 'seats'".[2] A part of the election technique that extends over the actions and instruments for implementing the electoral law in the election process is the allocation of mandates in the Parliament. It is conducted on the basis of the majority, proportional or mixed system of mandate allocation. In theory, the *majority election system* (first-past-the-post-system) is accounted as the simplest election system in cases when a state is divided to a certain number of electoral units, equal to the number of candidates elected in the representative body. A winner is declared the candidate which has won the most votes, as followed: 50% plus 1 vote of the total election turnout - if a plain majority is needed, or the majority of votes of all registered voters, regardless of the election turnout percentage – if absolute majority is needed. With this system, the citizens vote for a candidate and not for a political party. As opposed to the majority election system, in the *proportional election system* the citizens vote for a political party and not for the candidates. More than one candidate is being voted for in the electoral units and if the electoral lists are of the 'closed' type, the candidates that are in the highest positions are considered elected, while, if the lists type is from the 'open' character, then the voters themselves can rank their candidates according to their own preferences. The *mixed election system* is a combination from the majority and proportional systems, where a specific number of members of Parliament are elected accordingly the majority system, while the rest are elected from the proportional lists.

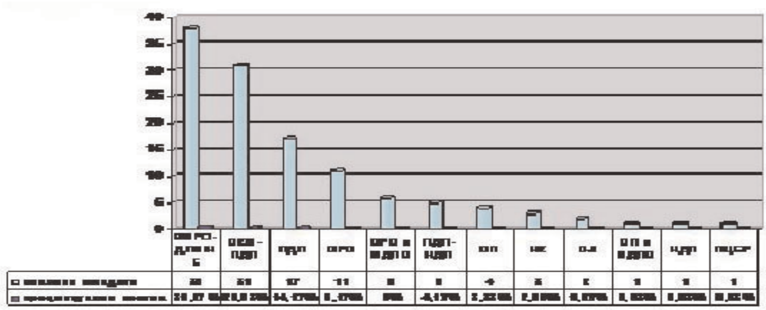
1) Vankovska, B. Political system, Bomat graphics, Skopje, 2007, p.55

2) Larserud, S. and Taphorn, R. Designing for Equality, Best-fit, medium-fit and non-favourable combinations of electoral systems and gender quotas, 2005, http://www.idea.int/publications/esigning_for_equality/ upload/Idea_Design_low.pdf

2. MAJORITY ELECTION MODEL 1990 – 1998

The introduction of the political pluralism in the Republic of Macedonia, created the conditions for the organization of the first free, direct and multi-party elections, whereupon the distribution of mandates of the members of Parliament in that first cycle of elections was in accordance with the majority election model, using two round of elections. After the completion of these elections, "in the Parliament of the SRM were present members of 9 political parties and 3 independent candidates".[3] Even though the legislators thought that it was precisely this model that was appropriate to the current, at the time, social, economic and political situations in the state and that it was a necessary condition for the existence of the Macedonian democratic and political order, nevertheless, the reality presented something completely different, as it can be seen by the structure of the Parliament at the time, in the following chart.[4]

Chart 1. *Distribution of seats in Parliament by proposers, after the first Parliamentary elections in 1990*



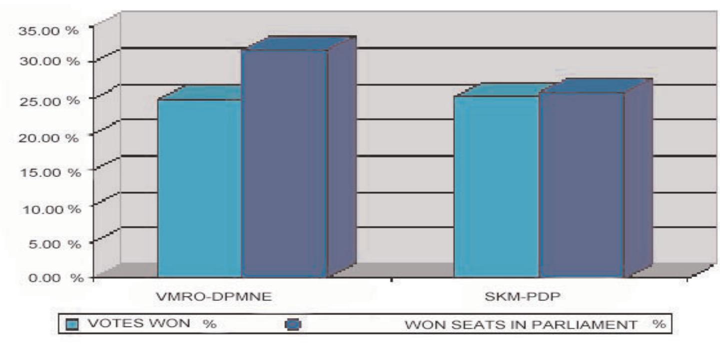
3) Newsletter no.20, Elections '90 – Final results from the elections for members of the Parliament of S.R. of Macedonia, Republic election committee, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 27.12.1990, pg.1, taken from http://www.sec.mk/Default.aspx?tabid=855

4) The Chart is made according to the official data published in Newsletterno.20, Elections '90 – Final results from the elections for members of the Parliament of S.R. of Macedonia, Republic election committee, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 27.12.1990, pg.28, http://www.sec.mk/Default.aspx?tabid=855, in which the following abbreviations for the political parties are used:

- SKM-PDP – SKM – Party for Democratic Change
- PDP – Party for Democratic Prosperity in Macedonia
- SRS – Alliance of Reformation Forces of Macedonia
- MDPS – Young Democratic Progressive Party
- NDP – National Democratic Party
- SP – Socialist Party
- NK – Independent Candidates
- SY – Party of Yugoslavs in SRM
- PCER – Party for Full Emancipation of the Roma

After the completion of the two round of election, the results showed two facts: "...firstly that the 'power' in the Parliament is divided between the parties from the so called national block (VMRO-DPMNE and PDP-NDP) and those from the so called left block (SKM-PDP, PDP, SRS-MDPS, The Socialist Party); secondly, that none party whatsoever (or coalition) did not gain enough 'power' so it could rule the Parliament with sovereignty, i.e. it could pass decisions on its own".[5] After the first Parliamentary elections, the Republic of Macedonia got a Parliament where no party managed to win the absolute majority of votes, which pointed out the need of post-elections coalitions on one side and overestimation of the power the parties had in the Parliament to their political legitimacy on the other. Judging from the fact that VMRO-DPMNE had won 238.367 votes and 38 mandates and SKM-PDP 243.259 votes and 31 mandates in the Parliament, it can be concurred that in the Republic of Macedonia after the 1990 elections, the "parliamentary majority is won with certain pondering with the votes won (manufactured majority),[6] i.e. with tampering of the proportions between votes and mandates".[7] The asymmetry between the political legitimacy and the political representation of that same legitimacy can be seen from Chart 2.

Chart 2. *The asymetry between political legitimacy and the representation of that legitimacy*



Even though the elections following the majority model should've had lowered the number of parties participating in the Parliament and to incite the formation of a stable, one-party government, this was not the case with the Republic of Macedonia. "Here, no party won the majority in votes, neither the majority in the distribution of seats in Parliament (natural mi-

5) Research: *Efficiency of parliamentary democracy (1991-1992 -) analysis of some basic factors that limit the efficiency of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia*, text Lidija Hristova, PhD, Political parties in Macedonia, Institute for Social, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje, 1995, p. 53

6) Fabricated majority in the representative bodies won by a party that won less than the majority of votes

7) Gaber, N. and Jovevska, A., *Designing the election system of the Republic of Macedonia*, Foundation "Fridrich Ebert" Skopje office, Skopje, 1997, pp. 44-45

nority)".[8] Instead of stabilization of the party scene, it becomes an extremely polarized party system, with more than 60 political parties, which do not posses stable internal infrastructure, a specific political orientation and a determined program, an issue that contributed to a great extent in the formation of unstable governments. "Namely in the beginning, in the absence of clear ideas and guesses about the stable structure of a single-party government, instead of a monocentric we had a polycentric Parliament from 'minority' parties. Temporarily the solution was sought in the formation of a non-party, i.e. expert government, more or less under party influences and in the end, after a year and a half the government received a no-confidence motion and was replaced with a new coalitional government."

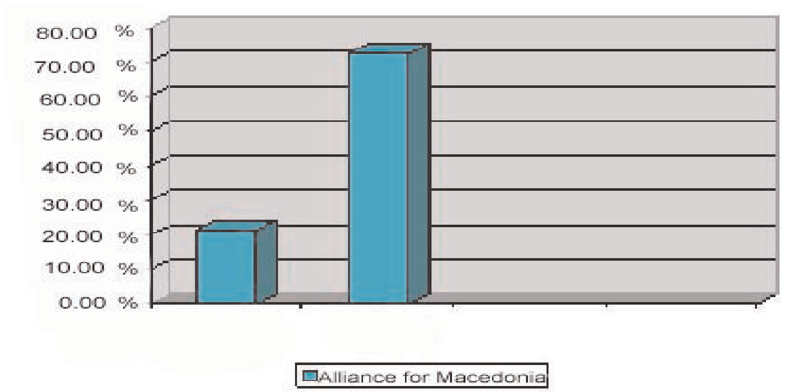
Because the electoral units had different numbers of evidenced voters in the election lists, the principle of equality of electoral law was obstructed as well, which can be seen from the fact that a large number of votes "melted in thin air", i.e. did not produce any mandates.

The experience from the first Parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia showed that the distribution of mandates to members of the Parliament, based on the majority election model, did not fulfill the expectations and advantages of this model. "Between the first and second elections, all of this contributed to the renewal of the subject-whether or not this model was the "one", i.e. the model that was the most appropriate in reference to the current political, historical, social, cultural and other specific aspects of the country".[10] Public discussions, debates and forums were held because of the inconsistencies it produced, and these arguments were mainly on the change of the majority model, with the proportional or mixed model, but nevertheless, the second parliamentary elections held in 1994 were organized using the same methods as the first. On these elections it was The Alliance for Macedonia that won the biggest support from the voters, which had the governing power in the previous mandate as well. Even though this coalition won only 21.43% of the total number of voters, i.e. a relatively insignificant quota, that percentage granted them absolute majority in the Parliament, i.e. 72.50% or 87 mandates in Parliament. The oppositional political parties deemed the results from the first round as rigged and decided to boycott the second round of elections, therefore bringing the legitimacy of the elected representatives into question, because the total percentage of electoral turnout in the second round was 57.83%.[11] This boycott by the oppositional parties, lead to the formation of an opposition outside the Parliament which was unable to "fight" the battles through the in-

8) Jovevska, A. *Election concepts in theories of democracies*, Institute for Social, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje, 1999, p. 215
9) Same, pp. 216-217
10) Same, p. 217
11) Report on the conducted elections for members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia in 1994, Republic (state) elections committee, November 8th, 1994

stitutional bodies, leaving a influence on the development of democracy and political stability in the Republic of Macedonia. After the completion of the second round of these elections, the disproportion of votes won and distributed mandates became more obvious, as it can be seen from Chart 3.[12]

Chart 3. *Discrepancy between won votes and distributed mandates*



In theory, the pluralistic election system (first-past-the-post-system) was considered the simplest election model – when a state is divided into a number of electoral units equal to the number of elected candidates in the representative body. Such is the case with the first multi-party elections in the Republic of Macedonia – when the whole territory is divided into 120 electoral units, out of which 120 members of Parliament (citizen's representatives) should be elected.

The following theoretical advantages have been ascribed to this system:

1. ***Simplicity*** – the citizens vote for a candidate and not for a political party;
2. ***Stability and transparence*** – in terms of representation;
3. Creating of conditions for a ***stable government***;
4. Promoting the ***two-party system*** (position-opposition);
5. Allows the formation of a ***coherent parliamentary opposition***.[13]

12) Source: The chart is constructed according the data published in the Statistical overview no. 257, Election for members of Parliament in the Republic of Macedonia – candidates and elected members of Parliament, Statistics Office, Skopje, 1995

13) Klimovski, S. and Karakamisheva, T. *Political parties and party systems, UKIM "Law Faculty", Skopje, 2006*

Still, if we take a look at our elections, organized and conducted according to this election model, we will notice that practically, none or almost none of the advantages are present in our case. For instance: the inability of the first parliamentary majority to form an executive government in the legally determined deadline, after which at first an expert government was formed and after a year and a half on rule, that government was replaced with a new, coalitional one; instead of a two-party system, the majority election model in Macedonia produced a multiplicity of parties and placed the state itself in the group of states with "atomized pluralism"; in the case with the second parliamentary elections, organized according the same model, it was the absence of institutional and parliamentary opposition.

As opposed to the inconsistencies of the advantages, all the disadvantages of the multiparty system listed in its theory, are present in the Macedonian election model:

1. ***Small parties are minimized*** – the votes of their supporters are treated like invalid votes;
2. A ***disproportional relation is established between votes won and the distribution of mandates***;
3. ***Substitution of votes into mandates*** – the party that creates the government, rarely has won the majority of votes, but has more mandates in the representative body than the oppositional party.[14]

3. MIXED ELECTION MODEL IN 1998

Because the practice in the Republic of Macedonia, showed that the majority election model practiced in two rounds of elections did not contribute to the creation of stable political institutions, neither did it give a realistic picture of the mood of the voters, an idea about the creation of a parallel election model came into mind. After long debates, party negotiations and compromises, the parallel (mixed) model for the distribution of mandates was accepted, according to which 85 members of Parliament are elected in compliance with the majority model in uninominal electoral units, while 35 members of Parliament are elected according the proportional model with the state list, after which the final distribution of the mandates is calculated using D'Hondt's formula.

With the new Law on Electing Members of Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, passed in May, 1998, (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia" no. 24/1998), there is an opportunity for the voters to cast his/hers vote for the electoral lists of the par-

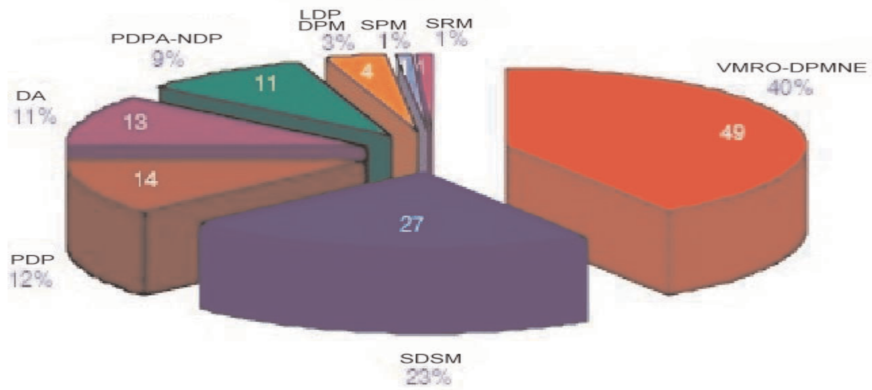
14) Same

ties on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as vote for the candidates in their own electoral unit. "Basically, the voter has two votes, this is known as splitting of votes, i.e. he/she has the possibility to express preference in two ways, on one side for the individual – a candidate in the uninominal electoral unit, for whose party, on the other side, he/she can but does not have to vote while casting his/hers second vote."[15]

The majority election model is practically identical with the previous election cycles, with one novelty in reference to the right on participation in the second round of elections, that now have only two candidates with the best success in the first round, while the proportional model a closed list is used and the voters can not affect the sequence of the candidates. "The fact that it is a fixed list i.e. the voters can't intervene in it, is just a confirmation of the high degree of control that the leaders have over the ranking of their party colleagues – candidates on the ballots".[16] Even though the majority election model implies voting for a candidate and not for a party, still, in the Republic of Macedonia, the reputation of the candidate isn't "important" to the voter, because the choices are still being made amongst the parties and not the candidates.

After the completion of the parliamentary elections in 1998, the structure of the Parliament experienced changes, as it can be seen from Chart 4.

Chart 4. *Structure of the Parliament after the elections in 1998*[17]



Still, the mandates won according the proportional model are far less in numbers, than those won based on the majority model, as it can be seen from Chart 5.

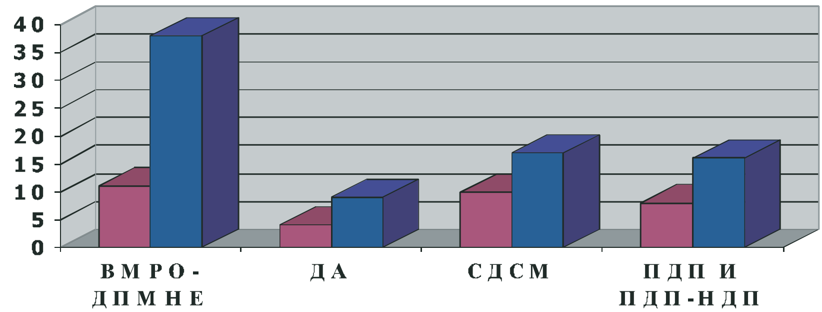
15) Aneta, Jovevska, Election concepts in theories of democracies, Institute for Social, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje, 1999, p. 246

16) Same, p. 247

17) The chart is taken from the website of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia:

http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=9402373424ED504883EE17FED5E72EB4

Chart 5. *Discrepancy between the mandates won on the majority and proportional list*



The results from the change of the election model didn't go unnoticed. The injustice in terms of a vote won and a mandate won was decreased; a trend of enforced making of coalitions, between different political parties emerged before elections and to a certain bulking up of the political scene, which was not the case in the previous cycles of elections; there was a decrease in the additional election expenditures, because if it would happen for a seat in Parliament to remain empty, there was no need for the organization of additional rounds of elections, for the next candidate on the party list was to enter the Parliament, as predicted with this model.

In theory, the advantages of the mixed model are as followed:

1. ***Enforcement of the principle of personalization*** – the options of the voter to cast his/hers vote for different candidates on the party lists;
2. ***The power of party elites to decide which of the candidates will be chosen is decreased.***
3. ***The possibility for small extremists' parties to enter the Parliament is reduced***
4. An ***increase in responsibility of the elected candidate*** in front of his/hers voters in the electoral unit, i.e. the voters have a realistic influence on their candidate.[18]

Here the question arises: have these advantages enlisted in theory, proven to be realistic values in our case as well or in fact, haven't even considered them as characteristics of this election model?

Like all other election models, this one too is not without flaws and weaknesses, out of which as most serious are cited: the instability of the party system, i.e. the increase in the

18) Klimovski, S. and Karakamisheva, T. *Political parties and party systems, UKIM Law Faculty, Skopje, 2006*

creation of party-fractions and clashes between candidates from within a same party, because of the entry in the Parliament, which at the same time produces government instability. This model is deemed as complicated for understanding by the electorate.

4. PROPORTIONAL ELECTION MODEL 2002-2010

The change of the political election model represents a decision that needs to be reached by the significant political factors in the state, and for a step like that - extreme caution and analysis are needed, because each change in the election system can cause significant changes and instability of the political system. Still, the fourth in row parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia, were conducted in accordance with the new Law on Electing Members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia ("Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia" no.42/02) which contains the following characteristics:

1. Use of the ***proportional election model*** – use of the D'Hondt's model;
2. Six electoral units – a new electoral map of the Republic of Macedonia;
3. Introduction of the ***30% quota*** – at least 30% representation of each gender in the proposed lists of candidates;
4. ***Revoking the use of an election ID***, as a tool of protection of the right on voting
5. ***Introduction the function of members of Parliament as professional***, incompatible with additional functions.
6. Introduction of ***two new bases for termination of Parliament mandate*** of the members, before expiration of the mandate itself:

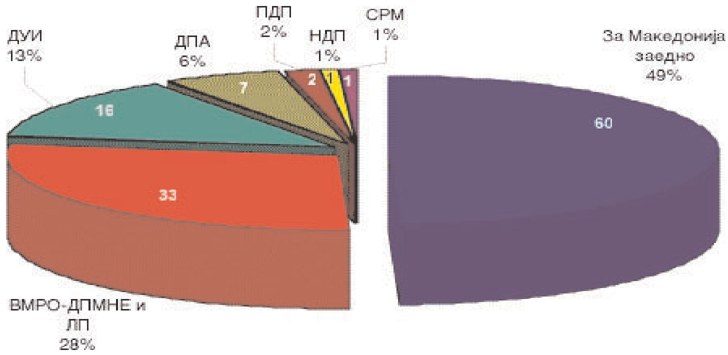
- If by his/hers own demand, the membership in the party out of which a candidate is chosen, is terminated.
-when a member of Parliament announces transfer to a different political party.[19]

As a result to the new election model, the structure of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia after the parliamentary elections in 2002 is changed, as it can be seen from Chart 5.

19) Karakamisheva, T., *Elections and election systems*, Kultura, Skopje, 2004 pp. 279-281

20) The chart is taken from the website of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia: http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=C7D00FA6B4FBED43B1564535ABF52411

Chart 5. *Structure of the Parliament after the parliamentary elections in 2002*



It is wrong and politically impossible to sustain for a state to change its election model each time when next elections are on the way; the election rules and methods need certain stability, in order for the advantages of a certain model to be felt. On the 2002 elections, some facts were confirmed: the effect of the size of the electoral unit on the elections' outcome, bigger chances for the larger parties while the small parties still were miles away from the Parliament, hence they had to make coalitions with the bigger ones, as seen in Parliamentary coalitions so far. The existence of closed party lists, yet again confirmed the power of party leaders in the decisions about who will be the winning combination on the list.

Even though in theory there are several advantages of the proportional election model:

1. ***Simplicity*** – voting for a political party and not separate candidates;
2. ***Active election campaigns*** – that produce a high voter's turnout;
3. ***Less invalid (lost) votes***;
4. leads to the formation of ***coalitional governments***;
5. ***Multi-mandate electoral units*** – the mandates given from an electoral unit, depend on the number of people that live in that unit
6. ***A bigger representation of the interests of cultural and social minority groups,***[21]

The practical experience from the use of this model in the Republic of Macedonia shows that again, over 100.000 votes were left unrepresented in the Parliament. The chances were in favour of the bigger political parties and the small ones could only make coalitions with

20) The chart is taken from the website of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia: http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=C7D00FA6B4FBED43B1564535ABF52411

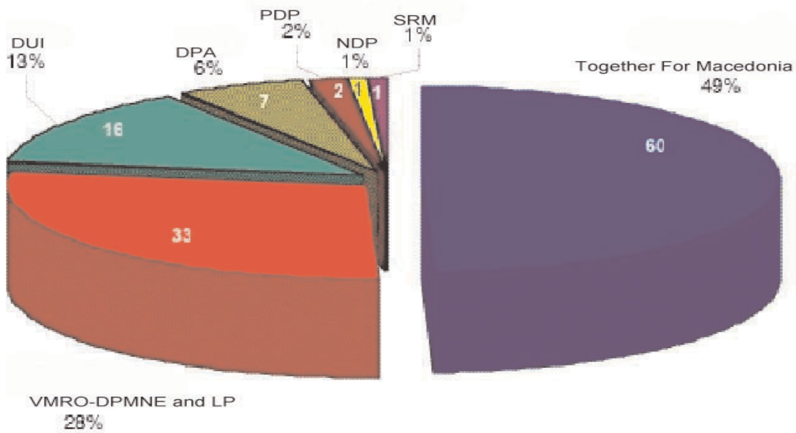
21) Klimovski, S. and Karakamisheva, T. *Political parties and party systems, UKIM "Law Faculty", Skopje, 2006*

them, so their members could manage to get representatives in the Parliament. The coalitional governments then, that were produces by the proportional election model, can have a destabilizing influence on the political system because there is not a single party that has absolute majority in the Parliament and that can result with the creation of insecurity amongst the parties and unstable government. At the same time, this election model produces a lack of local identification of the representative and his/hers identification with the interests of the electing body, i.e. the voters.

The conclusion that can be reached after the completion of the 2002 parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia is that the proportional election system "...produced typical majority results out of two reasons: the size of the electoral units and the well chosen election tactics of the opposition, afore most around the joining of more political parties into one coalition and because of excellently chosen psychological strategy for the meaning of these elections".[22]

The codification of all election votes into a new Election Code ("Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia," no.76/04) did not change the election model, so the parliamentary elections in 2006 as well as the early parliamentary elections in 2008, took place according the proportional election model in six electoral units. The shift in governing power after the parliamentary elections in 2006 changed the structure of the Macedonian Parliament completely, as it can be seen from Chart 6.

Chart 6. *Structure of the Parliament after the parliamentary elections in 2006*[23]

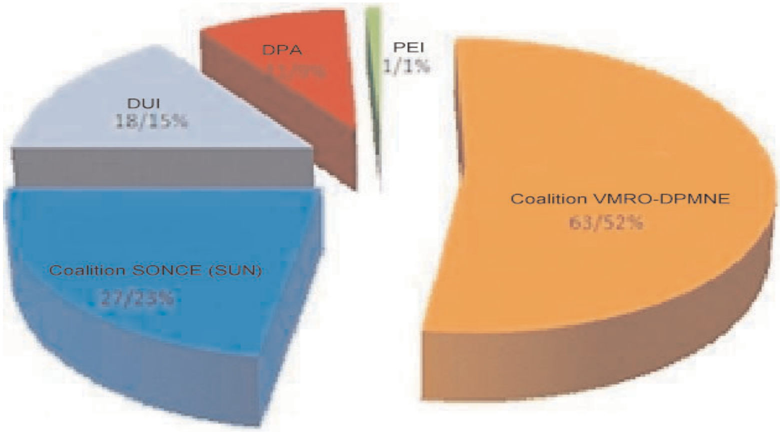


22) Karakamisheva, T. *Election and election systems, Kultura, Skopje, 2004, pg.290*

23) The chart is taken from the website of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia: http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=071CC8D16057A44599D1717A6C867A46

The early parliamentary elections in 2008 did not lead to a shift in governing power, but simply to a minor redistribution of mandates amongst the political coalitions made before the elections, which were mainly made by smaller political parties, as it can be seen from Chart 7.

Chart 7. *Structure of the Parliament after the parliamentary elections in 2008*[24]



Even though the use of the proportional model in the Republic of Macedonia increased the representation of "different groups" in the Parliament, the additional fragmentation of the party scene, made the autonomous approach to the elections difficult for the smaller political parties, which automatically resulted with obligatory coalition-making with one of the biggest parties on rule. "On one side, the making of coalitions infuses the citizen's element in the process of elections, but on the other side it reduces the possibilities for authentic articulation of their own and specific interests".[25] The recent practice from the use of the proportional election model in three election cycles, showed a relatively good regional representation of the interests of the citizens in the Republic of Macedonia and the six electoral units, created on the basis of approximately the same number of voters, allow for preservation of the principle of equal voter's power of each citizen of Macedonia.

24) The chart is taken from the website of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia: http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=49C0D93849BD41449EDC0E0159A0718E

25) Siljanovska-Davkova, G. Ulom, V. Kranali, S. Shkorikj, V. *Comment on the Election Law: "Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia" no.40/06, 136/08, 148/08, 155/08, 163/08*, "Most" Citizen's Association, Skopje, 2009, pp. 140-141

5. CONCLUSION

In the 20 years of independency until now, the Republic of Macedonia has organized and conducted six cycles of parliamentary elections. Searching for the most appropriate election model, that would give adequate representation of the voter's attitude, the Republic of Macedonia has quite often changed the electoral laws, according which the parliamentary elections were conducted. The first two electoral cycles were organized using the mixed election model, which extremely polarized the party system in the Republic of Macedonia and the structure of the first independent Parliament is proof for that. This method of organization of elections produced asymmetry between the political legitimacy and political representation of that same legitimacy, as well as an unstable coalitional government. After the expiration of the mandate of those members of Parliament and the organization of the next parliamentary elections according this model, just made the disproportion between votes won and mandates distributed more obvious – because of the boycott of the second round of elections by the current opposition, which claimed that the results from the first round were rigged and irregular. The use of the mixed election model for the third parliamentary elections, did not reduce the influence of the party on the voter's choice, which did not understand to a great extent the method of distribution of a part of the mandates in concordance with the majority model un the uninominal electoral units and the other part in concordance with the proportional approach, using the state list. It was precisely the perplexity of this election model that cause yet another change in the Law on Electing Members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, and so the fourth, fifth and sixth in row parliamentary elections were conducted by the proportional model, which gave bigger chances for election to the members of the bigger political parties, while the smaller ones could only make coalitions with them, in order to succeed in putting some of their members in the Parliament. The "quiet" period of indifference to change of the election model, after the frequent changes of electoral laws, could give us hope that the Republic of Macedonia has finally found its "real" election model, which will adequately represent the priorities and preferences of the voters and will influence positively on the stability of the political system.

