



Research Papers



17-21 AUGUST 2015
OHRID, R. MACEDONIA

SUMMER SCHOOL: "RELIGION, ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM"

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Research Papers from the Summer School 2015



"Religion, Ethnicity and Nationalism"

17-21 August 2015
Ohrid, Republic of Macedonia

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Introduction:

Two years in a row the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Euro-Balkan University – Skopje have organized a summer school titled "*Religion, Ethnicity and Nationalism*", which contributed towards overcoming the status quo in the situation with the religious, national and cultural differences among the academic youth in the Republic of Macedonia.

The five-day summer school was held in Ohrid in the period between 17th and 21st August 2015, which was attended by 33 young scholars from the whole country. They had the opportunity to gain better understanding regarding how religion, ethnicity, nationalism and identity affect the society and the individual. At the same time, the summer school has contributed towards raising awareness about the role, meaning and function of the different cultural and religious profiles in conditions of the social, intercultural and democratic reality in the country.

In general, religion as a theme has not been addressed sufficiently in our society, particularly among the young people. The summer school offered a platform for each participant to gain better insight into the religions which are different from their own, which helped demystify the unknown "other" and create the basis for better understanding of the multiethnic society we live in. Through lectures given by eminent scholars in a variety of areas, discussions, workshops, study visits, the young participants were enabled to research the relations between the state and religion, particularly how the concept of multiculturalism functions and is applied in the contemporary societies. A special emphasis was given to the fact that the activities of the summer school should enable insight into the development of the changes of paradigms and theories in the last two decades in the Macedonian society, but also in the wider region.

The dedicated and active work of the participants on this summer school resulted in the preparation of papers on topics which they found particularly interesting. The papers are available as part of this publication.

The views and conclusions presented in the papers belong to the authors and does not in any way reflect the views and the conclusions of the organizers of the summer school.

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Working Group 1:

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**Religious practices in multireligious environment,
case study - the Republic of Macedonia after
the independence and the constitutional changes**

1. Introduction

The Republic of Macedonia is a country where various religions, cultures, and ethnicities coexist and function together for generations and generations. The historical development of the state and the people from this region contains periods when the religions were accepted differently by the society. In certain periods the religion had a stronger impact on the daily social life. There were a series of changes of various religions and diverse religious teachings. Today, on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, the religious practice among the population is conducted through a range of religious teachings. In accordance with the data collected on the 2002 Census, the majority of the population, that is 64.8% are Orthodox, 33.3% are Muslim, 0.35% are Catholics, 0.03% are Protestants, and 1.5% belong to other religious communities and religious teachings.¹ The register of the Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups contains 35 churches, religious communities, and religious groups, the most represented of which are the Macedonian Orthodox Church, the Islamic Religious

¹ Internet source – State Statistics Office of the Republic of Macedonia, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, final data, pages 334-335 <http://www.stat.gov.mk/publikacii/knigaX.pdf>, accessed in September 2015.

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Community, the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Methodist Church and the Jewish Community.²

In the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, Article 19 guarantees the freedom of religious confession. Furthermore, the same article guarantees free and public, individual or in a community with others, religious practice. In addition to this article, the constitutional text stipulates that the Macedonian Orthodox Church, as well as the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia, the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Methodist Church, the Jewish Community and the other religious communities and religious groups are separated from the state and are equal before the law. The Macedonian Orthodox Church, as well as the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia, the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Methodist Church, the Jewish Community and the other religious communities and religious groups are free to establish religious schools as well as social and charity institutions following legal procedures.³ This article establishes the secularity in the functioning of the Republic of Macedonia.

The main topic of this paper is religion which will be reviewed **through the main hypothesis of the paper:** *Religious practice in the Republic of Macedonia reflects the secular character of the state, and the three supporting hypotheses:* (1) *Religious practice in the society affects national policies;* (2) *Religious practice enables cooperation between the various religions in the Republic of Macedonia;* (3) *The population in the Republic of Macedonia is fond of religious practice.*

The research subject in the proces of determining the validity of the hypotheses covers the adult population in the Republic of Macedonia, from all ethnic and religious communities.

The methodology of this paper covers the methods, techniques, and instruments that will be applied in collecting the necessary information for further data processing. The main insight into the issue covering the subject of this research is based on a survey conducted on the adult population in the Republic of Macedonia, coming from all ethnic and religious communities. At the same time, the data collected from the survey were systematized in order to obtain statistical indicators, and an analythic-synthetic method was applied in direction of enabling connectivity between the features of the research subject with the phenomena, and the processes, as well as other data collected with this research. Written sources have been

² For more information see: The Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups <http://www.kovz.gov.mk/>, accessed in October 2015.

³ Internet source – Republic of Macedonia's Assembly, Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, Chapter 1 – General provisions, article 19 <http://www.sobranie.mk/ustav-narm.nsp>, accessed in September 2015.

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consulted in the process of studying the main issue, as well as numerous legal acts, existing literature and other research on the topic. In this direction, methods were applied, and models of analysis and synthesis of collected statistical data in the religious sphere. By applying comparative and historical method a more detailed insight into the research topic has been enabled.

