

UNIVERSITY "Ss. CYRIL AND METHODIUS" in SKOPJE



INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL, POLITICAL
AND JURIDICAL RESEARCH



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FOREWORD

International Conference Challenges of Contemporary Society takes place in the year when the Institute for sociological, political and juridical research celebrates 50 years of existence. Over the years the Institute continuously encouraged and opened research questions and issues in the different fields of social sciences, and, as a result, large number of scientific and applied projects were conducted. Within this half century of existence around 500 applied and scientific research projects had been conducted and more than 200 different publications were published. As a result of this continuous work the Institute has been involved in the management, promotion and development of socio-economic conditions in the Republic of Macedonia.

The Conference Challenges of Contemporary Society was in this spirit of anticipating societal changes and challenges. The aim of this Conference was to provide a forum for an interdisciplinary discussion for contemporary social issues.

The agenda of the Conference covers a wide range of very interesting issues related to the modern society and challenges from important social phenomena such as:

- Challenges for democracy and democratization;
- New media, new communication, new identities;
- Social challenges for contemporary society;
- Management, business and workforce issues in the 21st Century.

Contributions from the fields of sociology, political science, communication science, law, management, psychology, and also contributions regarding methodological issues related to how to study these phenomena, made this Conference significant and inspiring.

In this edition of the Annual of the ISPJR are several works of whose papers were successfully presented at this International Conference in the Section: Social challenges for contemporary society.

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THE ETHICAL PRINCIPLES OF MEDIA REPORTING IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Abstract

The media professionals, in their daily reporting, should be committed to respecting the human rights and the different cultural values. This obligation stems out of the doctrine for the social responsibility of the media. The nature of the profession comprises principles of conduct and specific rules that should be respected by the media workers. This set of ethical rules is known as a professional code of conduct, or journalistic canons that encompass media freedom, responsibility, independence (in every sense), reliability and trustworthiness. Most of the foreign influential media have developed and are governed by ethical codes or guidelines for reporting in specific situations. In Macedonia, however, the general impression is that most of the media, in their reporting, are not committed to the generally accepted ethical standards, which can be observed by the numerous examples of dominant reactive journalism, bipolar reporting and destruction of the journalistic ethics. One of the reasons for this situation is the absence of the written documents (codes of conduct and ethics) that would lead the journalists in their reporting. The only known document is the Code of Journalists of the Republic of Macedonia, but overall, its principles are not abided by the journalists. This paper, by considering the situation in thirty relevant media

in Macedonia, analyses the current situation and recommends further action taking into account the positive experiences of the influential world media. The recommendations and conclusions are aimed at developing ethical codes and principles for reporting in specific situations, as well as encouraging their full implementation in practice.

Key words: ethics, professional code, journalists, media

INTRODUCTION

In the modern societies, the perception of the reality largely depends on the public opinion, created and based on information presented by the journalists and the media. This is one of the reasons why the media have enormous power in today's world. If the media are silent about some event, or the media simply overlook it, it is basically the same as this event has not happened. The information placed in the media, the values they promote or the events they cover is perceived as very important in the everyday life. Hence, taking into consideration the great power of the media, their social responsibility is even greater. The basic rule of the journalistic profession envisages objective and balanced reporting, however it is understandable that the interpretation of the published information can be different. Ultimately, the best journalism would be the one in which all the journalists could publish everything. However, this kind of situation has rarely been achieved. Most of the reporters can witness that at least once in a life time they were not allowed to publish something that was worth to be heard by the public. That was result of various reasons: either they were prevented by the law, by some other authority (censorship) or they were simply afraid to responsibility for the possible consequences of publishing (self-censorship). In the Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopaedia (1985), the censorship is defined as "Supervision and control of the information and ideas that are circulated among the people within a society. In modern times, censorship refers to the examination of books, periodicals, plays, films, television and radio programs, news reports, and other communication media for the purpose of altering or suppressing parts thought to be objectionable or offensive" (Bram and Dickey, 1985). Chomsky and Herman (1994) argue that corporate ownership of news media very strongly encourages systematic self-censorship owing to market forces. In this argument, even with supposedly liberal media, bias and (often unconscious) self-censorship is evident in the selection and omission of news stories, and the framing of acceptable discussion, in line with the interests of the corporations owning those media.

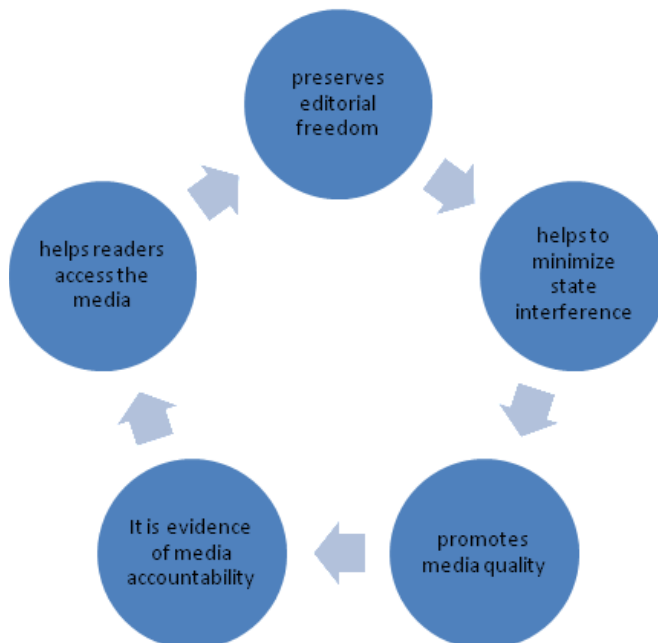
The modern societies, as mentioned above, tend to distance the state from interfering in the media and being their "owner" or "censor". The obligation of the media for objective, balanced and ethical reporting stems out of the doctrine for their social responsibility. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the journalists to "control" their work by themselves and in the same time, to jointly protect themselves from any kind of interfering in their professional work. The ethical codes of conduct as well as the media self-regulation have shown as a best concept for providing ethical, balanced and objective journalism. This concept should be

respected not only by the journalists themselves, but also by the media owners and the public in general.

THE NATURE OF MEDIA SELF-REGULATION

In the Handbook on Media self-regulation (Haraszti, 2008: 11), the concept of media self-regulation envisages “...joint endeavour by media professionals to set up voluntary editorial guidelines and abide by them in a learning process open to the public. By doing so, the independent media accept their share of responsibility for the quality of public discourse in the nation, while fully preserving their editorial autonomy in shaping it.” The authors of the handbook recognises the self-regulation as “establishing minimum principles on ethics, accuracy, personal rights and so on, while fully preserving editorial freedom on what to report and what opinions to express“ (Haraszti, 2008: 12).

Graph 1. *Five reasons for the media to develop media self-regulation*



Source: OSCE Handbook on media self-regulation (2008)

Media self-regulation has developed differently in different countries and therefore the forms of media self-regulation are not unique. Diversity is such that

in some countries the self-regulation occurs as response to the legal regulation of the media, while in other countries it was accepted that the self-regulatory bodies are established by the law. At present, journalists and their employers can apply a variety of methods for enforcing and implementing the self-regulation and the ethical behaviour. These include adhering to the codes of media ethics on one side, but also participation and supporting the work of the self-regulatory bodies, such as media ombudsman, press councils, press complaints commissions etc. According to Ethical Journalism Network, some of the self-regulatory bodies have a long tradition, such as the Press Council of Sweden, which has existed since 1916 and it is considered as a most successful model of Press Council in Europe. The British Council has developed in the period between 1947 and 1977, and the German Council was founded in 1956. Some of the media self-regulatory bodies have been established relatively recently, such as the Press Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina, founded in 2000. Georgia established a media self-regulatory body in 2005 and Bulgaria in 2006. According to the list compiled by the Alliance of Independent Press Councils of Europe, similar institutions are established in more than 50 countries worldwide, including 28 European countries. Some media outlets in the UK, like the newspapers The Guardian, The Observer, The Independent have established media ombudsman. Media ombudsman also functions in Spain (newspaper El Pais, La Vanguardia), France (newspaper Le Monde and in some electronic media) Denmark (newspaper Politiken), while in Sweden the Ombudsman institution was founded at the Press Council and not in the media outlet. Taking into consideration the above mentioned reasons, Kidder (2003:23) proposes using of three principles for resolving dilemmas, like:

- **Ends – Based thinking:** “Do what’s best for the greatest number of people.”
- **Rule – Based thinking:** “Follow your higher sense of principle.”
- **Care – Based thinking:** “Do what you want others to do“.

THE CODES OF ETHICS AS GUIDING PRINCIPLES IN THE JOURNALISTIC PROFESSION

The media codes of ethics define the functions, rights and duties of the media professionals and thus provide journalists with guiding principles on how to best exercise their profession. The names of these codes vary: ethics standards, ethics charter, code of conduct, code of practice, code of ethics, etc. However, according to Haraszti (2008: 23), they all have similar purposes: safeguarding the autonomy of the profession and serving the public interest.

The media ethical codes first appeared in the United States of America (USA), the country that besides the constitutional guarantee (first amendment to the US Constitution) has never brought a law on freedom of the press or information. Upon accepting the doctrine of “social responsibility”, the media owners started creating codes of professional ethics. Thus, at present there is no serious print or electronic medium in USA that has not developed an internal code of professional Conduct. All the journalists or other media professionals are obliged to get familiar with these codes, to confirm with signature that they have understood it and that they would apply it in their daily work.

Some of the codes are created for internal use in the newsrooms, while others are adopted by the professional associations of journalists and, in certain cases, by publishing organizations. Actually, the self-regulation systems in many European countries are based on the ethical codes. Only Luxembourg and Denmark have codes of ethics that have been adopted as legal instruments. In most of the European countries, the Code of Ethics is administered by the existing self-regulatory body (press commission, press council or similar). The main principles of the media codes of ethics are recognized and they lie in the nine principles of the International Federation of Journalists. Based on these principles, the Code of Journalists of Macedonia was adopted in 2001. The Code is consisted of principles and 17 articles and covers all major professional and ethical norms that need to be observed by the journalists. Beside this document, The Association of journalists of Macedonia has developed a Manual for Journalism Ethics, with an aim to promote ethical rules and media self-regulation.

Inspecting the codes of professional ethics that exist in the countries of Council of Europe, it can be concluded that all the provisions consisted in the media ethical codes should, in general, proclaim the following:

- Acceptance of responsibility

The media codes of ethics proclaim acceptance of responsibility by the media professionals to the public or to the audience. In that sense, the published information must be true, clear and unambiguous. As they are the main creators of the public opinion, the media professionals accept the obligation to respect and defend the rights of the citizens. Moreover, the codes require information from multiple sources. It is proclaimed that the sources of information should be reviewed and the news/ facts should be clearly separated from the comments. As Boeyink and Borden (2010) claim, “...there is nothing more to journalism ethics than doing journalism well. From all journalists is expected to do their jobs competently.” In that sense, a reporter “...should be able to find out information

efficiently and to know how to verify it so that he or she can vouch for the information's accuracy and completeness". According to Borden (2007) "... the practice of journalism deals with practical, rather than theoretical, expertise - one of the ways in which it differs from its intellectual cousin, science. The media professionals, indeed, will be the first to tell you that they make ethical decisions on a "case-by-case basis." In this regard, Cohen and Elliot (1997) note that the media professionals accept certain particular responsibilities by becoming journalists, entering news organizations and joining groups such as the societies of professional journalists. By becoming members of organizations, journalists agree to the promises that have been made on their behalf by these bodies. However, these principles are in constant tension as media professionals endeavour to perform good work - in both the technical and the moral sense. However, it needs to be pointed out that appealing to the code is not sufficient for solving the moral mysteries that bedevil even the best journalists. The moral issues require the media professionals to provide not only the facts but also the context surrounding them. Truthfulness as well as respecting the other ethical values entails a commitment not only from the journalist but also from the organization he or she works for.

- Protection of the professional integrity

Another area that affects the content of the codes of professional ethics is the protection of the professional integrity from external influences. Foremost, this means protection of the professional integrity from the government interference. At present, any government that threatens the freedom of journalists to access all sources of information is considered as uncivilized. The codes of professional ethics, on the other hand, promote this freedom. In the modern societies, the media professionals have the right to keep the "professional secrecy". In reality, this means that they are exempted from the obligation to disclose their sources of information. However, the freedom that is documented in the codes has boundaries, like for example; the journalists have to reveal their sources of information in front of the court under certain conditions. Given the fact that the number of privately owned media is increasing, the journalists try to incorporate in the codes their right to honest earnings and participation in making editorial decisions. The journalists also undertake the obligation to oppose the irregular media concentration, as well as to reject bribery, gifts and other privileges. In general, with accepting the codes of ethics, the media professionals are obliged to oppose any form of "novices' journalism" and "corrupted journalism."

- Responsibility towards the employer

The ethical codes promote the responsibility of the media professionals not only to the public but also towards their employer, which means respecting the agreed rules of behaviour in the workplace. Furthermore, it means that the media professionals should not use their position in order to gain material benefits. Bertrand (2003) believes that journalists have a greater responsibility to society, rather than their employers. He emphasizes that it is unethical for an editor to “kill” the story in exchange for a bribe or a higher position and offers “synthetic source” for the universal values, beginning with “fundamental values” of respect for life and solidarity between people.