References:

Newsletter no.20, Elections ‘90 – *Final results from the elections for members of the Parliament of S.R. of Macedonia*, Republic election committee, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Skopje, 27.12.1990, pg.1, taken from http://www.sec.mk/Default.aspx?tabid=855 (transl. from Macedonian)

Vankovska, B. *Political system*, Bomat graphics, Skopje, 2007 (transl. from Macedonian)

Gaber, N. and Jovevska, A., *Designing the election system of the Republic of Macedonia*, Foundation “Fridrich Ebert” Skopje office, Skopje, 1997 (transl. from Macedonian)

Jovevska, A. *Election concepts in theories of democracies*, Institute for sociological, political and juridical research, Skopje, 1999 (transl. from Macedonian)

Research: *Efficiency of parliamentary democracy (1991-1992) Analysis of some basic factors that limit the efficiency of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia*, text Lidija Hristova, PhD, Political parties in Macedonia, Institute for sociological, political and juridical research, Skopje, 1995 (transl. from Macedonian)

Report on the conducted elections for members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia in 1994, Republic (state) elections committee, November 8th, 1994

Klimovski, S. and Karakamisheva, T. *Political parties and party systems, UKIM “Law Faculty”, Skopje, 2006* (transl. from Macedonian)

Karakamisheva, T., T. *Elections and election systems*, Kultura, Skopje, 2004 (trans. from Macedonian)

Larserud, S. and Taphorn, R. *Designing for Equality, Best-fit, medium-fit and non-favourable combinations of electoral systems and gender quotas*, 2005,
http://www.idea.int/publications/esigning_for_equality/ upload/Idea_Design_low.pdf

Siljanovska-Davkova, G. Ulom, V. Kranali, S. Shkorikj, V. *Comment on the Election Law: “Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia” no.40/06, 136/08, 148/08, 155/08, 163/08*, “Most” Citizen’s Association, Skopje, 2009 (transl. from Macedonian)

Statistical overview no. 257, Election for members of Parliament in the Republic of Macedonia – candidates and elected members of Parliament, Statistics Office, Skopje

http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=9402373424ED504883EE17FED5E72EB4

http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=C7D00FA6B4FBED43B1564535ABF52411

http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=071CC8D16057A44599D1717A6C867A46

http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=49C0D93849BD41449EDC0E0159A0718E

Bojana Naumovska

SMALL PARTIES ACCORDING TO THE ELECTORAL LEGISLATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ABSTRACT

When analyzing the political parties in Macedonia, the attention is quite often drawn onto the larger parties, which presents a bipolar image of the system.
When it comes to the small political parties in the Republic of Macedonia, they represent an unexplored area, to be more specific, when it comes to the reasons for their forming and their involvement in the changes in the Law on Political Parties, their connection with the Electoral Code (i.e. the Law on Electing Members of Parliament) their survival on the political scene, compared to independent or coalitional participation in the elections and compared to the election models as well.
More specifically, the subject of this research is connected to the electoral system, i.e. to the legal regulative and how it affects the small political parties and their position and role in society as well as their chances for participation in Parliament.

Keywords: Law on Political Parties, Law on Electing Members of Parliament (Electoral Code), political parties, small political parties, electoral system

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of smaller political parties in Macedonia begins with the first parliamentary elections. The biggest number of political parties participating was noted in these elections, but many of them are lost since then. From the smaller parties only two survive since 1990, the Liberal Party (formerly known as "Union of Reformation Forces) and the Socialist Party.

When discussing the small political parties in Macedonia, it should be mentioned that their formation mostly occurs by separation from larger political parties. With this method have been established: the Liberal-Democratic Party (established as Democratic Party), the New Social-Democratic Union, Democratic Reformation of Macedonia, VMRO- True Macedonian Reformation Option, VMRO-Macedonian, New Democracy, Democratic Center, Democratic Union, VMRO-People's Party, Agricultural Party, etc.

What is common for all of these parties is their origin-they emerged and formed during one cycle of elections, i.e. by separation and transition of one or more of their members from one party to another.

The dynamics of the members of parliament i.e. the political parties, depends a great deal on the current electoral system, to be more specific, on the laws that determine the system-Law for Political Parties and the Law on Electing Members of Parliament in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia (since 2006 Electoral Code).

In addition to the above mentioned, it can be said that the subject of this paper are the smaller political parties and its purpose is to show their relation to the changes in the above mentioned laws.

In order to present the subject and the purpose of this paper more clearly, it will be divided in three sections: Definition of Terms, The Law on Political Parties and Small Political Parties, the Electoral Code and the Smaller Political Parties. The conclusion will follow at the end of this paper, which will present and analyze only the Parliamentary elections, even though the smaller political parties take part in local government elections, independently or in coalitions.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In order to elaborate on the subject, at first, basic terms will be defined: Electoral system, political parties, as well as the term "smaller political parties" and its meaning, as adopted by this paper.

In general sense, the term ***Electoral system*** consists of a set of rules and procedures that refer to the whole of the election process, including the electoral right of citizens, i.e. the complete electoral system as an organizational structure.[1]

When it comes to a more specific definition of the electoral system, it can be said that it includes the process of turning electoral votes in parliament mandates, in other words, it consists of all legally regulated techniques and formulae.

1) Karakamisheva. T, *Elections and electoral systems*, Skopje, Kultura, 2004, pg.59

The electoral system dictates the process of calculating votes to mandates and thereby affects the conduct of the voters but at the same time, it affects the choice of voting between a party and an individual.

Political parties act in accordance with the Electoral system. They are institutions that gather people in order to practice governing with the state, with an idea to represent more than one narrow area of interest in the society, because they are groups of people with mutual beliefs, values and stand-points.

According to Edmund Burke, political parties represent a group of people united in their efforts for improving national interest, based on certain principles for which there is mutual consent.[2]

Political parties are the heart of democracy. In democratic regimes, on the one hand they represent the main "middle-men" in the communication between the voters and their interests and on the other hand – the institutions as decision-making bodies. They are the channels of political interaction between the civil society and the country.[3]

When we talk about the term ***small political parties***, it should be mentioned that it is very difficult to find a definition for this term in politicological theory, therefore for the purpose of this paper this particular class will be determined referring only to the Republic of Macedonia. The size of parties in the Republic of Macedonia cannot be determined by their membership numbers, because there is a trend of multiple party memberships among people. The only criterion for differentiating small from large parties can be established on the percentage of independently won votes, i.e. mandates in the Parliament, hereby labeling as small the parties that won less than 10% of electoral votes.

According to the political structure in the Republic of Macedonia, under the category of small political parties, fall all other parties except the two biggest, VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM (this classification and distinction as well as this paper, address only the Macedonian political parties.), i.e. all parties that have never won majority of the votes on elections and therefore have never governed. In all these parties, not one can be singled out by its size, i.e. cannot be labeled as the third party by size and significance in the Republic of Macedonia.

THE LAW ON POLITICAL PARTIES AND SMALL POLITICAL PARTIES

From 1990 until the present, there has been one ruling Law on government institutions and citizen's unions and two Laws on Political Parties, from which the latter was sub-

2) Gunther R., Montero J.R., Lintz J.J., *Political parties*, Skopje, Academic Press, 2009, pg.60

3) Same, pg.79

jected to two laws on changes and amendment, as well as to several decisions of the Constitutional court for abolishment of a part of the legislative acts. For the needs of this paper, these legislative acts and changes will be analyzed from the aspect of the small political parties, i.e. the acts and decrees that concern these parties will be compared.

Aside from the establishing of independence and the first parliamentary elections in 1990, accompanied with a tide of emerging political parties, the first Law on Political Parties was passed in 1994. Until that time the political parties were organized according to the Law on government institutions and citizen's unions, in force since 1983. According to this law, citizen's unions are declared to be "unions of working people, in order to meet and coordinate their goals and their rights on self-governing, in accordance with the general interests in the socialist society, expansion and development of all forms of self-governing and socialistic self-governing democracy… "

What is specific about this law and worth mentioning at the same time is that these citizen's unions can be established with a minimum of ten citizens of legal age.

According to the Law on Political Parties from 1994, political parties are defined as organized groups of citizens that strive to participate in the government. The purpose for founding the parties can vary from the wish for exercising and protection of their political, economical, social, cultural and other rights and beliefs and participation in the process of decision-making; as well as participation in the process of election of members of the parliament. According to Article 7, a political party can be founded by at least 500 legal citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. Item 2 of this article states that a political party is obliged to not later than 15 days before the end of each year, submit a written statement to the District Court in Skopje, proving that the number of founders has not decreased.

Ten years later in 2004 the new Law on Political Parties was passed. What differentiates this law from the former (and what is of meaning to this paper) is the introduction of Item 3 in Article 11 (according to the Law from 1994, Article 7) that states that: a political party is obliged to not later than 15 days before the end of the calendar year, submit a notary verified written statement by its president to the First Instance Court Skopje 1 – Skopje, proving that the number of founders has not decreased below 500.

In 2007, the existing law was amended with the Law on changes and amendment of the Law on Political Parties that fully changed the key article concerning small political parties, Article 11. According to the changes for founding a party, instead of 500 the new needed number of founders was 1000 and the party had to submit a list of individual signatures each two years after the founding. What also drew attention was Article 13, Item 2, which states that these signatures are given in front of officials in the Ministry of Justice.

After the submitted initiative by the presidents of the parties: League for Democracy and TMRO, the Constitutional court of the Republic of Macedonia, on 02.05.2007, reached a decision to annul Article 1 Item 3, Article 2 Item 2 and Article 12 Item 3 from the Law on changes and amendment of the Law on Political Parties. According to the above mentioned, the item according to which signatures have to be submitted every 4 years (every 2 according to the amendment of the Legislative-judiciary committee) as well as the item that the signatures must be given in front of officials in the Ministry of Justice, was annulled.

Following these two annulments by the Constitutional court, was the second Law on changes and amendment of the Law on Political Parties. Pursuant to the changes, the party is obliged to submit individually given signatures each four years. The signatures for founding a political party are followed with a statement verified by a notary.

From this it can be concluded that significant changes concerning the small political parties were introduced with the Law on changes and amendment of the Law on Political Parties from 16.01.2007; the most disturbing point for the parties was the increase in founding members from 500 to 1000 (even though, it's worth mentioning that this change was never a problem for the smaller parliamentary parties, but only for the small parties that never got a mandate in the Parliament of R.M.); the second change was significant for all parties, but it was a matter of principle to give signatures in front of officials in the Ministry of Justice.

It can be concluded from here that the Law on Political Parties and its amendments, did not affect the number of parties on the political scene, i.e. at least it did not affect the number of parliamentary parties.

THE ELECTORAL CODE AND SMALLER POLITICAL PARTIES

The first law on electing and impeachment of parliament members in Independent Republic of Macedonia, was passed in September 1990 and referred to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the ruling regime before getting independence.

What is specific for this Law is that it does not directly regulate the process of electing parliament members, i.e. there is no mention of the number of parliament members nor in how many electoral districts is the territory of the state divided into. What is mentioned though in this Law is that a candidate that has got the majority of votes from the polls, given the condition that the number of votes won is not less than one third from the total number of voters in an electoral district (Article 51, Item 1). Similarly, the Law accepts only those candidates that have won at least 7% of the total voters, in the second round of elections.

According to the Law, the right to propose candidates for Parliament members, have only those parties with 1500 members minimum, but if they do not fill this quota, then they can exercise the same right by submitting at least 100 signatures. What is specific only to this Law is the possibility for impeachment of the parliament members. It is planned for the impeachment procedure to be activated after collecting a number of signatures from the citizens (three times the needed quota for the proposal) and in case a half of those that initially voted for him, vote against, the candidate is impeached.

Pursuant to this Law, the elections in the Republic of Macedonia in 1990 and 1994, were conducted according to the majority electoral system, in two rounds of elections. A significant characteristic of this system is the possibility given to the electoral body to vote twice, i.e. to change its decision if needed in the second round. Another important fact to this system and the small political parties is voter density, i.e. if the party has no density of members on a certain territory, it should not have hopes for a mandate. The positive side of this system is the voting for an individual which allows small political parties to win a mandate by nominating their more recognizable individuals. At the same time, the percentage of high electoral obedience in the Macedonian voters and the psychological mechanisms of voting should not be forgotten.[4]

Everything taken into account, the majority electoral system in the Republic of Macedonia does not go into accord with the small political parties, i.e. the number of mandates won would not correlate with the number of votes won.

The Law for electing members of Parliament was passed in 1998. As it states, a 120 members of parliament are elected, out of which 85 according to the majority electoral system and 35 according to the proportional model, taking the territory of the Republic of Macedonia as one electoral unit. The distribution of the proportional mandates is established by using the formula of D'Hondt and in this process, only those lists of candidates that won at least 5% from the total number of votes are taken into account.

Unlike the previous, this Law and all the future ones, do not take into account the instrument of impeachment of the members of Parliament. When it comes to nominating a candidate, all registered political parties are free to do so. What is even more interesting for this law is that one of the six conditions which annul the candidate's mandate, (resignation, sentenced for criminal charges with a minimum of 5 years in prison, conflict of interests, death and working incapability) is termination of membership in the party that

4) The psychological mechanism is manifested through patterns of behavior of the voter which in order to save his vote given to a third party, will vote for one of the two dominant parties. In this complex psychological process of elections, the voter is put in a situation to reevaluate his/her party preferences from the aspect of the plausibility for its realization. (Gaber N., Jovevska A. *Designing Macedonia's electoral system*, Skopje, Foundation Friedrich Ebert, 1997, pg.19)

elected him candidate. Paragraph 6, Item 1from Article 98, was annulled the following year with the passing of the Law on changes and amendment of the Law on Electing Members of Parliament. The annulment of this paragraph caused serious changes in the party structure of the Parliament.

From these facts it can be concluded that according to this law the electoral system too, is not fully acceptable and in favor to the small political parties.

After these changes took place, what followed was the rearrangement of the political parties, i.e. creation of new ones. The members of Democratic Alternative formed New Democracy and The Democratic Center and a part of them joined VMRO-DPMNE, while some of them went on as independent. The Democratic Alternative lost all their parliament members, even though it started off with 13 mandates. VMRO-VMRO and VMRO-Macedonian, were created mainly from former members of VMRO-DPMNE. For a more precise presentation of the data, review the following table which will show the number of seats won in Parliament, at the beginning and ending of their mandate.

Table 1. *Seats won in Parliament (at the beginning and end of mandate), Mandate 1998-2002* [5]

Beginning of mandate		**End of mandate**	
Name of political party	Distributed seats in Parliament	Name of political party	Distributed seats in Parliament
VMRO-DPMNE	49	VMRO-DPMNE	45
SDSM	27	SDSM	28
PDP	14	PDP	11
DA	13	DA	/
PDPA-NDP	11	PDPA-NDP	10
LDP DPM	4	LDP DPM	1
SPM	1	SPM	1
SRM	1	SRM	1
		VMRO-VMRO	1
		New Democracy	4
		Liberal party	3
		VMRO - Macedonian	5
		Democratic center	3
		Independent members	6

5) http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=9402373424ED504883EE17FED5E72EB4,10. January 2010

According to the structure of the mixed system created by this Law, the small political parties are put into a difficult position. Although the first impression is that the introduction of the proportional model for the distribution of the 35 available seats will contribute to an even distribution of the mandates and correct any irregularities by using the majority system, still the fact that this is only 35 mandates, as well as the presence of the electoral minimum of 5% implies that the access of smaller political parties even in this proportional model is limited. The data itself points to this too, i.e. out of 35 mandates, VMRO-DPMNE won 11, SDSM won 10, PDP PDPA-NDP won 8, the newly formed DA won 4 and the Liberal-democrats won 2 (Parliament of R.M.). The usage of D'Hondt's method should not be neglected when calculating proportional mandates. In accordance with politicological theory, this method puts larger parties in favor.

The following Law for electing members of Parliament was passed in 2002. According to its provisions, 120 members of Parliament are elected in the Republic of Macedonia by using the proportional model, while the territory of the state is divided into 6 electoral units, giving 20 members of Parliament each. This law keeps to the D'Hontd method as well, but unlike the previous, it did not have a minimum.

As in the preceding law, all registered political parties have the right to submit a list of candidates. Most characteristic for this Law, that fits in the context of this paper are paragraphs 4 and 5 from Item 1 in Article101, which refer to terms for mandate annulment. According to these paragraphs, a member of parliament can have his/her mandate terminated if the membership in the party has been cancelled at his/her own request (paragraph 4) and if he/she gives a statement about joining another political party (paragraph 5).

This type of news received a lot of attention from the political parties, to be more precise, from some of the members of the 2002-2006 Parliament structure. The Democratic Union submitted a request to the Constitutional court that same year, in order to establish whether or not these provisions were constitutional or not. After the tumults in VMRO-DPMNE in 2004, when a large number of elected parliament members left the party and others went to form VMRO-NP, another request on determining if the provisions of the Law were constitutional or not, this time by the newly formed VMRO-NP. At the same time, there was a procedure going on for introducing changes in the current Law, in order to leave the former and join the newly formed party.

After these two requests were submitted, the Constitutional court announced its decision, published and becoming effective on 17th Jan 2005. According to the decree, these two paragraphs, 4 and 5 from Item 1 in Article 101, were being annulled as unconstitutional because: "they disrupt the concept of a free mandate that cannot be terminated neither by the will of the sovereign citizen nor by the will of another entity, as it is in this case, at the will of the legislator, on the reasons of change in political attitude, and followed by the change of political party". After this decision was reached and published, the changes in the Law which were in their second phase from the time when they were introduced were withdrawn by the petitioner as unsubstantiated.

Following the change in the Law for electing members of Parliament and granting the opportunity to leave the party if they think it's necessary, to join another party, form a new one or become independent candidates, the mandates for parliament members were reorganized again.

It is in this period that the first separation of parties on the left-oriented side takes place. From SDSM was formed NSDP, led by Tito Petkovski and from the Liberals formed DOM, led by Liljana Popovska. A larger separation took place in the opposition, where VMRO-NP and The Agricultural party were formed, both from VMRO DPMNE.

In order to present the changes in party structure which occurred from the changes in the Law refer to the following table.

Table 2. *Seats won in Parliament (at the beginning and end of mandate), Mandate 2002-2006* [6]

Beginning of mandate		**End of mandate**	
Name of political party	Distributed seats in Parliament	Name of political party	Distributed seats in in Parliament
SDSM (For Macedonia Together)	60	SDSM	44
VMRO-DPMNEand LP	33	LDP	9
DUI	16	DUI	15
DPA	7	DPA	7
PDP	2	VMRO-DPMNE	10
NDP	1	LP	5
PM	1	VMRO-NP	13
		Agricultural NPM	3
		SPM	1
		NSDP	5
		DOM	3
		PD of the Turks	1
		NDP	1
		New Democ. Forces	1

6) http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=B71A03713AD04B4599894B34CCFF8692, 10. January 2010

The last Law on Electing Members of Parliament, i.e. Electoral Code was passed in March 2006. In terms of the electoral system, this Law too offers the same solutions as the former one, even in the terms for termination of the mandate.

The fact that the proportional electoral system divides the territory of the Republic of Macedonia to six electoral districts that give 20 members each, represents an opportunity for the small political parties to enter the Parliament. An additional positive condition for the small political parties is that, there is no entry minimum of members needed. What does not go in favor is the usage of D'Hondt's method for calculating the number of mandates. What can be seen from the data in the 2006 elections is the independent campaigns and winning of mandates by the small political parties (Table 3)

Table 3. *Parliamentary elections 2006*[7]

Name of political party	Mandates won
Coalition VMRO-DPMNE	45
Coalition For Macedonia Together	32
DUI-PDP	17
DPA	11
NSDP	7
VMRO-NP	6
DOM	1
PEI	1

As a conclusion from the presented, it can be stated that the proportional system influences the participation of small parties in the elections for members of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. encourages them to participate independently.

CONCLUSION

According to the data presented, it can be concluded that unlike the Law on Political Parties whose changes do not affect the political scene, the changes in the Law on Electing Members of Parliament affect the electoral system and with that, the political parties as well. These legislative changes directly affect the formation of small parties, more

7) http://www.sobranie.mk/?ItemID=E151DD0C0A49944B86F1E100771F544B, 10. January 2010

specifically, separation of parliament members from the party and forming new ones. It can be also concluded that the proportional model, according to the Law from 2002 and the Electoral Code, has positive effect on the small political parties and their independent candidatures in the elections, and thereby they have the opportunity to survive on the political scene as different from the big political parties, with their own goals and target groups.

In the end of this paper: there is a hint for the two most favorable election systems. With the first combination, the small parties taking an independent candidature in the elections will encourage the proportional model but only on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia as one electoral unit, as well as using the Hare formula for calculating the number of mandates. With the second combination, greater independent representation by these parties would be achieved by using the proportional model in 6 or more electoral districts, but at the same time, the open slate lists should be introduced as well.

References:

Gaber N., Jovevska A., *Designing Macedonia's electoral system*, Skopje, Foundation Friedrich Ebert, 1997 (transl. from Macedonian);

Karakamisheva. T, *Elections and electoral systems*, Skopje, Kultura, 2004 (transl. from Macedonian);

Gunther R., Montero J. R., Lintz J.J., *Political parties*, Skopje, Academic Press, 2009 (transl. from Macedonian);

Law on social and citizen's organizations (Official Gazette of the R.M. no.32/83)

Law on Political Parties (Official Gazette of the R.M. No.41/94)

Law on Political Parties (Official Gazette of the R.M No.76/04, 05/07, 07/08)

Law on electing and impeachment of members of Parliament (Official Gazette 26/90)

Law on Electing Members of Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia (Official Gazette of the R.M. No.24/98, 50/99)

Law on Electing Members of Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia (Official Gazette of the R.M. No.42/02, 46/04)

Electoral Code (Official Gazette of the R.M. No.40/06, 136/08)

www.sobranie.mk

www.slvesnik.com.mk

Политички науки Political science	УДК/UDC 32-0574 (4-672. EU) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Aneta Cekik

Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

ASSUMPTIONS ON THE EFFICIENT INCLUSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the processes of decision-making in the European Commission and the EU Council of Ministers, portraying the complexity of their nature, as well as the formal rules and those less familiar and informal, according to which these bodies function.
Bearing in mind that European level politics asks for a higher degree of readiness and knowledge, the requirement for adequate, professional and competent staff is necessary for efficient inclusion of the Republic of Macedonia in the political process of the European Union. In that sense, the purpose of this paper is to point out the capacities needed for successful inclusion of the country in these processes, as well as the challenges that the Republic of Macedonia, a small country, will face in the future inclusion in those processes of decision-making in the European Union.
From the numerous important aspects, the attention will be focused on the issue of presence of member states staff in the European Commission, and the problem of representation of the national positions in the Council of Ministers.

Key words: decision-making in the European Union, formal and informal aspects of decision-making in the European Union, the integration of the Republic of Macedonia in the European Union

INTRODUCTION

With the progress of European integration in the last decades, the research interest about how does the political system of the European Union and its separate institutions work- or in the words of H. Wallace and D. Naurin, (having in mind the classical political model of Easton), the interest for the 'black box' of the European Union- have increased. This was especially the case after the 1996 reforms for transparency in the EU Council of Ministers and with the expansion of the Union with new countries as members.

While the functioning of the European Commission has always been a very relevant topic, the results from more recent studies that focus on the work of the EU Council of Ministers, identify some formal and informal aspects which are relevant for the Council's efficient work and which have insured the successful functioning even after the big enlargement of 2004 and 2007.

The first purpose of this paper is to point to the internal organization and the more important formal and informal aspects of the process of decision-making in the European Commission and in the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers), while the second purpose- when having in mind these characteristics, is to identify the main challenges with which the Republic of Macedonia as a small member-state will be facing, during the inclusion in these processes.

The term "decision-making in the European Union" refers to the legislative and executive powers of the Institutions of the EU during the preparation, adoption and implementation of the secondary and delegated legislation, as well as the cooperation in the second and the third pillar of the European Union.

Using the classic language of the theory of separation of powers, the ***legislative function*** in the European Union is divided between the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament, where the European Commission has exclusive authority of the legislative initiative in the first pillar. After the procedures of consultation or co-decision with the European Parliament are complete, the Council of Ministers makes the final decision. The ***executive powers*** related to adoption of delegated legislation, the distribution of the EU budget, operation of the financial programs, supervision of the implementation of legislation and EU programs, etc.,[1] are in the hands of the European Commission, in the member-countries and in some fields, in independent regulatory agencies.

1) Wallace H., An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes vo Wallace H., Wallace W., Pollack M. A., *Policy-making in the European Union*, 5th Edition, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 53

Aside this general framework, which is complicated on its own, the process of decision-making in the European Union is complex, multidimensional and it develops on many levels. Helen Wallace identifies as much as five types of political processes through which the decisions are taken in the European Union.[2] But, for the requirements of this paper, since its subject of interest is more focused on the processes of representation of national positions and interests, the standard classification, given by Simon Hix, is more illustrative,:[3] 1) ***supranational or quasi-federal process*** – with this process the greater part of the regulatory and budget policies are addopted as well as some citizen and macroeconomic policies, in which the European Commission is the executive power with monopoly over the processes of legislative initiative, while the legislation is adopted through a bicameral procedure between the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament; 2) a ***intergovernmental process***, through which the greater part of citizen and macroeconomic policies are adopted, as well as the decisions in the second and third pillar of the Union, and, where the Council of Ministers is the main executive and legislative organ, the decisions are taken unanimously, while the European Commission has authority to plan legislative proposals only if instructed by the Council of Ministers and whereupon the European Parliament can only be consulted on the matter.[4]

In continuation of this paper we will pay greater attention to the processes of preparation of legislative proposals in the European Commission, their reviewing and the voting process in the Council of Ministers, through which the legislation in the first pillar is being adopted, and where the process of decision making is inclined towards the supranational pole. In the areas of the second and third pillar, where the process of decision-making is closer to intragovernmental negotiations, we will look over the work of the Committee of the Permanent Representatives (COREPER), as well as the work and function of the committees in the fields of Common foreign and security policy, within the Council of Ministers. Because of the limited space, the European Parliament is not (directly) included in the analysis.

2) These are: the traditional community mode); the EU regulatory mode); the EU distributional mode); policy coordination and intensive transgovernmentalism. More in Wallace H., An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes in Wallace H., Wallace W., Pollack M. A., *Policy-making in the European Union, 5th Edition*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 77-90

3) Hix S. *The political system of the European Union 2nd Edition*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 9.

4) This classification is relevant after the Lisbon agreement (2007), even though in the joint jurisdiction of the Union and the member countries, some new areas have been added, the role of the European Parliament is increased and the three pillars merged together.