From a scientific and theoretical aspect, defining religion as a phenomenon of the social communities has always faced certain difficulties. The social phenomenon itself, religion, contains myriad of elements that render its defining almost impossible. The author of the book *Religion as a Cultural System*, Clifford Geertz describes religion as a cultural system that contains a collection of beliefs and views on the genesis of the world, life, humanity and its existence. In the development of humanity there were periods when religion, besides as a cultural system, was also involved in almost every aspect of the state's functioning and it represented a state order (system). On the other hand, today, secularism as a principle of state functioning separates the governmental (state) institutions and state officials from the religious institutions and religious leaders.

Historical evidence shows that the spread of Christianity in Macedonia can be dated as early as the second half of the I century, some 60 years after Christ, corresponding to St. Paul's evangelistic journey. In the V century, there were several bishoprics and episcopies on the whole territory of Macedonia, among which the most famous were those of Salonika, Skopje, Heraclea, Bargala, and Stobi. In this period throughout the territory of Macedonia there are many early Christian basilicas.⁴ Furthermore, the Islamic Community in the Republic of Macedonia used to be part of the Islamic Community of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and later in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After the fall of the former state federation and the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, this community continues to function as an independent religious community in the Republic of Macedonia, with its seat in Skopje.⁵ The Catholic Church in Macedonia was founded in 1918 when the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was created, and when a small portion of Macedonians converted to Catholicism. The Exarchy was abolished in 1924. After Yugoslavia fell apart, in 2001 the Holy See reenacted the

⁴ Internet source: Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups, <http://www.kovz.gov.mk/?ItemID=9B9239BFA0E1394295F1B8E9A51DAAAB>, accessed in September 2015.

⁵ Internet source: Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups, <http://www.kovz.gov.mk/?ItemID=490D800DB5D9EF4FB7A6C2C269C523B0>, accessed in September 2015.

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Apostolic Exarchy in Macedonia.⁶ Protestantism in Macedonia starts to protrude in the second half of the XX century. However, besides the current understanding of the concept of "protestantism", back in the X century there was a movement in these regions, which although known by another name, in its essence represented a kind of protestantism. It was the movement of the Bogomils. Today there are several minority Christian religious communities in the Republic of Macedonia.⁷ There are about 200 Jews living in Macedonia today, however the presence of Jews in Macedonia can be evidenced even from the VI century BC. The Jews started migrating during the Roman period. The exodus forced many of the Jews to flee from the lands under Roman control and a small portion of Jews chose Macedonia for their homeland.⁸

2. Field Research

A field research was conducted in order to be acquainted with the religious practice in the Republic of Macedonia and in order to gain a deeper insight into the main issue of this paper. The research was conducted on the subject of the research, at the end of August 2015, and comprised of a survey with 5 closed questions.

The first question was created to gain knowledge whether religious practice in the society affected the national policies, and it stated as follows: (1) In your opinion, should religion be involved in politics? The choice was either YES or NO. All of the respondents chose NO. This points at the fact that the population is aware that the religious practices in a secular state should not affect the state policies.

The second question stated: (2) Should there be cooperation between the various religions?, and was designed to gain knowledge whether religious practices enable cooperation among various confessions in the Republic of Macedonia, as much as 80% answered YES, while 20% answered NO. This points at the fact that religious practices in the Republic of Macedonia should enable a high level of cooperation among various confessions in the country.

⁶ Internet source: Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups, <http://www.kovz.gov.mk/?ItemID=B68C2394C64C894EAA04331655A47035>, accessed in September 2015.

⁷ Internet source: Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups, <http://www.kovz.gov.mk/?ItemID=BFF253DF95C8884785FFD6B65A39654E>, accessed in September 2015.

⁸ Internet source: Commission on Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups, <http://www.kovz.gov.mk/?ItemID=5A154BF8A697B644A05FAE389EA38DFD>, accessed in September 2015.

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The last three questions examined the issue from the aspect of whether the population in the Republic of Macedonia is fond of religious practice. The third question stated (3) Do you consider yourself well-informed about your religion?, to which 70% of the respondents gave affirmative answer, and 30% gave negative. The answers to question (4) Do you have to visit religious objects regularly?, were equally divided, that is half of the respondents gave affirmative answer, while half of them negative. The last question from the survey stated (5) Do you want your child to take Religious Studies or History of Religions?, to which the option Religious Studies was selected by 20% of the respondents, and the option History of Religions was selected by 80% of the respondents. The answers to these three questions show that a certain portion of the population in the Republic of Macedonia is fond of religious practice.

3. Conclusion

The main conclusion, that is the constatation deriving from the conducted research points at the fact that the population in the Republic of Macedonia is quite aware that the religious practices are in full accordance with the definition and the characteristics of what we call today a secular state. Namely, the population fully supports the functioning of politics without interference of religion. Furthermore, the religious practices on national level enable the inter-religious cooperation system to be construed, which functions in paralel to the state political system, and in accordance with the legal system of the country. In addition, the results obtained with this research show that the majority of the population are fond of religious practice.