- Responsibility towards the sources of information

It is quite logical that the codes of professional ethics journalists should define responsibility of the media professionals towards the sources of information. This area primarily requires “calming” of the public statements that may produce defamation or insult. However, the boundaries between the freedom of expression and the insult are very fluid. Crossing them may result with court cases, since moral satisfaction would be oftentimes insufficient. What journalists themselves can easily do is to respect the embargos for publishing information (by limiting the time for releasing the information to the public), respect the publishing and intellectual rights of other owners (prohibition of plagiarism and piracy) as well as to respect the right of the source to verify or correct its information. For example, the Society of Professional Journalist has adopted standards of truth, accuracy, conflicts of interest and respect. The US Public Relations Society has adopted a code of professional standards to guide its members through the moral norms of social responsibility. “Audiamur et altera pars- To hear the other side” is the first and foremost requirement of professional journalistic ethics. In that regard, irrespective of the true or false dilemma, an undeniable right of every source of information / interviewed person is to be able to adjust or completely withdraw the text. According to Bujega (2007), „The circumstances of ethical issues may vary, however the moral processes used to resolve them are basically the same“ Boeyink and Borden (2010) claim that “journalists can be skilful and yet fail to perform good work if they do not also do their jobs with moral excellence“. The respect for the dignity of others is expressed in prohibitions contained in many codes of professional ethics. For example, it is prohibited that the information gathering is done by dishonest means (without the consent of another person the journalists should not record images, voices, pictures, computer files etc.)

THE CONDITIONS IN MACEDONIA

Several self-regulation bodies exist in Macedonia, such as the Council of Ethics (founded in 2013). The Council bases its work on the principles of transparency and accountability and it freely promotes its views and opinions, takes initiatives and participates in building and upgrading of professional standards and ethics and their protection and promotion in the media in the country. The Council is a media self-regulatory body and functions in a way of applying moral sanctions on those media representatives who do not respect the professional standards. Another self-regulatory body in Macedonia is the Council of Honour that functions under the auspices of the Association of the Journalists of Macedonia. Its primary task is to look after and to promote the ethical principles, criteria and standards of profession stipulated in the Code of Journalists of Macedonia. The role of the Council of Honour is not to exert censorship or auto-censorship, but to set up and defend the principles of ethical, balanced and objective journalism.

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

This paper applies an interdisciplinary methodology, combining primary research in the field with secondary desk research and remote consultations, as well as analysing qualitative and quantitative sources. In the period of January-April 2015, semi structured interviews were carried out with 40 journalists and editors in various media in Macedonia. In parallel, the media professionals were asked to response to a questionnaire in order to provide their opinion on the media ethics and functioning of the media self-regulatory bodies in R. Macedonia. The given answers were anonymous as requested by most of the respondents, with aim to provide honest and truthful answers. The authors understand that this sample size does not yield results that can be generalized to the overall media sector; however they believe that the conducted research provided insights that could be useful in analysing the current situation in Macedonia. In parallel, desk-based research on relevant literature, reports, official documents and statistics has been carried out, specifically in terms of analysing the content of the ethical codes and functioning of the self-regulation instruments worldwide, taking into account the relative reliability of different sources according to whether they were based on empirical research, official data, or other methods. Distribution of the respondents is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Profile of the respondents*

Editors/reporters in the Macedonian media	
TV	8
Radio	9
Newspaper	11
Online media	12
Total	40

According to the answers given by the interviewed editors and reporters in Macedonia, it can be observed that their perception about the effects of the self-regulatory instruments is imprecise. Although most of them are familiar with the functioning of the both self –regulatory bodies in the country, they are not fully confident about their effectiveness due to various reasons, such as the minor warnings/sanctions provided in case of breach of journalistic ethics.

Table 2. *Self-regulatory bodies in R. Macedonia*

Respondents	Yes fully	Yes partially	No	I don't know	
I am familiar with the work of the Council of ethics/ Council of Honour in R. Macedonia.	9	17	3	11	
I am familiar with the concept of the media ombudsman.	24	6	10	/	
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I think that the work of the self –regulatory bodies in R. Macedonia is effective and influences the daily work of the media professionals.	5	10	15	10	/
I think that establishing of other self-regulatory bodies will improve the communication with the public and the quality of the reporting.	31	3	6	/	/

The conducted semi- structured interviews with the media professionals show that the professional ethical reporting is disturbed by the following reasons:

- **Conflicts of interest** (while journalist is committed to telling the truth, the media owner is **interested** of certain distortion of the truth, since, for example, he/or she has some business interest by twisting the facts);
- **Influence of the advertisers** (many of the advertisers tend to be positively displayed in the media, disrespecting the real situation);
- **Sensationalism** (news organizations sometimes tend to emphasize the information that is interesting but unimportant. This happens when reporters put more effort into attracting and pleasing an audience than into reporting on the critical issues of the day);
- Oftentimes media publish **inappropriate/controversial** photographs or camera footage just to attract more clicks/visitors on the web (for example, killing of an animal due to a custom or similar).

The research has shown that there are many other reasons for breaching the journalistic ethics, like for example, sacrificing the quality of information for other lucrative aims. As stated by the interviewees, the media ethics is disturbed mostly by "...the political influence in the newsroom" (interviewed TV editor in Macedonia, 2015, personal communication), or "the determination of the journalists themselves to understand the profession as business, not respecting the ethical norms and values" (interviewed on line reporter in Macedonia, 2015, personal communication). All the respondents answered that they are familiar with the Code of Journalists of the R. Macedonia, however more than half of them answered that they are only partially familiar with its content and that they guide by their individual values when reporting. Several of them pointed out that they do not have a power to change the editorial policy even though they are aware that sometimes "the ethical boundaries are exceeded" (interviewed on line editor in Macedonia, 2015, personal communication). An alerting fact is that the majority of the respondents claimed that, for at least once in their career, were forced to disregard the professional ethics due to various reasons, explained in the interviews as "political/business influence to the editorial policy" (interviewed TV reporter in Macedonia, 2015, personal communication), "commercial motives" (interviewed radio editor in Macedonia, 2015, personal communication) or "need to attract the public" (interviewed radio reporter, 2015, personal communication).

Table 3. *Effectiveness of the Code of Ethics in R. Macedonia*

Respondents	Yes, fully	Yes, partially	No	I am not sure	
I am familiar with the Code of Journalists of R. Macedonia	18	22	/	/	
I respect the values of the Code of Journalists of R. Macedonia.	10	12	3	15	
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The journalists are aware of the ethical professional standards.	27	5	8		
There is a need to raise the awareness among the media professionals about the ethical standards.	21	6	3	10	/
I was forced to disregard the professional standards at least once in my professional career.	18	14	/	4	4

In order to provide the public with high-quality information, many of the newsrooms worldwide have adopted their internal ethical codes or guidelines for reporting in specific situations. The BBC Editorial guidelines, for example, aim to give audiences content made to the highest editorial and ethical standards that proclaim balance of the presumption of freedom of expression with the responsibilities of the media professionals (to respect privacy, to be fair, to avoid unjustifiable offence and to provide appropriate protection for our audiences from harm).

The research conducted in Macedonia has shown that the information process is rarely guided by internal ethical codes or guidelines. Only three media representatives answered that they have created their own ethical code in the newsroom. The Macedonian Public broadcaster, Macedonian Radio television, in November 2015 has launched its code of ethics, which regulates the professional commitments, conflicts of interests, professional standards and ethical principles, releasing information on MRT's program, the rights, obligations and liabilities between the journalists and the editors-in-chief (Independent.mk. 2015).

Table 3. *Internal editorial rules and principles in the Macedonian media*

Respondents	Yes, fully	Yes, partially	No	I am not sure	
My newsroom has adopted internal editorial rules and principles.	3	/	31	6	
My newsroom has adopted internal editorial rules and principles for reporting on sensitive topics and specific situations.	/	/	33	7	
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I think that developing internal editorial rules and principles for reporting on sensitive topics/ specific situations will improve the quality of the reporting.	25	7	8	/	/

Furthermore, none of the responders answered that their newsroom has adopted some kind of editorial rules and principles that they follow in terms of reporting on sensitive topics. Most of them claim that they are consulting with their editors directly when reporting in specific situations (natural disasters, conflict situations). Furthermore, the majority of the interviewed media professionals in Macedonia claim that many of the ethical principles and commitments in the codes of ethics are disturbed in the cases where the material conditions for the work of the media and journalists are bad.

MAIN OBSERVATIONS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Considering the above mentioned issues, it can be concluded any democratic society needs independent journalism and objective and balanced media that will provide necessary objective and comprehensive information. Furthermore, the nature of the profession comprises principles of conduct and specific rules that should be respected by the media workers. Truth-telling is a strong moral imperative for the mission of journalism is to help the citizens to act responsibly in their communities. Ethics allows a choice at every stage, although each has sometimes faced with very limited options. Sometimes, personal responsibility of

the journalist can direct to the editor or refuse to go beyond what the editor expects from him.

In respect to the situation in Macedonia, it can be concluded that the media professionalism is going through difficult situation in the past couple of years. The media community in the country can be assessed as professional fragile, polarized and politicized, and journalism dispersed in temporary cover for other businesses. According to the research, the entire informative product by most of the media often contains information that is published based on the influence by personal attitudes of the editors or the media owners, but also contents that do not satisfy the general criteria for newsworthiness.

The existence of the ethical code (Code of Journalists), without applying certain mechanisms for its enforcement is not sufficient to ensure high professional standards in the media. Taking into consideration that the media professionals need to work in a strict accordance with the Code, this document should be used in a coordinated manner with the other self-regulatory instruments as well as with a consensus not only between the media professionals, but also with the media owners and the public included.

The media self-regulation in Macedonia, as the research showed, exists, however the effectiveness of the self-regulatory instruments is weak, based mostly on the published decisions of the Councils related to complaints about unethical behaviour of some media. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to expect that media owners or the political subjects would support and respect the internal codes of ethics or self-regulation mechanisms, without pressure from the side. In that sense, the most optimal model of self-regulation would be the mechanism to control the compliance with the code or self-regulatory body which would involve representatives of media professionals, publishers or owners and the public, because it would allow mutual supervision of the different actors involved in the process of information. This kind of self-regulatory instruments, shaped in a form of media response mechanisms, would ideally not permit to the any of the affected parties to be in a position dominate the work and decision making in informing the public. The public would be involved in the whole process in two ways: by membership in the media associations as well as by providing their input via the media ombudsman, which will act as a “public editor,” mediating he conflicts caused by external or internal pressures and encouraging the use of the professional and ethical standards as well as the self-criticism among the media professionals.

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**VIRTUAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY:
CONNECTEDNESS, CONDITIONALITY AND
DIFFERENCE**

Abstract

Social identity is created in a long and complex process, which includes the “meanings which one person assigns to him/herself, while having the perspective of the others,..” (Wendt, 1994). That means that the process entails acquiring knowledge and acceptance of the mutual characteristics, values, beliefs of a social community, which enables an emergence of sense of belonging, distinction but at the same time understanding the differences among one’s own group and the other groups. On the other side, the already formed individual, due to the contemporary technology forms its virtual identity in a very short time, and identifies with groups and their values and symbols in a shorter period

of time. The feeling that one belongs to these groups is very powerful and strong, and for some it represents a very important aspect of their identity. Looking at the existence of these identities we would like to look at their existence, conditionality, interconnectedness, creation and co-creation. Especially we would like to focus on the way that the existence of the first shapes or modifies the existence of the second. Thereby we are trying to give an answer what is the role of the context in the creation of these identities and whether the virtual world which creates context with different rules, also creates a virtual identity with different, specific characteristics.

Key words: social identity, virtual identity, sense of belonging, new technologies

SOCIAL IDENTITY

The identity of the individual is contextual and multi-faceted including physical, psychological and social attributes. In time it is learned, organized and dynamic. Accordingly, in same time, the individual possesses individual identity presenting the persons unique characteristics and his/hers interpersonal relationships and a social identity which is constructed by the membership of a person in a group.

People are part of different groups. But, although they belong to a large number of groups only few groups are important enough to elicit identification by their members. The way one person defines her/himself when belonging to a group is similar to the way the other members of the same group define themselves. The mutual social identity does not mean that the members of the group will have a mutual interaction. Instead, it means that they believe that they have mutual characteristics. In a certain manner all members of the group have witnessed or survived through the same events which are important to the group (Deaux, 2001).

According to the Social Identity Theory one person has a number of selves which correspond to the group membership. Different feelings, thoughts or actions in a person can be triggered by different social contexts. The group membership is sufficient to elicit in-group favouritism. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) there are three variables which contribute to the favouritism of the in-group: the extent to which the individuals identify with the in-group, the extent to which the context provides ground for comparison between groups and the perceived relevance of the comparison group (Haslam, 2001).

There are three central ideas in the social identity theory:

a. Categorization – Individuals tend to categorize objects and people in order to understand the environment they belong to. By assigning categories they learn how to act with different people, groups, objects, etc. At the same time by belonging into categories themselves they learn about themselves and the norms in their groups.

b. Identification – Individuals identify with the groups they feel they belong to. But it is important to note that depending on the context they can see themselves as unique individuals or as members of a group i.e. their individual or social identity will surface.

c. Positive self-concept – The idea of positive self concept is based on comparison of the person with other people who are members of the in-group or out-groups. Since having a positive self-concept is part of the normal psychological functioning, individuals are prone to compare themselves with others in order to see themselves or their in-groups in a positive light. As a result there are two motivational factors – positive distinctiveness (seeing the in-group as better) and negative distinctiveness (tendency to minimize the differences between the in-

group and out-groups in order to see the in-group more favourably) (Pluempavarn and Panteli, 2007).

