Ali PAJAZITI

CULTUROLOGICAL STUDIES
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Content

FOREWORD ........................................................................................................................................ 7

MULTICULTURALISM: NEW VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF MACEDONIA ........ 9

ETHNICIZATION OF THE STATE AS A SOURCE OF INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION .......... 10
POST-ETHNIC MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY AND ITS ENEMIES ........................................ 15
THIRD MACEDONIA AND THE NEW IDENTITY .................................................................. 18
CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................ 18
BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................................................................................... 22

MULTICULTURALISM, INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION: AN EXAMPLE FROM SEEU .......................................................... 27

ABSTRACT ................................................................................................................................... 27
MULTICULTURALISM: BRIEF THEORETICAL APPROACH .................................................. 28
MULTICULTURALISM AS A CHALLENGE FOR THE BALKANS AND THE REPUBLIC
OF MACEDONIA: FROM OTTOMAN MULTICULTURALISM TO POST-OHRID FRAMEWORK .... 30
EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURALISM: SEEU EXAMPLE .................................................. 33
CONCLUSIONS ............................................................................................................................ 39
REFERENCES .............................................................................................................................. 40

RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN NEW MILLENNIUM MACEDONIA .......................... 43

INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 43
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: THE EUROPEAN AND BALKAN EXPERIENCE ................... 44
RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN TRANSITIONAL MACEDONIA ........................................... 54
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH: CITIZENS’ PERCEPTIONS ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION .................. 59
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION ......................................................................... 68
REFERENCES .............................................................................................................................. 71

HIGHER EDUCATION IN BOLOGNIAN WAY: THE CASE OF MACEDONIA (SEEU AND SUT) .................................................................................. 75

INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................................................... 75
THE NEW MILLENNIUM AND THE INFORMATIONALISM .................................................... 77
THE WIDESPREAD EDUCATION, THE UNIVERSITY AND “THE NEW MISSION” ............... 79
THE TRENDS OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE ......................... 83
THE REFORMS OF THE HIGH EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
AS AN OUTCOME OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS .................................................................... 87
THE HIGHER EDUCATION IN ALBANIAN LANGUAGE IN THE RM ........................................ 90
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ......................................................................... 97
REFERENCES .............................................................................................................................. 99
UNIVERSITY YOUTH AND POLITICS IN POST-TRANSITIONAL MACEDONIA (FYROM) ................................................................. 103

INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................................................................................... 103
THE SOCIAL TRANSITION AND MACEDONIA: POST-TRANSITION AS A SOCIAL DEMAND............ 104
YOUTH AND IMMORAL POLITICS ................................................................................................................................. 108
PERCEPTIONS OF UNIVERSITY YOUTH ABOUT POLITICS .................................................................................. 113
CONCLUSIONS .............................................................................................................................................................. 120
REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................................................. 122

TURK AND TURKEY PERCEPTION AT ALBANIANS IN THE BEGINNING OF 21ST CENTURY ................................................................. 125

ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................................................................... 125
TURKISH-ALBANIAN RELATIONSHIPS: THE REAL HISTORICAL-RELATIONAL DIMENSION... 126
THE ANTI-TURKISH PROPAGANDA AS A NATION BUILDING DEVICE:
THE IDEOLOGIC ELITISM AS OPPOSED TO THE MASSES .................................................................................. 129
FROM THE ELITIST NEGATIVE MYTH TO PEOPLE’S COMMON SENSE: PERCEPTIONS
OF CITIZENS IN MACEDONIA, KOSOVA AND ALBANIA ABOUT THE TURKISH ELEMENT.... 133
CONCLUSIONS .............................................................................................................................................................. 139
REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................................................. 141

ISLAM AS A GLOBAL PROVOCATION: INTEGRATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS FROM TARIQ RAMADAN’S PERSPECTIVE*................................................................. 143

ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................................................................... 143
ISLAM AS A GLOBAL PROVOCATION: STIGMA (TISATION) AS HYSTERICAL PARADIGM...... 144
TARIQ RAMADAN: BETWEEN PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL DISCOURSE AND
THEOLOGICAL AND REFORMATIVE APOLOGY ........................................................................................................ 147
INTEGRATION OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE EUROPEAN MILIEU: FROM GHETTO-ISLAM
TO CONTEXTUALIZED OR EURO-ISLAM ............................................................................................................... 149
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ....................................................................................................... 156
BIBLIOGRAPHY .......................................................................................................................................................... 157