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Secularization and Religion the case of Macedonia

1. Introduction

History has witnessed the role that religion as a phenomenon has played in the lives of almost each and every man and every society globally. Religion represents an important part in the general development of the states. The states through their most important legal acts arrange the position of religion, and indirectly the position of the religious institutions. Depending on the historical development of the states and normally a range of other factors, they choose whether they will be states where religious institutions will hold an important position and will cooperate with the government in providing joint solutions to the state problems, or, their model will be a secular one, which will propagate the separation of religion from the state. In one sense, secularity acknowledges the right to be free from religious governance and teaching, as well as the right to be free from any imposition of religion on the citizens by the state, which is neutral in relation to religious issues. These are two topics which are the focus of our research, with a special emphasis on Macedonia's case in relation to this issue. In the following pages we will research mainly the Constitution of the R. of Macedonia and how it arranges the position of religion? Can our country serve as an example of secular state? Does the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia favour certain religious communities, whatsoever? The paper provides answers to these question in the second part which consists of field research conducted within the frames of this topic. The research was conducted through a questionnaire containing five questions.

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2. Constitutional position of religion and the degree of secularization in Macedonia

The constitutional position and the relation of the state towards religion and the religious groups in the Republic of Macedonia after the independence can be divided in two periods, one before the adoption of the Constitution in 1991 and the other after 2001 and the adoption of the amendments referring to the aforesaid relation. The system that was established in the period of adoption of the Constitution from 17.11.1991 reflects Macedonia as a civic and democratic state, which is governed by the rule of law where all human rights are guaranteed, as well as other civic freedoms and national equality.¹ In relation to the issues concerning the boundaries of secularity, the Republic of Macedonia provides a model that rests on the following three postulates:

- Firstly, the international West European standards;
- Secondly, the traditions of the majority of the population from the Orthodox Christian community, as well as
- Thirdly, the realities in the existing religious landscape.

The problems with the Macedonian secularity model, which will emerge in the period to come, are directed towards enabling equilibrium between the three aforesaid postulates.

After the military conflict in the Republic of Macedonia from 2001 with the amendments adopted by the Assembly, which derive from the signed Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), certain changes were introduced in relation to the position of the religious communities in the public life of the state, symbolic though, however - very significant for them.

Article 19 from the Constitution, which defines the boundaries of the Macedonian secularity, places the Macedonian Orthodox Church in opposition to the other religious organizations with the phrasing: "The Macedonian Orthodox Church, as well as the other religious communities and religious groups". With the amendments from 2001, this phrasing was changed with Amendment VII, and now it states: "The Macedonian Orthodox Church, as well as the Islamic Religious Community, the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Methodist

¹The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, year: XLVII, No.: 52, Skopje 1991, pages 805-815.

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Church, the Jewish Community and other religious communities and groups".²

The specific confessions are graded in three groups, the first of which consisting of the Macedonian Orthodox Church (MOC), the second consisting of the Islamic Religious Community (IRC), the Catholic Church (CC), the Evangelical Methodist Church (EMC) and the Jewish Community (JC), and the third category "other religious communities and religious groups" consisting of the other minority confessions. In this regard, the division of the religious organizations in three groups does not carry a different range of rights and freedoms that they enjoy, but it reflects the historical statehood in a symbolic sense through the prism of the character of the Macedonian state, which is based primarily on the heritage of the Orthodox Christianity, the fundament of this doctrine being the MOC-OA.

What can be seen from the relation between politics and religion in the Republic of Macedonia is the character of the Macedonian model of secularity, as well as from the relationship of the political parties in the Republic of Macedonia with it, is the impression that the political right wing parties have closer relations with the religious groups in comparison with the left wing parties. This can be seen from the frequent presence of the religious leaders on public events, as well as the lobbying in the religious relations by certain religious communities in the country or with the religious communities outside our country. Contrary to this, the left wing parties strive for greater separation of the state from the religious communities, which implies non-involvement of the institutions in the religious matters, but also non-involvement of the religious communities in the work of the institutions.

3. Field Research

Each person is born with an innate religious sentiment. However, it depends how they nourish this sentiment later on. If it is nourished, individuals decide to belong to one of the confessions, that is the one they consider valid and true, and if this sentiment is rejected the individual becomes an atheist – a person without faith in God.

In order to confirm the thesis a field research was conducted on the topic of Religion, which surveyed 28 randomly selected citizens. Out of 28 respondents, 21 were Orthodox Christian, 5 Muslim, 1 Hindu, and 1 atheist. This is important to determine the profiles of the respondents for further processing of the given answers.

²<http://www.sobranie.mk/ustav-na-rm.nspix>

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The question *how often do you visit a religious temple*, was affirmative for 17 respondents only for religious holidays, 5 of the respondents visit religious temples frequently (this often implies occasionally or once a month), 5 of the respondents said they visited a religious temple very often (one a week), and one of them never.

Furthermore, the answer to the question that is the main focus of this paper, *whether the state is separated from religion*, was negative by 14 respondents, while 6 respondents gave an affirmative answer and 8 respondents who said they were not familiar with or not interested in this issue.

In relation to the other religions the situation is more or less positive, 27 respondents said that their attitude towards other religions is positive and tolerant, while one of the respondents expressed violent attitude and intolerance towards other religions.

The next question affirms the results from the previous question. The question *would you like to visit a religious temple of another religious community*, was given an affirmative answer by 25 respondents, while three of them said they would not.