While the theory of social identity recognizes that the social identity represents a core factor in the self-concept of an individual, it also points that it is actually the individual's knowledge of belonging to a group together with the emotional significance which create the group membership. It is characteristic for the individuals to strive to achieve positive self-concept, as it is important for them to put effort to maintain the positive social identity. According to Tajfel (1984) the social behaviour ranges from purely interpersonal to purely intergroup, and it depends on the type context the individual faces at the moment. Which type of identity will be salient at the moment, whether personal or social depends on the social context (Pluempavarn and Panteli, 2007).

Taking in consideration the actual discourse on social identity, Jenkins (2004) sees social identity as a social process and not a fixed position, where the individual and the social are connected in a fashion that is almost impossible to unravel. According to him the social world is created through the actions of the individuals, their interactions and negotiations, where as a result the identity is fluid. This is why he focuses on the process stating that it would be more appropriate to talk about identification instead of identity. Giddens (1991) on the other hand, focuses on the changing nature of the identities, and supports this view by putting a light on the energy a person must invest in representing his/hers identity in the social networks. Presenting oneself in the social media has become a "project" where the person has to contemplate and bring decisions who should s/he be and what s/he should do (Buckingham, 2008).

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

Social identities differ in the manner of their definition – some are defined more generally while others are defined narrower; some are consciously chosen such as an occupation, and some are gained through birth, such as ethnicity and gender; and they can also differ in the status or value given to them.

Social identities develop over time and often change slowly, their expression can differ significantly. Having in mind that people have multiple social identities, which result in expression of different behaviours and attributes, they can be considered as evidence for the ways people respond to the different contexts. At the same time the individuals make choices in accordance with the settings but also they choose the contexts they will engage in or respond to (Deaux, 2001).

There are many forms of social identity due to the different ways in which people

perceive the world and create networks. Deaux (2001) has identified five types of social identification: ethnic and religious identities, political identities, vocations and avocations, personal relationships, and stigmatized groups.

Although social identity can be seen as a label attached to different groups and people, it has more implications and aspects such as cognitive beliefs, emotional associations, and behavioural consequences. The cognitive aspects can be different and can include personality traits, attitudes (social and political) and memories connected to events related to identity. Many of the cognitions are shared among groups and individuals and can also be defined as social representations of salient categories. Although most social representations have a set of traits known by groups, people instead of trying to fit in a social representation adopt only aspects which are relevant to them, and as a result create their own definitions of what it means to be for eg. a specific type of person. It is also important to note that the contents of the social identity are created through socially shared beliefs and other attributes which rely on the personal experience.

The social identity's motivational basis can be seen as means for self-definition or self-esteem, of interacting with others who share one's values and goals and as a way of defining oneself in contrast to others. Other important aspects are the implications to behaviour – how one person acts and interacts with members of the in-groups or out-groups. The stronger the identification is with a group it is more likely that the person will perform activities supportive to that group.

VIRTUAL IDENTITY

In the past the individuals formed their identities regarding their nationality, gender, religion etc. based on information coming from their communities that were mostly territorially defined. Now, identities are also constructed through the media where people are exposed to different ethnicities, nationalities, religions etc. and where a large number of different role-models and lifestyles from all around the world are presented. The technology is developing very fast, and the assumption that it will affect the way the identity is defined becomes more salient.

According to Chandler (1998), the internet and the web provide opportunities for identity construction, because they allow thinking about the identity and also enable the people to change in who they want to be. This is why he calls them 'technologies of the self' (Thurlow, Lengel & Tomic, 2004).

At the beginning there was exaggeration regarding the activity that people have in the cyber space, what they do in reality and what they want to do. Just as Goffman (1959) compares the life of the everyday person with theatrical performance, the

virtual reality can be seen as a “stage” where the identities are presented and people work on their online self-presentation. This is why it is important to see the context of the fluid and multiple nature of the offline identity and the context of the real intentions of the people in the virtual reality.

One of the often arising questions is “which is more ‘real’, one’s offline identity or one’s online identity?” Having in mind that individuals shift their identities every day in accordance with the situation they are in, trying to define the online identities as fixed contrasts the notion that they are fluid and dynamic. The identities that people have online and the ones they have offline are part of the ongoing process of identification.

Currently there are two opposing and dominant views addressing the issue of technological influence in construction of the social identity. Technological determinism implies that all our activities such as economic, political and social are altered by the use of technology. On the other hand social constructivism implies that the technology is shaped by the existing social relations and is a form where people choose the way they will utilize it. By this view the technology has no inherent qualities and has no values. There is also a third perspective trying to combine these two approaches saying that technology is shaped but it also shapes the identities and manners of communication (Thurlow, Lengel & Tomic, 2004).

SOCIAL IDENTITY IN THE VIRTUAL WORLD

Virtual reality represents a digitally created space which can be entered by a computer. The virtual identity represents a form of the social identity used by the internet users. When individuals enter the virtual space they are entering into a different world where regarding on the environment they can interact with objects, people or other different environments. All movements or actions conducted by an individual in the virtual environment are tracked and the virtual environment where the individual is at the moment adjusts in accordance with his/hers actions.

In order to enter the virtual environment, the individuals must choose their representation (avatar or icon) which can vary and be presented with real or imagined picture of ourselves. Some internet users use their real names on the internet, while others choose to identify with pseudonyms which reveal different information for their owners. The same individual may choose his/hers social identity, can create a number of different identities and take part in different virtual identities of hers/his interest (Koles **and Nagy, 2012**; Turkle, 1995).

Bloggs, social networks, forums, video games etc. are created and shared on the internet. The entire communication among the individuals is conducted on the

internet, and these communities differ from the social networks and communities from the real world. Through the communication conducted in these virtual environments the virtual person gains a reputation, which is shared in the specific virtual community. Based on the virtual reputation the other members of the community can decide whether they will communicate with this person or not.

The reasons for the active participation in different virtual environments differ, but in all of them the individual maintains a degree of anonymity and or invisibility (Koles and Nagy, 2012; Turkle, 1995). The degree of anonymity depends of the persons' decision which personal information to reveal, in what ways, and how often to the networked public.

Spears and Lea in the 1990s propose the SIDE model¹ which tries to explain the Computer mediated communication (CMC) combined with the effects of social identity and anonymity. According to this CMC model the anonymity present in the online communication doesn't lead to loss of identity but instead they "motivate people to switch from their personal identity to their social identity". As the social identity is stronger for the participants in the CMC the larger the group cohesion will be (Thurlow, Lengel & Tomic, 2004).

As individuals participate in the virtual communities, they start feeling attached to them, which as a result cause their identities to be affected by the groups they belong to. These new created social identities can be recognized through their individual narratives on their personalized pages. Their personal pages entail content linked to their virtual groups or share important information about these groups to the networked public. The individuals, who are members of more virtual groups, present themselves in the groups in accordance with the interests shared in that group. Each group has its own characteristics and identities and may have different level of influence on its members.

When the members post photographs, comments, clips etc, most of the users read this content in order to see whether the content they posted is in accordance with the identities of the other persons posting in the same group. As a result one person can create and post content different in style and expression in different groups. The posted content shows the perception that the members of the group have toward their group, the identities of the members of the group and the way they are affected by the presence and membership in the group (Péter, 2010).

It is important to understand the importance that online encounters and interactions have for the individuals. At the least, they have become an ordinary aspect of one's everyday live. As these online environments developed during the years the possibility of creation of the online identities increases, develops and becomes more sophisticated allowing the identities to be formulated "through a

1 SIDE model- Social identity model of deindividuation effects

complex and dynamic sequence of personal decisions”.

The individuals can shape their present identity in a certain online environment, based on the feedback they receive from the other members of the community. They have an option to freely experiment and to present themselves in a conventional or not-conventional ways. It can be noted that some of the characteristics a person represents in the online world are exaggerations of his/hers real-life attributes. It is even suggested that the online environments in fact give the individuals an opportunity to role-play and practice aspects of themselves which are not seen in the real setting but articulated in the virtual environment can result in empowerment and bigger visibility of these individuals.

SOCIAL IDENTITY IN THE REAL AND VIRTUAL WORLD

The virtual identity is consisted on virtual and non-virtual elements. Examples of virtual elements are avatars and environments, while the non-virtual elements include language, reactions to events etc. In everyday interactions, the identity is created based on a set of requirements. One important aspect which helps in creating the perception about the other people is their bodily presence. The physical presence in the real life communication is represented by the person's sex, race, looks, gesticulations etc. Seeing the person as he or she is, prevents the other member in the interaction or communication to create an identity which is inconsistent with the actual body (depersonalization). Furthermore, the knowledge about the person's social background and personal characteristics adds to the difficulty in creating a different personal identity.

The appearance on the internet allows creation of different virtual identities. The virtual world offers a possibility of entering different, new communities, where a person can experience how it is to present him/herself in a different environment and to create and show new identities. It is important to note that the detachment from the physical body allows the individuals to communicate without revealing anything about their physical features. Even when an audiovisual mode is present, a person can maintain his anonymity with withholding information regarding the name and place of residence.

Every registration gives the person the liberty to create a new identity without being burdened by the past or present looks, context, social status etc. It can be opened and closed very fast, and modified quickly by changing the data shared when creating the identity. A person can create as many identities he/she wants, and can give each of these identities different set of characteristics.

In that way the individual can create the so called “now selves” which are

established identities, known by others, and “possible selves” which are new identities unknown to others. We can also speak about “hoped-for possible selves” which are part of the possible selves, “true self”, “ideal self”, etc. It is important to note, that whatever “self” the person decides to show, or accent in a virtual environment, that self is only a representation of the person he or she already is, or aspires to be (Koles and Nagy, 2012).

The residents, inhabitants, visitors, can freely create their representation in these environments, meaning that they can choose/create their avatars or icons. The main difference among the social networks or the network communities and the virtual worlds is that the main purpose of the networks is sharing content. However, the virtual worlds are used for different purposes such as education, research, gaming, etc.

While the virtual worlds are three dimensional, where a person can “enter” and perform different activities, the social networks are two dimensional and do not allow exploration of a virtual environment (Koles and Nagy, 2012)

Nowadays, the most popular usage of the virtual world is through social networking sites (SNS), especially Facebook. Facebook provides an opportunity of authentic representation of its members, which means, they can present themselves as they would in the real life. Statistics show that in 2015 Facebook had around 1,55 billion users monthly and is rated as the most popular SNS globally (2015, Statista). The large number of users, despite the fact that they filter the contents they share, gives an indication that the Virtual World is hosting part of the real social identity features, just in a different package.

If we consider the numbers of the Facebook members which present their identities accurately, 8,7% or 83.09 million Facebook users can be considered as Fake (2015, CNet). At the end of 2012, Facebook presented a rule to its members a real-name policy that encourages presentation under your real name (2012, Facebook). Despite these facts, we witness a situation where individuals share more personal information on the web compared to the information they share in the real contact. This supports the trend we call *publicized privacy*, where we encounter more personal information in the virtual world than in the private encounters.

All aspects mentioned before regarding the social identity construction in the real and virtual environment supports our understanding that the virtual identity is a media-conditioned extension of the social identity formed in a real world where some real identity features are kept and articulated. The self-presentation in the virtual reality enables expression of attitudes, preferences and interests even when proximity is not an issue. This conclusions supports the SIDE model, where the feeling of belonging to a group and by that the social identity can be formed only using minimal comparison and by accepting only few characteristics of the group.

CONCLUSION

Social identity is a process through which the individuals define themselves in accordance with the categories that they share with other people. Being part of different groups is important in people's lives. Through the membership in the groups we socialize, we learn and develop, and we perform all the activities which enable us to fully function in the world.

Belonging to a group does not always imply knowing all or most of its members. On the contrary there are groups such as those connected to the professions where all members don't know each other but the group membership has high importance to them and they highly identify with it. All the groups don't have that impact on the individuals. There are memberships which are important enough and individuals identify with them, and there are memberships which are not so important or strong in order to cause membership.

Entering into the virtual world requires an existence of a virtual identity. Virtual identities differ in the level of specific information they reveal for the person which has created them. Also, they differ in the manner of virtual representation – while ones exist only with icons, others have avatars.

With these virtual identities the individuals enter into the virtual communities where they share and gain experience in the virtual worlds. They decide which information they will share, to what extent they will be shared, what will gain accent and what will be hidden.

But, although these communities exist in virtual worlds, they are strong enough to influence the individual's behaviour and to elicit the identification with them. *This is why the virtual identity is only a form of the social identity.* Social identity is formed by presence in groups and these groups although virtual are perceived by the individual as the ones from the real-life.

The individuals communicate with other individuals from all over the world in real time. They invest in these relationships by spending time, energy and emotions, especially to the groups where their interests match.

So in spite the differences in the contexts, the individuals will search groups in accordance to their real-life interests. In a manner they will "continue" to act as they would in the real life, and they would seek for the same or similar movies, books, songs, pets, friendships, etc.

Even though they can decide which part they will accentuate, and which they will hide, they can only project themselves into the virtual worlds. Some of their features may be hidden in the public, but that doesn't mean that they don't exist. The rules in the contexts remain the same as in the real-life, because the virtual world is a projection of the real people.