DECISION-MAKING IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

The European Commission is projected to be an unbiased body, responsible for fulfilling the European interest and besides the European Court of Justice, the European Parliament and COREPER, it is one of the "most supranational" institutions in the Union. Functioning as a collective body, it adopts its decisions by simple majority of votes. In its framework today there are 42 (Sectoral) General Directorates, and its horizontal structure is maintained by several services, like The General Secretariat or the Legal Office, that are responsible for coordination, coherency and effectiveness of the Commission.[5] In the structure of the European Commission are included around 20 autonomous agencies, what makes the total number of permanent and part time employees reaches 38.000.[6]

Among the highest ranking and most important positions is the one of the Commissioner, who operates with one or more general directorates. The Commissioner is assisted by the members of his/hers cabinet, who perform functions of highest significance: these persons (Chief of Cabinet and additional 6-7 people) are responsible for the coordination between the general directorates and the commissioner in power, as well with the rest of the commissioners. The chiefs of cabinets meet every Monday, preparing the Wednesday meetings of the commissioners and reaching agreements and standpoints on proposed policies; the members of cabinet, on the other hand, have to follow the dossiers from different area(s), in their working portfolio and outside its framework as well, in order to supervise the work of the rest of the directorates.[7] The high-ranking position of a commissioner, brings with itself prestige and influence, but "holding" this position is not just a privilege, but responsibility as well. The image of a presiding country and the distribution of commissioner positions in the following mandates of the Commission will depend on the extent to which the Commissioner and his/her cabinet have been successful, having in mind the tendency of successful commissioners to get better or more attractive positions in the future.[8]

5) Sabathil G., Joos K., Kiebler B., *The European Commission: An essential guide to the institution, the procedures and the polices*, Kogan Page, London and Philadelphia, 2008, pp. 44

6) European Commission Civil Service, http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/about/who/index_en.htm, (06 April 2010)

7) Joana J., Smith A., The politics of collegiality- the non-portfolio dimension, vo Smith A. (ed.), *Politics and the European Commission- Actors, interdependence, legitimacy*, Routledge, London and New York, 2004, p. 34

8) An informal rule is for the members of cabinet to be from the same nationality with the Commissioner (in some instances, this number is noted as half, and in others-almost all, with one or two exceptions). Sabathil G., Joos K., Kiebler B., *The European Commission: An essential guide to the institution, the procedures and the polices*, Kogan Page, London and Philadelphia, 2008, pp. 41

While passing and adopting decisions, the Commission has three procedures at disposal: first, *classic voting* on the proposals at the Commissioners' Wednesday meetings, with simple majority of votes; second, the so called *written procedure*, whereupon a proposal is being submitted to all of the commissioners and if no objections occur in a provided deadline, that proposal is considered adopted; and third, the *empowerment procedure*, which is the most commonly used procedure, where, based on a previously adopted decision of the Commission, the Commissioners are empowered to take decisions independently in the name of the Commission, in their field of authorization and function.[9] In the last procedure, as well as in the second, the power concentrated in the commissioners and high ranking commission servants (members of cabinet) comes to show, even though it could be presumed that this is mainly the case in adoption of delegated legislation, in the phase of policy implementation.[10]

In brief, the process of policy-making would look as followed: for each dossier that is subject of regulation, a high ranking Commission servant is responsible, i.e. "chef de dossier", furthermore, that person is responsible for the overall process of preparation of a given legislative proposal. The draft-proposals are being prepared by *informal expert committee(s)* (over 1.000 of these exist for all sectoral policies), assembled by the chef de dossier, consisting of experts and the most relevant stakeholders, affected by the proposal. These are usually experts and representatives of public/private interest groups (from national or most often EU associations) with a strong presence in Brussels, that have the necessary expertise, and who will be implementing the policies in a significant part. Each chef de dossier is subject to lobbying during the assembling of these expert committees (mostly due to the great significance in being a member of such) and the very members of the committee are as well targets of lobbying, predominantly during the composition of the legislative texts.[11] For 85% from the total legislation in the Union (delegated legislation) the text processed in this way is a final text and according to some observations, in the case with the remaining 15% from the secondary legislation, the pub-

9) Sabathil G., Joos K., Kiebler B., Idem, pp. 39

10) A commonly familiar instrument used by the Council of Ministers and member-countries to control the work of the Commission in adopting the delegated legislation is the so-called comitology system. Those are formally registered committees (between 250 and 300 of them), composed mainly of national representatives with a function to oversee the work of the Commission in the phase of policy implementation. Each executive instrument of the Commission or part of the delegated legislation that is not proposed for adoption to the Council of Ministers, has to pass through one of the three procedures in the Comitology committees-advisory, executive and regulatory-which have different empowerment (more in J. Blom- Hansen 2008, H. Wallace, 2005, S. Hix 2005).

11) van Schendelen R., The In-Sourced Experts in, van Schendelen R., Scrully R., (eds.) *The Unseen Hand: Unelected EU Legislators*, Franc Cass, London and Portland, OR, 2003, pp. 26-27

lished final text in the Official Gazette of the European Union is in a great part identical with the draft that was proposed by the Commission (I. Bellier, in van Schendelen 2003).

This displays the importance of the matter of recruitment of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Commission, especially because of the fact that the civil servants of the Commission are not delegated by the national governments. Employment in the Commission today is mainly done through the European Personnel Selection Office, where the candidates have to pass the general process of selection. After they pass the entrance exams, successful candidates are enlisted on the so called "list of reserves" from which selection is made afterwards, i.e. the place on these lists does not mean automatic employment. Contrary to this, the selection from the "reserve lists" is conducted by unwritten rules and the higher ranking servants- for whom the recruitment partially means building their own network for support in the frameworks of the rest of the directorates- play significant role, as well. Albeit, they have a responsibility to maintain the geographical criteria i.e. representation of all member-countries.[12]

The promotion within the Commission is slow and is based on the career system, whereupon senior civil servants with multiple years of experience have a position in the high ranking profiles. This is why the highest ranking positions are still taken by personnel from the oldest member-states. Besides the aforementioned powers, once situated, the Commission servanrs take a certain favorable standpoint for their member country in the sense of access to information, greater involvement and eventually, influence in the preparation of the broad specter of legislative acts that determine the daily functioning of the Union. From experience it can be said that these officials are a significant channel of communication with the permanent representatives of the country in Brussels and the representatives of the interest groups of the member countries, which intensely use these contacts in the processes of lobbying.

DECISION-MAKING IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The Council of Ministers is the central arena in the politics of the European Union. Acting according the legislative proposals of the Commission in the first pillar, the Council of Ministers adopts around 100-120 acts per year,[13] and predominantly in its jurisdiction fall areas from the second and third pillar as well.

In the meetings of the Council of Ministers, the specific portfolio ministers and ministers without portfolio attend regularly, as well as state secretaries from those ministries.

12) Joana J., Smith A., idem. pp. 42-43

13) Hix S. *The political system of the European Union 2nd Edition*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 76

Within the Council there are around 10 ***Sectoral Councils***, involved in the formal voting on the proposals, but these are drafted on a lower level, in the ***Council's Committees*** and in around 250-300 ***work groups*** that deal with the numerous subdivisions in the areas of common policies.

The ***Committees of permanent representatives of member countries, COREPER 1 and 2*** are also constituents of the Council and carry a significant role. In the function of COREPER 1 the deputy-representatives of the permanent representatives take part, when dealing with matters of: the common market, transport, budget, social policies, energy, research, etc. In COREPER 2, in which the the permanent representatives of the member countries take part, matters of traditionally known "high" politics are discussed, as well as economic and budget policies, the European Council is being prepared and so on.[14]

The technical and administrative support to the Council of Ministers is given by its ***Secretariat***; the Council is presided by a ***presidency*** that rotates each 6 months and chairs the meetings on all levels, except in those that have elected chair-holders.[15]

Even though the formal voting takes place in the Sectoral Councils, it is well known that a larger part of the legislative proposals are not decided on there, but are already adopted on the lower levels of work groups and committees. It is exactly these bodies that represent the crucial precondition for efficiency in the decision-making process: they concentrate the needed expertise in the sectoral policies and create space for careful analysis (Puetter, 2008). They are consisted of national experts for sectoral policies, who are in fact, members of the civil servants/diplomats in the permanent representative bodies of member-states in Brussels (in the higher committees), responsible for that issue, or have been sent by the ministries of the member country. In these processes, representatives of the Commission, that defend, argue or further explain the proposal, may also be included.[16] This personnel with extensive experience in the given area, review the legislative proposals of the Commission and take decisions about the changes, if any, in the proposals, before they are sent to formal discussion and final voting in the Council of Ministers.

14) Aside from the work in COREPER, the ***permanent representation*** of the member-countries of the Union in Brussels, conduct very important functions. Alongside the permanent representative and his deputy and deputy for the Political and security committee, in these representations work around 15 departments that deal with coordination, protocol and the media, i.e. with the institutions, external relations and enlargement, financial issues, justice and security committee and military committee in the areas of common interest.

15) The clerks from the presiding country have influence on the legislative agenda of the Council of Ministers and represent the same interest in contacts with other institutions of the EU.

16) Häge F. M., Committee Decision-making in the Council of the European Union, *European Union Politics*, Volume 8 (3), 2007, p. 303

If a consensus is reached here, the act, marked as dossier A, is being sent to the Sectoral Council, where it is not discussed, but only voted on. If the needed consensus is not reached on the level of work groups and/or committees, the issues are directly sent on direct negotiations on a higher level, in front of the representatives from COREPER 1 and 2. The dossiers on which consensus have not been reached even in COREPER 1 and 2, marked with B, are sent to the ministers in the Sectoral Councils, for another review. It is estimated that around 70% form the future legislation of the Union is adopted on the level of work-groups; 10 to 15% in which matters of conflict exist are being adopted on the level of COREPER 1 and 2 or other higher committees and 10 to 15% are left for solving to the ministers of the Sectoral Councils.[17]

Besides the national representatives in the institutions in Brussels, the domestic administration of the member countries is as well constantly included in the process of the decision-making. The departmental ministries coordinate the aggregation of national positions at home and their representation in the bodies of the Council; they follow the discussions on different levels within the Council and consult relevant stakeholders, on regional and local level, the state organs responsible for the issue, or domestic interest groups.[18]

The formal voting, processes of negotiation in the work groups of the Council and the formation of coalitions, arouses significant scientific interest. Since the reform for Council transparency in 1996, when although partially, the information from the formal vote were publicly accessible, qualitative, quantitative-formal and quantitative-empirical methods of research are being used which produce partially conflicting or even opposite results.[19] Some of the research results show left-right division, before the expansion and blurring of this line after the expansion in 2004 and 2007. Other research show that coalitions are formed on the North-South and North-South-East axes, and in the end, there is research that puts accent on the fact that the coalitions are variable and tend to form separately, depending on different issues.[20] Still, what is mutual for all these cases is the claim that, usually there is a tendency in the Council to reach decisions with consensus

17) Wallace H., An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes in Wallace H., Wallace W., Pollack M. A., *Policy-making in the European Union, 5th Edition*, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 58

18) Idem. p. 60

19) In a recent study, edited and compiled by H. Wallace and D. Naurin, the most important modern approaches and research results in this area can be found: Naurin D., and Wallace H., (eds.), *Unveiling the Council of the European Union - Games Governments Play in Brussels*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. The special issue of the magazine "European integration" from September, 2008, is devoted to the decision-making in the most important organs of the Council of Ministers, after the enlargement.

20) Look at chapters of Mattila M., Hagemann S., and Naurin D., and Lindahl in Naurin D., Wallace H., (eds.), op. cit. 2008

and all concerned parties to be satisfied, and, further on, possible dissatisfaction not to be presented publicly, which makes the research about the decision-making and coalitions even harder. It is admitted that, the processes of negotiation and preparation of the official documents that are actually decided on the level workgroups and Council committees where the representatives of national governments work for reaching agreements, are of crucial importance. Therefore, the scientific interest is more and more directed in this direction.

The existence of "culture of consensus" is a definite characteristic of the work of the European institutions. In the case of COREPER, even "supranational" behavior is noted. Lempp J. and Alstenschmidt J., distinguish a few informal aspects on the work of COREPER: ***socialization*** of the members that hold the same function for years; ***reciprocity*** (during negotiations) which can be specific, or what is more important for COREPER-diffuse, unspecific; the role of the ***presidency*** of the Council, that strives to reach consensus; and the so called ***indifference***, what means that not all of the member-countries are interested in each issue on the agenda, therefore, a larger number of member-countries doesn't have to imply that the interests are more heterogeneous.[21] The role and importance of these practices is affirmed and in order for them to have a successful, future involvement in the functions of these bodies, the countries candidates for membership follow the meetings of COREPER very closely long before they are members, while the General Secretariat of the Council organizes preparational seminars and training courses.

According to Jucons and Pomorska, even in the committees for Common foreign and security policy, the socialization and culture of decision-making by consensus are the ruling pattern of behavior: the decisions in these committees are usually passed unanimously and the influence of the European Commission and the European Parliament is very limited. In terms of the recent enlargement, numerous formal and informal adjustments have made the functioning of this sphere a lot easier,[22] but still, the enlargement has had a negative effect on the democratic legitimacy – through the increase of the informality of the negotiations and the increasing role of the "groups with common interests", and with a decrease of the formal meetings at the same time. The cooperation in this area has still a significant number of characteristics, specific for typical inter-government negotiations and is the most criticized field by the "Euro-skeptics".

---

21) Lempp J., Alstenschmidt J., The prevention of Deadlock through Informal Processes of "Supranationalisation": The Case of Coreper, *European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 4, Sep. 2008, pp. 511-526

22) Juncos A. E., Pomorska K., Does Size Matter? CFSP Committees after Enlargement, *European Integration,* Vol. 30, No. 4, September 2008, p. 506

THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AND THE FUTURE MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

For the future efficient inclusion in the decision-making processes in the European Union, the Republic of Macedonia will have to adapt to the ways of policy-making within the European institutions. But, what could be the way in which a country with the size of the Republic of Macedonia, with limited capacities and experience in this sphere, can assure efficient participation in the complex process of decision-making in the European Union?

The daily functioning of the Union includes numerous meetings, participation in work-groups and committees on different levels within the institutions and contacts with the immediate external surroundings. The creation of EU policies, which must extend over 25 different cultures, demands the possession of expertise, adequately trained and competent personnel, large in numbers. Having in mind the size of the country and the capacities of the public administration, the Republic of Macedonia will more than sure be facing the lack of these “specifications”, which could as a result, produce a smaller representation in the European institutions, as well as a danger of too little influence.

The last will surely be the case in the European Commission, an organ that has an exceptional role in the initial phase of the preparations of legislative texts, but where the ability of the countries to enforce employment of their national personnel is very limited. A type of institutional possibility that grants limited influence to a country, from the position of a country candidate for membership - is the mechanism that allows temporary employment (for 6 months) of personnel from the Civil Service and Public Administration, in the role of ***seconded national experts***, which will experience firsthand the working atmosphere in the European Commission and will transfer that experience home, but will at the same time create contacts with personnel in the Commission. In that same direction, the state organs should make an estimation on which sectors should be the personnel selected from and what type of employees should take advantage of this opportunity, which will allow them to learn from the work of one of the most professional administrative bodies in the modern world. Often this type of temporary employment or residency in the European Commission on different basis is the first step towards permanent employment, given the possibility for career advancement to high-ranking positions.

As individuals, citizens of the member-countries can apply for temporary or permanent employment in the European Commission, through the European Personnel Selection Office.

In terms of the *Council of Ministers*, according the rules for decision-making, presence and participation of all member-states on all levels of EU institutions is insured. But, having in mind the practical process of decision-making, where workgroups and committees of the Council of Ministers are mainly responsible for the decision-making, successful representation on the levels of the workgroups (as reminder, the total number of workgroups ranges from 250 to 300) in all sectoral policies is necessary. This is a large number of personnel, that needs to posses the highest level of readiness and to some extent, diplomatic skills, and which should be supplemented with support from experts in these areas, besides the personnel from the existing administration. The lack of personnel in the workgroups of the Council for small countries like Austria and Denmark, is compensated with personnel from their interests groups in the homeland,[23] because in small countries these groups are maybe the only ones which posses the needed expertise. But it is still questionable if and to what extent could the Republic of Macedonia rely on this type of expertise, because of the modest or non-existent tradition of competition of interests and more significant inclusion of representatives of the interests groups in the processes of policy-creation in the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the lack of existence of this type of political culture.

The question of personnel is very important in the *permanent representation* in the EU, also, where the functions of the diplomacy and Civil service come together. This personnel should be prepared for work in a multinational environment, in which, as we have mentioned, the "culture of consensus" is dominant. Because of the intense contacts with colleagues from all of the member-countries, they must have knowledge of two languages of the Union (not counting languages from the region). These people could partially be selected from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and precisely, from the existing Directorate for EU, which is consisted of two sectors and four departments[24] and from the Secretariat for European Affairs. Besides the participation in the work of the Council of Ministers, the civil servants in the permanent representation should have in mind the coordination with the remaining part of representatives in the public and civil service sector of the Republic of Macedonia present in Brussels, as with the representatives of the local authorities as well.

In order to efficiently utilize the existing capacities and to successfully participate in the work on European level, the civil servants in the high and medium level inside the Ministries and especially those in the departments for European affairs within the Ministries, besides the expertise in their specific area, should gain knowledge about the func-

23) Van Schendelen, idem, p. 31

24) http://www.mfa.gov.mk//Upload%5CContentManagement%5CFiles%5COrganogram_2010.pdf, 15 March, 2010

tioning of the European institutions and practices of decision-making, through appropriate training. This is the reason why, the necessity of institutional improvement and upgrading is stressed, additional personnel and enforcement of the administrative capacities in the public administration in the Republic of Macedonia. Even though there are experiences that can be used,[25] the known circumstances in the area of public administration that are noted and the reports of the European Commission on the advancement of the Republic of Macedonia, imply on numerous weak points.[26]

The reforms in the public administration and its adaptation in terms of the future inclusion in the European Union, according to government documents, represent two complementary processes.[27] At the same time, the attention is put on the implementation of the legislation and securing of appropriate personnel for the National programme on approximation of the legislation of the Republic of Macedonia to the EU legislation (NPAA).[28] There is no attention whatsoever, focused on the processes of inclusion of our civil servants in the work of the institutions on European level. Even though, departments for human resources have been established in the Ministries, with a tendency to increase the number of personnel, the human resources are currently at a low level, especially on local levels of organization and structure (Report of the European Commission, 2007). In terms of the issues of competency, there is a problem with the lack of training for civil servants, for which there is no general strategy. What is seriously concerning is the report of the EC from 2008, stating that numerous key positions in the Secretariat for EU Affairs, The Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water economy, have been left empty.[29]

In future it will be necessary for this question to be analyzed using a systematic approach through which the actual situation would be determined and estimations would be made for the needed resources and at the same time, a plan would be set, about the method

25) Ex: fullfiling od obligations about the National programme on approximation of the legislation of the Republic of Macedonia to the EU legislation, the Activity plan for European partnership as well as filling the questionaire of the European Committee, Damjanovski I., The Challenge of the negotiations for membership and institutional approach towards capacity enforcement, *Political thought*, Year 3, no. 11, September 2005, p. 74

26) Problems with illegal employment, promotions and intrusion in the career system, which is pointed out on daily basis through critiques of the oppositional parties, the media and the general public, in all government mandates.

27) Government of the Republic of Macedonia, *Strategy for reform of the public administration* Skopje, 1999 (transl. from Macedonian)

28) Government of the Republic of Macedonia, *View on the realized progress and future priorities in the reforms of the public administration, according the Strategy for reform of the public administration, February 2006, p.4* (transl. from Macedonian)

29) In the report of the European Commission on the progress of the Republic of Macedonia for 2007, the Government is criticized for firing 40 employees, i.e. 2/3 of the permanent employees in the Secretariat for European integration.

of acquiring those resources, during which process, the high criteria imposed by an integration in a supranational body and structure like the European Union, will be perfectly maintained.

In the same time, these processes should be conducted separately from party influences and cyclical changes of government. A professional, competent and responsible public administration is a necessary condition for efficient participation in the integrative processes of the European Union, but at the same time, a basic precondition for the general development of democracy in the Republic of Macedonia.

References:

Blom- Hansen J., The origins of the EU comitology system: a case of informal agenda-setting by the Commission, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:2 March 2008, pp. 208-226

Cini M., (ed.) *European Union Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003

Damjanovski I., The Challenge of the negotiations for membership and institutional approach towards capacity enforcement, Political thought, Year 3, no. 11, September 2005, p. 73-83 (transl. from Macedonian)

European Commission, *The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2008 Progress Report*, SEC (2008) 2695

European Commission, *The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2007 Progress Report*, SEC (2007) 1432

Government of the Republic of Macedonia, View on the realized progress and future priorities in the reforms of the public administration, according the Strategies for reformation of the public administration, February 2006 (transl. from Macedonian)

Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Strategies for reformation of the public administration Skopje, 1999 (transl. from Macedonian)

Häge F. M., Committee Decision-making in the Council of the European Union, *European Union Politics*, Volume 8 (3), 2007, pp. 299-338

Hix S. *The political system of the European Union 2nd Edition*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005

Juncos A. E., Pomorska K., Does Size Matter? CFSP Committees after Enlargement, *European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 4, September 2008, pp. 493-509

Lempp J., Alstenschmidt J., The prevention of Deadlock through Informal Processes of "Supranationalisation": The Case of Coreper, *European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 4, September 2008, pp. 511-526

Naurin D., and Wallace H., (eds.), *Unveiling the Council of the European Union- Games Governments Play in Brussels*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008

Puetter U., Adapting to Enlargement: The Role of Formal and Informal Processes of Institutional Adjustment in EU Commettee Governance, *European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 4, September 2008, pp. 479-491

Sabathil G., Joos K., Kiebler B., *The European Commission: An essential guide to the institution, the procedures and the polices*, Kogan Page, London and Philadelphia, 2008

Smith A. (ed.), *Politics and the European Commission - Actors, interdependence, legitimacy*, Routledge, London and New York, 2004

van Schendelen R., Scrully R., (eds.) *The Unseen Hand: Unelected EU Legislators*, Franc Cass, London and Portland, OR, 2003

Wallace H., Wallace W., Pollack M. A., *Policy-making in the European Union, 5th Edition*, Oxford University Press, 2005

http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/ - Civil Service of the European Commission

http://europa.eu/whoiswho/public/index.cfm?fuseaction=idea.hierarchy&nodeid=3780-

Permanent representations of member-states to the European Union

http://www.sep.gov.mk/Default.aspx- Secretariat for European Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia

http://www.mfa.gov.mk/ - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia

Право / Службеничко право Law / Civil servant law	УДК/UDC 35.081.71 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Mirjana Slaninka - Dineva,
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF EMPLOYEES IN PUBLIC SERVICE INSTITUTIONS

ABSTRACT

Before we change the status of the employees in institutions (in the field of non-economy) we need to redefine the term public services. They should get the status of services of general interest. And in those institutions (regardless of the property mass, i.e. the title holder of the property), the services of general interest (education services, health care services, social protection services, cultural services etc) can only be provided by individuals that have the status of civil servants (individuals that are strictly professional and that do not belong to any parties or are into politics) in the spirit of service and recipient orientation. In relation to these status changes, the author of this study is trying to analyze the proposed Law on Civil Servants by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. It appears that this law is not in accordance with the European model of services of general interest as well as with the status of the personnel that provides these services at the level of a particular service. Taking into consideration all of these changes, it is necessary that we introduce a new branch in law – Civil Servant Law.

Key words: institutions, public service, service of general interest, publc servant, civil servant law.

INTRODUCTION

The Macedonian legal and political science has dealt least with the status of the employees in public service institutions, especially the part which is strictly professionalized or is not formally, i.e. legally related to the political authorities. In the past and today as well, there aren't many studies that analyze the status of the staff (personnel) in public institutions, which in a more recent period (before the Law on Institutions was passed in 2005) were referred to as providers of public services, with no right to be opposed to public administration decisions. This is the so-called period of centralization of public activities and services.

Once public activities were decentralized (especially the non-economic civil services) we started asking ourselves if anything could be done to change the practice of institutions (of public institutions mostly) that are totally politicized. In that sense we raise the question of strict professionalization of the employees who are immediate providers of public services of social interest, whereby expertise and competence are the basic criteria for admission, employment and promotion of employees, who, according to legal logic should have the status of public servants, but we still haven't got the right legal grounds for this. According to the recommendations of GRECO (a group of states against corruption) of the European Council to the relevant parties in our country, there should be a single basic legal framework established for the regulation of the rights, obligations and responsibilities of public servants, which in turn would contribute to better professionalism, higher efficiency and efficacy of the public service as a whole. Following the second round of assessment of the Republic of Macedonia, adopted on the 25th plenary meeting of GRECO (Strasbourg, 10-12 October, 2005) the draft law on public servants is already in procedure with the initial application date set for the 1 January 2011. In order to get a better insight into the status changes, we are going to give a short retrospect of them. But that's not enough. The creation of a new public service model in the Republic of Macedonia asks for an appropriate personal transformation and changes in the status of the employees by establishing a new institution – public servant or servant in the service of general interest. In fact, the Law on Civil Servants has been envisaged with the National Program for the Adoption of EU Law. It is a known fact that the states - members of EU do not have a unified administrative space nor a unique approach to determining the social interest, operationalized through the civil service system. European states have one of these two civil service models: the continental and the island (or Anglo-Saxon) model. According to tradition, the Republic of Macedonia fits into the continental model. Therefore, when implementing changes, Macedonia has to keep to the principles of the continental model and especially the French one which is very strict on keeping to the departization and depoliticization principles (in all public services).

1. GENESIS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE CONCEPT IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

In the past, immediately after the end of the Second World War, People's Republic of Macedonia, as one of the 6 federal republics within FPR Yugoslavia had several legal regimes changed in accomplishing general (or public) interest. Throughout all this time and as a result of the ideological matrix of real-socialism there were tendencies for a supposed deetatization of the public services in the given period. The first stage was the period from 1946-1957, i.e. the consolidation period of the country (into an economic, legal, political and social system). The second stage began in 1958 and lasted until 1963. In this period, the Law on Civil Servants (passed in 1958) was in force. Without going into details on the contents of this law, we're going to give the definition of the term public servant. Thus, according to this law, public servants are individuals that perform public service in state bodies and independent institutions as their regular occupation.[1] Civil service includes the following: state bodies, state agencies (for education, science and culture, health care institutes, social security institutions) and other institutions established for doing public service. The third stage began with the adoption of the so-called Worker's Constitution of 1963 and the passing of the first Law on Institutions (from 1965) according to which public servants enjoy the same status as economy workers. Namely, according to this Law on Institutions (as lex generalis) all institution employees and representatives of the social community are given the right to social self-management (which was a novelty introduced in the constitutional-legal system). This law was abolished in 1971 when the adoption of the constitutional changes (according to the XXI amendment specifically, as the basis for the adoption of the so-called confederate Constitution (of 1974)) allowed for the introduction of the practice of the free labor trade principle in social activities. The purpose of the constitutional changes was to put on the same level the economic and social activities (according to the doctrine on self-management joint labor by free labor trade, which were legally defined in 1976). This period favored the concept according to which all employees had the same legal status, along with the concept of free labor trade between the economic and non-economic sector (the so-called social activities.) This is the last stage in the development of the social activities according to the system on social self-management. After the fall of real socialism (with the decomposition of SFRY) and the establishment of transition, this sector of activities, more specifically in the newly-formed state, the Republic of Macedonia, got highly centralized by the existing authorities only to become later a subject of civil service reforms that haven't been

1) For more see in *Administration Science* by Naum Grizo and Borche Davitkovski, Kumanovo, Prosveta, 1994 (quote on p.190) (in Macedonian)

completed until this very day. In the Republic of Macedonia, as a newly created and internationally recognized country, the term *public service* was used for the first time within the system laws on particular activities of public interest (such as, for example, elementary education, health care, social security and other activities which have the status of public services).

The terms *public interest* and *civil service* have separate legal definitions because they have been defined with the system laws of particular services. Since the Law on Institutions was adopted only in 2005 (14 years after the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia and not soon after it was adopted) it couldn't have any impact on the legal conceptualization of *public interest* and *civil service*. Having analyzed the Law on Institutions, we came across a very notorious fact: its adoption is in relation with ownership transformation and the definition of the organizations that perform civil services that now go under one name – institutions. The price of transformation, i.e. privatization is to reduce the number of public institutions and increase the number of private institutions and of the mixed institutions (where there's "mixing" of capital or the property mass according to the "public-private" model.) It was only with the adoption of the Law on Institutions from 2005 that some provisions from the Law on Joint Labor were definitely abolished. Defining the status of public servants is a question that's already been informally raised, especially since we seem unable to define the exact number of employees in public administration, which includes personnel from public services as well (especially the ones from non-economic public services such as employees in public education from all levels, public health care, culture, welfare and child protection and other activities). It's only with the adoption of the Law on Public Servants (the Law on the Services of General Interest) which essence can't have anything in common with the Law on Civil Servants, can public services (or the services of general interest) become fully operational based on the competencies of the staff who will be performing their basic activity as a highly professionalized activity (i.e. as craftsmanship activity.) As opposed to the government administration, public services (or the services of general interest) are always of non-authoritative character and meaning, even when they do the tasks they were assigned to or transferred over by the state (based on the law or upon the decision of the Government).

From as early as the beginning of the last century, in not a single case have public services with their non-authoritative character applied the sanctions for breaking the rules in doing public services which would ultimately be for the benefit of their immediate users. This is a rule today, too. Public services (or services of general interest with the status of non-economic and economic services) serve public interest and tend to constantly increase and enrich with the activities that today represent the so-called public interest.