From the conducted research we can conclude that the citizens do not see the concept of secularity in the Republic of Macedonia or they do not recognize it, or more specifically are not familiar with what it represents. Therefore, it is very important for the Republic of Macedonia to work not only on its promotion, but to introduce the citizens with secularity, as a concept guaranteed by the Constitution.

4. Conclusion

From the aforesaid we can conclude that the focus of this research is directed towards gaining insight into the issue that tackles secularity and religion, in the case of Macedonia.

We realized that the phrasing "MOC, as well as the other religious communities and religious groups" from the Constitution of 1991 was replaced with the amendments from 2001, which now excludes the preference of MOC in relation to the other religious communities. At the same time, we conducted a research through a survey to anonymous respondents in order to gain insight into the real situation, to scan the views on the relation between religion and government, as well as the degree to which Macedonia is secular, coming to a conclusion that the majority of the respondents consider that there is a close connection between the state and the religion. Putting an emphasis on one or another religious community by the political management of the state inevitably imposes the problem of emerging religious and national conflicts. However, from our conducted analysis we can conclude that this problem was eradicated by

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the fact that there is a high degree of religious and national tolerance among the citizens.

As already mentioned, considering the current conditions in Macedonia in relation to the functioning of the religious communities and politics in general, we can notice that the state does not make a clear distinction between politics and religion, which is evident with the frequent presence of religious leaders on important political and public events, but also based on the research according to which the citizens do not recognize or understand the concept of secularization.

All of this points at the fact that in order to provide a more optimal and efficient functioning of the state it is necessary to take measures that would promote the respect for secularization in a certain state, in this case Macedonia, but will also promote the separation of the state from religion as a concept, in order to overcome the possible emergence of mutual religious and national intolerance among the citizens.

The disrespect for secularity results in a negative attitude towards the religious and political leaders by the citizens, which is manifested through rejection of the religious temples and religious leaders and an increased distrust towards the religious, but also the political leaders.

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Views on multiculturalism in Macedonian society

1. Introduction

The term multiculturalism is a complex term with many meanings. Its meaning was the subject of a great debate in the academic circles and in the western political discourse¹. The central theme that is elaborated in all forms of multiculturalism is the individual and/or collective identity.

Today the greatest challenge for multiculturalism is to build a stable system that will incorporate the ethnic and cultural differences, and quite often this is done by the states through the protection of the civic and political rights of the individuals.

In total, multiculturalism as a philosophical concept and a policy provides a solution, but also poses as a problem. On one hand, it is glorified for the advancements in equality and social cohesion of various groups, while, on the other hand, it is criticized for creating inequality and leading towards social fragmentation.²

If we place the concept of multiculturalism in the context of the universal human rights (as a universal achievement of the human civilization per se), each society is faced with the dilemma whether to accept the American principle of universal human rights, where regardless of ethnic belonging everyone enjoys equal rights, or the new principle specific for the European states, where the minority entities are guaranteed collective rights, which goal is to improve the

¹ In 2010 the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, while addressing the youth of the Christian Democratic Union, stated that the so-called "multi-culti" concept where people should "live next to each other" is a failure. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11559451>

² <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/mar/17/multiculturalism-diversity-political-policy>



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position of the minorities. Although there are arguments *for* and *against* each of the principles, every state should proclaim and guarantee the individual human rights, but also protect the interests of the minorities from majorization.

The concept of multiculturalism is directly related to the genesis and emergence of this social phenomenon. In general terms, the concept of multiculturalism encompasses various forms of cultural pluralism. In the historical development the human societies have had various forms for establishing a multicultural structure: nomadic movements, colonial conquests, voluntary migrations, wars of conquest, forced exodus and other reasons, each multicultural society has its own genesis.

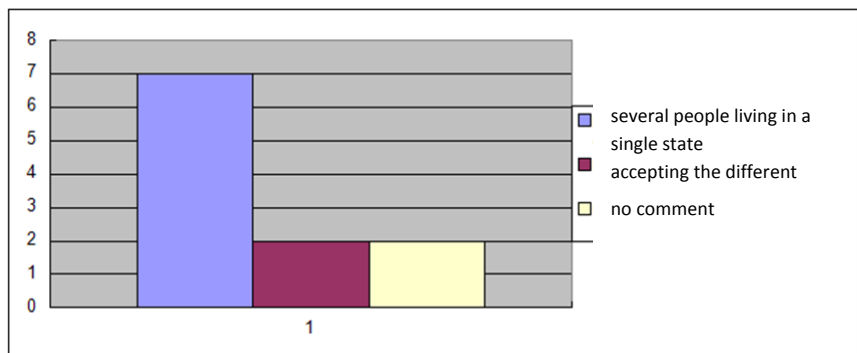
Due to the great significance and relevance of this issue for the Macedonian society, we decided to analyze it from the aspect of what the views on multiculturalism are in the Macedonian society. Therefore, eleven people were canvassed in a survey with several questions (given in detail further in the text). The methodology applied was a partially standardized survey with open questions, which means that the respondents were given questions to which they had to deliver answers.