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**THE DEPENDENCE ON GLOBAL MEDIA
OF FOREIGN POLICY REPORTING OF THE
MACEDONIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER VECHER
(2013-1983)**

Abstract

This paper is founded on the hypothesis that the reporting of foreign policy by the Macedonian daily newspaper Vecher in 2013, is greatly influenced by the global media. The 1983 media materials are radically different due to the fact that there was little to no influence from such media giants. We begin the study by using the method of quantitative content analysis. The data analyzed was gathered over a four month period, using the issues printed from the years 2013 and 1983. The most frequently used sources of information in 2013 were foreign national and regional media, while the most quoted source of information in 1983 was the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug. International reports from the leading Macedonian newspaper in these two different time periods are mostly geared toward information about actual events that were happening on the northern continents and regions of the Earth.

Key words: global media, the newspaper Vecher, international flow of information, the Republic of Macedonia.

INTRODUCTION

The paper aims to explore the direct and indirect dependence on global media of foreign policy reporting of the Macedonian daily newspaper Večer in two different research period – 2013 and 1983. In this research were analyzed published materials in foreign policy sections of the newspaper Večer by using a historical perspective and comparison of two different time periods, the current style of international reporting on the media front versus the methods of sharing information for foreign events that were popular during the 80s of XX century. The newspaper Večer was one of the two daily newspapers publishing on national level in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. During the communist period, it was the most circulated Macedonian print media. In 2013, the newspaper Večer is one of the leading Macedonian national newspapers, a tabloid that has bigger daily circulation and readership on the Internet in comparison with the influential print media.

This research initiates from the assumption that the reporting of foreign policy events from the newspaper Večer in 2013 is under heavy influence from the global media giants Reuters, Associated Press, Agence France Presse, CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera and Russia Today. Based upon information collected from the 2013 editions, in contrast with the 1983 issues, in which relied very little on such foreign media. Empirical research in a distance of three decades provides us with an opportunity to compare the difference between reporting styles from two historical time periods, in which two different social, political and media systems exist. The Socialist Republic of Macedonia during the 80s of the XX century was a republic within the SFR Yugoslavia, which practiced the politics of non-alliance and of peaceful coexistence in international relations, as an important form of strategic foreign policy (Djunov, 1989). Today's aspirations of the Republic of Macedonia have changed, and the foreign policy interests of this Balkan country are directed solely towards the European and Euro-Atlantic integration (*The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia a; The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia b*).

The beginning of 80's as a research period was chosen because it still represents the Cold War period. In 1983, there were severe tensions between the Eastern and the Western bloc countries, especially evident in the Lebanese civil war, the martial law in Poland, and the shot down of the Korean Airlines flight by the Soviet Union. It was period in which five major news agencies (Reuter, Associated Press, United Press International, Agence France Presse and TASS) had dominant role in the international flow of information. According to Johan Galtung, the world was divided in two parts – center and periphery (Galtung, 1971). These findings stress communication division of this world at the center of focus, which includes the

countries of the developed North of the Earth, and periphery (Mowlana, 1985). At the beginning of 80's, the UNESCO Special Commission lead by Sean MacBride published the report "Many Voices, One World". Besides other topics, in this document were highlighted actual affairs regarding the global media's reporting of negative topics related to the southern continents and regions of the Earth (UNESCO, 1980). In this period of time, international reporting of global media and their influence on national and local media in the world was burning question for intellectuals, politicians and journalists.

Contrary to this, 2013 is the year in which the research is conducted. It is period that reflects the current development of international reporting. In 2013, the world media market become more competitive, with new informative television networks and news agencies established by undemocratic regimes of the Russian Federation, China and part of the Arab countries. Their influence in foreign policy reporting is growing in different parts of the world. On the other side, the current development of international reporting in the developed countries of the world is characterized by cutting back coverage of international affairs in the main newspapers and television networks. Robert McChesney in his book "The Political Economy of the Media: Enduring Issues, Emerging Dilemmas" tries to outline that U.S. journalism has growing problems in international reporting. "Between 2002 and 2006, the number of foreign-based newspaper correspondents shrank from 188 to 141 (excluding the Wall Street Journal, which publishes Asian and European Editions)" (McChesney, 2008: 119).

Chris Paterson gives claim that with the emergence of Internet, we have not seen any significant or major changes at the top, where the same global media have continued to dominate.

"We are left with a picture of an online news world (in the English language) where only four organizations do extensive international reporting (Reuters, AP, AFP, BBC) a few others do some international reporting (CNN, MSN, New York Times, Guardian and a few other large newspapers and broadcasters), and most do no original international reporting" (Paterson, 2007: 63).

Nick Davies in his book "Flat Earth News: An Award-winning Reporter Exposes Falsehood, Distortion and Propaganda in the Global Media" underlines that foreign policy reporting, but also all other sections in editorial offices years ago, faced a constant reduction.

"In 1994, Professor Franklin calculated that 7.000 BBC jobs had been cut in the previous eight years. At least ninety more went in 1996. In

1997, a further cut of 25% was announced for the following five years. In March 2005, the new director, Mark Thompson, proposed another 13% in cutbacks, including 12% of the jobs in BBC News and 21% of jobs in Factual and Learning” (Davies, 2009: 67).

Taking into consideration this theoretical background, the empirical research includes all printed issues of the daily newspaper Vecher using the following dates: from 1 to 7 September (the first week of September), from 8 to 14 October (the second week of October), from 15 to 21 November (the third week of November) and from 22 to 28 December (the fourth week of December) 2013 and 1983. This period of research was chosen as an effort to obtain reliable results. Identical dates give the possibility to make effective comparison from historical perspective. On the other hand, the fourth-months period excludes the possibility for key impact of a larger international event on the obtained empirical results. With these criteria on board, the period between September and December was randomly chosen. In order to obtain scientific results, this research applies the method of quantitative content analysis.

The main research question in this paper is: How big is the direct and indirect dependence on global media of international reporting of the newspaper Vecher? In order to obtain accurate results for the research question, in this paper were analyzed sources of information on media content placed in foreign policy sections, continents and regions that are subject of interest in published textual content, items of those published articles related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth, and journalism genres of all articles published in foreign policy sections.

FOREIGN POLICY REPORTING OF THE MACEDONIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER VECHER IN 2013

During the research period of 2013, in the foreign policy sections of the newspaper Vecher were published 294 articles and 207 photographs for international actualities. A vast majority of the media content were published all noting an unnamed source of information – journalist who created it or media sources from which these materials were provided. The foreign policy sections of the newspaper Vecher are consisted of 194 articles, or 66% of the written material, and 205 photographs, or 99% of the photo content, with unstated or unnamed source of information.

Table 1. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper *Vecher* in 2013

Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper <i>Vecher</i>	Text		Photography		Other media content	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
BBC	4	1,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Reuters	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Agence France Presse	2	0,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Associated Press	1	0,3%	0	0%	0	0%
CNN	1	0,3%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	11	3,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Foreign national and regional media						
Other foreign national media	37	12,6%	0	0%	0	0%
DPA	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Washington Post	2	0,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Guardian	2	0,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	44	15%	0	0%	0	0%
Unstated source of information	194	66%	205	99%	0	0%
Other source of information (local media, state institutions, international organizations, NGO's, etc.)	36	12,2%	2	1%	0	0%
More than one source of information	9	3,1%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	294	100%	207	100%	0	0%

Smaller part of the textual content is published according to professional standards of journalism. In these cases, the most used source of information in articles are foreign national and regional media, represented by 44 texts, or 15% of the total number of textual material dedicated to foreign policy events. Also, for the period September – December 2013, in the newspaper *Vecher* are published 11 texts on international events with global media as sources of information, which represents 3, 7% of the whole written material placed in foreign policy sections.

There are different research results when it comes to the continents and regions, which are a subject of interest in the published articles. A significant majority of the textual content in the newspaper *Vecher* are connected with actualities that took place in the developed countries of the northern continents and regions of the Earth. These parts of the world are present within 244 articles, or in 83% of the total number of written material for international events.

Table 2. *Continents or regions which are a subject of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Večer in 2013*

Continents or regions which are a subject of interest in published articles	Text	
	N	%
Northern continents or regions of the Earth		
Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)	113	38,5%
Europe (including Russia)	62	21,1%
North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)	31	10,5%
Asia	26	8,8%
Middle East	12	4,1%
Total:	244	83%
Southern continents or regions of the Earth		
Africa	15	5,1%
South America	5	1,7%
Central America and the Caribbean	4	1,4%
Australia, Oceania and New Zealand	1	0,3%
Total:	25	8,5%
More than one continent or region	25	8,5%
Total:	294	100%

The conducted empirical research shows that the newspaper Večer is not interested in actualities from abroad that occur on the southern continents and regions of the Earth. Gatekeeping process from the editorial staff neglects international events from these parts of the world, which is evident from the results that only 25 articles, or 8, 5% of the total number of texts, are related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth.

From the processed data using the method of quantitative content analysis, it can be concluded that the articles published for the southern continents and regions of the world refer to negative topics. Editorial office of the newspaper Večer covered mostly negative items in the 2013 printed editions, which is evident from the fact that 20 articles, or 80% of the written material for these parts of the world, treat military and political conflicts, organized crime activities, natural disasters, different forms of inequalities and other negative topics.

Table 3. *Items of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth, published in the newspaper Vecher in 2013*

Items of the published articles related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth	Text	
	N	%
Positive items		
Other positive items (those positive items not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	2	8%
Economic, political and cultural development of society	1	4%
Ecology and environmental protection	1	4%
Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations	1	4%
Total:	5	20%
Negative items		
Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, internal military conflict, political conflict)	6	24%
Other negative items (those negative items not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	6	24%
Terrorism	4	16%
Organized crime	2	8%
Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes and other)	1	4%
Economic, political, social, information and other forms of inequality	1	4%
Total:	20	80%
Total:	25	100%

Table 4. *Articles for international events published in the newspaper Vecher in 2013, divided on journalistic genres*

Published articles for international events divided on journalistic genres	Text	
	N	%
Shorter informative genres		
News	186	63,3%
News in brief	28	9,5%
Informative report	27	9,2%
News in series	19	6,5%
Photo-news	1	0,3%
Total:	261	88,8%
Longer interpretative, argumentative, dialogic and belletristic genres		
Commentary report	4	1,4%
Belletristic report	3	1%
Article	1	0,3%
Total:	8	2,7%
Texts that contain elements of different genres	25	8,5%
Total:	294	100%

The research conducted also discovered that journalistic texts in the 2013 editions can be inserted in the shorter informative genres. During the research period are published 261 texts from the shorter informative genres, or 88, 8% of the textual content from foreign policy sections. From the longer interpretative, argumentative, dialogic and belletristic genres are published only 8 texts (2, 7% of the textual content).

Table 5. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper *Vecher* in 1983

Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper <i>Vecher</i>	Text		Photography		Other media content	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
Associated Press	39	8,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Reuter	37	7,8%	0	0%	0	0%
Agence France Presse	36	7,6%	0	0%	0	0%
United Press International	27	5,7%	0	0%	0	0%
TASS	2	0,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	141	29,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Foreign national and regional media						
Other foreign national media	15	3,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Xinhua	3	0,6%	0	0%	0	0%
New York Times	2	0,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Washington Post	1	0,2%				
Total:	21	4,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Editorial staff of the <i>Vecher</i> newspaper						
Journalist, editor and contributor of the newspaper from Macedonia	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Yugoslav national media						
Tanjug	198	41,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	198	41,7%	0	0%	0	0%
Alternative media						
Inter Press Service	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	1	0,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Unstated source of information	96	20,2%	17	100%	1	100%
More than one source of information	15	3,2%	0	0%	0	0%
Other source of information (local media, state institutions, international organizations, NGO's, etc.)	2	0,4%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	475	100%	17	100%	1	100%

FOREIGN POLICY REPORTING OF THE MACEDONIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER VECHER IN 1983

In the research period of 1983, in foreign policy sections of the newspaper Večer, there were published 475 articles, 17 photographs and 1 unit of other media content (charts, graphs, caricatures, maps, etc.) for international events. All photographs and other media content for actualities from abroad are placed in the printed editions with unstated or unnamed source of information, or more concretely, with unnamed journalist who created the content, or media from which it is taken.

The most employed source of information on textual content is the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, from which are provided 198 articles, or 41, 7% of the total number of published written material. Global news agencies Associated Press, Reuter, Agence France Presse, United Press International and TASS are used as source of information in 141 texts, which represents 29, 7% of the textual material.

Table 6. *Continents or regions which are a subject of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Večer in 1983*

Continent or region which is a subject of interest in the published articles	Text	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the Earth		
Europe (including Soviet Union)	173	36,4%
Asia	84	17,7%
North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)	55	11,6%
Middle East	51	10,7%
Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)	24	5,1%
Total:	387	81,5%
Southern continents and regions of the Earth		
South America	26	5,5%
Africa	21	4,4%
Central America and the Caribbean	19	4%
Australia, Oceania and New Zealand	5	1%
Total:	71	14,9%
More than one continent or region	17	3,6%
Total:	475	100%

During the communist period in 1983, the newspaper *Večer* was oriented toward reporting actualities from the northern continents and regions of the world. As much as 387 articles, or 81, 5% of the total number, refer to events that took place within Europe, Asia, North America, Middle East and Balkan Peninsula. For actualities from the developing countries or the Third world countries, which are situated mostly on the southern parts of the Earth, are published 71 articles, or 14, 9% of the textual content.