People in our country (and in the world) think that public interest is completely inadequately defined category that needs to be changed as soon as possible with a different term, i.e. with the term "general interest." In that context, we need to see what the European Union is doing with regard to public services. Namely, the EU has a plan to change the term public services since that term is rarely used and instead use the widely accepted syntagm "services of general interest." More significant efforts for the introduction of the concept of services of general interest were made in 1990 through the activities of the European Committee that had published several documents with this concept. In this regard, the most important ones are the two papers, the Green one and the White one. The Green paper differentiates between economic and non-economic services of general interest. The White paper gives a summary of the results from the public debate regarding the services of general interest (2004) from the Green paper and supports the concept presented in the Green paper. It especially emphasizes the importance of the services of general interest as one of the pillars of the European society model.

2. INSTITUTIONS OF NON-ECONOMIC PUBLIC SERVICES: CONCEPT, TYPES AND ACTIVITIES

Starting from 2005 (more specifically from 18th May 2005) the Law on Institutions was enforced in the Republic of Macedonia, which contrary to its nature as lex generalis and according to the provisions on its application, is of subsidiary character. This means that its provisions are applied if not otherwise stipulated by another law.

If we go through the entire material on public services, especially from the normative-institutional aspect, we can see that special meaning for the regulation of each of the public services, especially the services of general interest (a term taken from the EU Green Book) have the systemic laws. Depending on the characteristics of some of the services of general interest, it's possible to regulate them with several laws. We'll give one striking example. The education system is regulated by three systemic laws and those are the following: the Law on Primary Education, Law on Secondary Education and Higher Education. This legal regulation helps these three parts of the education system function better and that has vital meaning for the development of every society (both individuals and groups) as well as for the development of countries (on a national and global level.)

From the analysis of the basic provisions of the Law on Institutions as well as its content, we can see that this is quite a substantial regulation that completely regulates the matter on institutions: their establishment, status, internal organization, employees, management, funding, supervision, development, but also ownership transformation which will allow for many organizations from many different areas to be privatized (or turned into private institutions, mixed institutions or institutions under concession for a given period of time).[2] Privatization has also had an impact on the public institutions themselves (whose number has significantly reduced compared to before) in terms of the fact that they need to have different internal organization and staff. The public institutions should keep the staff whose primary activity is the immediate provision of public services. Also the administrative staff, along with the assisting-technical staff ought to be organized differently, i.e. they should not be a part of the institution since they do not provide services of general interest. There are several options possible here, the most appropriate of which is a private agency. It's interesting that we've adopted some novelties that will get standardized for the first time in Macedonia and those are the following institutes: administrative agreement, managerial agreement, internal control body, protection of public interest and customer care. The glossary (according to Article 2, line 24) defines the meaning of particular expressions used in this law (a list of 24 expressions). The law is quite strict when it comes to defining the institution, the different types of institutions and their status characteristics. Article 3 of the same Law on Institutions states that "the institution is established for performing public services with not-for-profit aim which can be defined by law as a service of public interest." And the institution can be public, private or mixed. According to its activity, institutions can be established in the field of education, science, culture, health care, social protection, child protection and protection of individuals intellectually or physically impaired as well as other activities that have been defined as public services by law (based on the systemic law for that particular field.)

With regard to the ***employees***, the law allows for more opportunities when it comes to their rights and responsibilities. The right to go on strike (according to the degree of normativization) is the most prevalent right of the employees. This is a result of the fact that the country has to provide for a free and uninterrupted operation of the services of general interest and it is a known fact that unregulated strike can interfere with their work. When it comes to the status of the employees, the law proposes several solutions. Article 82 of the Law on Institutions proposes a legal solution that consists of several options. Namely,

- The employees in the institution exercise their rights and obligations from their employment according to the Law on Labor Relations and the Collective Agreement, unless otherwise stipulated by this or other laws;

2) Refer to the *Law on Institutions*, Official Gazette of RM, 32/05 and in Mirjana Slaninka-Dineva, Ruzica Cacanovska and Marija Stankova's study entitled *Functioning of the Institutions at a Local Level*, Skopje, ISPJR, 2006

- The law that defines the conditions and the methods for providing services of public interest prescribes also that the employees in the institution exercise their rights and obligations according to the Law on Civil Servants and the Collective Agreement.

Based on this, we can come to the conclusion that the law shows flexibility, especially when defining the status of the employees (which is a result of its subsidiarity). Everything falls under the laws for that particular service of general interest.

3. THE CATEGORY OF CIVIL SERVANT FROM BEFORE AND TODAY

Along with defining the status of the public services, there arose the need to introduce a special status for the clerks from those particular services.

As early as in the beginning of the past century, the world-renowned French theoretician Léon Duguit (also member of the State Council) and the creator of the Solidarity School of Public Services transformed public law by introducing into it public services. Within this concept of the law, as the law on public services instead of the people's sovereignty, appear only the public services that act according to certain principles that allow them to function freely. The status of the clerks is also regulated correspondingly. What we're talking about is this: firstly, defining the term status and secondly, introducing a special status for the clerks. According to the same author, the term status belongs to the legal terminology which defines the legal status that a particular individual is entitled to, precisely to that person, since he/she belongs to a particular community. So, to speak of the status of a clerk is to acknowledge that he/she has a special legal status since he/she belongs to that service. The author, striving to introduce the special status, states that this has two aims and those aims are "mutually closely related." On the one hand, it must protect the clerk from every type of self-will, provide him/her with continuity, regular promotions and to make him/her resistant to political influence and on the other hand, it strives to make clerks more dedicated to their service and with that, allow for those same services to function better. This special status has to be unique to each of the services in order for those services to function properly or better yet, only public law can protect the clerk when providing public services.[3] Nevertheless, public servants are also held liable for their actions within public service on two grounds: according to the norms of penal legislation and the norms of disciplinary law. Later, after the end of the Second World War (more specifically in 1946) the term civil servant (or administrative

3) Duguit, Léon, *Transformations of Public Law*, Belgrade: Episteme and Open Society Fund, 1997, transl. quote, pp 87-89, pp 91-92 (transl. from Serbian).

clerk) was more precisely defined. The very definition depends on which model these public services fall under as well as their professional staff. There are mainly two models: the continental one and the Anglo-Saxon one. Since France is the cradle of public services we will use the term that's valid in this country. In the already quoted book by Professor Naum Grizo who is an expert on the French legal theory and practice it says: "the term administrative clerk refers to individuals who, after they've received permanent employment, get titled, i.e. integrated into the permanent staff in the hierarchy of the central administration, i.e. in the external services that they belong to, or the public state institutions".

Today there are many different definitions as to what a public servant is, seen from the aspect of the theoretical thought, the legal concept and the ideological matrix.

I feel that the term public servant (or servant in the service of general interest) is a person that has been professionally involved for a longer period of time in providing just one public service (or service of general interest) for which he/she has studied as a part of their regular education and later, has gone through different forms of training. Their assessment would be conducted through a special committee for public servants (or a committee for services of general interest) and for a longer period of time (from 2-3 years for the initial positions and 5 years for the higher ones.) Each of the public servants ought to be institutionally connected to only one service and at the same time be registered in the servant records which are kept outside of the Trade Register (or maybe within the committee.) The state has to have only regulatory function in relation to the public servants. The privatization process of the public services won't affect the legal regime which will remain the same when it comes to the status of the employees regardless of the type of institution (whether be it public, private or mixed) where the primary activities are the same, but the property mass has different title holders.

4. INTRODUCTION OF "PUBLIC SERVANT – SERVANT IN THE SERVICE OF GENERAL INTEREST" IN THE LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

It's been a decade now since the Law on Civil Servants has been in force as an integral part of the legislation in the Republic of Macedonia. It has gone through several legal changes and amendments in order to improve its service and customer orientation. The category of public servant is not legally regulated in our country.

But just recently (January 2010) the public was first introduced to a draft proposal of the Law on Public Servants (submitted by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia.) So, in this regard, it is fair for this law to be criticized, especially from the point of view of the legislative theory that implies strictly centralistic application. Generally, the passing of this law is of great meaning, but I personally think that it needs a few corrections. The passing of the Law on Public Servants is the responsibility of the legislative authorities in the Republic of Macedonia. In this stage of the passing of the law we can see that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, as the executive authority, is incapable of distancing itself from the work of the Civil Servant Agency or from the Law on Civil Servants. The Government cannot accept the fact that this sector of activities, alongside its personnel, ought to gain the status of a service of general interest.

So what do we do?

Firstly, the public servant, as a future legal institution, should not be defined in such a way as to have anything in common with the institution of administrative civil servant. When defining this institution we should completely abstract the institute of administrative civil servant. But would this be possible considering the given political and party constellations? If the new terminological determination of the public service is accepted, as a service of general interest, then the term public servant would also be changed or would be just servant (with a note that this is a servant or a clerk from the service of general interest.)

Secondly, from the contents of this proposal we can see that the Government intends to include under this law all the other services that do not have the status of state services, like for example administrative organizations that according to their work are of dualistic nature. Instead of trying to deetatizate the institutions of the non-economic public services (or services of general interest), again we take on a centralistic approach to this sector of activities. The principles that this law is based on are diverse. It seems that they stem from the Code of Ethics for Civil Servants. There is not a single norm that would operationalize one very much needed application, which is the application of the principle of equal approach and appropriate and just representation, especially when we know that the managers of those institutions have the responsibility to make up a yearly plan for the appropriate and just representation of the ethnicities, which is then submitted to the Civil Servant Agency.

Thirdly, this draft proposal as well as the other law regulations do not contain the adequate measures for the protection of the services and the public servants from partization and politization. The very procedure of hiring public servants with the involvement of the Civil Servant Agency. (from the first election down to the next, after the training) gives the public servant a non-autonomic status. The status of public servant should be reserved only for the staff that provides public services within the institutions (regardless of the type of institution.) In order for the public servant to be of a professional and service character, we need to establish associations (according to the different sectors) that are going to be responsible for all of the things related to the institution of public servant.

Fourthly, I find the proposed provision from Article 24, item 3, according to which the Minister of Justice introduces a Code of Ethics for the public servants to be quite nonsensical. Instead of establishing a different relation towards professional ethics, i.e. to make it an expression of will of the providers and the beneficiaries of those public services (for example, by forming an Ethical Committee for Public Servants (or for the services of general interest)) we've gone so far as to allow the Minister of Justice to be the one who decides on the public servants' ethics and morale. Republic of Macedonia ought to follow the example of the European Code for proper administrative behavior (adopted by the European Parliament on the 6th of September 2001). One can notice that all of the institutions in our country "adorn" themselves with their own Codes of Ethics. Almost every service has its own Code, which is good; however, do the public servants keep to those codes is another matter.

And ***fifthly***, it is without a doubt that this proposal has to be cleaned out of everything that represents etatization of the non-economic public services and public servants as providers and executors of public services (or services of general interest.) And in the process of improving public services, there's room for every legal entity. All of us have to make sure we improve public services, especially at municipal level (as ULS) since the EU also strives to decentralize the services of general interest. And what do the citizens of Macedonia think is necessary to improve public services (especially those at a local level and meaning) can be seen from the results of the most recent survey conducted by the ISPJR (as a part of the LOK-SAM project, conducted in 2009 on a sample of 1,800 respondents.) According to the opinions of the people surveyed, the following needs to be taken into consideration:

- to improve the organization and performance of public services (31,9%);
- not to allow partization and politization of public services (19,4%);
- to improve personal management (9,4%);
- there has to be more transparency and openness to the users and the media (8,6%);
- to improve the supervision role of the administrative bodies (6,9%);
- to improve the equipment of the public services (6,8%);
- something else, like? (0,6%);
- I don't know (12,4%);
- The provision of public services is ok and there is no need for improvement (3,9%).

CONCLUSIONS

Macedonian law is in need of a law that will regulate the status of the employees (staff – providers of the services of general interest) by strictly differentiating their status from the status of the administrative civil servants. There should be also new criteria for defining the profile of the civil servant (or the servant from the service of general interest) different from the administrative civil servant (from the central and local administration.) This kind of approach will allow for professionalization but without the commanding hierarchy. The position public servant should refer to higher positions and mainly be reserved for the staff that are of regular employment status in the service. This ought to apply also to the people working in public institutions, private institutions, mixed institutions and institutions under concession.

The people of the Republic of Macedonia need diligent, timely and high-quality public services, i.e. services of general interest (without any interruptions, i.e. continuous provision of services.) This can be achieved only if the public servants are highly skilled, competent and ethical, which is why they need to be given a special status, uninfluenced by the ETA structures and political parties.

The evaluation of the public servants needs to last longer, from 2-3 years (a principle of first election and re-election.) The quality of the work of public servants from the services of general interest should not be assessed within a short period of time. Assessment should always be based on the principle of user orientation. By constituting Civil Servant Law as a new branch of law, it is certain that new programs and projects will be initiated analyzing this subject matter which is of exceptional theoretical and practical knowledge for all legal entities since this law is derived from administrative law and is one of the oldest forms of law.

References:

Borković, I. *Civil Servant Law*. Zagreb: Informator,1999. (transl. from Croatian)

Grizo N., Davitkovski B. *Administration Science*: Kumanovo, Prosvetno Delo,1994. (transl. from Macedonian)

Duguit, Léon: *Transformations of Public Law*. Belgrade: Geca Kon,1929 (transl. from Serbian)

Slaninka-Dineva M., Cacanovska R., and Stankova M., *Functioning of the Institutions at a Local Level*, Skopje, ISPJR, 2006 (transl. from Macedonian)

Law on Institutions. Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, issue. 32/ 2005

Documentation from the project "*The Role of Citizens in the Decision-Making Process for the Areas of Local Level and Meaning*". Skopje: ISPJR, 2009

Криминологија Criminology	УДК/UDC 343.224-053.6 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Ljupcho Arnaudovski
Faculty of Law "Iustinianus Primus" - Skopje

THE POSITION OF THE JUVENILE PERPETRATOR OF MISDEMEANOUR IN THE MISDEMEANOUR LAW

ABSTRACT

By testing the thesis that the method used to address the position of juvenile in penal legislation as perpetrator of criminal offence, and in the case when the juvenile appears as a perpetrator of a misdemeanour, lays out the direction of the development of penal law as a whole, affirms civilization and humanistic achievements in penal sciences, this work strives to prove that this thesis is confirmed by the Law on Misdemeanours of the Republic of Macedonia, which is based on the principles of restorative justice and which is a dominant approach in dealing with issues of the penal responsibility of juveniles. The system has been established, however, for this thesis to be finally confirmed a consistent implementation is indispensable.

Key words: misdemeanour procedure, offender, restorative justice

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The criminal justice scientific thought and criminological theory and practice have constantly been developing and affirming the thesis according to which the position of the juvenile in the penal law as an offender of a particular criminal offence, misdemeanour or some other type of illegal behaviour is the basic criterion which helps us to determine the development of a particular criminal justice system, the extent to which that system follows the development of scientific and theoretic thought in criminal justice and criminological sciences, its approach to the civilization development of contemporary societies and how and to what extent it accepts the theory of a particular legal system, as well as how and to what degree it incorporates them in its legislation and applies them in practice. The assessment of such events, i.e. their presence or absence from one criminal justice system serves as a basis for setting the criteria that determine the nature of a given system as: repressive, retributive or humane in the application of repression when it comes to criminal offences and their perpetrators, liberal, restorative, rehabilitating etc. If this thesis is defined as a 'condition,' as something already given, then the second thesis related to the position of juvenile offenders refers to the development, and it has been accepted that the theoretical, scientific formulations or solutions in legislation that refer to juveniles set the development direction of criminal substantive and procedural law, the directions that criminology ought to study and seek answers and find explanations for the phenomenological problems and answers for the etiological factors that determine the existence of crime generally, and juvenile crime in particular.

These theses should be taken as fundamental in our assessment on the position of our penal law in general and also with regard to the position of the juvenile offender in a time when penal law is in a stage of comprehensive and thorough reform, and not just as a way to help us adjust our legislature with the one of the developed European legislations, but also when it comes to the most recent, modern understandings and stances in penal sciences and criminology. By setting forth these theses, we would like to show that our penal and criminological scientific thought made quite a progress when it started to deal seriously with the position of the juvenile in penal law and by doing so, it started to seriously and more dedicatedly follow the footsteps of the penal thought and practice of the world.

These new stances become apparent with the creation and adoption of the Law on Juvenile Justice,[1] as well as the developing, drafting and passing of the Law on Misdemeanours,[2] as a complete and complex law. The conclusion may be drawn that the concept of restorative justice which is basically tied to the position of the juvenile as an offender, as well as the international standards for a just process, have been built into the basis of the Law on Misdemeanour and determine its basic characteristics.

The introductory part reveals another issue: primarily, nowadays conditions where crime in the Republic of Macedonia has constant growth , especially the new forms of crime is followed by the rise in juvenile crimes, too, which defines the phenomenological characteristics of crimes in a new way, has a special impact on the increase of recidi-

1) Law on Juvenile Justice, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia from 12.07.2007

2) Law on Misdemeanours, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 62/ 2006

vism. This notion raise the question: is the new approach in combating crime (criminal offenses) proportionate with the resources used for its prevention by making them free of any repression? Secondly, misdemeanours as punishable offenses, but also as a form of social conduct which is used to express social discipline, primarily in the area of public law and order as in all other relations in society, the participation of juveniles is rather high. They show a high degree of disrespect towards the legal system and order. Frequently, it is the first stage on the road towards crime. These are important indicators that have stirred our interest for the position of juveniles in misdemeanour procedures when they appear as perpetrators of punishable offenses – misdemeanours.

2. JUVENILITY – DETERMINANT OF THE TREATMENT OF CHILDREN AND THE JUVENILES IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

In penal and criminological literature, we rarely come across a study that deals with the punishment of juvenile offenders, i.e. the issue of juvenility. Juvenile crime is a term which as a rule includes the term juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless, we still need to elaborate more on this term since not always is this term precise enough or clearly defined. From their birth and throughout their development, people as bio-psychological, psychological and conscious social beings, go through several stages before they form into mature, responsible and creative individuals. The first, i.e. the earliest stage of human life is defined as childhood/juvenility, when the person is defined as not mature enough, not sufficiently capable to care and survive on his/her own, to cope with the everyday problems of life, a person that is not fully formed or still developing, and precisely because of these qualities of childhood/juvenility, the person is deemed incapable to exist on his/her own, to be able to develop and to create. But every community, each society has the responsibility to do everything in its power to enable juveniles to be the future of society, of social progress in general. This is why every society is interested in taking care of, educating and raising the young generation so as to mold them into people with creative potential and interest. But the juvenile, mainly because the juvenility makes this young individual incapable of fully grasping everything going on in his/her life, a life full of contradictions and struggles, often tries to solve his/her own problems or to meet their needs and solve their problems by employing means and methods which society does not approve, on the contrary, the society sanctions and punishes them. Juveniles have committed in the past and still do in the contemporary society of today, the most serious acts of crime which are most severely punishable by law. These characteristics which in such a way define juvenility are in all legal systems understood and accepted as facts and because of that, and as a rule, when the juvenile commits a criminal offense, he/she is awarded a special status in the criminal justice system. This special status is not a consequence of the understanding and interpretation of the phenomenon of juvenile crime (or juvenile delinquency, a notion and a term introduced much later in criminology and penal law), but as a result of the efforts for crime prevention, as well as to decrease the high percentage of participation of juvenile crimes in the overall number of criminal offenses, which always leaves consequences on their further social conduct. In the past times, primarily because of such facts (this realization and the experience gained in practice) juvenile offenders were regarded as "small criminal" and were therefore punished as such, with the same punishments as adults. This means that juvenility has no role whatsoever, and was not understood or respected. The ration for such position can be found in the well-known thesis "malitia suplet aetatem", according to which the "evil" the offender had shown through the act of crime he perpetrated supplements the juvenility. This kind of punishment lasted for a very long time. When the personality of the perpetrator becomes the subject of scientific interest, and especially of criminology, and if we start from the belief that the perpetrator always leaves a mark on the act of crime from his/her personality, a new concept of criminal responsibility was set up, starting from criminologists Lombroso, Ferri and later Franz von Liszt, which regards juvenility as the basis for criminal responsibility of the juvenile offender. At the end of the XVIII and the start of the XIX century the emergence of the legal schools and criminological theories introduced the new concept of discernment which refers to a special kind of juvenile responsibility by introducing the term "reasonableness," i.e. to see if the juvenile is capable of understanding the meaning of his/her conduct when punishable by law. This concept, too, lasted for a very long time, but always with the effort to find a better, more successful solution which would have a full understanding and respect of juvenility.[3] Especially through the practical spirit of the American theoreticians, practitioners and judges, this concept developed even further when special judges (courts) for juveniles were introduced, accompanied with special systems for sanctions for juveniles (educational measures that are partially void of repressiveness), and special bodies (councils, social bodies in the procedure against juveniles), or special criminal procedures. However, in spite of all these new solutions, juveniles remained a part of criminal law and the basic principles that were the foundation of criminal legislation and primarily referred to adults, applied to them, too. All of these movements were influenced by the association known as "New Social Defence" led by M. Ancel.[4]

3) Lj. Arnaudovski, *Kriminologija*, Skopje, 2007, p. 447 etc.; Peric O., Krivicno-pravni polozaj maloletnika, Beograd, 1975. p. 15

4) M. Ancel, *Defénse sociale nouvelle troisieme edition revue et augumenté Cujas*, Paris, 1980, str. 269 N. Queloz, Le détention sous lángle des travaux des Nations unies pour administration de la justice des imineurs, *Revue penale Suisse* N. 3/ 1989, p. 303

According to the definition adopted by this model on the position of the juvenile in criminal law, often referred to as protective, special emphasis is put on the legal regulation and protection of the juvenile's position with especially stressed formalism where the essence of the treatment of juvenility loses its meaning. In fact, Criminal law never really intended completely to give up on the responsibility of the juvenile in the cases when he/she appears in the role of the perpetrator of a particular act of crime because, to put it simply, according to many phenomenological characteristics, the place of the juvenile in the crime is very important. Thus, a differential approach was used not only in responsibility, but in punishment as well. This was accomplished by introducing the criterion of age limits and groups. The lower limit of responsibility was mostly set and still is set at the age of 14, but there are other solutions, too. In adulthood, which is related to the ability of the juvenile to take responsibility for his/her own actions and which is set at the age of 18, the culpability and the type of sanctions used against juveniles is solved by defining age groups: younger juveniles up to the age of 16, against which education measures and punishments are used. In the middle of 20th century, it was considered quite a progress in this area to establish a separate category of younger adults who under very specific circumstances are treated as juveniles. This approach, which is still functional in many criminal justice systems, has been criticized because such an established system of sanctions against juveniles did not produce the needed results. However, in the meantime, there were serious changes that took place in the internal structure of the juvenile offenders, i.e. they started to engage into criminal activities at a much younger age in life, below 14 or children at the age of 7 started committing serious crimes. In the last ten years, the participation of children (of those below 14 years of age) in the juvenile crime has increased by 35% from the total number of criminal charges pressed against children and juveniles. The age limit concept leaves these individuals out not only from the criminal justice, but also of the social-protective function of society: they remain without any kind of social reaction to their criminal behaviour. This puts in completely new light the issue of the expedience of the age limit concept and age groups in the treatment of juveniles as perpetrators of crimes.

After the Second World War, which led to unimaginable suffering and self-destruction of humankind, the United Nations through its administrative bodies, started a whole movement and passed numerous documents to help promote people as creative beings by guaranteeing their rights and freedoms. In this context, especially important is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of the Council of Europe as well as many other documents.[5]

5) See: *Nezavisno sudstvo*, Zbornik na dokumenti prireden od Lj. Arnaudovski, V. Terzieva-Trojachanec, D. Tumanovski, Skopje, 1997

The development of the concept for affirmation, guarantee and protection of human rights and freedoms developed by the United Nations and later by the Council of Europe had an immediate effect also on defining the overall position, status, rights and freedoms of the child, i.e. juveniles. They were especially emphasized in the Convention for the Rights of the Child which support the development of two essential processes: first is the concept of protection, care, help, education, supervision and control of the child and, second is the obligation of the state or signee of this document in making sure this concept is implemented in the relations of every society, i.e. state.[6] The concept of the guarantee and protection of human rights and the rights of the child and juvenile led to the development of the model known as "the four D," as a process to avoid criminal procedure against children and juveniles, dejuridization, deinstitutionalization, abandonment of the repressive character of the treatment of children and juveniles and in part of the sanctions, establishing due process guarantees, fair trial, etc. This concept was more specifically introduced in the documents of the United Nations Congress for Crime Prevention and Treatment of the Offenders, and also in the documents of the Economic and Social Council of this organization. Of special importance are the UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived from their Liberty, also known as Havana Rules;[7] UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines)[8] and United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice.[9] These documents which were created also under the great influence of the scientific and theoretical thought in criminal law and criminology have shaped the concept for the so-called "restorative justice". This concept refers mostly to a justice that allows that the condition created by the very act of crime and whatever was happening with the juvenile in relation to the crime he/she has committed, to be brought to a state of restoration, i.e. allowing for the situation to be fixed in terms of the particular act of crime and its offender. Restorative justice means abandoning repressive treatment of children and juveniles by employing measures and treatments for the child's/juvenile's immediate engagement in fixing the things (restoration of the harm done and restoration of the condition of the offender, i.e. the child or juvenile, his/her immediate engagement in removing or overcoming the consequences of that particular act of crime). In this way individuals are immediately involved into their treatment which is not the case with institutional treat-

6) Convention for the Rights of the Child, passed on 20.10.1989

7) UN rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived from their Liberty, A/Res.No. 45/ 113 from 14.12.1990 with Annex

8) UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines), A/ Res. 45/ 112 from 14.12.1990

9) United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules), A/ Res. 40/ 33 from 29.11. 1985

ment of adults and juveniles. This is a concept that refers to the abandonment of the legal solutions of substantive law in terms of sanctions, as well as legal solutions provided in the procedural law, with procedures or conducts that lead to reconciliation of the relations between the offender and the one that suffered the damage caused by the offender's behaviour. The juvenile justice encompasses an educational, social, preventive and non-repressive model of dealing and solving conflicts.[10] Justice is defined as the relation between the perpetrator of the crime and the state, i.e. its social institutions and the relation between the offender and the victim who gains full satisfaction through the behaviour and actions of the offender while the dispute ends without conflicts, by reconciliation and mutual coexistence. Even in the case when sanctions are imposed to the offender, this is seen as just reconciliation while justice is dispensed in a kind of metaphysical way.[11] Restorative justice is focused on dealing with the issue of how to restore a legal position, the wellbeing of the juvenile and the victim, but also of the community, through their immediate involvement.[12] This implies employment of education measures and instruments that are not of repressive nature, as well as participation of social institutions that provide protection, help, care and supervision of individuals that are of that "necessity."[13] Such affirmative definition of the model for restorative justice do not makes it the dominant model of behaviour, yet, mostly due to the strong influence of the concept of criminal law that is based on the social-ethnic categories of guilt and just punishment, but still remains the leading idea in administration of juvenile justice. It rests on the concept of good criminal policy, but good criminal policy gains affirmation and recognition by achieving specific results through the efficient social policy not only of the state, but of the society as a whole. However, when they are both combined they will give good results only if they are based on the proper legal principles and guarantees of the country.[14]

The Law on Juvenile Justice of the Republic of Macedonia is based on these principles and on these established models of juvenile justice. Even if the age limit concept is accepted as the basis for defining the different forms of responsibility and applying the corresponding sanctions, by introducing the category of "children at risk" we turn to the social dimension and causality of the early beginning with criminal and penal activity of children, but we also introduce measures and procedures that ought to duly provide them with socialization and rehabilitation whenever they act against the law.

10) Restorative Justice, V. I. Nijalter, p. 760

11) Convention for the Rights of the Child, passed on 20.10.1989

12) O. Peric, Zbornik Radova,, „Reforma materijalnog krivicnog zakonodavstva u funkciji uspostavljanja pravne drzave u Jugoslaviji", p. 11, Beograd, 2007

13) V. Kambovski, *Kazneno-praven tretman na maloletnite delikventi*, UNESCO Center, Skopje,

14) Jessberger, F. und Kres, Dr. Disskusionbaeiträgeder Stresthrertagung, 2001 in *Passau*, ZStW 2001/ 4, 846

The value of this Law on Juvenile Justice is not determined only according to the principles that define the treatment of children and juveniles whenever they act as perpetrators of punishable acts, but also according to the strength of the concept that this law is based on and that influences other laws that directly or indirectly refer to, or are applied to children and juveniles. We tried to explain the previously defined thesis in this paper regarding juvenile legislation and to also confirm and explain it through the treatment of children and juveniles even when they commit illegal acts that disturb public law and order, social discipline and the norms it is based on, also known as misdemeanours.