2. What are the views on multiculturalism in the Macedonian society?

In order to understand people's views on multiculturalism, as well as gain certain knowledge about it, the survey that was conducted showed the following results:

1. What is multiculturalism?

The majority of the respondents (7 people) answered that they see multiculturalism as a conglomerate of several peoples living in a single state, two respondents said that it meant accepting the different, and two respondents gave no comment to this question.



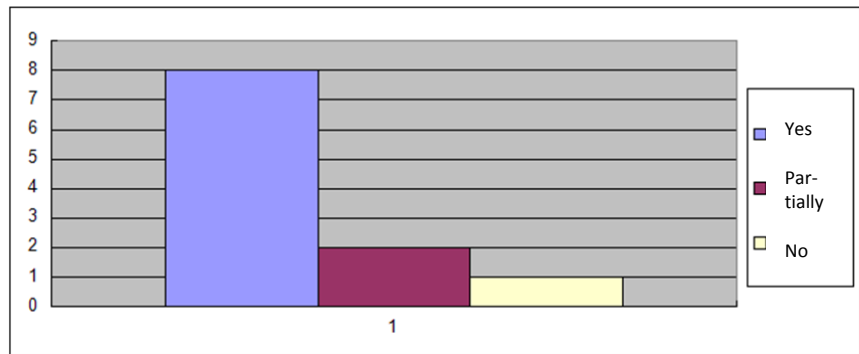


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2. Do you consider Macedonia as a multicultural country?

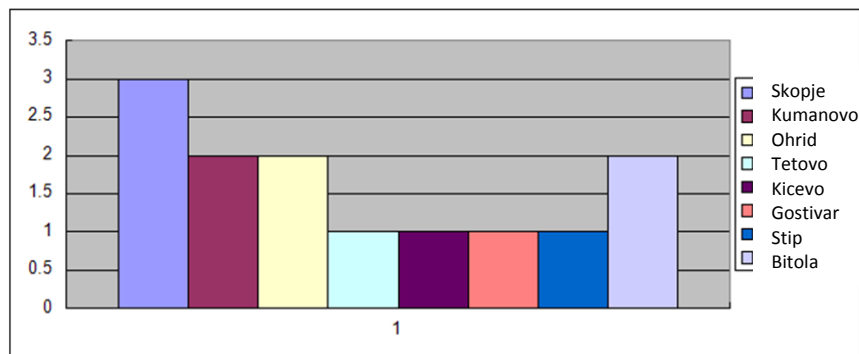
On the second question we got the following answers:

- Eight respondents consider Macedonia as a multicultural country;
- Two respondents consider Macedonia as a partially multicultural country;
- One of the respondents said that Macedonia is not a multicultural country.



3. Which parts of Macedonia do you think are the most representative examples of multiculturalism?

It is evident that the respondents gave more than one answer to this question. The majority of the respondents consider Skopje as the most representative example of multiculturalism, followed by Bitola, Ohrid, Kumanovo etc.

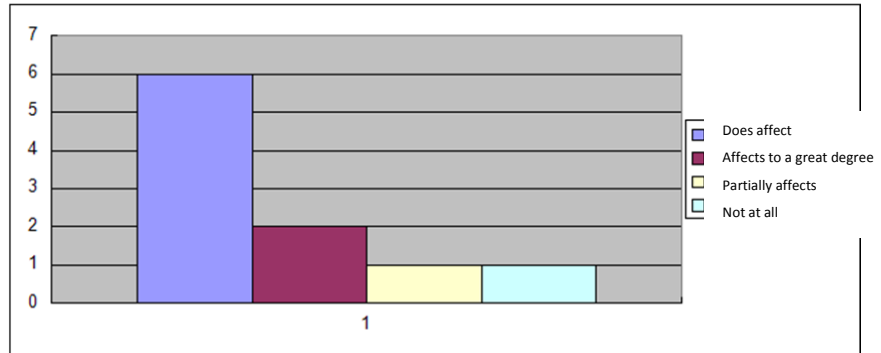




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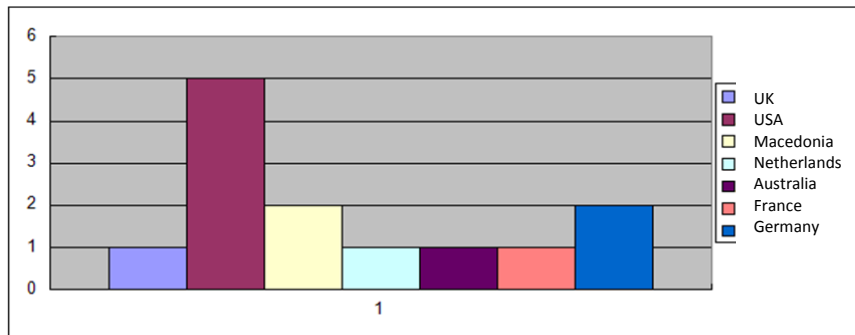
4. How much does multiculturalism affect the development of a country?

Six of the respondents answered that multiculturalism does affect the development of a country, two said that it affects the development to a great degree, one respondent chose partially, and one - not at all.



5. Which country do you think is the most representative example of multiculturalism?

It is evident that the respondents gave more than one answers, and the majority of the respondents said that the USA is the most representative of multiculturalism.