Table 7. *Items of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth, published in the newspaper Večer in 1983*

Items of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth	Text	
	N	%
Positive items		
Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations	7	9,9%
Development of democratic political system and respecting human rights	4	5,6%
Other positive items (those positive items not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	3	4,2%
Economic, political and cultural development of society	2	2,8%
International aid	1	1,4%
Independence, establishment of sovereignty , struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism	1	1,4%
Ecology and environmental protection	1	1,4%
Total:	19	26,7%
Negative items		
Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil war, political conflict)	28	39,5%
Other negative items (those negative items not listed as a separate class in the exemplar document)	13	18,3%
Economic and financial crises	5	7,1%
Terrorism	2	2,8%
Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes and other)	2	2,8%
Organized crime	1	1,4%
Poverty and diseases	1	1,4%
Total:	52	73,3%
Total:	71	100%

The events from neighboring Balkan countries are present with only 24 articles, or 5, 1% of the total amount. This means that some of the basic rules of journalism had been breached by the editorial staff. However, it should not be forgotten that during this period of time, Yugoslavia was a non - aligned country, with different foreign policy priorities from neighboring countries. During the research period of 1983, Greece and Turkey were part of the Western bloc, and Bulgaria and Romania were members of the Warsaw Pact, while communist Albania was the most isolated country in Europe.

Table 8. *Articles for international events published in the newspaper Večer in 1983, divided on journalistic genres*

Published articles for international events divided on journalistic genres	Text	
	N	%
Shorter informative genres		
News	254	53,5%
News in brief	116	24,3%
News in series	62	13%
Informative report	16	3,7%
Photo-news	2	0,4%
Total:	450	94,9%
Longer interpretative, argumentative, dialogic and belletristic genres		
Commentary report	5	1%
Article	4	0,8%
Belletristic report	1	0,2%
Total:	10	2%
Texts that contain elements of different genres	15	3,1%
Total:	475	100%

Empirical results show that majority of journalistic texts presented only those international events with negative topics, creating a specific media reality for the actual situation in Central and South America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Oceania. In 1983, Gatekeeping had been constantly feeding the newspaper Večer with negative items, which were covered in 52 articles for the southern continents and regions of the world, or 73, 3% of the total number of texts for these parts of the globe.

When it comes to genre affiliation of the published texts for international events, in printed issues of the newspaper *Večer* were published 450 texts from the shorter informative genres: news, news in brief, news in series, informative report and photo-news. This number shows that 94, 9% of all texts can be classified in these informative genres. International reporting in 1983 was built on the idea of creating information for actual events, in most cases, putting them in journalistic structure of the genre news.

DISCUSSION

This empirical research obtains scientific findings about the dependence of global media on international reporting of the Macedonian newspaper *Večer* in two different time periods, political systems, media systems and societies. The editorial office of the newspaper *Večer* shows a high level of unprofessionalism, arising from unstated sources of information in published articles and photographs for international events. If we take into account these results, a serious problem has arisen in determining the dependence of global media. It is impossible to discover the proportion of quantitative usage of these types of media in foreign policy reporting.

The core of international reporting by the newspaper *Večer* in 2013 and in 1983 is composed of textual material. During the 80s of XX century, the major source of information is the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, thus global media input have small impact on the reporting of international events. Despite the use of domestic media as a sure source of information in 1983, there was a large difference in 2013, where the primary focus was put on the use of foreign national and regional media. At the same time, the share of global media in international reporting is very small to small in both periods of time. These media appear as sources of information in 3, 7% of the total number of articles in 2013, and in 29, 7% of the journalistic texts for international events published within the articles of 1983.

Despite these profound results, some of the obtained data are a clear flag giving obvious proof of the heavy, but indirect dependence of global media in the newspaper *Večer*. This negative characteristic of international reporting is explicitly present in 2013 and in accordance with the absence of correspondent staff in the printed media from abroad.

There is significant imbalance of published articles related to different parts of the world. International reporting of the newspaper *Večer* follows the major events in “elite” countries and regions of the globe, while actual happenings from the Third world countries and developing countries are usually neglected. This is

especially reflected by the current journalistic reports. The quantitative content analysis shows a margin of 10:1 in favor of the northern continents and regions of the globe. This means that for every 10 texts covering international events within Europe, the Balkan Peninsula, Asia, Middle East and North America is published only one article concerning the events from the southern continents and regions of the world.

The media agenda of international reporting formed in 1983 shows more equal and impartial information. In foreign policy sections of the newspaper *Večer* you will note the proportion of 5:1 in favor of the northern continents and regions of the Earth. In 1983, the SFR Yugoslavia still remained firm in its foreign policy priorities – membership in the Non-Aligned Movement, close bilateral relations with developing and undeveloped countries and strong support to the politics of coexistence in international relations and of decolonization of the Third world. On the other hand, foreign policy reporting of the leading Macedonian newspaper in 1983 shows that editorial staff seems redirected towards other priorities – gathering information and analyzes topics from the northern continents and regions of the world, mainly events that occurred inside the Eastern and the Western bloc countries. This can be another indicator of the great indirect influence of global media for the newspaper *Večer*.

Another research results are tied within this claim. Military and political conflicts, terrorism and other negative topics are mostly elaborated in those articles connected with the southern continents and regions of the world. In 2013, in foreign policy sections of the newspaper *Večer* you will note the proportion of 4:1 in favor of negative topics in those articles that cover international actualities from Africa, Central and South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand. In 1983, 73, 3% of the published texts of the Macedonian newspaper presented some negative topics concerning international events from these parts of the world. At the same time, positive themes were covered within 26, 7% of the written material published in foreign policy sections. In regard to the other questions posed within this research, the main conclusions formed by the report “Many voices, one world” of UNESCO prove to be valid points in the examination of the newspaper *Večer*.

Quantitative analysis proposed within this paper, shows similar results in terms of articles genre affiliation. In 1983, editorial attention appears to be focused on news articles from the shorter informative genres, and from them were constructed 88, 8% of the total number of articles. From this aspect, we conclude that the reporting of foreign policy by the newspaper *Večer* during the 80's of XX century was strongly connected to news agencies. The research highlights similar scientific results for the 2013 printed issues. Shorter and informative journalistic genres are mostly represented in foreign policy sections of the newspaper *Večer*. From this

perspective, the quality of foreign policy reporting seems to be on same level in both research periods.

CONCLUSION

The dependency upon global media concerning foreign policy reporting for the newspaper *Večer* can partly be noted through obtained results. The direct dependence from such media in the 1983 editions is small, due to the fact that they are rarely used as sources of information within the textual content. During the research period of 2013, it is impossible to discover the direct dependence from global media. Almost all photographs and most of the textual content in 2013 are published with unstated source of information, which confirms the disrespect of journalistic standards for structuring the media material.

Empirical results indicate a heavy indirect dependence on global media of international reporting of the Macedonian newspaper *Večer* in both research periods. A vast majority of texts are related to novelties that occurred on the northern continents and regions of the world. Central and South America, Africa, and Australia, New Zealand and Oceania are mostly excluded from the constructed media agenda, so it is impossible to discover constructive information concerning these continents and regions. At the same time, the great influence of global media can also be seen through the majority of texts using negative topics as a focal point for the southern continents and regions of the Earth. The attention from editorial staff in both research periods usually is directed towards military and political conflicts. The unbalanced international reporting is particularly noticeable within the 2013 printed issues. The editorial offices of this Macedonian newspaper have been concentrated in reporting on “elite” nations, those with the highest level of social development. One of the clearest examples for this is the fact that the global media are founded within the biggest or most developed countries in the world (USA, Great Britain, France, Russia, Qatar, etc.), and their mode of data collection, processing, creating and disseminating of information is conducted also within these regions of the world.

The fundamental conclusion for the foreign policy reporting of the newspaper *Večer* in both research periods is that there is no in-depth journalism. Even more, we can see further regression of the international reporting during the research period of 2013. Media reports covering international events are taken by other unknown media. The materials presented by correspondent staff concerning that of foreign policy sections are absent, and the main attention of this newspaper has given way mostly to those novelties taking place in the most developed countries.

The fundamental journalistic standards are not respected in a majority of published articles within both research periods. Finally, all of these empirical results lead to the heavy indirect dependence on global media of international reporting of the Macedonian newspaper Vecher.

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THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA AMONG YOUNG POPULATION IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

Abstract

Young population in the twenty-first century is a generation with the best technical and technological conditions for education, personal development and success. Completely aware of the digital technologies, this generation accepts the innovations and the new developments, trying to keep pace with the trends. They are flexible and fully opened to the future horizons. The Internet can be massively found into all spheres of life. However, do young people know how to use properly the benefits of the new social media? Is the awareness of young people at a sufficiently high level for them to use digital tools, to engage themselves in solving the social problems that affect them? Are young people sufficiently educated and involved in the processes of electronic engagement?

There are many national youth studies which lead to the conclusion that it is necessary to improve key competences and skills of young people out of their everyday educational environment. The reason for this is to enable better usage of their potential and all of the benefits of technologies, as well as to raise awareness among them to use the advantages of advanced new technologies for involvement in solving social issues that have an influence on them. It is necessary to enhance the development of young people through a combination of knowledge, skills and technologies that will motivate them to upgrade and promote themselves, and also to exploit suitably the potential and the benefits of new technologies and social media.

Key words: Internet, digital technologies, social media, electronic engagement

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, the young population is very well educated in the field of information and computer technologies since their early age. The new generations have already accepted the new technologies and new developments in the digital tools and now are using them in all the fields of everyday life, trying to keep up with the trends. Digital competence is the most recent concept describing technology-related skills. In recent years, several terms have been used to describe the skills and competence of using digital technologies, such as ICT skills, technology skills, information technology skills, 21st century skills, information literacy, digital literacy, and digital skills. All of them refer to the ability to use digital systems and tools such as: computers and other hardware, software applications, and also accessing, creating, communicating, integrating and organizing information. While there is no standard definition, digital skills can be understood as the ability to locate, organize, understand, evaluate, create and share information using digital technology (A Report of the International ICT Literacy Panel, 2002).

The reality is that without basic digital skills, people cannot participate fully in today's society. But that doesn't mean that they are using digital technology to access core services or to improve their life chances. Similarly, we assume all young people are digital natives. But although they may manage their social lives using Facebook or SnapChat or WhatsApp, many cannot fill out an on-line form or create CV in simple text editor. So whilst people may technically know how to use a mobile phone applications or a digital interface in one area of their life, it doesn't mean they can apply that knowledge to do the other things that the society increasingly expects them to be able to do (Neaman 2015). Furthermore, we all need to know how to use digital tools, find good quality information, be critically aware of the strengths and shortcomings of such information, be able to make sense, interpret and apply that information for our needs, then communicate our findings and, potentially, also develop both confidence and creativity in using and engaging with tools and resources.

The growth in use of tablet computers, mobile phones and other portable and personal technologies means that young people can engage with learning 24/7, and may have high expectations regarding responsiveness. Distinctions between formal and informal modes of communication (as well as types of learning) are increasingly blurred, and this can be a challenge. The range of resources available to the students is much broader than the information provided just by their institution, and students need support in developing the skills to analyze the quality of resources for themselves and to be aware of protocols around, for example, fair use and copyright. Some students, comfortable with technologies, are increasingly

seeing themselves as creators, not just as consumers, and it will be to the benefit of all to engage at that level (All Aboard, 2015).

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The internet can be massively found in all spheres of life, mass-adopted technology easily used by hundreds of millions around the world. The internet is the decisive technology of the new information age, and with the explosion of wireless communication in the early twenty-first century, the humankind is now almost entirely connected, although there are great levels of inequality in bandwidth, efficiency and price. At the heart of these communication networks the internet ensures the production, distribution, and use of digitalized information in all formats. A study published by Martin Hilbert in *Science* (Hilbert and López, 2011) states that 95 percent of all information existing in the planet is digitized and most of it is accessible on the Internet or other computer networks. Our society is a network society established on personal and organizational networks motorized by digital networks and internet. This contemporary society is a global network society with a specific social structure resulted from the digital revolution and some major sociocultural changes. These changes are primarily focused on the process of individuation and the weakening of community in terms of space, work, family and attribution in general. The process of individuation is produced by the new forms of organizing, economic activities, political and social life, shifting toward a reconstruction of cultural and personal relations based on individual interests, values and projects. But individuation does not lead to isolation or an end of community. Sociability is reconstructed as networked individualism and community through a quest for like-minded individuals in a process that combines online interaction with offline interaction, cyberspace and the local space (Castells, 2014). Networking is a form of organization based on the individual or collective, creating the new network society, new culture and new social structure relying on the digital technologies.

A lot of academic researches and studies have shown that internet is not isolating people and reducing their sociability. It is evident that the use of internet empowers people by increasing their personal freedom, feelings of security, and feelings that have positive effect on personal well-being and happiness. The use of internet is significant for all ages, especially young people between the age of 16 and 26. At this point in time, the most important activities on the internet are not only social networking, chatting and e-mailing, but also e-commerce, marketing, online education, distance learning, cultural activity, media and entertainment distribution,

fashion and health applications, and social activism.