3. THE JUVENILE IN THE LAW ON MISDEMEANOURS

3.1 The general reforms of the penal substantive and procedural legislation in the Republic of Macedonia, which were characterized by thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the goals met through the penal law, included the Misdemeanour Law, as an integral part of penal legislation. The reforms of penal legislation were implemented and are being implemented based on the principle of protection of freedom and the rights of the individual guaranteed with the Constitution, protection of the society as well as individual and common interests that are being met as common and individual. Even though the penal law meets its goals through the application of punishments, which is in fact its purpose, this system is still being built and primarily, employs instruments that are of preventive rather than penal nature. The Macedonian penal system is in the process of development aiming to accept and to incorporate the contemporary achievements in science, theory and practice of the penal and legal sciences and to synchronize it with the penal legislation of the countries of the European civilization and the European Union (Council) documents, as a precondition for Macedonia to become party in these associations. In this respect, new tendencies have been mostly visible in the amendments of the Criminal Code, especially in the system of sanctions and the introduction of alternative measures, as well as amendments to the Law on Criminal Procedure, through introduction of due processes standards, laws on organization and operation of the judiciary and other judicial bodies, the Law on Juvenile Justice which had taken juveniles out of the general section of the Criminal Code. Simultaneously, beside the reforms of these laws, work was done on the preparation of the Law on Misdemeanours as an integral part of penal law (legislation). This law is based on the same principles that the entire penal legislature is based on too, especially the principle of legality and legitimacy (in the previous laws they were not quite represented). Thus, the entire Law on Misdemeanours with all principles was designed, above all, as a law that needs to provide preventative action of the bodies that apply this law. This is a law that helps to achieve social, public discipline and responsibility of citizens, protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens in all areas of their life and work, order and discipline in society, development of moral and ethical values and norms that contribute to a balanced life and relations between citizens by giving advantage to the preventative goals and tasks. Having in consideration the general situation of Republic of Macedonia, as a country in transition, the Law on Misdemeanours aims to provide the society and the country with a higher degree of development (the high number of misdemeanours means that almost every citizen appeared before a Court for a misdemeanour at least once a year). Courts are characterized by low efficiency and unpunctuality and are overcrowded with misdemeanour cases, where more than 50% of the misdemeanour court cases fall under the statute of limitations, which makes not only the entire judicial system, which is marked by a low percentage of imposed sanctions totally inefficient in general, but the entire penal system as well. The Law on Misdemeanours has been designed in such a way as to solve these two essential problems: firstly, the introduction of sanctions free of repression and abandonment of the punishment of imprisonment as a repressive form of punishment and, secondly, the introduction of a developed system of sanctions whose basic goal is taking preventative action by removing the consequences of the offense. Thus, of great importance are the two new institutes: reconciliation and mediation, which have the task to settle the dispute in a peaceful manner, in a non-conflict way by restoring the previous state, while in the case when sanctions are imposed, this is done with the consent of the offender. The main sanction is the fine, while the other sanctions, aside from the warning, are prohibitions that are designed to prevent the offender to make any more offenses in the future. Secondly, the Law addresses the low efficiency and unpunctuality of the system by introducing new procedures – institutes such as: payment orders, negative points, summary procedures and mandatory procedures etc. In all of the state bodies (ministries) that apply the regulations or do supervision of their application, committees for misdemeanours were established for dealing with these cases or implementing the procedures of settlement and mediation to solve the problem of overburdened courts with misdemeanour cases. In case the offender remains dissatisfied, he/she can lodge an appeal to the court. This solution raises many problems such as violation of the basic principles of the procedure for the application of sanctions and extensive authorizations of the administrative bodies; for example, the Government with its decision sets the penal policy that needs to be enforced by these administrative bodies.[15] The main issue here is that these new misdemeanour bodies do not realize that the Law on Misdemeanours, by nature and in essence is preventative and not a penal law that allows them to give excessively high fines and turn this system into

15) End of February 2010, the daily newspapers are filled with headlines that criticize the administrative bodies and the Government for imposing fines that are too high not only to physical, but to legal entities as well, especially to the ones in the field of economy.

an instrument for filling up the Government's budget. All of the analyses so far served to point out the influence of juvenile penal legislation and the conceptualization of this law which should be of preventative nature, as a law that enables restorative justice.

3.2 The position of the juvenile in the Law on Misdemeanour can be set based on two criteria: juvenility and the misdemeanour as a penal act. The term "misdemeanour" has a unique definition when referring to juveniles: it is an illegal action committed by negligence and sanctioned appropriately according to the respective law. The misdemeanour is a milder penal act which differs from the criminal act quantitatively. The provisions from this Law that refer to juveniles have been systematized in a separate chapter (chapter four). The juvenility of the juvenile (child) is established in the same way as in the Criminal Code (younger and older juveniles), but the problem remains with the children younger than 14 that commit offenses (children at risk) and this is something that has to be taken into consideration by the institutions that impose sanctions on them for the misdemeanour they have committed, i.e. they have to consider the Law on Juvenile Justice.

The Law on Misdemeanours follows the principle of a developed system of sanctions that can be used against the juvenile with the dominant participation of educational measures such as: disciplinary measures, measures of reinforced supervision combined with the possibility of applying several "special obligations" that establish the care, help, education, prohibitions and supervision to the juvenile. According to this Law, the juveniles can be fined if they possess their own property or income, and this can be executed forcefully, according to the Law on Execution of Sanctions. If an adult has committed an offense as a juvenile then he will retain the status of a juvenile and the provisions for juveniles will be applicable to the case. However, the fine is a sanction that needs to be re-evaluated even though it can be used partly as an instrument for restorative justice as well.

The Law on Misdemeanours, according to the guiding principles, is consistent and the procedure for committed offense by a juvenile has been prescribed in a separate chapter (chapter twenty-five) and the jurisdiction for trying of a juvenile offender is transferred to a court according to the place of residence or accommodation of the juvenile by referring him to a special judge for juveniles. Exclusively, and only if necessary, in a case where a juvenile has committed an offense together with an adult, one procedure will be carried out for both of them. When the Misdemeanour body has on disposal several different measures for securing presence that can be used to demand the presence of the juvenile, the juvenile will still be summoned through his parents. For the first time in the procedure against the juvenile, the Law on Misdemeanours takes into consideration the

16) V. Kambovski, Penal law – opst del, Skopje, 2004, p. 371 etc

guardianship institution, i.e. the Center for Social Work, but in a reduced way, according to the type of offense committed (offenses related to violence, recidivism, more serious disruptions of the public law and order) in which cases this state body will be consulted. This article surely needs to be reassessed and to allow for the guardianship institution to be included in all cases when the juvenile is being tried for a committed misdemeanour. In this respect, the institution has available several sources of information for the juvenile and every person having such information have an obligation to testify. The fact that this procedure against juvenile offenders follows all respective international standards makes this law modern, contemporary and also in line with the principles that the Law on Juvenile Justice is based on.

3.3 The Law on Misdemeanours by itself and together with the laws that prescribe offenses in various areas of life and work of people is a complex and complementary system. The implementation of this Law is carried out by many organs such as: courts, executive bodies and administrative bodies. This fact alone makes the application of this law and the system of laws that relate to it, especially from the point of view of its preventive function, quite complex. This system is not completely formed and established, both in terms of the legislation that prescribes the offenses and in terms of the organizational and professional position of the organs with statutory duty to apply these laws. In the creation of subsidiary legislation especially in some areas certain problems arose. Particularly, in the area of prescription of sanctions and in particular the fine which in some laws by particular ministries is prescribed as disproportionally high which raises questions for their application in the lack of well-formed criteria in the determination of fines. Thus, the preventive function of this law (system of laws) is emphasized and has a negative reflection on the position of the juveniles in this penal procedure. The conclusion may be drawn that there is serious work ahead in the field of development of legislation of this legislative system and the training of staff that will implement it.

From a phenomenological and etiological point of view, the specific effects from the implementation of the law regarding juvenile offenders are not likely being seen from these past few years. The Law on Misdemeanours place specific obligation on the misdemeanour bodies to keep records of the initiated procedures and sanctions imposed against juveniles. Nevertheless, the misdemeanour bodies within the relevant Ministries have not established such system and do not keep records, thus they cannot get the data that would allow them to do a criminological analysis of the illegal behaviour of juveniles, as well as for the consistency of the activities of competent authorities in accordance with the basic principles that underline this law in the cases of juvenile offenders. Due to the aforementioned weaknesses we cannot evaluate the effects produced by this and the other accompanying laws that create the Law on Misdemeanours. This approach is also necessary for getting a better picture of the place and the role of legislation and the right actions that need to be taken by the competent authorities to prevent the participation of juveniles in penal acts. The system is based on legal regulations; what remains is for it to be appropriately applied in practice so that we could confirm the theses that this paper is based on.

Менаџмент / Стратегиски менаџмент Management / Strategic management	УДК/UDC 378.4.014 (497.7) Стручен труд / Professional paper

Mirjana Borota - Popovska
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

Marija Topuzovska
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

ANALYSIS OF THE MISSIONS OF UNIVERISITIES IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ABSTRACT

A mission is of immense importance to one organization since it promotes its vision, values and its goal. It conveys information not only to the employees but to the parties concerned and thus provides the basis for the priorities, strategies, plans and work tasks of the organization. It is also the starting point for the design of managerial work and managerial structure. This work focuses on the mission statements of Macedonian universities which they've posted on their websites. The purpose is to see if there's a difference in the mission statements of the state and of the private universities in Republic of Macedonia. The subject of analysis are the components of the mission according to the recommendations of Pierce and David for the components of one mission which consists of: clients; products or services; market; technology, survival, growth and profit; philosophy; personal concept; public image and employees. This type of analysis has never before been conducted on the territory of Republic of Macedonia. Aside from determining the focus of interest of the universities and their readiness as institutions in catering to the needs of their clients, the research results can also contribute to promoting the quality of the mission statements of universities.

Kew words: mission, content analysis, universities, strategic management

INTRODUCTION

Higher education in Republic of Macedonia has been facing dramatic changes in the last decade. The opportunity to open private institutions for higher education, the establishment of new state universities, the campaign of the government to increase the number of students have drastically changed the circumstances of higher education in Republic of Macedonia. The impact of globalization was felt by Macedonian universities as well and has asked for a continuous approach in improving the quality of education. This asks for a more sophistically set goals and reallocation or resources in these institutions. Without a doubt, strategic planning is one of the more significant skills that universities need to acquire. And the mission statement is an important aspect in formulating this strategy.

THE MEANING OF MISSION STATEMENTS TO UNIVERSITIES

As early as in the 1970s, the father of modern management, Peter Drucker (Drucker, 1974) stressed the meaning of the mission of one organization, saying that when we ask the question: ‘What is our business?’ that’s the same as asking: ‘What is our mission?’ The mission is in fact the meaning of the existence of any organization.

According to Ireland and Hitt (1992), a mission is meaningful to all types of organizations since: an effective mission defines fundamental, unique goals, differentiates organizations from the rest of the organizations that are in the same business and identifies the range of business operations, i.e. products and markets. Mission statements ought to provide motivation, a general direction, company image, color, to be a collection of views guiding the actions of the organization. A mission represents the soul of the company and is inspirational.

John A. Pearce and Fred David (1987) have their focus on nature and the role of the mission in organizational processes. An effective mission statement helps meet the needs of the employees to produce something valuable, something they can get recognition for, help others, beat their opponents and get respect. The mission of one organization creates its identity.

The mission can be the most important and most perceptible part of the strategic plan. Not only is the mission of immense significance to business organizations, but to educational institutions as well, such as universities. Young’s research from 2001 of the missions of 73 catholic colleges and universities in the States shows why the analysis of the universities’ missions is so important.

1) A mission is a "public declaration of values – some of which are manifested and some idealized." Hence, the analysis of a mission's contents helps reveal, at least a little, the values that institution tries to uphold;

2) A mission shows the meaning and direction of action;

3) Missions are "maps" for the main roads which guide the institution towards accomplishing its goals.

Newsom and Hayes (1990) have stated that the university mission statement determines the specific role of the institution in society and can therefore be a good basis for activities such as: planning, program assessment, and curriculum design and admission policy.

Kreber and Mhina (2009) share the same opinion that a mission cannot be held as a sure proof that institutions will meet the goals and ideals that they have publicly declared to meet. Nevertheless, analyzing a mission is important because the institution itself holds it important. This is why they feel that researching mission statements is a useful start to researching the values that universities uphold.

According to Brigs, the mission for higher education is a critical "rule of the game" since it emphasizes quality, which is related to the goals of education and also defines the range and aspirations of the specific institution.

Sporn B. (1999) states that universities face constant competition, decreased resources and variable social demands. Adapting to these newly created conditions means to change the main structure and processes of the academic organization. Sporn B. (1999) points out the meaning of management and leadership, i.e. university management.

The need for strategic planning comes out as a result of the variable demands of the surrounding. Mission statements are the first step of strategic management to adapting to the variable conditions of the surrounding.

THE INFLUENCE OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization includes the spread of economic innovations in the whole world, accompanied by political and cultural adjustments (Ireland & Hitt, 1992). Global competition has contributed to the raise of business standards in many aspects, such as quality, expenses and productivity. But the challenge lies in the fact that these standards are not constant, but they are rapidly changing and only those that can adjust quickly to these new standards or create them themselves survive.

The success of every business, including that of higher education, is seen through the range of products and/or services that are competitive worldwide and not only locally. Only those that offer the best price and quality make it. Global markets have become reality. Even the Macedonian universities feel the pressure of the world competition. The proof for this is the outflow of students that choose to do their studies in the countries of the region, such as: Greece, Bulgaria, Slovenia or they leave to study at universities in Europe and the States. Unfortunately, there's no official data for the number of students that have chosen to study abroad.

In order to have a clearer picture of the global competition, we will show the rankings of the best universities and the criteria used. The Macedonian Law on Higher Education (of 2008) and the Amendment to the Law on Higher Education (24.02.2009), article 146 and 150 refer to the Academic Ranking of World Universities and the World University Rankings as a criterion for paid leave of absence if the professors or students (article 150) are granted a scholarly visit to one of the first 100 universities listed in these two databases.

There are several sources and methodologies applied for the ranking of world universities. From the extensive web analysis, we can distinguish the following:

- Academic Ranking of World Universities 2009.[1] (ARWU)

The Institute of Higher Education, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China and Centre for World Class Universities ranks the best world universities based on several indicators: the number of Nobel prizes received by the staff and graduated students (alumni) ; the number of highly quoted researchers selected by Thomson Scientific and Nature and Science; the number of articles indexed in Science Citation Index - Expanded and Social Sciences Citation Index; per capita performance of the institution while taking account the size of the institution. For each of these indicators, the highest score is 100. There are more than 1,000 universities analyzed every year and 500 are posted on the official website. Thus, the first 10 for 2009 are:

1) Harvard University (highest - 100 points);
2) Stanford University (73.1);
3) University of California, Berkley (71);
4) University of Cambridge (70.2);
5) Massachusetts Institute of Technology MIT (69.5);
6) California Institute of Technology (64.8);
7) Columbia University (61.7);

1) http://www.arwu.org/ARWU2009.jsp visited on 12.02.2010.

8) Princeton University (60.2);

9) University of Chicago (57);

10) University of Oxford (56.3).

From the first ten ranked, only two are in Europe (Great Britain: University of Cambridge, University of Oxford), while the others are from the States. The same distribution is characteristic of the first 100 universities: 41 universities are from the States and 4 from Canada; 32 from Europe; 23 from Asia – the Pacific divided between Japan and Australia and one is from Israel.

Among the first one hundred from Europe: 11 are from Great Britain (the first place from the European universities belongs to the University of Cambridge), 5 are from Germany, 3 from France, 3 from Sweden, 3 from Switzerland, 2 from the Netherlands, 2 from Denmark and one from Norway, Finland and Russia.

From our closest surroundings, i.e. on the territory of the Balkan Peninsula, or more specifically the ex-Yugoslav countries, there's not a single university in the top 500 list. Only Greece has two universities, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, from 202 to 301 place, and Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, from 302 to 401 place, and Turkey with one, from 402 to 501 Istanbul University.

● THE – QS World University Rankings[2]

Six hundred universities are ranked and 300 in five main disciplines. The whole ranking is performed based on 6 indicators:

1) Academic Peer Review - is 40% from the total score. It's based on online research that is distributed among the members of the academic community from around the world. In 2009 there were 9,389 members that participated.

2) Employer's assessment - is 10%. It's based on online research of the employers. In 2009 there were 3,281 members that participated.

3) Student/professor ratio - is 20%. The idea is to have enough professors for the students at the university.

4) Quotations from research conducted by university professors and/or publications from the university that were quoted - is 20%. The database used is the Scopus (the largest world database of abstracts and quotations from scientific literature)

5) Internationality or international attractiveness – is 5% - number of international professors

2) http://www.topuniversities.com/world-university-rankings visited on 12.02.2010.

6) Internationality or international attractiveness – is 5% - number of international students

For 2009 the first ten ranked universities are :

1) Harvard University (100);

2) University of Cambridge (99.59);

3) YALE University (99.08);

4) UCL - University College London (98.98);

5) University of Oxford (97.75);

6) IMPERIAL College London (97.75);

7) University of Chicago (96.83);

8) Princeton University (96.63);

9) Massachusetts Institute of Technology MIT (96.11);

10) California Institute of Technology (95.91).

According to this ranking, from the first ten ranked, seven are from the States and three from Great Britain (University of Cambridge, University College London, University of Oxford). From the first 100 universities: 32 universities are from the States, 4 from Canada; 35 from Europe; 29 from Asia – the Pacific divided between Japan and Australia, but there's also universities from China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and New Zealand.

Among the first one hundred from Europe: 18 are from Great Britain, 4 are from Switzerland, 3 from Germany, 3 from Ireland, 2 from France, 2 from the Netherlands, 2 from Denmark and one from Sweden.

Again from our closest surroundings, i.e. on the territory of the Balkan Peninsula, or more specifically the ex-Yugoslav countries, except Slovenia, there's not a single university in the top 600 list. Only Greece has 177th place, University of Athens, 401-500 place: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 401-500 place: University of Ljubljana – Slovenia and Turkey, at 401-500 place: Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University and KOC University, 360 place: BILKENT University Turkey.

● Ranking Web of World University[3]

This ranking has been made according to the Berlin principles for university ranking.[4] Eight thousand universities from all over the world are being ranked. The primary

3) http://www.webometrics.info/about_rank.html visited on 13.02.2010.

4) Berlin Principles on Ranking of Higher Education Institutions, Source: http://www.che.de/downloads/Berlin_Principles_IREG_534.pdf

goal of the Ranking Web of World University is to promote web publications, their easy access and promote academic web communication, both formal and informal, which is why it uses the following web indicators:

1) "Size (S)" – number of pages covered by Google, Yahoo, Live Search and Exalead;

2) "Visibility (V)" – a total number of inlinks , while the data is provided by Yahoo;

3) "Rich Files (R)" - according to the relevance of the academic publications and taking into account the volume of the different document formats, the following are chosen as the most significant: Adobe Acrobat (.pdf), Adobe PostScript (.ps), Microsoft Word (.doc) and Microsoft Powerpoint (.ppt);

4) "Scholar (Sc)" - number of papers and quotes for each academic field

According to this ranking, the first ten are all from the States:

1) Harvard University;

2) Massachusetts Institute of Technology MIT;

3) Stanford University ;

4) University of California, Berkley

5) Cornell University;

6) Washington University;

7) University of Minnesota;

8) John Hopkins University;

9) University of Michigan;

10) University of Wisconsin Madison.

From the first 100: 68 are from the States, 7 are from Canada, 5 from Asia; the Pacific region with 2 from Japan and Australia and one from Taiwan, Europe with 18, 1 from Brazil and 1 from Mexico.

From Europe, among the first 100: there are 6 from Great Britain, 3 from Switzerland, 2 from Norway, 2 from the Netherlands, and one from Spain, Germany, Belgium and Austria.

From the first 1000 (thousand) from the Balkan countries, at place No. 155 is the University of Ljubljana - Slovenia, at 384th place is the University of Belgrade - Serbia, at 403rd: Aristotle from Thessaloniki, at 512th: University of Maribor - Slovenia, at 639th : University of Crete, at 640th: Sofia University Saint Kliment Ohridski, at 704th: University of Patras - Gr; at 792nd: Istanbul Technical University

Macedonian universities have the following ranking: at place No, 1720 Ss Cyril and Methodius, Skopje and Ss Kliment Ohridski, Bitola at 3821st place; then we have the

European University at place No. 6655 and the Southeastern European University at place No. 6987 place.

Table 1: *Ranking of Macedonian universities on the Ranking Web of World University*[5]

WORLD RANK	UNIVERSITY	SIZE	VISIBILITY	RICH FILES	SCHOLAR
1720	Ss Cyril and Methodius University Skopje	2,533	1,801	1,984	1,739
3821	Saint Clement of Ohrid University of Bitola	6,657	3,486	3,404	4,627
6330	European University Macedonia*	6,384	5,524	10,883	5,635
6655	State University of Tetovo	11,828	4,558	7,377	6,429
6987	South Eastern European University*	5,326	8,968	5,964	5,761

The primary goal of this ranking is to encourage and motivate not only the institutions, but scientists as well, to be more present on the web, i.e. to present their activities online.

SCOPE AND SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

The research conducted at the universities in Republic of Macedonia is the first of its kind and is trying to give an insight into the following:

- whether or not there is a mission and what is the focus or the attention that is dedicated to certain topic and/or subject matter;
- which components of the mission in the mission statements of the Macedonian universities are the most present;
- comparison between the private and state universities in Republic of Macedonia
- The research is the basis for understanding the way trends change with time

RESEARCH SAMPLE

When designing the research sample, we used official data, i.e. a document, issued by the Ministry of Education and Science of Republic of Macedonia (on 04.03.2010) for the

5) http://www.webometrics.info/rank_by_country.asp?country=mk visited on 17.02.2010

present number of state and private universities in the country. According to this document, this is the list of universities officially registered in Republic of Macedonia (table 2):

Table 2: *Universities in RM*

State universities in RM	Private universities in RM
SU „Ss Cyril and Methodius“ - Skopje	Southeastern European University - Tetovo
SU „Ss Kliment Ohridski“ - Bitola	First Private European University „Republic of Macedonia“
SU „Goce Delchev“ - Shtip	First Private University „FON“
State University –Tetovo	New York University
University for Information Technology – Ohrid	American College University
	University for Tourism and Management
	University for Audio-Visual Art - European Film Academy „ECPA Paris-Skopje-New York“
	International Balkan University
	MIT University
	International University „EURO COLLEGE 2007“

Source: Ministry of Education and Science of Republic of Macedonia

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The research analysis unit was the missions universities posted on their websites and all of their components. In cases where there was no mission posted, we analyzed the following: *Address of the Founder, About Us, Goals* and *History*

The research was conducted in the period from 11.01. 2010 to 4.03.2010.

DEFINING MISSION COMPONENTS

Pearce and David (1987) suggest that the mission ought to contain 8 components. Those are:

*1. **Clients**: Who are the clients of the organization?*

*2. **Products or services**: What are the main products of the organization?*

*3. **Market**: Where does the organization compete?*

4. ***Technology***: *What is the key technology of the organization?*
5. ***Survival, growth and profit***: *How are the economic goals met?*
6. ***Philosophy***: *What are the main beliefs, values, aspirations and philosophical priorities of the organization?*
7. ***Personal concept***: *What is the organization's advantage over their competition?*
8. ***Public image***: *What is the public image of the organization?*

David (1989) continues to research the mission statements of big production and service companies, collected through Business Week 1000 firms and as a result of this study, he concludes that there should be 9 components to one mission. Aside from the above-mentioned eight, he adds the component of the employees, or: *What is the attitude of the company towards its employees*?

RESEARCH RESULTS

Table 3 shows the results obtained from the research. In the fields of the table, the answers Yes or No refer to whether the mission of the university contains the given component, whereas Yes/No means that the component is present, but only partially, i.e. has not been completely defined.

In the column for the component *products/services*, there has been a division made to two categories: education degree and education field.

The state university of Tetovo is not a part of the result table since the university's website does not have a mission, a strategic plan, or an overview for the university.

Table 3. *Mission Component Representation in Macedonian Universities*

Compononts Universities	Clients	Products/ services		Market	Technology	Survival, growth and profit	Philosophy	Personal concept	Public image	Employees
SU „Ss Cyril and Methodius“ - Skopje	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes/No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
SU „Ss Kliment Ohridski“ - Bitola	Yes	No	No	Yes/No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
SU „Goce Delchev“ - Stip	Yes/No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes/No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
University for information technology - Ohrid	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	No*	No*	No*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	No*
Now York University, Skopje	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes/No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Southeastern European University - Tetovo	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
University for Tourism and Management	Yes	No	Yes	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
American College, Skopje	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
International University „EURO COLLEGE 2007“	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes/No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
International Balkan University	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
First Private European University	Yes*	No*	Yes*	No*	Yes*	Yes*	No*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*
MIT University	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes/No*	No*	No*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*
FON University	Yes*	No*	No*	No*	Yes/No*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	No*
ECPA University	Yes*	No*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	No*	No*	Yes*	Yes*	No*

We've marked with * the universities which don't have a mission posted on their WEB site, and the content has been taken from the other online information.

CONCLUSION

As positive examples of well-formulated components for mission statements we can point out the following:

- component – market, in the mission of the Goce Delchev University in Shtip: „....The Goce Delcev University, a state university based in Stip, is an institution of higher education founded to meet the need for higher education in an area much larger than the one denoted as the Eastern region of Macedonia. This area includes eastern, south-eastern and north-eastern Macedonia. It is linked by transportation infrastructure to Stip. It consists of 35 bigger inhabited areas close to Stip whose population could be expected to choose to study in Stip or one of the nearby cities…"
- component – employees, in the mission of UCAM: „.... university that creates a stimulative environment for its employees, allowing them to develop their abilties....";.
- component – public image, in the mission of New York University, Skopje: „... to prepare students to become proactive and productive citizens in the world community...";
- component – philosophy, in the mission of the American College, Skopje: „... the UACS founding assumption is that all people are enriched by education...";
- component – personal concept, in the mission of the Southeastern European University: „...to contribute to using Albanian in higher education ...".

What all missions of Macedonian universities have in common is that they have defined most clearly the clients, philosophy, personal concept and public image.

As far as what these missions lack, we can say that none of the missions contain all nine components, and that as many as four private universities don't have a mission posted on their website, as well as one state university – the one in Tetovo. The strategic plan for 2009 – 2010 has been clearly posted only on the website of the Southeastern European University.

Furthermore, no university has included the technology component in their missions, in its most precise form; it's present only in the more general sense of the definition of the component, mainly through the words: quality, skills, knowledge etc. (in the table marked as Yes/No). Technology has been clearly pointed out in some descriptive parts, such as the Address of the Founder, About Us, History etc, but not in the missions themselves.

In addition, the *employees* component has been very rarely used as well. Whereas the products and services components is either entirely missing in the missions or the missions mainly focus on just one of the categories, i.e. on the education degree or the education field.

There's not really a significant difference between the missions of the private and the state universities in Republic of Macedonia.

What's interesting is that there are similarities in the missions of some Macedonian universities with the missions of some universities in the world, which can be found online (such as the mission of the Harvard University), which leads us to think that their mission was plagiarized.

References:

Biloslavo, Roberto (2004). *Web-based mission statements in Slovenian enterprises*, Journal for East European Management, 9(3), 265-278

David, Forrest R & David, Fred R. *It's time to redraft your mission statement*, The Journal of Business Strategy, 24(1), 2003. 11-14.