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3. Conclusion

The central theme elaborated in this paper is all the forms of multiculturalism and the individual and/or collective identity. We decided to analyse it from the aspect of what the views on multiculturalism are in the Macedonian society.

In order to gain a more comprehensive insight into the views on multiculturalism in Macedonia, we conducted a field research, a survey that enabled us to gain certain information that were further processed, and the following conclusions were drawn:

- The majority of the respondents understand multiculturalism as several peoples living together in a single state;
- People in Macedonia consider Macedonia as a multicultural country;
- Most of the people consider Skopje as the most representative example of multiculturalism;
- The respondents consider that multiculturalism affects the development of a country, and
- Most of the respondents consider the USA as the most representative example of multiculturalism.

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Perceptions on the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement

1. Historiographic review and paradigmatic thesis

Specifically, in the debates on the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (further in the text, the Agreement), the analysts point at political integration with the social and cultural variant of the distribution of the political power (Atanasov. 2003: 115-42). The basic thesis is *Glazer and Moynihan's* theory for instrumentalization and mobilization. Namely, in the process of competitiveness for political and economic resources, the ethnicums are the central point for the integration of the interest groups, where the varieties differ from individual targets and strategies to a collective fight for power. In addition, the intensity of the collective solidarity is strengthened with the help of the three elements that are integrated, and are key elements in establishing a national state and determining the citizens' status: same national background, language and religion (Putinja; Stref-Fenar. 1997: 107-8. Haralambos, Holborn, 2002).

In the case of the Republic of Macedonia, with the transition period after the Fall of the fourth Yugoslavia, besides the reform endeavors in the macroeconomic and the political-legal system, the society faced an escalation in the inter-ethnic conflict.

The key circumstances are the following:

- the wave of immigrants, which affected the increase of the Albanian population in the overall structure;

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- the ethnic political mobilization with escalation of the conflict between the Albanian paramilitary formations and the Macedonian political security structures;
- the requirements of the Albanian political leaders, which encompass the following:
 1. Macedonian should not remain ethnocentric anymore, as envisioned by the Constitution from 1991;
 2. There should be greater inclusion in relation to the international standards and conventions to reflect the multi-cultural reality;
 3. The minority ethnic and cultural identities of the Albanians in Macedonia should be represented in the state institutions;
 4. A higher budget should be allocated with greater authorization to the local communities where the majority of the population is Albanian, primarily for social welfare, health care, and education;
 5. A separate and special law on amnesty should be adopted (Atanasov. *Ibidem*).

Key information on the Ohrid Framework Agreement

- It represents a legal document signed on 13th August 2001, Ohrid, between the President of the R. of Macedonia, and the presidents of the parties VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM, DPA, PDP, mediated by the international community.
- It represents a unique legal mechanism binding resolution of the interethnic conflict and guaranteeing successful EU integration perspective.
- It contains the requirements of the Albanian ethnic community:
 1. Rejection of violence for political goals
 2. Call on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the R. of Macedonia (no territorial solutions for ethnic issues)
 3. The multiethnic character reflected in the public life of the Macedonian society
 4. Respect for the needs of all citizens by the Constitution in accordance with the international standards
 5. Development of local self-government to promote the identity of the communities
- It introduces amendments in the Constitution of the R. of Macedonia from 17th November 1991.

The evaluation experts have achieved a consensus that the Agreement has made certain regulations aim towards a model of bi-national state, although it provided solution for the interethnic conflicts. In that way, following the regulations, today, the Macedonian

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society is a multicultural one, with a model of social cohesion and elements of liberal and corporative pluralism. Namely, it seems true that the R. of Macedonia can, wants, and knows how to politically and civically realize its multicultural contents, since it represents an answer to all requests. In this direction, according to the assessments of the international factor, the Agreement is a framework for securing the future of democracy in the R. of Macedonia and enabling the development of the EU integration processes (Atanasov. *Ibidem.*) (Chupeska. 2013: 119-34).

2. Methodology with descriptive statistical analysis

Hypothetical position	The signed Framework Agreement - Ohrid, 2001 after the first one and a half decade is successfully implemented in the daily practice of the multiethnic dialogue.					
Sampling	Random samples of 10 respondents, regardless of their demographic features.					
Method	Deductive survey, at ordinal level, with Likter scaling of exclusive categories on three levels.					
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overcoming discrimination in the public sphere; Enabling equality and respect for differences; Enabling equitable employment in the municipalities, on ethnic grounds; Reducing intolerance in the communication between ethnic groups; Succeeding on international level as an Act for trust and stability. 					
Cross-analysis of the procentual frequency	It managed to overcome discrimination in the public sphere	It managed to enable equality and respect for differences	It managed to enable equitable employment in the municipalities, on ethnic grounds	It managed to reduce intolerance in the communication between ethnic groups	As an international act, it achieved successful implementation in the RM.	
	Disagrees	30	20	10	50	30
	Agrees	20	30	70	20	70
	Partly agrees	50	50	20	30	0
Findings and recommendations	<p>From a methodological position, the criteria for the level of trust in the responses are fulfilled through the logical percentual overlapping of the responses with the cross-questions. This is an indicator for the validity of the instrument for scanning the public opinion.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> On a general level, the citizens' position is proportional with the specific theses of the hypothetical position. The figures show that on average, this is the case with seven out of ten respondents. However, in the absence of exogenous and intervening variables (demographic features), the interpretation is rendered down to a nominal level. On an individual level, the figures show that on average, eight out of ten respondents agree with the key positions (related to the respect for and the realization of the key requirements, but also to the consistency of the legal document, as a kind of international act). <p>Due to the relatively high percentage of denial of the thesis related to the interethnic communication on daily basis, as well as due to the relatively frequent manifestation of scepticism in relation to the thesis about overcoming discrimination in the public sphere, there is a need for highlighting the importance of the measures of cultural policy, i.e. informative media, as an intercultural dialogue.</p>					