The usage of information and communication technologies in everyday life in Republic of Macedonia is measured every year by the State Statistical Office of Republic of Macedonia. The information received for the first trimester of 2015 shows that 70,4% of the users of internet is a population aged from 15 to 74 years, from whom 94,7% are students. The same research shows the huge increase in the use of mobile/ smart phones for browsing on internet outside of their home or at work, and also the growth of 2% in broadband internet connectivity in the households (69% in 2015 compared with 67% in 2014). There is a Program for development of information society in Macedonia coordinated by the Ministry of Information Society and Administration that has a target number of 80% which is the part of Macedonia's population that has broadband internet access. This program has a focus on the expansion of online trading and stimulation of e-businesses, as well as rise of electronic public services and price reductions of roaming. The main point is to ease the access on internet for everybody, and especially to stimulate the youth for free, wise and creative use of all the electronic services, applications and features online.

Since 2002 (creation of Friendster, before the breakthrough of Facebook) a new socio-technical revolution is emerging on the internet: the rise of social network sites and social media. That is where now all human activities are present, from personal interaction to business, to work, to culture, to communication, to social movements, and to politics. Social Network Sites are web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (Boyd and Ellison 2007). There is a great diversity of social networking sites by social media, countries and cultures. Facebook continues to be the most popular social media site, but its overall growth has slowed and other sites continue to increase their usership since 2013. Every other social media platform measured saw significant growth between 2013 and 2014 (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Facebook, started for Harvard-only members in 2004, is present in most of the world, but QQ, Cyworld, and Baidu dominate in China, Orkut in Brazil, Mixi in Japan, etc. In terms of demographics, age is the main differential factor in the use of social networks showing that it's not only a teenager's activity. Females are as present as males, except when in a society there is a general gender gap.

Other social networks, such as Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest and LinkedIn are urged to expand, including not only professionals and graduates, but also a variety of demographic groups. These platforms are chosen for all kinds of activities, through social networking and personal friendships, to education, career and

lifestyle, becoming a significant trend for the society in global. All these sites are tailored by users themselves, built on specific criteria of grouping, on different levels of interconnecting, becoming a self-presentation of a real person connected to real people. These self-constructed virtual societies are making very close connection with real life networks. The need of being with others is leading people to build these hybrid networks (connection between virtual and networks in life) with people who they already know, family, friends, co-workers, and also making new friendships with people with same interests. This is a different kind of sociability facilitated and dynamized by stable, long-lasting connectivity and social media networking on the web. The time spent on social networking sites is not just about friendship or interpersonal communication, but people do things together, share, act and make things as in a real society, although the personal dimension is always there.

The young population has the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make positive changes in the contemporary society using the potential and benefits of the new digital technologies. The youth should be socially aware and eager to continuously improve their life standards in the community in which they live, but also in the society as a whole. The access to digital tools, information and shapes of creating and spreading an opinion, idea or theory, is not an issue in this era of internet and social networking. But still, there are three main questions that are arising: (1) Do young people know properly to use the benefits of the new social media? (2) Is the awareness of young people at a sufficiently high level for them to use digital tools to engage themselves in solving the social problems that affect them? (3) Are young people sufficiently educated and involved in the processes of electronic engagement?

RESEARCH

There are a lot of youth studies for improving key competences and skills of young people out of their everyday formal educational environment. Research reports have documented in great detail how the rise of social media has affected such things as work, politics and political deliberation, communication patterns, as well as the way people get and share information about health, civic life, news, communities, teenage life, parenting, dating and even people's level of stress.

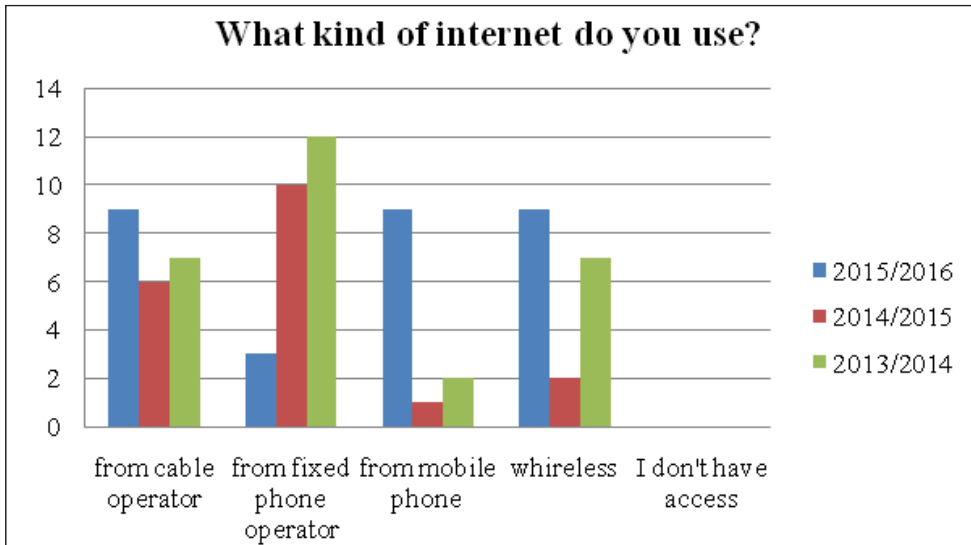
In 2013, the Academy of young researchers from Macedonia made a research within the Project for strengthening the capacity of the non-government sector, Youth perspectives through process of researching. Considering the

information received from the research, it is obvious that we should start with basic education about what constitutes electronic citizen participation, how it is implemented and which are the benefits for citizens and society (government, NGO and private sector) (Janceska 2013). From the findings of this survey it is clear that young people do not take advantage of the options that are available while they are still away from implementing new technologies and tools. Hence, it is extremely important to implement alternative instruments for explaining and enclosing the idea of e-participation and e-democracy. This research is suggesting conducting a combination of educational workshops and a Guideline for electronic engagement for the Macedonian youth. It is obvious that there is a need for young people to get closer to the idea of basic digital media culture, and also to understand the theory and practice of electronic engagement.

Inspired from these findings and from the actual popularity of the digital and social media, a survey named: *General Knowledge of Internet and Microsoft Office*, was implemented at MIT University, Skopje. This analysis was expected to prove that: students know how to use digital technologies, regularly use internet for different purposes, communicate online, and that the use of social networks is in high increase. The objective was students of the first year studies who are enrolled to the course of Informatics which is an elective course at a university level. The survey was held every September from 2013 to 2015 on the introduction class of the mentioned course. The instrument of the survey was an anonymous questionnaire on paper. It was composed of 12 questions: six of which refer to access and use the Internet, and the other six to the basic knowledge of the program package Microsoft Office. The figures reported here are based on analytical and comparative analysis of five of the questions from the year 2013 to 2015. The results are represented with adequate charts followed by legends and explanations.

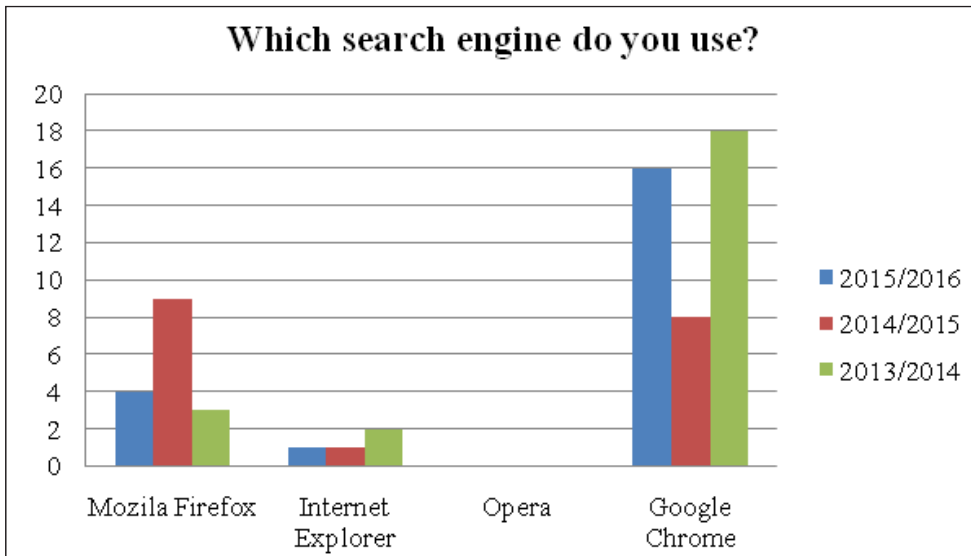
On the first question: "What kind of internet do you use?" the proposed answers were: from cable operator, from fixed phone operator, from mobile phone, wireless or I don't have access. The numbers show that all of the students have access to internet, but during the three years of research the types of internet connection varies. In 2013 and 2014 the internet access from fixed phone operator (line) dominated, and in 2015 the access from mobile phone is in drastic increase, as shown on the chart 1. This is explained by the mass popularity and sale of mobile phones, especially smart phones which have a really simple access to Internet and phone applications.

Chart 1. Comparison of the values from the years 2013, 2014 and 2015



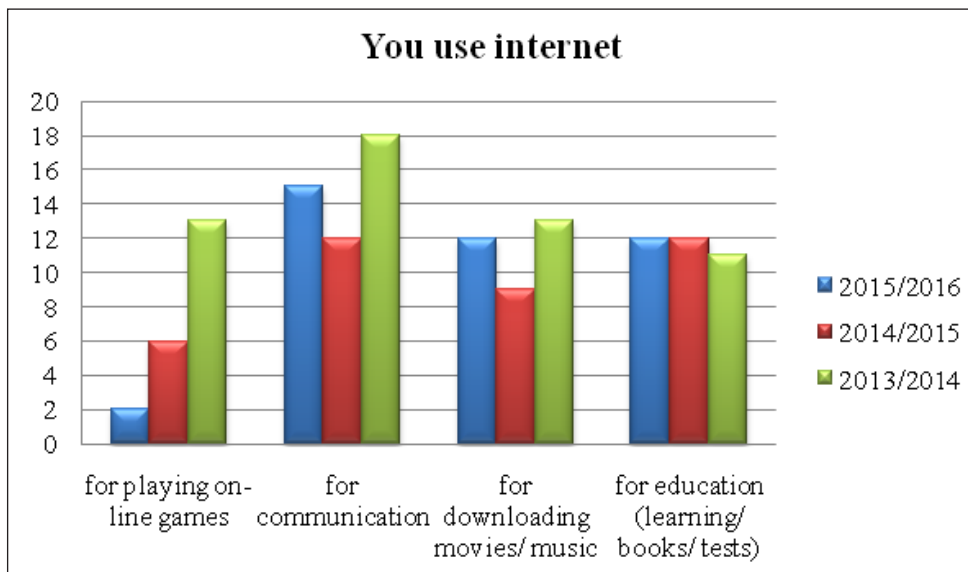
The second question was: “Which search engine do you use?” with suggestions: Mozilla Firefox, Internet Explorer, Opera and Google Chrome. The chart 2 is showing that every year there are no users of the search engine Opera, but constantly high use of the search engine Google Chrome. This indicates the popularity and common use of Google and all of its products and applications among young population.

Chart 2. Comparison of the values from the years 2013, 2014 and 2015



The next question was: “You use internet for ...“ with proposals like: for playing on-line games, for communication, for downloading movies/music or for education (learning/ books/ tests). The figures shown on the chart 3 below, leads us to two conclusions. First, the drastic fall of the interest for playing on-line games, which is a surprise because there are a lot of new kinds and ways to play computer games with advanced options for playing on-line. And second conclusion is the continuously high level of the purpose of internet for communication. This confirms the statement mentioned previously that the Internet is not isolating people and reducing their sociability, on contrary, the virtual life becomes more social than the physical life. In all three years of the research the students are equally using internet for education purposes (on-line learning, e-books, tests) and for downloading movies and music.

Chart 3. Comparison of the values from the years 2013, 2014 and 2015



Because the internet is mostly used for communication the next question spontaneously arises: “How often do you check your e-mail?” As the chart 4 represents, all of the students have an e-mail address, but the frequency of checking differs during the years, starting from “many times a day” or “once in 3 days” in 2013, to increasingly high “once in a week” in 2015. The logical explanation of this drastic change is that the young people are frequent users of the social networks, which facilitates messaging option. They use these networking features not just for chatting and connecting with friends, but also for sending and receiving text documents, photos, videos or other files. The e-mail providers will continue the

process of broadening their services implementing some new features for interconnection of the users. It's only a matter of time when social networks will overcome the simple e-mail providers.