David, Fred R. *How corporations define their mission, Long Range Planning*, 22(1), 1989, 90-98.

Drucker Peter *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, and Practices*, NewYork: Harper & Row, 1974, pp.61.

Ireland D, Hitt M.A. *Mission Statements: Importance, Challenge, and Recommendations for Development*, Bussiness Horizons, May-June, 1992, 34-43

Kreber C., Mhina C. *The Values we Prize: A Comparative Analysis of the Mission Statements of Canadian Universities*, Higher Education Perspectives, Vol. 3, issue 1, 2009. pp. 60-79

Newsom, W., & Hayes, C.R. *Are mission statements worthwhile? Lots of effort but do they say anything*? Planning for Higher Education, 19(1), 1990. 28-30.

Pearce J. A. David F., *Corporate Mission Statement: The Bottom Line*, Academy of Management Executive, 1987, Vol1, No 2, 109-116

Sporn B. *Towards More Adaptive Universities: Trends of Institutional Reform in Europe*, Higher Education in Europe, 1999, Vol.24, Issue 1, 23-33

Young, R. *Colleges on the cross roads: a study of the mission statements of catholic colleges and universities*. Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education, 21(2), (2001, spring) 65-81 http://hep.oise.utoronto.ca/index.php/hep/article/viewFile/650/714 access, 09.02.2010

http://www.ukim.edu.mk/mk_content.php?meni=5&glavno=1 access, 11.01.2010.

http://www.ugd.edu.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=67 access11.01.2010

http://www.uklo.edu.mk/categories/view/74 access 11.01.2010

http://www.unite.edu.mk/Maqedonisht/index.html access 11.01.2010

http://www.nyus.edu.mk/aboutus/ access 11.01.2010

http://www.uacs.edu.mk/ access, 11.01.2010.

http://www.utms.edu.mk/ access, 11.01.2010

http://www.seeu.edu.mk/ access, 11.01.2010.

http://www.eurm.edu.mk/za-nas.html access, 11.01.2010 .

http://www.mit.edu.mk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=31 access, 11.01.2010

http://www.esra.com.mk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=23&Itemid=26 access 11.01.2010

http://www.eurocollege.edu.mk/info_miss_mk.html, access, 04.03.2010

http://www.mbu.edu.mk/solMK/missionMK.htm access, 04.03.2010

http://www.uist.edu.mk/history.htm access, 04.03.2010

Социологија на секојдневен живот Sociology of everyday life	УДК/UDC 316.653: 061.2 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Klime Babunski
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN INFORMAL RELATIONS AND CORRUPTION

ABSTRACT

There is much research on corruption, its causes as well as its consequences. Informal relations, more or less, are an integral part of every society. The specificity of the potential relatedness between informal relations and corruption is especially important in transitional and post-conflict societies, which are the most susceptible to social deviations.
On the other hand, the civil society represented in this case through the media and the nongovernmental organizations, can be considered a strong barrier to negative influences. Is this so? What do the managerial representatives in the media and the nongovernmental sector think of these informal relations and networks? What do they think of the possibility of informal networks "feeding" corruption? Do informal networks have an impact on the media and the nongovernmental organizations, if so, in what way and is that an issue?

Key words: informal networks, contacts, informal relations, corruption, civil society

INTRODUCTION

The analytical approach toward the informal practices or informal relations, as a part of the Project[1], was conceptually based on the definitions[2] of two terms: "contacts" and "informal relations," as well their mutual differences. The term "contact" was defined as a "person that is willing and capable of offering help." In the contact-relation, there's always reciprocity as a rule, so the favor received is returned with a similar favor as a guarantee that the contact will stay active and that in the future can be used again to ask for and receive another favor. The term "informal network" (hereinafter IFN) was defined as an "informal circle of people that are capable and willing to help each other." The people that are connected into an informal network have benefit from belonging to that network and therefore it is in their interest to keep it going. In fact, there's a feeling of responsibility towards the other members of that network and the repeated refusal or inability to act in accordance to the other people's wishes of the network can alienate them, i.e. make the network reject them.

Thus defined, the key terms are not mutually exclusive: the contact can be a part of one or several informal networks and at the same time the people connected into that network may ask for help from a contact outside of the network, which means that they complement each other. On the other hand, it would be quite practical to differentiate them: contacts usually operate on the "turn on-off" basis, as a specific solution to an ongoing problem; while informal networks are a type of relation between people that share common, longer-lasting interests.

We need to understand the differences between the contacts and informal networks from a point of view of social capital, too. Even though the contact has access to a whole array of economic and/or political instruments, he/she is still just a powerful and influential *individual* whereas the informal network is based on the instruments that all people that are connected to the network have at their disposal, which is undoubtedly quite the advantage.

The project had a neutral approach to the term informal relations, i.e. to the contacts and informal networks, without proclaiming them as either positive or negative. In fact,

1) The project entitled: "Post-conflict Reconstruction, Informal Practices and Corruption: the Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia", 2006-2010 was coordinated by the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional research and financed by the Research Council of Norway. The author of this concept and project manager is Dr. Åse Berit Grødeland while the implementation of this project in Macedonia was coordinated by the author of this text.

2) When these in-depth interviews were conducted, the respondents were given the exact definitions of these two basic terms in order for all of them to have the same understanding when answering the questions, but without any suggestive evaluation.

the positive or negative assessment of this social practice depends on the way they're used and what purposes they're used for. They are not illegitimate or illegal when they represent one form of an auxiliary instrument used by people so that they could get something they are entitled to according to law, for example a public piece of information or help by some kind of civil service institution. The use of these informal networks, especially those that connect qualified individuals of the same or similar occupations can increase the trust of people into professionalism and institutions. On the other hand, both contacts and networks can be used in a concealed way and for meeting hidden agendas, providing unlawful or unauthorized access to resources, resulting in the promotion and creation of illegitimate interests in an illegal way which ultimately "opens the door" to corruption.

This kind of research conceptualization is a new approach in the research of informal practices and networks.[3] The interest of this research project was not so much on a particular case and its empirical mapping, but primarily on the ways in which contacts and informal networks remain active in society in general, as well as in other spheres like politics, public procurement and the judiciary. The other objective of this research was to determine how typical informal relations are, especially as opposed to formal relations; and certainly, of the utmost importance was trying to determine the negative aspects of informal practices and their relation to corruption.[4]

3) Most typically, the informal networks are researched with the use of the so-called case study method, in diferenrt institutions and by examining the relations of the people in these institutions. These are mostly economic enterprises and the goal is to improve efficiency, for example in: Mark J. Garmaise and Tobias J. Moskowitz. „Informal Financial Networks: Theory and Evidence", The Review of Financial Studies, Winter 2003, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 1007-4; but there are also examples when the network theory is based on the research of informal relations on political level, for example in: Luis Moreno Ocampo, „Corruption and Democracy. The Peruvian Case of Montesinos.", 2003, unpublished study, submitted at the 11th International Anticorruption Conference in Seoul, representing the relations between the ex-president of Peru, Fujimori, the representatives of the media and the business representatives. This type of research gives a quite detailed account of specific informal networks, but does not put them and their activities into a broader context.

4) From a methodological point of view, it is important to emphasize that the data for this type of research goals has been obtained through qualitative and quantitative methods of research. Within the qualitative research in 2007 there were 135 in-depth interviews conducted with 15 representatives per elite segment. The sample covered the following elite segments in Macedonia:

(1) elected representatives; (2) party-political representatives: high officials appointed in the state administration or political parties; (3) managers of nongovernmental organizations, including foreign nongovernmental organizations or foundations with offices in Macedonia; (4) media editors; (5) managers of domestic enterprises; (6) managers of foreign enterprises; (7) civil servants in charge of public procurement; (8) judges and prosecutors; (9) managers of foreign organizations, active in post-conflict reconstruction. Thus segmented, the sample was structured in three levels: national level, capital city level and conflict region level - Tetovo. The collection of data with the use of the quantitative procedure was conducted in 2008/2009, by surveying a quota sample of 600 elite representatives from all over the Republic of Macedonia, according to the previously established segments, but without the group of managers from foreign organizations.

Consequently, having in mind these tasks and methodology, the project was designed to consist of two equally important components: academic and political.[5] Namely, the data obtained as a result of the Project can on the one hand be used as a basis for scientifically based analyses of the researched phenomenon and on the other they could be applied to a whole array of political and even professional activities, especially in the sphere of anticorruption policies[6] and in improving the good governance.

By taking into consideration this duality, this article focuses on a minor, but extremely important part of the research. Namely, the goal is to present the general viewpoints of the respondents with regard to the informal networks and contacts, their views on the relation between informal networks and corruption and by taking that into consideration to give a more detailed analysis of the viewpoints on the role of the media and the non-governmental sector in revealing and controlling the activities of informal networks.[7]

1. VIEWPOINTS ON CONTACTS AND INFORMAL RELATIONS

For the majority of the respondents, in terms of both contacts and informal relations, the assessment was positive and negative, that they can be both useful and harmful and all of them were of the same general opinion that it all depended on how and for what contacts or IFN were used. Hence, the great percentage of ambiguity in their answers[8] while the general assessment can be represented by the following answer: …"one cannot know in advance, no one can forbid or destroy such relations. These relations depend on society, what society itself will allow." However, aside from this evident ambiguity in the answers of the respondents, the majority of them were negative.

The contacts that have to be used quite often if one needs to go to the doctor are regarded as positive, they are "nothing out of the ordinary" when you need to ask for something "from a friend or relative," when "you are not asking for anything illegal"; but they

5) We're not talking about two separate components of the project here, but of duality, two use values of a new quality provided by the data from the research. In fact, there hasn't been a single research so far that has analyzed the relation between the informal practices and corruption in post-communist or post-conflict countries or societies.

6) The best work to reference here with regional overview would be: Tisne,M., Smilov, D., *From the Ground Up Assessing the Record of Anticorruption Assistance in Southeastern Europe*, Central European University, 2004

7) Having this in mind, the study is going to make use only of the data from the qualitative research which consisted of questions only for the respondents from the media and the NGOs regarding their control role.

8) The nature of these answers asks for quantification of the qualitative analysis of all of these "ambiguous" answers to be conducted according to the number of different answers/statements in quality. Also not all of the respondents have answered all of the questions. This is why the total number of answers can be different from the total number of respondents - 135, i.e. from the total number of respondents per group – 15. The basic textual unit used in the analysis and the coding is the answer, i.e. the statement of the respondent. The quantitative processing of the qualitative data was done with the help of the QSR NUD*IST6 program.

arouse negative feelings if “the contact has to be put in an awkward position, if you are making him/her take on additional commitments”, “because it is humiliating to depend on someone”, because using them jeopardizes public function and because you always have to return the favor which can be “opposite to some of my principles”. But nevertheless, contacts are “a necessary evil in this system”.[9]

The view on using contacts	**All groups**		**Media**		**NGOs**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Positive	21	16	1	7	0	0
Indifferent	1	1	0	0	0	0
Negative	61	46	8	57	6	43
Other	46	35	4	29	8	57
Don’t know	2	2	1	7	0	0
Total	131	100	14	100	14	100

Within the general assessment of the usefulness or harmfulness from informal networks, aside from the already pointed out common characteristics, what’s significant is that as source of the damage is pointed out the lack of a Law on Lobbying, which would decrease the abuse of IFN, i.e. “would make lobbying different from corruption”.[10]

The usefulness of networks can be understood in several ways. For some, it is a given state: “this is how society functions here…, it’s in our mentality, that’s why they’re useful…” . The next major source of usefulness of IFN is their supervising role: “they warn us of any negative events and are the first to act when needed.” Networks are also useful because they provide efficiency: “faster, timely completion of the work; when nothing works in Macedonia, they do so it’s good that they exist to speed things up,” up to “without the existence of IFN you’re hardly likely to get the right service which you are entitled to by law.” Informal networks are also useful for their professional role because: “they allow for everyone to be active and to contribute with something new, “ they provide exchange of professional opinions;” “exchange of information and sharing new knowledge,” but they also “help in joining interests.” Some of the respondents said that such multidimensional benefits do exist, i.e. are possible only in “societies and organizations where rules are obeyed.”

9) A certain number of respondents gave “other” answers in which they explained that with regard to the person’s character, he/she has never used contacts, i.e. the “gratitude and the way the favor is returned depends on the type of relation with the contact,” and thus the positive or negative feeling aroused in the person using the contact.

10) At the time when the interviews were conducted, the Law on Lobbying had not been passed yet.

Not only is the usefulness of the networks multiple, but the harmfulness as well and what's most important is that according to the opinions of the respondents "the harmful networks are the dominant type of networks in Macedonia." IFN are damaging because: their goals are "high profits that are achieved at the expense of society;" because "individuals cannot promote themselves if they are not a part of a network, i.e. those that are not a part of the network are discriminated or deprived of numerous things." Not only do networks prevent individuals to properly promote themselves with regard to their own qualities by promoting individuals just because they're a part of the network and not because of the qualities they possess", but they also "prevent competition, the inflow of foreign investments in the country …they ridicule democracy and manipulate power". IFNs make sure that decisions are made in a tighter, closed circle, "rules are being manipulated, … the country's progress is obstructed in every way, law is disobeyed". The most critical opinions of the respondents regarding informal networks refer to organized crime: "they always come down to avoiding law regulations … they are used for committing crimes and evading taxes" and are "related to politicians, the authorities, they influence the laws; they influence the passing of regulations harmful to society, but useful for them."[11]

Opinions on networks	All groups		Media		NGOs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Useful	72	37	6	27	11	46
Harmful	107	54	13	59	12	50
Other	15	8	3	14	1	4
Don't know	2	1	0	0	0	0
Total	196	100	22	100	14	100

2. CORRUPTION, CONTACTS AND INFORMAL NETWORKS

There's variety in the answers given, from "yes, probably" to "yes, certainly," about how IFN and contacts contribute to corruption, but what's of most importance is that there is an exceptionally high agreement that IFN and contacts contribute to corruption. This agreement is explained by the numerous characteristics emphasized in the answers of the respondents, which accept and describe the "favorable" impact contacts and IFN have on corruption.

The essence lies in the "abuse of the contacts and networks" and the "main motif is profit." By bribing, i.e. corruption, tenders and funds are much more easily accessed and

11) Also in the context of the IFN, a part of the answers were classified as "other," where instead of a clear stance on the harmfulness or the usefulness of the IFN, there were other explanations given, such as: "it'd be best if there were procedures established,… if the law is obeyed so that there's no need of informal networks anymore."

it's not always the case that the favor is paid in cash, quite often that particular debt is paid off by providing a counter favor. Actually, when the person gets "something that's not always legal, this is most commonly charged and that makes corruption, i.e. bribing through a contact or IFN much easier."

We found also important the answers from the respondents that came from the media and the judiciary. The former elaborated on the technology of corruption: "… in the media it is quite obvious when a certain state institution advertizes with a particular medium and not because that is the most read media, but because of favoritism by the authorities and the medium returns the favor by publishing certain articles, which is corruption. The situation is the same with the electronic media as well. Power corrupts media. Also particular journalists, in order to earn more, work for a particular political option or an enterprise by publishing positive articles on them. "So far, I have not heard of a case against a corrupted journalist or medium." In the case of the latter, a respondent judge pointed out some serious indicators for the presence of corruption in judicial power: "yes, there are some situations in the judiciary that we're aware of, where we know that there's something going on "under the table," but nothing is done openly. Nevertheless, the verdicts from the lower courts indicate this or you would think that the judge from the lower court is a "legal daltonian" or that he has no knowledge of how to apply the law."

As the answers from the respondents of the domestic and foreign enterprises indicate, this practice is especially present in "the public institutions, the state sector, where the main criterion is party affiliation and that's the basis for their relatedness. Most commonly these people are ignorant and incapable so corruption is the only way for them to succeed. In the private sector there are contacts and networks too, but these are above all professionally oriented." For some even, "the situation in Macedonia is a disaster, procurement is not transparent, managers are corrupted and so are prosecutors and judges…"

But although many views were negative, there were still some political representatives that were even optimistic: "this is customary for some groups, but I'm at the impression that this practice has been minimized in Macedonia."

The Informal Networks	**All groups**		**Media**		**NGOs**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contribute to corruption	115	85	14	93	9	60
Do not contribute to corruption	7	5	0	0	2	13
Other	8	6	1	7	3	20
Don't know	5	4	0	0	1	7
Total	135	100	15	100	14	100

Far rarely are the views according to which the contacts and the IFN do not contribute to corruption. The argument used here is that "networks are no precondition for corruption because corruption will exist even without them," and also that "IFN and contacts can hamper the development of corruption: those that know each other, do not feel the need to use bribes."

There were also a small number of answers of the 'other' type where instead of a clear standpoint of "they contribute to it" or "they have no influence" predominant were the explanations of the reasons of corruption, where the main reasons are neither the contacts nor the networks, but the insecurity for their own future and the low living standard, especially of the public administration.

3. MONITORING AND DISCLOSURE

Within the sample, the media and the nongovernmental organizations were asked a separate group of questions, which were focused more on the specific aspects of the professional positioning and capacity of these segments of the social elite. The specificity of these segments lies in the fact that they are not just a part of the social elite, but they are also the most active part of civil society[12] with an especially important role within the public social control over the elites in society.

The first point of identification of the respondent's role towards the IFN was the question, if the media, i.e. the nongovernmental organizations (hereinafter NGOs) ought to monitor and disclose the activities of informal networks.[13] The largest number of respondents from the media, as well as a dominant number of NGO respondents gave an affirmative answer: IFNs ought to be monitored and their activities disclosed.[14]

The arguments for accepting the monitoring and disclosure of IFN in the media respondents were: "IFNs ought to be monitored so that the general public is provided with an insight into who these network people are, what are their interests… which mecha-

12) This kind of approach reflects the views of John Keane in *Democracy and Civil Society* and David Held's *Political Theory and the Modern State* where both civil society and the state create the conditions for the democratization of the other.

13) In fact this kind of role of the media corresponds to the functions of the media or the mass communication in society, established from a long ago. Among the first to write about this was Harold Lasswel in *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society* who analyzes the role of the media in monitoring the environment, while Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton in Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action talk about the role of the media in assigning status, i.e. their function in strengthening social norms.

14) Only one of the interviewed journalists answered that the informal networks should not be monitored and disclosed. Also only two of the respondents from the NGOs answered that informal networks should not be monitored, i.e. have some "other" undefined answer.

nisms do they use, what is their function"; "yes, there is a need for monitoring, especially in the case of negative networks"; "yes, because the biggest part of corruption is connected with the IFNs." At the same time, the respondents pointed out that the monitoring process could become an issue: "such networks do not want to know who their members are… what kind of networks are those… how do we prove their existence if they're informal?" The media respondents also pointed out to the existence of other networks like the "Galicki ties" or the "Vlach lobby," the notion of which, "due to lack of sufficient information "has been mystified or distorted".

The NGO respondents have almost the same kind of arguments to give for why the IFNs ought to be monitored and their activities disclosed: "… informal networks should and have to be monitored and their activities disclosed because there are many of them that are negative. The problems have to be presented to the public and this cannot be done if we don't monitor the IFNs." In this group, compared to the respondents journalists, more frequent were the opinions that both the negative and the positive networks have to be monitored and that the main reason for disclosing the activities of the positive networks is: "lots of information and knowledge comes from informal networks."

The next identification point was focused on the capacity for this active role, i.e. if the media and the NGOs are capable to monitor and disclose. "Yes, they can" was the most frequent answer of the respondents from the media, but also some of the respondents pointed out that "networks are closed which poses a risk since it allows for lots of disinformation to resurface which in turn can cause a lot of damage. In this case, the disclosure of the networks can be quite a task for the media." It's interesting that only one of the media representatives, i.e. the editor of a press medium was at the opinion that the media are not capable to monitor and disclose informal networks because "there are many obstacles, lack of information or experts that would want to speak out publicly, which makes monitoring their activities difficult, especially if they are negative." A fair proportion of the answers are of the "other" type, when respondents pointed out that "the problems are of financial nature, that big networks have the needed resources so the media find it hard to fight them especially since networks are interconnected."

From the group of respondents from the nongovernmental organizations we mostly got affirmative answers: "NGOs can unravel the IFN phenomenon," but they are also aware of their own weaknesses: "but we lack the awareness for that." The respondents that neither confirmed nor denied, i.e. gave "other" answers explained that "…the capacity of the NGO sector to do this is limited especially in comparison with some other services," i.e. "it's very hard to monitor these situations when networks are formed for specific purposes after which they disappear."

4. THE INFLUENCE OF INNS ON THE MEDIA AND NGOS

Almost all[15] of the respondents from the media agree that there is a larger or smaller IFN influence on the media. According to the editors from the local media "in Macedonia these groups are quite influential and of much greater influence on the national media." Those of the strongest convictions regarding the influence of the IFNs further explained that "the media are either directly or indirectly financially dependent" and added that "some of them are under this influence, but won't admit it" and "a great number of the media are under this influence." A part of those that do accept that this influence exists, they think of it as limited: "Of course that these networks influence the media, but not totally."

On the other hand, far less respondents (six) agreed that their medium too was under the influence of the IFN. This influence is rated as "average" or "no more or no less than this is the case with other media." It's interesting that some of the respondents relate this interest for the influence with the type of the medium: "… politicians would like to be present more on television or in the papers rather than on the radio," and they are aware that such a decreased pressure provides "the radio with stronger immunity." Also some respondents from national, electronic media and the press have pointed out that such an influence could be positive as well and could be of a professional significance for the particular medium: "There are networks that are regarded as positive because they provide us with faster access to information." This kind of influence and relations are regarded as welcome because they can decrease the influence of the negative networks. Only four of the respondents, mostly from the local media answered that the medium they worked for was not under the influence of the IFN because they were local media and therefore of limited influence. The same view, that the medium he/she worked for was not under the influence of IFN, was expressed by a respondent from a national print medium, which is a part of an international publishing chain and it was precisely this status of the medium that provided the basis for "an independent editorial policy" and immunity in relation to the IFN. The rest of the three respondents from this group gave "other" or undefined answers where the influence of the informal networks, "if there is any" was rated as "unintentional or unnoticed!"

The majority of the respondents' answers from the nongovernmental sector confirmed the existence of the influence of IFN; however, the answers are heterogeneous. "Some NGOs are influenced, some are not" is the most common answer received from the NGO representatives of the conflict region. The same opinion was also expressed by represen-

15) Twelve respondents agreed that there is such an influence and there was one respondent per each of these answers "IFN have no influence on the media;" "I don't know if IFNs have any influence at all," and "other."

tatives from international and national NGOs, that the IFNs do have influence but over particular NGOs. This influence comes from "party circles", "business oligarchies", but also from the "government". The respondents that were of the general opinion that IFNs do not have influence over the NGO sector, admitted that there is such influence, but only in some particular cases, and had evaluated those cases as an exception, but had no explanation for it at all.

A relatively small number of respondents, i.e. only four have confirmed the existence of the influence on their NGO. They explain this by saying that these are informal networks, as a way of collaboration and organization of joint activities by several NGOs and only one respondent suggested that it was a matter of an informal influence of certain left-oriented political structures over some NGOs. As opposed to this, the majority of the respondents, i.e. eleven NGO representatives have emphasized the "orthodoxness" of the nongovernmental sector by saying that their NGOs are not under the influence of informal networks.

CONCLUSION

Both contacts and IFNs were perceived as negative phenomena, i.e. the abuse of the former and the latter has defined their general use value. Such a negative use value feeds, i.e. generates corruption.

According to the representatives of the NGOs and especially of the media, those two kinds of institutions should be the ones to reveal and control informal networks and their activities, which in turn helps them promote their own capacity, but also reveals any obstacles when disclosing the activities of these networks. This kind of determination to take on a monitoring, i.e. controlling function could and ought to be critically analyzed if we take into consideration the answers of the respondents according to whom IFN have higher or lower influence on the media, especially in terms of financial dependency.

What should we do to break this vicious cycle? Is the pledge of the media to transparency enough to bring out the positive and reduce the negative aspects of IFNs? Are the media capable of doing this regardless of the "state of mind" in the other segments of the elite? Unfortunately, there's an obvious discrepancy in the assessments of the power of transparency in terms of both, positive and the negative aspects of IFNs.

Strengthening of the positive	**All groups**		**Media**		**NGO**	
aspects of IFNs	N	%	N	%	N	%
Transparency	16	12	4	27	2	13
Other	103	79	9	60	13	87
Don’t know	12	9	2	13	0	4
There are no IFNs	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	131	100	15	100	15	100

Limiting the negative aspects	**All groups**		**Media**		**NGO**	
of IFN	N	%	N	%	N	%
Greater transparency	15	9	5	23	1	7
Better regulations	21	13	2	9	4	27
Application of law	34	22	7	31	1	7
Education	14	9	0	0	1	7
Other	69	43	7	32	8	52
Don’t know	4	3	1	5	0	0
There are no IFNs	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total	158	100	22	100	15	100

Obviously that transparency, as an instrument for the strengthening of the positive aspects of IFN, i.e. for limiting their negative aspects, is above all present in the media and this is totally natural and to be expected. Nevertheless, there’s a considerable difference in the assessment of the role of transparency in the other segments of the elite, which undermines the effect from the monitoring and disclosure process right from the very start. The refusal of the other segments of the elite to show a clearly stated positive attitude towards transparency shows that doing business behind close doors, as one kind of culturally-political heritage, but also a characteristic of the transition period, is still widely accepted and common practice of the people. At the same time, this gap reveals the principle problems civil society and above all the media encounter every day when they monitor and try to disclose the activities of informal networks as well as corruption.

References:

Czarnota, A., Krygier, M. and W. Sadurski, eds., *Rethinking the Rule of Law after Communism*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005.

Grødeland, Åse Berit. “Red Mobs”, “Yuppies” and “Lamb Heads”: Informal Networks and Politics in the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. Paper presented at the ICCEES VII World Congress, Berlin, 25-30 July 2005.

Miller, W.L., Grødeland, Å.B. and T.Y. Koshechkina, *A Culture of Corruption? Coping with Government in Post-communist Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001.

Tisné, M. & Daniel Smilov. *From the Ground Up. Assessing the Record of Anticorruption Assistance in Southeastern Europe*. Budapest: Centre for Policy Studies, Central European University/ Soros Foundation New York. Policy Studies Series, 2004.

Sandholtz, W., and Gray, M., *International Integration and National Corruption, University of California*, 200

Психологија Psychology	УДК/UDC 159.9- 05: 37.031 Научен труд / Scientific paper

Eleonora Serafimovska
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

Marijana Markovik
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF PSYCHOLOGY- ACTIVITY OR PASSIVITY OF PSYCHOLOGISTS TO WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE PUBLIC

ABSTRACT

Changes in society have always reflected on the mental health of its citizens. The psychological issues of people have always been and still are, at least a part of them, a result of the specific social order they're part in, from the social processes and events, which always, more or less, contribute to the repression and/or inclusion of the majority of the population: the poor, older people, disabled, women, unemployed, homosexuals etc.
This is why if psychologists are passive and explicitly refuse to talk about the issues, injustices and social affairs in general, they implicitly support this state and at the same time compromise their personal, professional and social responsibility.
This work represents an analysis of the data available online which refer to the activities of the Association of Psychologists of RM, the formal education on psychology, the activities of psychologists outside of academic circles, psychological-intervention and action projects, psychological research and psychotherapy.

Key words: Association of psychologists in Republic of Macedonia, education on psychology in RM, psychological-intervention programs

INTRODUCTION

Transition experiences have shown that in their conceptualizations, research and practice, psychologists need to take more into account the socio-cultural surroundings that the individual is connected to, since socio-political and historical circumstances shape the personality of citizens. Each historical period carries different forms of psychological weakness and unease, which are closely related to the cultural trends of society at a given time. One of the founders of world psychology and the founder of cultural-historical psychology, Vygotsky, has pointed out that the social and cultural basis for individual development within a historical framework determines the socio-cultural model of mental development.

This begs the question: what is the role of psychologists, more specifically the one of the psychologists in Republic of Macedonia when taking into account the abovementioned circumstances and when we know that the principle activity of psychologists is to preserve and promote the psychological health of individuals and the collective? Before we start with the analysis of the psychological activities in our country, we will try and define the role of psychology as a theoretical and applied scientific discipline and then we will show the state of these activities in some of the countries of ex-Yugoslavia.