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3. Summary

From a structural position, this paper is based on two levels – theoretical interpretation and applied analysis. In an epistemological context the problem, which is the subject of this research, is of interdisciplinary character, with a range in the area of nationalism. From a methodological aspect, the project is based on two levels – historiographic context of social circumstances and empirical analysis of the citizens' public opinion.

This study is based on the operationalization of the elements of the thesis for instrumentalization and mobilization in the Contemporary Theories of Ethnicity, which gave the following insights on empirical level:

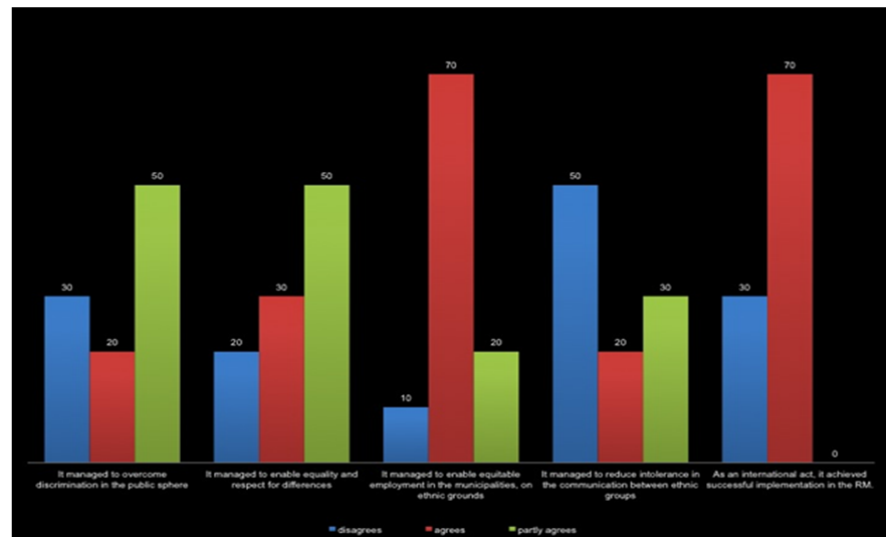


Chart 1. „Frequency of percentages of the answers from the survey“

The parameters for assessment of the level of successful implementation are a direct selection from the conducted *Content Analysis* of the key segments from the Agreement. Namely, the variables are on all levels, tangent to the Agreement. The findings and recommendations are founded on:

- the arsenal of social circumstances;
- the analysis of the contents in the Agreement;
- the interpretation of the assessments by eminent experts;
- the interpretation of the citizens' positions.

In general, the interviewed citizens agree that **in practice the Agreement has been implemented successfully**, on all levels, there-

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fore judging by *Chart 1*. for various variables, the hypothetical position is confirmed, however, due to the variations which are not accidental but logical, the recommendations are focusing on the cultural policy, i.e. the **need for promotion of the intercultural dialogue**, through institutional support of the media.

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The Role of Nationalism in the triangle between Nation, State and Religion (Macedonia)

1. Introduction

The human being in its biological and sociological component is a zoon politicon, a political animal, which strives to identify with a group, community or idea. There are several bases of identification the human being can rely on in its existence, which makes people gravitate around the uniting components – religion, ethnicity, nation, culture, etc. In a historical sense, the nation as a reality emerges after the French Revolution when Napoleon abandoned the traditional state order and introduced a new system of governance where the individuals are placed on an equal position, which was the leading factor for the creation of the contemporary nations.¹ With the French Revolution, the nation has legitimized the state, and with this, the national state created by social consensus has established its sovereignty on the people.

Different theorists and historians have given various opinions on nations, their formation and existence, however, all of them agree that the contemporary nations are phenomena that can be defined diversely, and one of the many definitions is the following: *a nation represents a group of people with a common past, religion, language, and culture, who live in the same territory, and are related in everyday living.*² The contemporary nations are always created by the states although there are exceptions, when separate nations are

¹ Popov Chedomir, *Gragjanska Evropa (1770-1914) Politicka Istorija Evrope (1815-1871)* Belgrade 2010

² Achkoska Violeta, *Lekcii od sovremenata makedonska drzava (1944-1990)* Skopje 2011 r. (for more information see Appendix 4, Terminology, pages 478-490)

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formed without a state that would acknowledge them completely, for example: Kurds and Roma. Nationalism as a concept emerges almost at the same time with the emergence of nations and represents an idea according to which the representatives of one nation elevate their nation on a higher cult level than the other neighboring nations.