Chart 4. Comparison of the values from the years 2013, 2014 and 2015

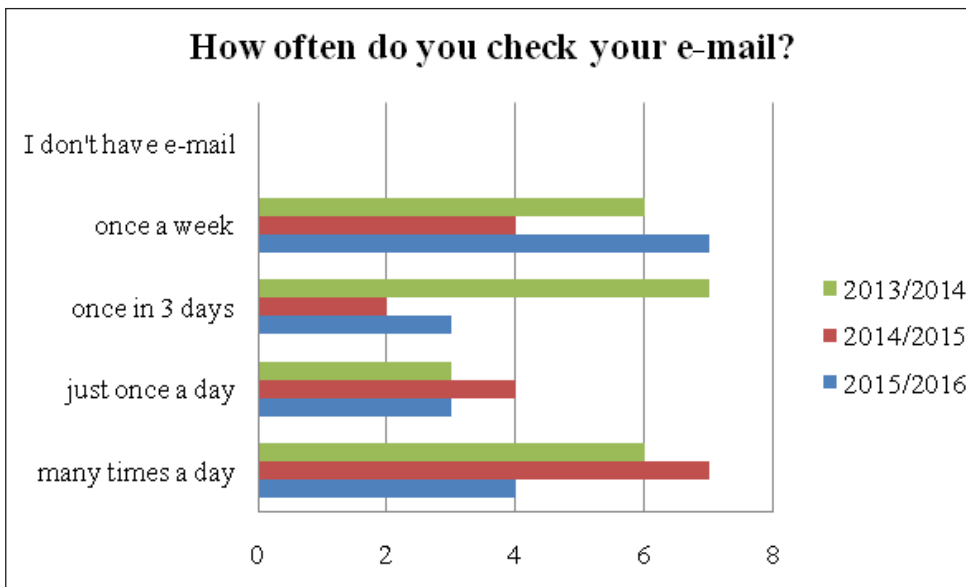
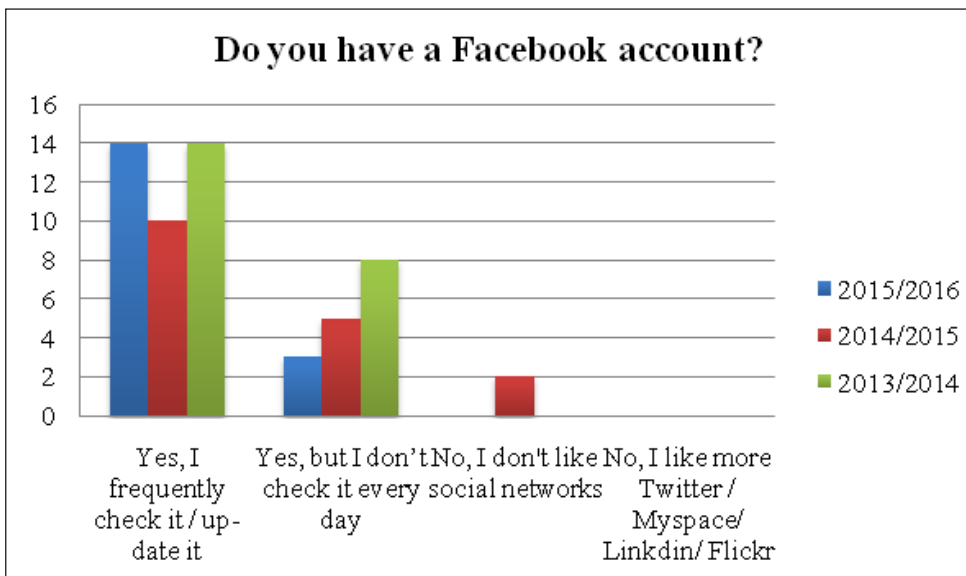


Chart 5. Comparison of the values from the years 2013, 2014 and 2015



The last question used for this analysis is: “Do you have a Facebook account?” Every year the students answered that they have a Facebook account, but the frequency of their use of this social network is different. In 2013 one third of the answers were “Yes, but I don’t check it every day”, and in 2015 almost all of the students said “Yes, I frequently check it and update it” (referring to the profile they have on this social network).

None of the students answered that they like more other social networks, like Twitter, Myspace, LinkedIn or Flickr. This indicates the huge popularity of Facebook among young population (students) in Macedonia and the fact that updating and reviewing profiles on social networks have become a normal daily routine.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the use of the internet empowers people by increasing their personal freedom, feelings of security, and feelings that they have a positive effect on personal well-being and happiness.

Since 2002 a new socio-technical revolution is emerging on the internet: the rise of social network sites and social media. The social networks today are where all human activities are present, from personal interaction to business, work, education, culture, communication, social movements, and politics.

The young population has the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make positive changes in the contemporary societies using the potential and benefits of the new digital technologies. The youth should be socially aware and eager to continuously improve their life standards in the community in which they live, but also in the society as a whole.

In conclusion, the research represented in this paper showed that young people are electronically engaged and they connect on internet from their mobile devices when- and wherever they feel the need. They are aware that digital tools can help them and ease their everyday life, especially in education and communication. They use the social network features not just for chatting and connecting with friends, but also for sending and receiving text documents, photos, videos or other files. The results point on the very frequent daily use of the social networks, mainly Facebook, usually for updating personal profiles or pages.

The suggestion is that the educational programs should be readjusted including more digital tools and skills for encouraging electronic engagement, like: technical, information and digital literacy skills, and relational or social skills. The courses and classes not only in the area of information technologies, but in every educational field, should adopt new programs and applications that will

keep the students' attention, and will introduce the concept of e-engagement, e-participation and e-learning. Students should realize that we live in a digital era, era of new technologies, so they should use the maximum of all the digital tools, internet access and virtual world.

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MELANCHOLY AS A POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL IMAGINATION

Abstract

The text will investigate the melancholia starting from the psychoanalytical discourses and their fundamental texts: Freud's *Melancholia and Mourning*, Melanie Klein's reconsideration of the psychogenesis of manic-depressive positions and Julia Kristeva's *Black Sun*, to its potentials for political imagination and transformation. For the basis of rethinking melancholia into the political context I use the critical writings by Sara Ahmed on the cultural politics of emotions and the manner in which they reflect the power relations and the potentials for political transformation. Furthermore, the book *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief (Race and American Culture)* by Anne Cheng starts from the Freudian analysis of mourning and traces the dynamics of rejection and internalization which can help in explaining the American racist culture. The idea is to investigate if the model of melancholia can help understand the mourning and loss not as symptoms but as dynamic processes with forceful, but also with transformative potentials for political imagination. By investigating the melancholia of the marginalized the idea is to explore the possibility to transform the mourning into a stance against the wound. The text will look into the dynamics of the student movement in Macedonia from 2014/15 as an example of creative transformation of the marginalized position into the new political discourse that initiates the democratic processes in the society.

Key words: melancholy, politics, transformation, student movement

INTRODUCTION

The concept of melancholia will be investigated with focus on two aspects. One line of analysis is the psychoanalytic discourse on melancholia in the works of Freud, Klein and Kristeva. The other line is the analysis of the transformation of melancholic dynamics behind the marginalized position of the students in contemporary Macedonian society into political action. The aim is to follow the psychodynamic process of melancholia within the societal processes and to see if there is possibility for creative transformation of this dynamics into the political imagination and into political action. The leading question in this paper is how the melancholic process and marginalized position can be transformed into political action? I take the student movement “Student plenum” and its emergence as phenomenon that I analyze to understand the basic processes and conditions which enabled this movement to transform the political discourse and therefore make significant change into the social realm of the Macedonian society.

PSYCHOANALYTIC DISCOURSE OF MELANCHOLIA

In his essay “Mourning and melancholia” Freud discusses the differences of the process of mourning the loss of loved subject and melancholy. Mourning, he argues is the usual reaction after the loss of the loved person or loss of some abstraction taking place of subject, like freedom for example. During the process of mourning the self is not brought into question. Melancholia on the other side, as Freud explained is pathological process of mourning. Freud describes several mental features that characterize both processes. The mourning as well as melancholia have - profoundly painful dejection, lost of interest in the outside world, lost of the capacity to love, inhibition to all activity. The distinctive feature he points out is the lowering of the self regarding feeling that occurs in melancholia. He says “In the mourning it is the world that has become poor and empty in melancholia it is the ego” (Freud, 1917: 246).

What happens with the ego? Why the loss of something loved ends with the wounded ego? Freud explains it with the shift of the reproaches for the loved object to hers/his own ego. The conflict of love Freud says is going on with all the pros and cons that ultimately lead to the loss of love. How does this happen? He explains it with the object relationship – something happens (it could be a disappointment) that shatters the object-relationship. The result is not the usual withdrawal of the libido from the object and displacement to the new one, but the free libido which was withdrawn, goes/attaches to the ego. It makes identification of the ego with

the abandoned object. The identification is therefore the process that transforms the loss of the object to become ego-loss. Freud suggests that the loss of the object can be followed by the regress to narcissistic wound, closed in the internal world of the ego. The notion of primary narcissism, for Freud as the initial investment of the libido in the ego, was used to explain as “the instinct of self-preservation” (Freud, 1914: 74).

Another important insight of Freud’s analysis of the underlying process of melancholia is about the transformation of what he calls the conflict of love into the “crushed state of melancholia”. The closed, uninterested, self-lowered position was at first revolt, he suggests (Freud, 1917: 248).

While loss is the essential for mourning, in melancholia it is not just loss but also, being slighted, neglected or disappointed can import opposed feeling of love and hate into and reinforce the ambivalence that characterizes the conflict of love, argues Freud (251).

Melanie Klein made significant insight into the depressive position, as she calls them, in children. She deepens the analysis of melancholy by locating its basis in early development by description and analysis of the first loss of the loved object. In the “Addition to psychogenesis of the manic-depressive position” she analyzes the early development of children and how they pass through the depressive states along with what enables the child to overcome those states. One of her conclusions was that there is a close link between the infantile depressive position and the phenomena of mourning and melancholia in adulthood (Klein, 2008: 76-77).

She argues that experiences of “depressive position” in the early childhood are basis for melancholia in the adulthood. She also explains that one of the important processes that take place is the introjection of the loved object into the Self. If the introjection is not successful it will lead to forming the pattern of “losing the loved object” in the adult person. According to Klein, first loss of the loved object is occurring while ending of the breastfeeding. (Klein 2008) Klein describes the inner world in terms of internal relations and happenings, as product of the infant’s own impulses, emotions and fantasy. It is profoundly influenced by his good and bad experiences from external sources and formation of “good” and “bad” object respectively (Klein,2008: 141).

Another significant analysis of melancholia in the psychoanalytic discourse that takes Freud’s, Klein’s and Lacan’s interpretations further is psychoanalyst and literary critic Julia Kristeva. Pointing toward melancholia’s processes as essentially driven from the relation with the other she names the primitive loss as the “loss of the necessary other”. This as Freud pointed out is regress to narcissistic wound as the last sanctuary for survival that Kristeva explains as specific narcissistic melancholic for which the sadness becomes replacement for the lost object. That is

how for the melancholic the sadness becomes replacement for the other. She also reviews Freud's notion of ambivalence and the hidden aggression towards the lost object and therefore towards self that appears together with the sadness. Love and hate establish complex dialectics of idealizations and devaluations of self and other that are result of the process of identification (Kristeva, 1992).

Psychoanalytical discourse is focused on the internal processes which are occurring as result of the continuous dynamic between the subject and its environment. Moreover the ego can be viewed as a function through which the processes of exchange of the subject with the environment are processed through identification and/or introjection. This interrelatedness is important aspect for the further analysis of the melancholia in terms of marginalization of groups and subjectivities in societal context and political dynamic.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DISCOURSES OF MELANCHOLIA

How the melancholy dynamics is relevant in the social domain? Is it possible for psychological dynamic to be translated into political transformation or action?

Answers to these questions are no easy task. However, several theorists already investigated these possibilities and used psychoanalytic language and discourse to analyze and explain social contexts and use it as language for political transformation. Sara Ahmed critically approached the emotions and explored their relation with the relations of power as well as the potentials for political transformation. She argued how emotions are not only internal processes in the realm of subjectivity but circulate between us. When expressed they become "ours," they initiate response. She also explained how emotions are constructed by social and cultural practices. Emotions also modulate our approach and relation towards things and therefore they participate in the construction of "I" and "Us," as Ahmed says "emotions produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated" (Ahmed, 2004: 10). Therefore I am encouraged to use emotional experiences and describe and analyze them in social and political realm. Ahmed also explores why social transformation is so difficult? Why relations of power are so tough, inextricable and persistent when they face collective resistance? She also reminds us that feminists introduced emotions as political issue and showed us how power shapes the surface of bodies and worlds (Ahmed, 2004).

The concept of racial melancholy is one of the examples how the melancholy dynamics is used to explain the position of communities/groups in certain social relations and context and the dynamics of the processes of exclusion and identification of the dominant group and marginalized. Cheng in her book "The Melancholy of

the race” uses the model of melancholia to understand how the mourning and the loss of the one that was hurt are not only symptom but also dynamic process of coercion and its transformative potentials for political imagination. She analyzes if transformation of the mourning into stepping forward against the wound is possible (Cheng, 2000).

This transformation and change in the social and political domain is only possible through relation. I argue this by grounding it in the Badiou’s concept of change. Badiou proposes that the change is relational. It is not property of the being as such but of being localized in a world. He says “The change is not the destiny of being but possibility when being is localized in the world submitted to certain relation with other multiplicities. The field of relations is the field of change. The change is possible because of experience, which is pure relationship with our world” (Badiou, 2012).

STUDENT MOVEMENT “STUDENT PLENUM” AS MODEL OF TRANSFORMATION OF MELANCHOLY INTO POLITICAL IMAGINATION AND ACTION

In this part of the paper I will concentrate on description and analysis of the emergence of the student movement “Student plenum” searching for the elements and aspects that enabled the movement to grow and to transform student position from marginalized into empowered to initiate change in the overall political discourse.

I’m using data from the research for my doctoral thesis that is focusing on the student movement that rose in 2014. The research was conducted during the period of January – July 2015. The overall methodology is grounded in critical ethnology and phenomenological methodological paradigm. The methods used in the research are field observations during the period of the occupation of the University also known as “Autonomous zone” and two series of interviews with ten students from the Student plenum – 20 interviews in total. Using the research and data presented in this paper I focus on the experiences of the students before the movement and during the intensive period of forming and functioning of “Student plenum” and during the occupation of the University St. Cyril and Methodius named “Autonomous zone.