As a scientific discipline, psychology started firstly as an academic and experimental discipline that later continued and diverged into applied (practical and helping occupation). Even though related, these two branches of psychology have different characteristics and priorities. The subject of scientific psychology is fundamental, conceptual and methodical discoveries as well as the position of psychology among other sciences. Applied psychology, with its pragmatic contribution strives to confirm the usefulness of psychology in everyday life as well as its justification as a helping and consultative activity among contemporary sciences. With its immediate relationship with clients, psychology has grown into a profession that has the purpose of helping to solve people's problems and to allow the development of the potential of the individual or the group within or outside of an institution. The practical task of psychology is the application of the theoretical knowledge for the psychological life into the promotion of the different kinds of specific activities of people, such as: promotion of mental health, the successfulness of the education process, interpersonal relations, increase of productivity, diagnostics and therapy for the problems of different groups (family, work, therapy groups), successful communication to help others and self-help.

This kind of definition of the practical task of psychology puts psychologists before a serious challenge that they must respond to conscientiously, ethically and professionally. In order for them to do a professional, expert and good quality job they organize themselves in psychological associations while their activities are regulated by the Psychological Chamber.

COMPARISON EXAMPLES: COMPARISON OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF RM AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EX-YUGOSLAV COUNTRIES

This work is based on the analysis of the data available online on the associations of psychologists. For that purpose, we'll compare at the beginning the activities of the psychological associations of the ex-Yugoslav countries shown on the internet with the ones of the psychological associations in Macedonia. The first condition in order to make such a comparison of the materials on the psychological associations on the internet is for them to exist in the first place. The Macedonian psychological association does not have its own internet page (the same goes for the Montenegrin psychological association).

The Chamber of Psychologists though, has its own web page.[1] (http://sites.google.com/site/komoranapsiholozi/home). The page contains information on how to pass the professional examination, adopted rulebooks, basic documentation as well as the conditions and instructions for being issued a work permit. The Law on Psychological Activity Engagement has been published in the Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, 6th issue from 28.01.2005 and this law authorizes the Chamber of Psychologists as an independent, expert organization, i.e. legal entity (taken from www.pravo.org.mk)

Having in mind the fact that there's no web page for the Macedonian psychological association, we will focus our attention on the analysis of the internet pages of the psychological associations from our neighboring countries (ex-Yugoslav countries)

In the beginning, we will present the mission of the Serbian psychological association (http://www.dps.org.rs). Its mission is the following:

1. The Serbian psychological association is to organize and encourage the Psychologists of Serbia to contribute by their knowledge to the entire development of the Republic and to their social reputation and status;
2. to duly provide scientific and professional, as well as other information to their members, of significance for their profession and advanced training of the members; to organize and encourage better quality and more successful realization of needs regarding professional literature, other publications, texts and appropriate technical

1) The Macedonian Chamber of Psychologists was founded in 2007

aids that can be applied or have been applied in psychological evaluations, advice or diagnostics;

3. to promote and develop the ethics of the psychological profession; to provide usage of psychological methods and instruments only by graduated Psychologists in accordance with application of the prescribed norms and standards;

4. to protect the users of their services from low-quality Psychologists' work

According to the analysis of the mission's contents we get the impression that the role of the association of psychologists is to coordinate, train and inform its members in order to promote the psychological health of individuals and the collective.

By meeting the goals of the mission a divergent organization was created and a very profitable activity as well. This profitable activity is realized though publishing[2] and the organization of seminars.

The Serbian Psychological Association organizes conferences each year, whose function is to gather all the psychologists and experts of closely related disciplines not only from Serbia, but from abroad, as well.[3]

The Croatian Psychological Association is active on the entire territory of Croatia. It consists of psychologists from various areas of psychology, organized in 12 professional sections, according to the areas of psychology. This association is a member of many international psychological associations.[4] Their web site has a lot of information on the scientific conferences organized by the Association (i.e. its regional units), information on international seminars, congresses, symposiums, as well as information on recent Croatian publications in the field of psychology.

The vision of this association is the following: together with the Croatian Psychological Chamber to be the leading partner of individuals, groups and organizations of the private, public and citizen sector, to provide services in order to promote the quality of life of the individual, groups and communities of people. Also to strive to quickly accommodate to the needs of the environment by using the knowledge of theoretical and practical psychology as well as the knowledge from other natural, social and humanistic sciences.

2) In 1992 The Serbian Association of Psychologists formed the Center of Applied Psychology as an independent enterprise for research and development, graphics, publishing and commercial services. (http://www.dps.org.rs/centar-za-primenjenu-psihologiju)

3) This year the 58th conference of Serbian Psychologists is taking place, entitled *Healthy Individual-Healthy Society*.

4) (International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) од 1995., European Federation of Psychologists Associations (EFPA) from 1997, and the section on the psychology of labor is a member of the European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology –EAWOP.

The mission of this Association is to develop the quantity and the quality of services that psychologists provide to their clients, partners and members, to train its members into acquiring the most diverse skills so that afterwards they themselves could contribute to the development of the individual and the community. (http://www.psihologija. hr/index.asp).

Aside from coordinating psychologists throughout the country, the existence and active participation of the Psychological Associations allows them to cooperate with the same associations from around the world. For instance, on the following web page http://www.all-about-psychology.com/psychology-association.html (Psychology Association Directory) we can see the contacts of the psychological associations from different countries. The web page lists all the contacts from the psychological associations of countries in our neighborhood (Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovenia) and as can be expected, there is no contact listed for the Macedonian psychological association.

According to the online data presented, one can come to the conclusion that there was no development of the psychological activities in RM when it comes to associated and organized psychological activities. There is no systematic organization of trainings and seminars in order to promote the work of the psychologists through publishing periodicals. Having in mind the fact that the psychological instruments are the basic tool of psychologists, it is more than worrying that there is no information on what the standard psychological tests are and where they can be found.

Based on the analysis of the materials found on the web page of the Serbian and Croatian psychological association we can come to the conclusion that these countries have come up with a seriously worked out strategy on how to organize their psychological activities. This strategy starts off from the basic premise that a healthy individual and a healthy society are one and the same thing.

Organized psychological activities allow for a systematic control of the factors that have a negative impact on the psychological health of individuals.

FORMAL EDUCATION IN PSYCHOLOGY AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY "SS CYRIL AND METHODIUS"- SKOPJE

The Psychological Institute within the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (Ss Cyril and Methodius University) is the first state institution of higher education that allows for students to acquire a degree in psychology.

In order to have a better insight into the activities of the Institute, we started from their official web page. At the official web page of the Psychological Institute we came across the following data:

By September 2009, there were 1,553 students that graduated at the Psychological Institute. Five students did their specialized studies here, 28 took their Master's degree and 22 their PhDs on Psychological Sciences.

Aside from the teaching activities, there are numerous additional activities carried out at the Psychological Institute within the Faculty of Philosophy, some of which are applicative, some are more of the educational or research type and others are in the form of giving immediate psychological help and support. At the beginning of 1990s, the Psychological Institute opened up a Laboratory for Peace and Intercultural Education which in 1993 grew into the Balkan Center for the Study of Peace, as a separate unit within the Faculty of Philosophy. At the same time, the Psychological Counseling Service was set up for students and other young people that need psychological assistance. Starting from 1999, at the Psychological Institute there was (not anymore) the Center for Psychosocial and Crisis Action, dedicated to health promotion of the young and making intervention in situations of crises. From February, 2005 the Center for the Production and Application of Tests – Psychometrics started to work as well. The establishment of this center allowed the Psychological Institute to do the standardization of the existing psychological tests and prepare new ones, do training for their application and provide services for the psychological testing of physical and legal entities.

The teaching staff at the Psychological Institute is the initiator and administrator of many other project activities, which it carries out independently or in collaboration with other experts in the field of psychology or other scientific fields, according to their competence and research orientation. Depending on the occasion, they are oftentimes engaged in the role of experts from prestigious institutions from home and abroad. The teachers have participated in many symposiums at home and abroad, congresses and round tables. The professors and assistants are also authors of numerous articles published in journals, collections, manuals, monographs and textbooks in different areas of psychology. In recent years, there have been several meetings of scientists and experts organized at the Psychological Institute: 25 years from the establishment of the Psychological Institute (1999); 100 years of psychoanalysis (2000); For a better status: strategies for the promotion of the psychological practice (2000) and Psychology and other fields (2004). Aside from the teachers and associates from the Institute, there were many distinguished experts from home and abroad that also participated in these meetings.

From the analysis of the personal and professional CVs of the teaching staff which are available at the official web page of the Psychological Institute, we can say that they are the most active (by activity we mean also participation in research projects and writing articles) in the following areas:

- Multicultural and interethnic relations; cultural, ethnic and gender identity;

- Conflicts - understanding, solving, preventing them and finding alternatives to violence;
- Research methodology (research methods and techniques), test preparation, program/project evaluation;
- Evaluation, reforms, education system promotion, giftedness and talent, creative thinking, systems of values, dimensions;
- Organizational climate and culture, satisfaction at work;
- Morals
- Person, person development, self-consciousness, psychological theories and
- Analyzing and overcoming stress in the post-conflict period in vulnerable groups and minorities

When we searched for the bibliographical units (available online) of the teaching staff, we found around 190 bibliographical units listed, most of them studies but also study aids, manuals and (least of all) authors' books.

There is no data on the publishing of any psychological periodicals. In Serbia for example the Psychological Paper has been coming out regularly from 1977 every month and there have been 320 issues published so far; the Psychology journal in the same country is being published since 1967 and was the first and only journal of its kind in ex-Yugoslavia. This journal just recently celebrated 40 years from its establishment, with a plentiful number of bibliographic units.

The Faculty of Philosophy opened just recently at the other state University in Tetovo and within this faculty, the Psychological Department. Having tried several times to enter their internet page, but with no success, we can say there's no information on whether or how this faculty works.

FORMAL EDUCATION ON PSYCHOLOGY AT THE PRIVATE FACULTIES IN RM

For many years, students have been able to enroll graduate studies in psychology only at the Psychological Institute within the University Ss Cyril and Methodius in Skopje. In 2005, for the first time there arose an opportunity to study psychology at a private institution for higher education or at the International Slavic Institute called Gavrilo Romanovic Derzavin in Sveti Nikole, which started work in 2004, as a representative of the ISI-Moscow from the Russian Federation, on the territory of Republic of Macedonia in the form of part-time/distance learning studies.

Aside from the Faculty of Economics and Organization of Entrepreneurship In 2005, there was another faculty established at this private institution of higher education, i.e. the Faculty of Psychology with the department of General Psychology. This is a faculty which offers graduate studies only. There are 30 obligatory and 18 optional subjects. This institution's web page does not allow access to the names of professors from the faculty of Psychology which is why we could not conduct an analysis as to who the subject professors were and what their immediate specialty was as well as their activities, bibliographic units etc. The reasons behind this lack of transparency remain unknown.

ACTIVITIES OF PSYCHOLOGISTS OUTSIDE OF ACADEMIC CIRCLES

Action Projects

There have been many action projects being implemented outside of academic circles in the Republic of Macedonia in the last 20 years and they are deemed especially important and essential in the post-conflict period from 2001. These projects were mainly financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, UNICEF, UNCHR, World Health Organization, FIOOM, Mission to the European Committee, European Council etc. The projects mainly referred to:

- Planning, organizing and carrying out psychosocial and crisis actions in communities most affected by an acute or continuing crisis /conflict and post-conflict communities, multiethnic or marginalized groups or organizations under risk – schools, informal groups/; increasing the capabilities of the young to take on new roles and responsibilities envisioned with the educational reforms and the decentralization process in Republic of Macedonia.
- Creating an intellectual, emotional and social atmosphere among students, one which will encourage communication between members of different ethnic groups in the country, stimulate mutual understanding and strengthen mutual trust;
- Working towards better relations within schools in terms of better democracy, participation, interactivity and cooperation;
- Increasing self-awareness and sensitivity to resolving conflicts through understanding the nature of conflicts, the factors that cause, encourage and flare them up as well as the techniques that help make them resolve peacefully.

There were specific activities undertaken in these projects for the promotion of the health of young people and then of multicultural development which involves: the establishment of school networks, tolerance and acceptance of the differences, development of the multiethnic character of the community, active participation of students into the decision-making process and changes in their schools and the wider community, decrease of general insecurity in children and teachers after the conflict of 2001 and bringing trust back in multiethnic schools and communities; crisis intervention in Macedonian schools affected by the refugee crisis of 1999 (referring to the Kosovo refugees), participation of students in life at the school and of their community, the development of mental and emotional health and the readiness of the school to deal with situations of crisis. Furthermore, these numerous action projects included the development of extracurricular activities that promote interethnic relations of harmony within a multicultural society as well as encourage actions for the introduction of an appropriate "culture for a peaceful resolution of conflicts" in schools and everyday life of students and teachers. The implementation of these projects implies organization of many seminars with the participation of teachers and school principals, organization of educational, creative-psychological workshops with students, presentations, exhibitions, plays, several conducted researches and later, the publishing of several editions.

Applied psychology in the field of preschool education. In order to surpass the cultural and linguistic segregation of the Macedonian educational system, the NGO "Search for Common Ground" – SFCG designed the MAZE project, which is a project for unique multicultural bilingual kindergartens in the RM. This model was supposed to introduce children from different ethno-linguistic environments into a new setting which promotes mutual respect and understanding and promotes a pedagogic model for preschool education that focuses on the child itself.

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

In the period from 1998-2006 several psychological researches were conducted in Macedonia, especially in the parts most affected by the conflict from 2001. These projects were most frequently conducted with the financial help of the World Health Organization, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Skopje, UNICEF, UNHCR, also quite often with the Bureau for Development of Education in Republic of Macedonia and referred mainly to the health of young people at a school age,[5] the safety in schools

5) The Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children /HBSC/ Study is an international research that is being conducted in 41 countries in Europe, North America and Russia, on every four years. The study has included more than 165,000 children at the age of 11, 13 and 15 years of age.

The purpose of the study was to gain a new insight and to provide better understanding of the health and the conditions for better health of children in different circumstances of life. Also related to health, this study researches the family, school, peers and the local environment where children study and live in, by analyzing their influence on the wellbeing of children and in order to understand them better and their behavior related to health.

Republic of Macedonia has joined this study in 1998, with a pilot research of a sample of 1,680 respondents and became its full member in 2002 with the research of a national sample of 4,800 children at three different ages (11, 13 and 15) and two languages – Macedonian and Albanian.

The Macedonian research was carried out by the Center for Psychosocial and Crisis Action from Skopje, in collaboration with the Bureau for Development of Education in Republic of Macedonia and with the support of the World Health Organization with its office based in Skopje.

from the regions of crisis, posttraumatic stress reactions and the feeling of safety in children from primary schools in the regions of crisis, school violence, psychosocial needs and the readiness of the Macedonian schools to deal with situations of crisis, the condition and the needs of the Kosovo refugees accommodated in the collective centers around Republic of Macedonia, different styles of upbringing and care of children from Macedonian, Albanian and Roma families in Macedonia.

APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY IN THE FIELD OF ART AND CULTURE

In 1997, the NGO *Search for Common Ground* stared the project *Our Neighborhood,* which was a children's television show designed to develop the mutual understanding and respect among ethnic Macedonians, Albanians, Roma and Turks. The target group was children between the ages of 7 and 12, but the show was followed by people of all ages. This project was both entertaining and educational and more specifically it promoted the intercultural cooperation among the various population in Macedonia, provided a new model and training for prevention, as well as an approach to resolving conflicts by promoting greater awareness for different cultures.[6]

PSYCHOTHERAPY

Today there are many prominent centers that provide services of collective or individual psychotherapy, counseling, psycho-diagnostics and training in psychotherapy.

Gestalt therapy is in fact the first type of therapy which Macedonian psychologists have received additional training and specialization for. At the beginning of the 80s (when Macedonia was still a part of ex-Yugoslavia and psychotherapy was nonexistent) there was a training started for psychologists that felt the need to gain more knowledge and be more active in the field of psychology. The first gestalt therapists in Yugoslavia trained our psychologists in the 80s and a part of the 90s, and in 1994 the first Macedonian gestalt association was set up. Today this association is a member of the European Association of Gestalt Therapy and has grown into a national gestalt therapy association.

6) The series had a creative story for the connected life of a joined group of young people from different ethnic groups: Macedonians, Albanians, Turks and Roma. The story taught children how to form friendships, how to cooperate regardless of the ever-present prejudice and pressures that surrounded them.

All four languages were used in the television show, which is regarded as highly unusual in this part of the world. Some time after the show stopped being aired, there was a research study conducted, called *Lessons Learned from Our Neighborhood*, which tried to measure the positive changes in children's attitudes brought about by this show. The last season of *Our Neighborhood* was on air in 2003, but several local TV stations continued to air reruns from the show.

We also have an Association of Transactional Analysis in Macedonia called MATA for short, which is one of the oldest associations in Republic of Macedonia, established in 1993 and also the official member of EATA – the European Association of Transactional Analysis.

There's been a rise in the number of consultative-education centers in Macedonia, established by graduated psychologists that have gone through additional training and have specialized in psychology, communicology and management of human resources and they are also active in their efforts to fully realize human potential. In fact, the activity of these centers, through consulting services and trainings is aimed towards a special and simultaneous development of organizations and their work force and towards professional recruitment and selection, team building, research, testing and assessment of the team and its members, HR consults and supervision, career development and market research.

CONCLUSION

In a period of 20 years (1990-2010) there were many projects implemented on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. All of these projects were either implemented by foreign institutions or foundations. Government institutions came as coordinators or partners, but not as initiators of programs that were aimed towards the psychological support of the population while the Psychological Association wasn't a part of any of the implemented projects. Psychologists organized themselves as a result of the project activities and this was only in the period when there were donations. There weren't, nor are there now, any well thought out psychological programs that would allow for sustainable and long-lasting psychological-intervention programs.

The important changes in the social conditions in the countries-members of the EU (which is also Macedonia's aspiration) ask for unpostponable and efficient adjustment to the new ways of thinking and work in various segments of society.

The periods of crisis, the economic, interethnic and intercultural misunderstanding, violence and disrespect of others also ask for unpostponable involvement of people competent in providing constructive solutions, also to timely address situations of far-reaching implications and to provide efficient training for the prevention and early detection of such conditions.

All of the areas of applied psychology are by default multidisciplinary not only in theory, but in their methodology and practice, too. Quite often, psychologists become the leaders of many important organizations and companies, presidents of marketing agencies, clinics and services specialized in certain aspects of mental health. Psychologists are in the leading positions of universities and committees for the enrollment of students and teaching staff. They oftentimes lead scientific teams dealing with differential problems whose orientation is to provide solutions of futuristic and developmental character.

Hence, the role of psychologists is (or should be) invaluable! But from what we have seen, psychology does not enjoy the same status in our country and due to several reasons. Firstly, there’s no such highly developed tradition in our country as in others, and also, psychology is traditionally more related to the education of future generations than to making interventions, working with vulnerable groups, speaking publicly about the issues at hand, providing specific solutions. Most of the implemented projects can not be applied and those that can, have failed to provide a sustainable idea.

So the question remains: what good is discovering how the human psyche works when we can’t use that knowledge to improve the well-being of people and preserve their mental health? What good is knowing how people think, plan, what motivates, hurts, encourages them if we fail to protect them from the harsh conditions of their environment and don’t teach them how to prevent or quickly recognize situations that could harm them In so many ways?

All of this proves just how important it is for psychology to be able to be applied since choosing not to talk about problems, remaining inactive and not applying the knowledge acquired makes psychologists unconcerned about the problems, uninterested, incapable and inefficient, which can have far-reaching consequences not only on people’s health, i.e. the mental health of individuals, but on the survival of whole communities, cultures and societies.

In the last 10 years, there has been a rise in interest in the idea of implementing action programs and specific activities, in and outside of formal education, in the form of training, study aids, providing manuals and guidebooks for peacefulness, avoiding conflicts, violence, for mutual understanding, respect and teaching how to get to know each other better. We can easily say, not merely an idea since some projects have confirmed the usefulness of hiring psychologists to train, educate and protect some vulnerable and minority groups in order to encourage the provision of useful solutions to these burning issues. Creating multiethnic environments for the youngest of our citizens, TV shows that present creative topics for coexistence and tolerance, direct intervention, crisis action and offering help and support to various groups of citizens from the most affected regions from the conflict of 2001 or the Kosovo refugee crisis, are certainly a great example of how important it is to include psychologists in everyday life. And the production of a great number of manuals, guidebooks and study aids is also useful for the successful dealing with problems and their prevention. To stop this process would mean to be irresponsible, inhumane, to fail in accomplishing the mission and to neglect yourself and the generations to come.

References:

Serbian Society of Psychologists http://www.dps.org.rs

Croatian Society of Psychologists http://www.psihologija.hr/index.asp

Macedonian Chamber of Psychologists http://sites.google.com/site/komoranapsiholozi/home

Center for Psychosocial and Crisis Action http://www.cpca.org.mk/

Psychology Association Directory http://www.all-about-psychology.com/psychology-association.html

Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution http://www.chrcr.org.mk

Counseling Center for Human Cooperation http://www.shs.com.mk/index.html

Macedonian National Association of Gestalt Therapy „Contact" http://www.nagt-kontakt.com.mk

Modus - center http://moduscentar.com

Faculty of Philosophy http://www.fzf.ukim.edu.mk

Политичка психологија / Социологија на јавното мислење Political psychology / Sociology of public opinion	УДК/UDC 316.653 (437.3) Стручен труд / Proffesional paper

Panajotis Cakirpaloglu
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Olomouc, Czech Republic

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

ABSTRACT

This paper is a historical retrospective of the public opinion surveys conducted in the Czech Republic. The goal of this historical discourse is to make a review of the development of the empirical observation of the public's views towards the daily political events. Particularly, the aim of this paper is, by means of presenting data and analyses, to create a more realistic conception of the reader for this type of scientific and practical interest in this part of Central Europe.

Key words: survey, democracy, public opinion, prediction.

INTRODUCTION

Before the collapse of communism, symbolically marked by dismantling the Berlin wall, people from former Yugoslavia shared numerous prejudices towards the countries of the Eastern bloc. Such wrongful positions were the result of lack of relevant information about the culture, tradition and other areas from the life of separate countries, partly due to the generally present arrogance that Yugoslavia is in any way superior to the countries of Eastern Europe.

Among others, the author of this text had partly incorrect picture, especially in relation to the scientific study of the public opinion for that part of Europe. It is well known that prejudice as a logically based opinion contains a pinch of truth and individual experience which is uncritically generalized. In this context, as an example, I would mention an event that resulted in an incorrect opinion that there was no scientific interest for the public opinion in Socialist Czechoslovakia.

In the period between1979 – 1991, I was working as an assistant in the Department for Political science at the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, in the beginning as a secretary, and later heading the project for the public opinion in the Republic of Macedonia. In 1985 the Czech Government awarded me a six months scholarship for professional specialization in Prague. Before leaving for Prague, I had to prepare a plan for the study visit. The initial idea was introduction to the theory and practice of scientific study of the public opinion in the relevant country. For this purpose, I left for Prague, with the intention to address an adequate scientific institution. As a psychologist, I asked for assistance from the Main Department at the Charles University. After disclosing the objective of my visit, they said the following: “In Czechoslovakia there is no institution for survey of the public opinion. Studying public opinion is bourgeois practice, contrary to the socialistic democracy, its basic values and ideological objectives. The Communist Party and the People are indivisible. The Party as an avant-garde of the broad social layers has an ear and understanding for the needs of citizens, and successfully articulates them in the political practice. Hence, there is no place in Czechoslovakia for a parallel social mechanism, least of all from the type of bourgeois probing of the public opinion. This practice is inherent of the alienated capitalistic societies, and only in such frames may prove its own pseudoscientific role and the pseudo- democratic value."

In the absence of alternatives, I decided to specialize neuropsychology, which had a renowned tradition in Prague.

PRE-EMPIRICAL PERIOD

The thirties of the XXth century were marked by the empirical, qualitative survey of the public opinion. In the western countries (USA, the United Kingdom...) there are emerging centers of empirical monitoring of public reflections in relation to issues from the interior and foreign politics, the economic movements, social sphere, etc. The model at the time presented itself insufficient as a means of prognosis regarding the relation between the public and the daily political events. The main problem is in the nature of discursive public, which is "established and organized in a process of discussion around a specific problem and it expresses a more poetic than practical value" (Price, 1992, p. 44).

Empirical and methodological reforms in the modern survey of the public opinion were initiated by George Gallup. His model of public as an aggregate of individual opinions, gradually replaced the traditional model of discursive public. In the modern approach to the survey of public opinion, Gallup integrated the social nominalism and the statistic conclusion. The theory of probability and the strategy of random selection "one person – one voice" increase the value of sociological and psychological prognoses. By application of standardized survey and representative sample of randomly selected individuals, Gallup's surveys became recognizable and popular. The scientific approach to public opinion is dominated by: (Reifová, I., 2004):

- Exploitation of the relationship between declared opinions and their deeper dispositions – the attitudes of the personality;
- Establishment of the effect of the mass media in shaping public opinion;
- Interest for the role of the social control in the process of articulation of the opinions;
- The problem of improvement of the pre-election prognosis, etc.

Čeněk Adamec is the founder of empirical survey of the public opinion in Czechoslovakia. During the Second World War, Adamec resided in Britain, within the Czechoslovakian army. There, he encountered the practical use of both mentioned models for surveying public opinion. After the liberation, he returned to Czechoslovakia and gathered a team of enthusiasts for public opinion research. In 1945 the research group KRUH was established, composed of experts and students in the field of sociology and other social studies.

A significant organizational and methodological development in the process of surveying the public opinion in Czechoslovakia is related to František Dědek. Upon his arrival, the KRUH group transformed itself into a section for research of the public opinion, which raised and realized pilot surveys. The survey used the model of mass observation, as well as the Gallup statistical approach (Adamec, 1996).

The model of mass observation was developed by Tom Harrison in 1937, and is a qualitative anthropological method. The objective is a descriptive analysis of the public opinion, based on studying relevant materials, talking to people, etc. As with the other inductive methods, the model of mass observation is skeptical towards theories, and also contrastive to the statistical conclusion and application of a representative sample. In combination of various techniques, mass observation puts efforts to minimize the disadvantages of each individual method. The survey is realized by experienced observers, whose written notes represent empirical basis for scientific analyses. Later, the model of mass observation became more flexible, and under certain conditions, allowed for use of survey research. (Šubrt, J, 1992)

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

The formal beginning of surveying the public opinion in Czechoslovakia is considered to be the establishing of the Institute for Survey of the Public Opinion (Československý ústav pro výzkum veřejného mínění) by the Ministry of Information (1946). The Institute was comprised of five assistants, and two expert associates, headed by Bohuš Pospišil, Ph.D, and Čeněk Adamec as a scientific counselor of the project.

The regular activities of the Institute were monthly surveys of the public opinion, according to the Gallup statistical model, based on representative sample of 300 respondents. At the same time, started the issue of the scientific popular magazine "Public Opinion" (Veřejné mínění). Participation in international surveys, professional conferences, published materials in prestigious magazines, study exchange with renowned research centers, as well as other activities, contributed to increase of the quality of the scientific and research work of the Institute.

A special significance for the Institute was the success on the pre-election surveys of public opinion in 1946, at a time of important political, economic and ideological turbulences in the society. The events confirmed the regularity of the pre-election surveys – that the pro-western plural democracy started to lose the dominant role in society and that the public more intensively turns towards a single-party communist ideology. The preciseness of the prognoses, considering a 99% probability incorporates these surveys among the most precise at that time. Accordingly, the prestige of the Institute with the political and scientific elite increased, i.e. with the ordinary public.

The further development of the events confirmed the empirical findings, which hinted radical changes of the society. First, 1948 was the year when the coalition government resigned its post. In conditions when the communists popularity, according to the public opinion survey, deteriorated, their leaders caused parliamentary crisis and requested from the President of the country to announce extraordinary elections. These extraordinary elections imposed the need of successive survey of the pre-election mood of the public. From the three projected surveys, the Institute managed to realize only one.