An important element for the nations and nationalism are states, which in a kind would either stimulate, constrain, or sustain these phenomena, they form nations or these abstract communities of people, who can be people from the same religion (e.g. Greeks), or language area (e.g. French), cultural influence (e.g. Russia).

The state policies towards nations, as well as their strategic interests force states to put efforts in strengthening the national spirit at certain time periods or to stimulate nationalism among its citizens, depending on the political circumstances.³ However, there are such cases when states impose national assimilation on certain groups of people for higher state goals and interests.⁴

Religion, however, plays the central role in the formation of the identities of many European states (Greece, Poland, Ireland, England etc.). What is common for nation, religion and state is that they all provide answers to the questions: **who am I, and what is my place in the society?** The religious identity precedes the national collective identity. In the Middle Ages, the primary identification of the individuals was religious.⁵ In the beginning of the 18th century, states become unifications of the religious and the national identities.

The people could belong to a certain religion and nation and be part of the state that cherishes certain national ideals as primary values.

The Republic of Macedonia nourishes an authentic model of secularity, somewhat between the model of state religion and secularity due to the separation of the MOC from the other religious communities, however, the basic corpus of rights and guarantees for the freedom of confession are respected, and the standards of the developed democratic states are applied.⁶

³ Scott, Len, *International History, 1900-90*, Oxford University Press, 2008

⁴ Zoran Janjetovic. *Deca careva, pastorca i kraljeva, Nacionalni manjini u Jugoslaviji (1918-1945)* Belgrade 2005g.

According to the author, the tendency for establishing the Yugoslavian nation lies in the ambition of King Alexander to strengthen the power in the state, which never came true due to an obvious reason that the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian national awareness was already established and indoctrinated.

⁵ Bakrac Vladimir "Teoriski pristup slicnostima i razlikama izmegu religije i nacije", *Religija i tolerancija*, Vol. VII, Nº 12, Jul – December, 2009 p. 337

⁶ Spasenovski, Aleksandar, PhD. *The Influence of the Religious Communities on the Institutions and the Policy of the Republic of Macedonia*, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Skopje, February 2015, p.7

By applying the analytic method and reviewing the results from the mini-research on the summer school *Religion, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, this paper aims to highlight the disruptive role of nationalism in the trilateral relations between nation, state and religion.

2. Nationalism in the context of the contemporary Macedonian society

The mini-research conducted by the fifth group on the summer school *Religion, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, confirmed some of the primary hypotheses of the group. Throughout our research on nationalism, all respondents saw it as a negative phenomenon, although they could not provide a specific definition of what nationalism truly was. Their research showed that there is still a low level of trust among the communities. The representatives from ethnic Macedonian background think that *some national features affect the behavior of individuals*, which was confirmed with the survey. The general attitude of the respondents (around 75%) was positive in relation to coexistence, but the same percentage of citizens is strictly against mixed ethnic marriages. In relation to the question whether *a nationalist is born or becomes*, two thirds of the respondents agreed that one becomes a nationalist.

The findings of the research show strong influence of certain national and religious features on the behavior of individuals in the two major ethnic communities. In relation to the state, the greatest minority community shows lower degree of belonging to the state Republic of Macedonia in relation to the others, which seems to be an indicator for a type of nationalism, since there is no attachment and belonging to the state.

This is exactly what Kuper's thesis claims that by refusing to acknowledge the multiethnic character of the state, the majority community provokes a reaction by the minority community, which can be interpreted as a form of nationalism.⁷ The affiliation (to a great degree) of the representatives of the two largest ethnic communities to various confessions only harmonizes the tendency towards polarization and sustained intolerance between the two groups, which can be used in the political arena as an instrument for gaining trust among their (own) voters and their mobilization in the forthcoming election cycles.

3. Conclusion

⁷ Kuper 1999 cited in Craigie, Allan, University of Edinburgh, *Unionism and Pan-Nationalism: Theoretical Musings on the Dialectical Relationship between Minority and Majority Sub-State Nationalism*, 2010, p.232



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The very independence of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991 initiated processes on the political plane that later generated political crises in its own nationalistic atmosphere, among which the largest culminated with the conflict of 2001. After the changes in the Constitution in 2001, when the multicultural character of the country was officially confirmed, nationalism quite often played its role in the political arena, and it manifested on the citizens as well.

The research conducted by the fifth group on the summer school *Religion, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, registered the citizens' inclination towards peaceful coexistence, as well as mutual respect and acceptance of cultural diversity. What still remains a consequence of tradition and the religious impact is the conservative approach towards certain social phenomena, such as marriage between representatives of different ethnic communities. In relation to nationalism, the citizens label it as a negative phenomenon, and point at the political parties and their negative influence as "promoters" of interethnic tensions, thus dividing the citizens. However, they are in favor of peaceful coexistence.

According to the contemporary views, the modern states should not stimulate nationalism among its citizens, but instead, patriotic feelings, which would enable modern nations to eradicate the burden of the negative effect from nationalism. Loyalty towards the state and the sense of belonging is what makes the multicultural component strong in this country. In the multicultural states, such as the Republic of Macedonia, besides the promotion of the collective rights, it is necessary to raise the civic consciousness that would unite the differences and create common values.

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