At first I will present findings from the research that can illustrate the marginalization and melancholic position students were experiencing before their engagement into the student movement. Their experiences speak about the disappointed expectations from the higher education – where their individual

potentials, interests and needs weren't considered as important and relevant. This made them feel unimportant and neglected.

The Faculty disappointed me a lot...not only the faculty, I believe that you can get as much as you invest from anywhere but I had different expectations out of the academic life, being a student... More fairy tale and glorifying image and vision....I expected that there will be people that think, are creative, that I can learn from, that it will be wow!...and when I got there...I was disappointed, I saw that all they expect from me is just little bit, and no one is interested in the rest...at first I was questioning what should I do, but later I got used to it and gave little of me, just as much as it was expected...and I felt even worse about myself for giving so little and knowing that I have so much more to give! I entered the matrix and kind of shadow followed me that it is not as it should be... (Int 2_VR)

But the attitude of the professors towards the students, it means, the professor has no respect for you as his/hers colleague or future collaborator, but as subjugated, you are there just to pass the exam and get the grade, he/she is there just to give you some information and that's it. (Int 2_MN)

Students' personal experience of not being able to find job and become financially independent from their parents also made them disappointed and depressed. They felt that being student was undervalued and lead to their subjugated position. The effects from all these experiences in the long run makes them depressed, apathetic or they dream or try to go somewhere else where they consider will have better opportunities to find work and live better life.

We don't have security over the future, a young man that lives without this security could lose himself, or go and search it somewhere else....I planned to find job and to write my thesis, but it didn't happen...over more than a year I felt depressed, I didn't want to see people....the whole situation is pushing you towards depression and I fell under it, I fell...it is so easy to be in apathy, too easy, melancholy is the most common thing here in our country (pause) I know countless people, smart people, that stare at the stars, that take drugs, fall into excesses. Cause it is all that is asked of you, since there are walls all around that you hit million obstacles. Every day you see how powerless you are and slowly you start to accept that. (Int 1_KM)

Translated into psychoanalytic discourse – marginalized position of the students is the result of disregard of their position in the society, neglect of their potential,

lack of acknowledgement and respect. They have lost their place, and they lose their hope. It is not melancholy over the loss of the subject but the grievance over the loss of their position in the community and their sense of worth. Internalization through introjection creates situation for the students to feel personally lost, inadequate, insufficient, frustrated and looking “envious” towards others that are situated, successful and belong to the newly formed elite that enjoy all the privileges.

I could say that the last fifteen years, twenty years there is constant devaluation of the status of the students in the society. And especially since this government is in power has huge impact in the degradation of the students.... The students were apathetic, totally apathetic, not interested for their own future, or interested for their future somewhere else, not in this country. This government made students to believe that there is no prosperity here and underestimated them so much that it pushed this new law, the external testing... Students are such a marginalized group that is facing terrible social obscurity and huge problems, and what students get at the end of the week is one free beer in the student parties wrapped in kitsch and cheap entertainment, and all of that in radical apathy.... The only chance for success is by getting political partisan membership in order to get employment enabled by the ruling political party. (Int 1_BR)

What is the point of transformation? How does individual subject transform its marginalized position into empowered political action and therefore participate in the social transformation? I looked for answers to this question in the stories of the beginning of the Student movement. What happened? How was it experienced and what was meaningful for the students?

In short summary, the movement occurred as derivative of other student initiative called “Open Suitcase”. The later was initiative of group of students from the Faculty of Philosophy that wanted to offer a place where students from different faculties and backgrounds could meet and discuss socially and student relevant issues. Their program consisted of screening socially engaged movies or videos and facilitation of discussion on the issues raised by the presentation. The next quote is narrating exactly the emergence of the idea of Student plenum:

We wanted, aware of the problems, not to just throw the critique directly, but to offer new values and help the students to unite. We were aware that we can't do anything if people don't know each other. That's how we started with the cultural initiative that aimed at bringing students into doing something together, we wanted this idea to grow into something more than just screenings but this was the main activity....It didn't matter how many

people were there, 2 or 50, we played the movie, facilitated the discussion and back then it didn't feel that it has any social influence, but we were convinced that it is important! For us it was really important!....And in one discussion in October, I don't remember which movie was screened, the discussion started - Let's do something together! And in that moment the people met, connected and decided to make the plenum. (Int 1_VR)

What I point out as spark for the emergence of the movement is the point of recognition, acknowledgement and acceptance of each other as together in their joint revolt and hope "Let's do something together!." Here again I refer to the Badiou's concepts of change and politics and argue that the critical point for transformation of the melancholy into political action is in the process of relating with the others that share and or empathize with the same position in certain context, in a shared venture of creating different practice and experience vis-a-vis the one that brought them into the marginalized position. This itself is a political transformation towards radical change. For Badiou politics can be understood as "collective action, organized by certain principles, that aims to unfold the consequences of a new possibility which is currently repressed by the dominant order" (Huddleston, 2009). Moreover the instance of the political subject is one of a collective, as opposed to an individual subject.

But what are the main conditions that enabled this idea to become so fertile and grow further? I would propose that several crucial elements deriving from the way this movement was born made the fertile ground. Other factors related to the local social and political context would not be elaborated in this paper because of the space limitations but also given that it would mean broadening the focus of the analysis which is not coherent with the concept of this paper.

Two organizational elements that I find essentially related to the growth and the power the movement gained that transformed the marginalized student position are horizontal organization and inclusiveness.

Horizontal organization is relatively new way of organizing social movements that occurred in response to the growing crisis and lack of democracy such as Occupy movement (Sitrin, 2012). Michael Kazin says that these movements are not based on creating either a program or a political party that will put forward a plan for others to follow. At the same time, these movements are attempting to prefigure future society through present social relationships (Kazin, 2015).

On organizational level horizontality refers to the active creation of nonhierarchical relations through decision-making processes. One of the main values built in the horizontality is equality. However, it does not guarantee equality given to the assumption that inequality will always permeate every social interaction and that

each person is responsible for continuously challenging these inequalities at every step of a decision-making process (Maeckelbergh, 2012). Students confirm that their experiences of plenum discussions were rather frustrating but also enriching.

Honestly the horizontal organization can sometimes be, and I don't agree when they say –ineffective, it can be slow!...And anyone can say their opinion even if someone else already said the same, but it has its beauty, everyone to feel included, to be able to make statement, to be heard.... Yes, yes, yes, to think over “aha my colleague was speaking about this, maybe he is right, although there were moments when we couldn't hear each other... (Int 1_TF)

Different concepts, projects and practices of participatory, horizontal, deliberative, discursive democracy belong to the contemporary political theory and practice that develops transformative democratic strategies for improving democratic values such as egalitarian social justice, individual liberty combined with popular control over collective decisions, community and solidarity, and the flourishing of individuals in ways which enable them to realize their potentials (Fung and Wright, 2003). Students were very conscious of the democratic aspect of the movement. They value the democratic experience they had as truly genuine and dialectic.

With the plenum meetings we really trained democracy, we comprehend it, and we experienced it! And now we know what democracy is. I had opinions that I thought were flawless, but those are dictators opinions, autocratic opinions...Here we succeeded in a magical symbiotic way to entangle so many contexts and so many opinions and it gets dimension of not just some simple eclectics, or syncretism that connects differences, but it makes a whole, one synthesis! One synthesis out of the best qualities... (Int 1_BR)

Dialogue in all forms - with tension between the different ideas, debates for conflict resolution or Socratic dialogue for revealing truth were all embedded part of the plenum discussions that enriched the experiences but also the articulations and strategies of the movement and ensured their intelligence and creativity to make breakthrough in the political arena.

Inclusion is also essential element that ingrains the equality as crucial value shaping the group dynamics. What was important in the local context for this movement was the demonstration that students have no fear of being labeled with political party activism which was also creatively articulated in number of student's actions and strategies. Furthermore, inclusiveness was important for

the demonstration that there is not necessarily need for ideological homogeneity as well relatively new phenomenon in local social movements. Along with the inclusiveness of ethnic and other minorities and marginalized identities which opened new era of social movement and political discourse in the Macedonian society.

And here all together and it was the most interesting thing of all that there were no prejudice among people, we slept together, ate together from different ethnic background, religious, sexual and all, and we were all together because I was not used to that outside the occupation to see it in Macedonia. (Int 1_VL)

I think that the horizontal organization is what enables everyone to say whatever he/she wants...I think that...It was the only place in the state that you can be free, think freely, talk freely! Aside that there is always saying that we have rights to free speech...You really don't!... Here, you could just shout out loud! If you feel like it...You can! And people will understand you! (Int 1_KM)

Two additional elements come from the subjective experiences of the students - sense of freedom and belonging as crucial elements that derive from the group organization and dynamic essential for the transformational power of the "Student plenum" movement. Political theoretician Murray Bookchin elaborates that the roots of the word freedom came from the German Freiheit, which takes its point of departure not from the individual but from the community or, more broadly, from society(Bookchin, 1994). In this paper freedom is seen as relational phenomenon experienced during the lived experience in the shared community. Aside of being one of the exploited abstract or subjective concepts and ideas, freedom as experienced by students especially in the local social and political context is one of the crucial elements for the political imagination and personal as well as collective transformation of student position. Sense of freedom for the students inside the movement and during occupation made significant changes in their everyday life practices. Next quote will illustrate how sense of freedom experienced during "Autonomous zone" is reflecting everyday life.

And you know, we take that with us in our neighborhoods and not just that, lot's of habits! You don't know how many times when I walk by local shop I stop myself not to take an apple (laughs)... There (in Autonomous zone) it was normal that you take apple from the food corner for free, we shared food. It was kind of going back to normal! We live in abnormal conditions

and in completely normal for two weeks! Completely normal! Where you can say whatever you like, think freely and do whatever you like without hurting or imposing to the other. (Int 1_KM)

Sociology and social psychology usually deal with belonging as part of social identity. In this paper I regard sense of belonging not in terms of creation of new social identity but moreover as relational phenomenon confirmed in the personal experiences. I think that belonging also was important element in the transformation of the melancholic and marginalized position. Psychologically it is related with the sense of acceptance and acknowledgment by other/s and opens possibilities for changes in the identity position or in psychoanalytic terms ego position. Politically it can also initiate and shape kind of political identity which is not fixed. I find Mouffe's notions of political identity to be suitable in describing it as alignment through joint articulation of each other's needs that in articulatory practices bring together different subject positions refiguring them in the process of negotiations (Mouffe, 1992a: 379).

The feeling "this is ours and we build it together" which we wouldn't have if three people made it, however..."this is ours and we take care of it", we should find our place there and we should contribute...this care and the responsibility that I noticed in so many people, maybe not all but many, it is the thread that make us one community and all those feelings...mutual care, sharing, giving, solidarity were flourishing, flourishing as in no other community or environment I ever saw before. I don't know what was that inspired people to be so open towards others, to share so much and to connect, is it the space itself that was our or the plenum as our guideway... some combination made it possible and simply it existed and it was ours and it was shared/communal... (Int 2_VR)

The sense of freedom and belonging facilitated the empowerment of the students and creation of their own community built in revolt against values and principles predominating today's politics and society but in solidarity and dialogue among themselves and with others. Therefore students find their experience from the "Autonomous zone" as victorious experience of true democracy in opposition to the experiences of antipode of democracy in everyday politics.

The Autonomous zone itself was a victory. Every day, every moment, every donation was a victory. This instant change in the way we grasp the notion of how it should be and the presentation of the true models of democracy, against what is the antipode of democracy, it can not be other than victory. Professors of humanistic science to speak about energy? Probably not

because they are part of some kind of New Age movements. All of us were talking about energy that really was what we felt there. And when you feel like that, when it pushes your body towards something, it is victory. The victory is to be with these people. (Int 1_LL)

This and the quote that follows illustrate how emotions are shaping bodies and spaces, as feminists also pointed out. These experiences describe how emotions as part of community based on genuine democratic principles and values are source for shaping the political imagination and transformation.

It is the most beautiful thing that happened in that space, from its existence. It was surreal for me, the whole, throughout the duration it was surreal...It was very special experience, it was our space full of our energy. Everyone was there, we were united. Everyone was happy there. We had so much support, people were coming, they donated, talked to us, it was very, very beautiful experience... It was magical. I met so many people! So many people met each other!... (Int 1_VR)

The occupation itself can be viewed as Event in Badiou's terms. The occupation allows something completely new to come into existence. It was truthful experience and students came out more empowered and alive.

We had an experience together. Now we know each other. Now, whoever has any problem, any hardship, he can say "Please come" and I will go, no matter what. And I will listen and if he is right I will be on his side. And new spirit was born! Spirit that – We are not powerless! I think this is most important, and now we know that and we know each other. (Int1_KM)

At the end I would conclude that it is possible to transform melancholic experience and position into political imagination and it is possible in collective and genuine venture in which subjects can relate, feel free and accepted. Political transformation is possible within community where there is chance to experience again what was once lost and longed for. Organization of community on democratic values such as horizontality and inclusion enable these experiences which come not as given but as negotiated and shared. Not to end this paper in naive or overenthusiastic tone I would like to point out that political imagination with the creative potential for transformation of the melancholic position into empowered one is an Eventual experience that is not stable or final. It is experience I see as important for survival of subjective and collective efforts for better life and shared future, for other challenges for the subjects and communities for new political imagination and transformation.

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