The tendency of the proletariat did not even spear the science. First, the police confiscated the questionnaires, in which, according to some indications, the communist had forged the answers in their interest.

After the electoral "success" in February 1948, communists initiated many actions for formal abolition of the Institute of Public Opinion. First, they organizationally separated the Institute from the Ministry of Information, and then placed its scientific activity under strict State and party control. Prohibitions followed, for publication of survey findings and for printing the magazine “Public Opinion” The number of employees in the Institute reduced to half of the members, and in such difficult conditions, it continued its activity until 1950, when it seized to exist by a Decree adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

REAL SOCIALISM AND PUBLIC OPINION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In the period between 1950 and 1965, Czechoslovakia did not realize any surveys of the public opinion. The country in that period went through a significant economic growth, the biggest and most stable as compared to the rest of the socialistic societies. The lack of democracy, political and individual freedoms, was compensated with material security and full employment of the population. The ideological indoctrination and the informative self-isolation created a uniform awareness and apolitical behavior of the citizens. The seemingly harmonious economic, political and social relations did not contribute to the idea for surveying the public opinion.

In 1965 there were favorable ideological and scientific conditions to revive the former empirical tradition. First, the party and State officials tried to instrumentalize the surveys of the public opinion, in order to promote democratic relations in the society. On the other hand, the development of the Marxist sociology and the inflow of empiric survey in the social sphere created awareness for the purposes of relevant survey centers.

In accordance with the new conditions, in 1965, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party instructed the Academy of Sciences to establish an Institute for Public Opinion. Its activity was to be monitored by relevant bodies of the party. Two years later, the Institute started to conduct empirical surveys of the public opinion.

The head of the Institute was Čeněk Adamec, who coordinates numerous scientific and expert associates. The public opinion surveys covered the whole country – by application of a flexible representative sample between 600 and 1500 respondents. Alternately, a telegraphic survey with 300 respondents was used to realize short and fast surveys. The Survey Questionnaire was used as the main method, and it was prepared in Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian language.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE “PRAGUE” SPRING

In 1968, Czechoslovakia faced strong ideological and social turbulences, culminating into an idea for State, ideological and economic independence. The new political course was unanimously accepted by the people. There was optimism in the country, and identification of the citizens with Alexander Dubcek and the political elite.

The general liberalization in the society also affected the topic of the public opinion surveys. The surveys were dominated by new, previously forbidden topics and issues, i.e. opinions of the public related to the daily political events, their confidence in politics and politicians, their hopes, reasons for dissatisfaction, etc. In the period from March to August 1968 several telegraphic surveys took place, related to the internal political turmoil and the threats from external military intervention. The survey regarding the attitude of the people of Prague towards the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the "brotherly" socialist countries is considered one of the boldest surveys (Šubrt, J., 1992).

PUBLIC OPINION IN CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL "NORMALIZATION"

The military intervention introduced Czechoslovakia into a period of two decades of ideological and social "normalization". After the change of A. Dubcek, the party decided to retain some of the democratic attributes. In that context, the concept for survey of the public opinion was retained. Accordingly, the Institute continued with the realization of surveys of public opinion on political topics. The research introduced innovations, in accordance with the latest achievements of the "bourgeoisie" methodology. However, at the same time with these optimal research conditions, the Institute faced a serious problem: withdrawing of the public from participation in surveys. The growing fear of people to publically declare their opinions disturbed the validity of the empirical findings. Another problem came along – limitation of the regular publication of the survey findings.

In the period from 1970 to 1972, Czechoslovakia conducted ideological investigations and purge, especially among the intellectual ranks and the science and research institutions. Many university professors, academics, and experts were forbidden to research political events. In August 1972, the Institute for Public Opinion seized to be active, and part of its activities was taken over by the State Statistical Bureau.

The repressive policy lasted until 1989. State institutions had the say in creation of the human resources policy, the selection of research topics, and the approval of questionnaires and publication of empirical results. On an annual level, approximately 10 methodological sustained researches were conducted for the purposes of the country. As a rule, empirical results served the political elite, and as such were not published (Šubrt, J, 1998).

PUBLIC OPINION AFTER THE REVOLUTION IN 1989

Dramatic social changes happened in Czechoslovakia in November 1989. The perennial frustrations culminated with the General strike and popular riots. The freedom brought back the traditional pro-European values, market economy was introduced, denationalization, lustration, revival of the parliamentary democracy, freedom of thought, etc. The depression was replaced by a general optimism and euphoria from the notion that there comes a time of new possibilities and perspectives. The wish for change presented itself in the mass turnout on the first free parliamentary and local elections.

After the peaceful separation with Slovakia, the Czech Republic started a new era of empirical survey of the public opinion. The activity of the former Institute for Public Opinion was revived, and further private survey centers were opened, as well as representative agencies of the foreign survey institutions. Among the most significant centers for public opinion surveys are the following: STEM (established in 1990), FACTUM, (established in 1991), GfK, (established in 1991), Median (established in 1993), etc.

The focus of the surveys was the opinion of the public regarding the political, economic and social area. The need of relevant information related to the market, the offer and demand, the quality of services, products and the remaining segments of the market economy also increased with the same intensity. A favorable climate was created for competition of different agencies and institutes in the field of public opinion survey.

The survey results were published on the information market. It may be concluded that public opinion survey is an integral part of the political culture, of the democratic practice and everyday life in the modern Czech society.

BASIC PARADIGMS IN THE PROCESS OF PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Various institutions and agencies for survey of the public opinion in the Czech Republic agree that public opinion is: (Hrubec, M., 2004)

1. Pluralistic;
2. Variable;
3. Contrastive;
4. An expression of deeper positions;
5. Internally structured;
6. Defined by the media;

7. Necessary for the modern democratic practice;
8. Factor of the political culture and decision making;
9. Subject to scientific exploitation.

ONLINE SURVEY OF THE PUBLIC OPINION

A significant innovation in modern survey of the public opinion is the use of interactive opportunities offered by electronic communication. In concrete words, it is about applying the internet for valid, fast and economical survey of the public opinion. In this context, a project was designed for online survey of the public opinion in the Czech Republic. According to the authors of the project (P. Cakirpaloglu, J. Shmahaj), the success of this model depends on the level of internet availability and the general computer literacy of the population. In accordance with the State Statistical Bureau, the Czech Republic fulfilled both conditions, which enabled realization of the technical aspect of the project.

The web page www.vmonline.cz was finished towards the end of 2008, and in February 2009 testing of the system started. So far, there have been around 20 pilot surveys related to different social and political topics. Obtained results show a solid reliability of the surveys. In the following period the data base of respondents shall be completed, in accordance with the statistical standards of representation of the survey sample.

FINAL DISCUSSION

The scientific exploitation of the public opinion is an evidence of openness and democracy of the society. These attributes are inherent for the industrially developed countries from Western Europe and USA. Realization of similar survey assignments is also the objective of the other countries intending to become part of the community of free, democratic societies. A precondition thereof is the democratic traditions of the relevant culture and the scientific openness of the society. These attributes are imminent for the Czech culture and mentality.

There is a long tradition of public opinion survey in the Czech Republic, dating from the period between the two world wars. Empirical exercises of this type were developed on an institutional and scientific level. The development of public opinion in this country shared the same temptations and dramatic turmoil, from the aspect of the historical and social changes. The periods of scientific research were changed with periods of pseudoscientific and ideological manipulation and abuse of the empirical results. During the totalitarian regime, the activity of the Public Opinion Institute practically seized to exist.

The social revival in the Czech Republic after the fall of Communism marked the new era of scientific and practical interest for the public opinion surveys. In these modern conditions there are different active state and private institutions for public opinion. The scientific approach towards the phenomenon of the public opinion complies with the highest standards and needs of the stakeholders. The latest research development has started to apply the technological advantages of the computer technology, which has been articulated in the form of online survey of the public opinion in the Czech Republic.

References:

Adamec, Č. *Počátky výzkumu veřejného mínění v českých zemích (The beginnings of the public opinion survey in the Czech Republic)*. Ústav pro soudobé dějiny. Prague, 1996.

Data z výzkumů Institutu pro výzkum veřejného mínění z let 1990-2000 (Archive of the Institute for public opinion survey (1990-2000)

Data z výzkumů Institutu pro výzkum veřejného mínění z let 2001-2004 (Archive of the Institute for public opinion survey) (2001-2004)

Hrubec, M.:*Demokracie, veřejnost a občanská společnost* (Democracy, the Public and Civil society). Filosofie. Filozofický ústav AV ČR. Prague, 2004.

Jungová, E.: *Výzkumy veřejného mínění a jejích využití v mediích*. (Public opinion surveys and their use by the media), in: Rozvoj české společnosti v Evropské unii. III Média, Teritoriální studia.

Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta sociálních věd. Prague, 2004.

Price, V.: *Public Opinion*. Sage, Newbury Park. CA, 1992.

Reifová, I.:*Slovník mediální komunikace* (Dictionary of Media communication). Portál. Prague, 2004.

Šubrt, J. *Kapitoly ze sociologie veřejného mínění* (Chapters of the public opinion sociology). Teorie a výzkum, Karolinum. Prague, 1998.

Šubrt, J. *K historii sociologie veřejného mínění* (Towards the History of Public Opinion Sociology). Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica 2, Studia Sociologova IX. 27-39, 1992

http://w.w.w.vmonline.cz

Комуникации Communication studies	УДК/UDC 316.774 (497.7) Научен труд / Scientific paper

Ivan Karovski
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

INFORMATION MEDIA AS A CITIZEN FORUM AND SOCIAL MOBILIZING FACTOR

ABSTRACT

The public sphere is envisioned as a place for meetings or a debate forum that allows for discussions based on qualified information regarding the most important issues at present and as a means of negotiation between citizens and the state.
We'll start off the from the assumption that the most general function of the information media as citizen forums is to serve as a channel that allows the governing bodies and the subjects being governed the opportunity to effectively communicate with one another. In that sense, information media represent the necessary link that connects horizontally political actors and vertically the same political actors with their voters. The central priority in this process needs to be given to the parties as the basic representative institutions where interests are united, candidates nominated and where collective responsibility is provided. Parties try to influence the headlines on the covers of newspapers as well as on the main television news and thus reach 'down' to the voters, by using in that process activities that would help them impose their own agenda onto the voters, such as holding press conferences, opportunities for taking photographs and professional techniques for political advertisement. In order for the opportunities arising with the elections to express the interests of the public, it is as equally important for citizens to be able to voice their concerns and convey their preferences to the parties and the elected members of Parliament "from up above."
The role of the information media as a mobilizing factor assumes that journalists as well as the parties share the same responsibility for stimulating interest in public relations and the encouragement of different forms of involvement of citizens.

Citizens have many opportunities for political participation, from following the events during political campaigns up to discussing options with their friends and family, voting on the elections and referendums, engaging into party activities such as collection of donations and agitating, helping charities and citizen associations and employing “unconventional” activities as direct action.

Key words: media, political subjects, citizen sector, political communication

The concept of information media serving as citizen forums is closely related to the work of Jürgen Habermas and is of considerable influence; however, our argument does not depend on his conceptualization. Habermas's understanding of the sphere of the public is based on the understanding of the broad discussion on public issues in the civil society. (Habermas, 1989). The public sphere is envisioned as a place for meetings or a debate forum that allows for discussions based on qualified information regarding the most important issues at present and as a means of negotiation between citizens and the state. In the 18th century, the numerous intellectual magazines and periodicals were thought to be the ideal media by the modish circles in this process, together with the radical press and the meetings in the political salons and cafeterias around the city of London, Paris and Vienna.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the changes in the nature of the liberal democracy, especially the expansion of the franchise outside of bourgeois elites, the development of the popular press as well as the ever-increasing specialization and the more expressed complexity of the rule, transformed the conditions by making the traditional channels of the elitist political discussion more open and by expanding the public sphere. Habermas expresses his dissatisfaction from the effects of the events in information media as well as the ever-increasing role of the popular press of mass circulation, the concentration of corporative ownership in big media groups and the ever-increasing power of the sponsors – a process that, as he claims, has homogenized the political information and turned the “real” political debate into a “virtual” one.

Nevertheless, the ideal according to which the press is seen as a citizen forum for pluralistic debate between the citizens and the country is still widely held. The traditional meetings have changed, but this change does not render them unrecognizable; today they appear in the form of open pages in newspapers, columns, editorials and reader's pages as well as magazines on public issues, along with some more recent forms of media such as phone-in radio programs, television debates programs or internet discussions. All of these provide the opportunity for a political debate to a whole array of politicians, government officials, journalist commentators, spokespeople of different representative groups, analysts and scientific-political experts, as well as provide citizens with the opportunity to phone in or participate in debate shows.

We would like to assume that the most general function of the information media as citizen forums is to serve as a channel that allows the governing bodies and the subjects being governed the opportunity to effectively communicate with one another. In that sense, information media represent the necessary link that connects horizontally political actors and vertically the same political actors with their voters. The central priority in this process needs to be given to the parties as the basic representative institutions where interests are united, candidates nominated and where collective responsibility is provided. Parties try to influence the headlines on the covers of newspapers as well as on the main television news and thus reach ‘down’ to the voters, by using in that process activities that would help them impose their own agenda onto the voters, such as holding press conferences, opportunities for taking photographs and professional techniques for political advertisement. In order for the opportunities arising with the elections to express the interests of the public, it is as equally important for citizens to be able to voice their concerns and convey their preferences to the parties and the elected members of Parliament “from up above.” Public opinion surveys, focus groups and the traditional face-to-face meetings with the voters enable the representatives to tap into the preferences of their voters, however very frequently politicians decide to lean on the information media as the right indicators to public opinion. The communication process is very important in every stage of the political cycle, but of extreme importance in the course of election campaigns when citizens are given the opportunity to have their say in the political process and choose the Government as well.

MEDIA OPPORTUNITIES FOR A CITIZEN’S DEBATE

If we agree on the fact that information media are supposed to serve as citizen forums then we can use specific indicators in order to establish just how good the media’s performance is. We assume that in order for the media to be effective they have to provide a more detailed report on the political issues in a way that’s widely and easily assessable to all parts of society. If a particular community is rich with information, i.e. has at its disposal several sources of regular news from politics that come from different points of information, then this community has the biggest chance to promote efficient communication activity to the Government, provide numerous places of public debate and reduce the costs that would incur from the information process on public issues. Should there be, as it is claimed, a decrease in the political information process due to trends such as decreased public service information, or a rise in the trend of the so-called info-entertainment, the citizen sphere might become poorer (the coinage *info-entertainment* refers to a program of entertaining and informative character that combines current affairs and entertainment, in the form of news and usually containing general information and interesting factography; hence, the coinage *info-entertainment*).

On the other hand, the scope of the political news doesn't attest to their quality. According to pluralistic theory, the information media system which serves as a citizen forum ought to express the political and cultural diversity within each society by keeping a just and unbiased balance that allows for every voice in political debates to be heard. The "balance" can be defined in the sense of external or internal diversity.

The external diversity concepts emphasize the competition among major media sources. For instance, in Europe, even though the immediate financial links between the parties and the newspapers have grown weaker, the press is still quite biased in its political preferences. Although the overall balance in the press in the post-war period had traditionally tipped towards the right wing, the competition among the newspapers, which offers voters on newsstands the choice of alternative political views, has kept the pluralism. The role of the information media as a citizen forum can become problematic if the biggest information sources keep representing only one party or just one political view, if they disregard the minor parties or minority views or if the citizens rely on just one source of information.

The alternative concept emphasizes the internal diversity of reporting. In this model, symbolized by the American press, every newspaper presents numerous and mutually exclusive views in its columns, oftentimes providing a balance created by the presentation of comments that favor both liberal and conservative views. Internal diversity protects pluralism even in the case of a limited choice of newspapers on specific markets. The monopoly held by public broadcasting companies pointed out the need of strict party balance in media reporting, especially during election campaigns. Television editors and producers emphasize the importance of reporting for the big political parties from an equidistance in order to create a balance between the news items that are in favor of or against a particular political party as well as the importance of including all parties participants in a particular issue. (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995.) In this regard, a typical news item presents the proposals or views of a particular political party which is followed by the reply from the opponents in the form of "on the one hand/on the other hand." Research shows that the balance or "the just presentation of the views of both of the sides in the conflict" is one of the most common ways in which journalists understand objectivity, especially in the States and Europe (Patterson, 1998.)

A great number of broadcasting companies see to it that the main parties and candidates are given the same or at least a proportional broadcasting time in election campaigns. This is the principle that is usually applied in the distribution of political or election broadcasts (Holtz-Bacha & Lee Kaid, 1995) as well as in the rules regarding the time allocated to presidential candidates in their debates. According to one comparison on the information process in election campaigns at the start of the nineties, the British and the Spanish press had shown a bigger external diversity, whereas the American and the Japanese press and the news of the broadcasting companies from most countries, showed a bigger internal diversity (Dalton, Kawakami, Semetko, Suzuki & Voltmer, 1998). The potential danger in internal diversity lies in the fact that it could enable leaning more towards the political center whereby disregarding the radical left and the radical right. The multiple and mutually opposing signals in the process of informative reporting might complicate the process of using media as stimulators when making political choice or reduce their capacity as information media to mobilize voters.

We could compare this by looking into the scope and the direction of the news for the most controversial issues that have divided European society, such as the debate on the economic and monetary union and the adoption of a single currency (the Euro). If the European media system serves as a citizen forum regarding this issue too, we could also expect a more extensive political information process for the debate on the economic and monetary union in newspapers, on television and the internet and this information process will provide a platform for the votes of a whole array of political and cultural standpoints expressed by the supporters and opponents of the monetary union. On the other hand, according to this standard, one can come to the conclusion that information media are unsuccessful if the serious political information process in Europe is suppressed by the values of “info-entertainment,” the “light” news and “tabloidization,” if from the news we have the main voices in public debates excluded systematically or if only one view is favored, either for or against the monetary union.

MEDIA- THE OVERSEERS OF THE POWERFUL

It is also just as important for one sustainable democracy to allow for full political rights and citizen freedoms in order to protect the interests of the minorities from power abuse. It’s a known fact that the overseeing role of the information media means that they should keep close track of the governing bodies, regardless of whether they’re government institutions, non-profitable organizations or the private sector in order to hold officials responsible for their actions (Donohue & Tichenor, 1995.) As far back as Edmund Burke’s days, the so-called “fourth power,” i.e. the press, has traditionally been considered as one of the classic control points and bearers of balance in the distribution of power. By playing this role, journalists strive to reveal corruption within officials, economic scandals or the failures of the Government. To put it more simply, the press is regarded as the leader of the people, which protects their interests and addresses their problems and which has the power to question and challenge the Government (Donohue & Tichenor, 1995.)

So when it comes to the political informing process, the journalists and the broadcasting companies should not just inform about political speeches, pre-election rallies and photo-sessions and convey the messages "truthfully" and without any filters, from the politicians to the public without giving their own introductory comments, critical analyses and their own interpretational assessment of the political messages in order to help the readers and viewers to place these events into a broader context. One can say that the critical information process promotes conditions for effective political competition since the claims given regarding the political dossier of the Government or the qualifications of each and every candidate to do a good job are subject to a thorough assessment and evaluation. The analysis of the party strategies and tactics can also be regarded as a part of this 'overseeing' role since providing contextual information on the goals of the information dribblers of the election headquarters or the leaders of campaigns can help citizens assess the credibility and the meaning of their political messages. The role of an overseer can also be seen as crucial in the protection of freedoms of citizens and their political rights because it examines more closely the activities of the Government and of the biggest companies before the eyes of the public.

It is clear that there is a risk from a potential conflict that arises as a result of the need of information media to act as pluralistic citizen forums which set the scene and establish the rules that the others would have to play by when discussing public interest issues and the need of journalists to act as active overseers of public interest. The conventional difference between the 'factographic" information on the cover pages and the "editorial" type of comments inside the paper is one type of differentiation, even though the line between the "reporting" and the interpretation is oftentimes blurred in practice. In order for us to have a closer look of the way journalists balance out these different functions of theirs, we can examine some practical analyses of the information process for certain debates and specific cases when the Government has failed. This kind of approach enables us to see if some information media had acted as independent, if they were just and unbiased critics of powerful interests or if the violations of public standards were left unaddressed.

MEDIA AS A MOBILIZING FACTOR

There's been considerable debate about whether or not the public has been informed enough by the information media to cast their informed vote in the electoral box since there isn't much of a consensus on what is considered "political knowledge."

We will start off by the premise that what voters need in order to cast their vote efficiently and what also has to be provided by the media is the practical knowledge of the possible consequences of their political actions. In order to cast an informed vote, citizens have to be able to minimize the insecurity and predict the results of their political decisions, for example in case they voted for X or Y, see if that would maximize their advantages (Lupia & McCubbins, 1998). Practical knowledge is just one form of knowledge and is focused on predictions and not explanations or analyses. For instance, understanding how a certain proposal turns into a law or understanding all the details on the country's transport policy is not important to the citizens that want to know what will happen to the issues that they themselves are concerned about if they vote for a particular party of the left or the right wing.

This is why we assume that there is a difference between the predictions and explanations because we can explain without being necessarily able to predict.

In the quest for practical knowledge, we further assume that the type of information that's most useful to citizens is related to the electoral decision they're facing. The reason for this is that the information most relevant for the voters' decision depends on the electoral and the party system. There's no "golden" standard. Information on the political issues and party platforms can also prove useful in predicting the consequences from the decisions of voters. Nevertheless, in other contexts, the alternative types of knowledge can also help voters predict the consequences of their cast vote. For example, the information on the possible lead of some party, obtained through a poll on the public opinion, can be useful in casting a tactical vote. Having an insight into the party strategy can be useful information when evaluating the consistency and the meaning of party messages. Having an insight into the experience and the stance of candidates is useful for voters in parliamentary elections where party discipline remains weak, but this information is not regarded important in strong parliamentary democracies where party discipline shapes the viewpoints of the parliamentary groups. This means that if the information on political issues can provide basis for practical knowledge, voters can also ask for many other types of information so that they could make a proper decision in different contexts.

Thirdly, we assume that information media should provide citizens with political information on different levels, from the most technical details to information with "popular" explanations. The reason for this is because citizens enter political life with most diverse backgrounds, interests and cognitive capabilities. Some may be looking for detailed political briefings and analyses, others may ask for information that is in more of a popular or simple format, prepared by sources such as tabloids or short informative headlines being broadcast every hour on the hour on music radio programs or local television news. Having in mind the different capacity, experience and understanding of the voters, we assume that the news should be available at different levels instead of using just one format to fit all. In this regard, the political role of the tabloids can be regarded as legitimate in democratic processes because it reaches groups that are uninterested in serious political magazines. Just the same as democratic elections are seen as a competition for a place in cabinet, there should be a pluralistic competition for the level and types of information provided.

In the end, the role of information media as a mobilizing factor means that journalists, as well as parties, share the same responsibility in stimulating interest in public relations and encouraging different types of citizen involvement. Citizens have many opportunities for political participation, from following the events during political campaigns up to discussing options with their friends and family, voting on the elections and referendums, engaging into party activities such as collection of donations and agitating, helping charities and citizen associations and "unconventional" activities as direct action. As far back as the early studies of Lazarsfeld and his colleagues, traditional theories of information media have emphasized their mobilizing potential in election campaigns. (Lazersfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1944). The concept of information media as a mobilizing factor that produces practical knowledge, political interest and allows involvement of the citizens has been widely accepted even though there are many who fear that the media might also act against these same values.

CONCLUSION

Commercial media which are under the influence of fierce competition hardly manage in their attempts to preserve their independence from insignificant influences and to give advantage to the most significant issues or provide a more insightful view of complex issues. However, media critics are not right to place the blame for the poor performance of the media on the concentration of media ownership. Quite the contrary, media work best when the competition is mild rather than in conditions of fierce competition. One can expect the media to perform much better in the case when several media houses have many channels than in the case of many media houses having just a few channels.

Politicians and their economic advisors have many times assumed that quality and diversity of media products are best provided with competitive instruments. This is a philosophy that rests on the principle of economic liberalism which had been typical of the American media policy in the course of many years and now it has established its dominance in European media policy, too. (Venturelli, 1998; Noam, 1991).

Democratic function cannot attain its goal if the uncontrolled market forces control the media. The only way to ensure an independent democratic communication system is by implementing non-commercial mass media. Historic evidence from Europe and other places has proven that the non-commercial media financed by the state did quite well as long as the competition of commercial media was not too fierce.

Commercial mass media can hold the not so educated people in a state of ignorance by offering them entertainment programs and simple stories. Democratic ideals can be met only when all voters are educated and informed to a degree when they gain the capacity to understand the most important political issues. It is more than obvious that commercial media are not up to this task. Many commentators have said that the media simply serve people with what they want and what they want is entertainment. But this idea is contrary to what the media point out, that they help people choose their preferences. There's much evidence to support the thesis that people can learn to appreciate serious news (Gunther & Mughan, 2000: 440).

There are many cultural and political consequences from media deregulation. There are more and more populist politicians that talk about simple reasons and implement simple solutions by entirely neglecting scientific experts that possess a good knowledge of this issue. This policy goes back to the system to ask for an even bigger deregulation of the media.

A system where a great number of organizations of special interest have to compete in order to attract media attention and get the political and economic support for their cause is not the best system. Oftentimes, political activists decide to stage illegal and violent events if that is the only way for them to attract the attention from the media. These groups of special interest, which possess a whole arsenal of examples of how to attract attention in the easiest of ways and which are capable of performing media stunts in this anarchic struggle for attention of today, might not even be the ones who have the most important things to say. When politicians respond to these emotional stunts of the media, we end up with a system where the resource priority is determined by the demands of the media instead by a rational criterion. This puts in jeopardy all of the political and economic priorities in many areas like health care, security, economy, protection of the environment and development help.

The use of fear and danger as instruments for attracting attention oftentimes produces a side-effect of making people scared of the wrong things. Drastic measures are being taken against statistically unimportant dangers, whereas other, more likely dangers are totally ignored. The fears created by the media can sometimes develop into morale panic and a witch hunt and as a result we end up with eroded human right principles, citizen freedoms and just trials. Under these conditions, society can raise more attention on social problems, but the capacity of the system to deal with these problems has been reduced. By a personalized structuring of the problems and focusing on the simple immediate reasons, we can't get to the deeper structural causes of the social problems; hence no efficient solutions can be provided either.

This does not refer merely to the social and cultural social problems within the country, but also to its interethnic relations. By putting blame on the bad politicians of other ethnicities for the interethnic political conflicts instead on the social mechanisms that have given these politicians power, the system can de facto promote interethnic politics which can Inadvertantly add fuel to the fire and encourage fears and concerns that made citizens of that particular ethnicity to support a strong and authoritative leader. Unfortunately, the only imminent result from this situation is conflict escalation.

References:

Habermas, J. 1989. *The structural Transformation of the public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Polity Press, Oxford [Orig. 1962]

Gurevitch, M. and Blumler, J,G. 1990. *Political communication systems and democratic values. In: Lichtenberg J (ed) Democracy and the mass media*. Cambridge University Press

Patterson, T. 1998. *Political Roles of the Journalist In The Politics of News: The News of Politics edited by Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Holtz-Bacha, C. and Lee Kaid, L. 1995. *A Comparative Perspective on Political Advertising*. London: Sage

Dalton, R.J. Kawakami, K. Semetko,H A. Suzuki, H. and Voltmer,K. 1998. *Partisan cues in the media: Cross –National Comparisons of Election Coverage*., Chicago 25 -28th April 1998.

Donohue, G ,A. and Tichenor, P. 1995. *A Guard Dog Perspective on the Role of the Media. Journal of Communication*. 45(2):115 -128.

Lupia, A. and McCubbins, M. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma*. Cambridge University Press.

Lazersfeld, P F. Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H.. 1944. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Noam, E. 1991. *Television in Europe*. Oxford University Press

Venturelli, S. 1998. *Liberalizing the European Media: Politics, Regulation, and the Public Sphere*. Clarendon Press, Oxford

Gunther, R. and Mughan, A. (eds) 2000. *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press