CAPITAL-DIVISION AND ETHNO-URBANIZATION IN MACEDONIAN WAY: CASE OF “SKOPJE 2014” ................................................................. 159

FROM POST-YUGOSLAVIAN SOCIETY TO POST-OHRID ONE: TURBULENCES AS DESTINY...... 160
AUTHENTIC SKOPJE, COHABITATION AND CULTURAL PLURALISM AS OPPOSED
TO ARTIFICIAL SKOPJE.............................................................................................................................................. 163
“SKOPJE 2014” AS A METAPHOR OF IRRATIONALITY: THE SECOND BERLIN ON STAGE...... 166
CONCLUSIONS .............................................................................................................................................................. 173
APPENDIX ................................................................................................................................................................. 175
REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................................................. 176
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF OTTOMAN FOUNDATIONS’ SPIRIT</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN CONTEMPORARY BALKANS: MACEDONIAN CONTEXT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE WAQF (ISLAMIC FOUNDATION): SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND PHILANTHROPY AS A MISSION</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTTOMAN HERITAGE AND AWQAF IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTEMPORARY AWQAF IN THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENT MACEDONIA: FOUNDATIONS AND CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAVUTOĞLU AND THINKING DEPTH SERVING TO GLOBAL PEACE</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIETY-BUILDING IN MEHMET AKIF ERSOY’S LITERARY OPUS</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFAHAT: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND EPOS</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE RELATION BETWEEN VALUE SYSTEM AND SOCIAL ISSUES:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGION, MODERNITY, NATIONALISM AND MORALITY</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION(S)</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK REVIEW</td>
<td>227-232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Foreword

“A book is a door to the unknown and reading is a key to the doors of our mysterious world!”

Cemil Meriç

Honourable readers!

In your hands there is a collection of articles and papers presented at various national and international conferences that provide a chronotope, a scientific treatment of changes and phenomena in the time-space context from a sociological, cultural, and anthropological perspective. The chart of this book includes a wide range of topics, from multiculturalism and interethnic coexistence, education-information society-Bologna process, religious education and secularism, university youth-politics-ethics, identity issues in a globalized world (European Muslim), new Ottomanism, traditional foundations in the postmodern era, a sociological treatment of the poetry of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, to actual subjects like the ethno-urbanization à la "Skopje 2014".

Writings are arranged chronologically by date of presentation to the scientific opinion and are intended to illuminate the events objectively, reflect the spirit of social life and dynamics, while not remaining in the shackles of cave idols, without redundant artificialities and philosophical gravities. These scientific works are not only theoretical but involve a rich empirical-quantitative construct through charts, graphs, visual illustrations (pictures) that give readers the opportunity to read things from the perspective of figures and visuality.
• Foreword •

We think that the discourse of this book can be a tool for reading, understanding a part of the movements and remaking in the social arena that will help all those who want to catch the rhythm at a local and global order that is (de)contextualized each day.

We express our gratitude to the co-authors of several works who by their contribution have given this text a different color and have honored us with their collaboration. We thank the South East European University for having enabled our participation in a number of conferences, the Logos-A publishing house for its permanent intellectual engagement, my colleagues Ylber Sela, Linda Ziberi and Agron Rustemi, my former students Bedri Kasami and Hazbije Memedi for a good part of field work, Muhamed Jashari for some important and original photos, Dauti Foundation for the support to the publishing of this text and my family for showing understanding to my "absence" while being beside them.

Skopje

12 July 2012
MULTICULTURALISM: NEW VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF MACEDONIA*

“Wisdom is a goat’s path, narrowed between two abysses, between two extreme concepts”

Amin Maluf

“L’uomo multiculturale costruirà il mondo.”

(Multicultural man creates the world)

According to the famous French sociologist Emil Durkheim, sociology as a science aims at explaining the current reality, the reality that is close to us, close to our ideas and deeds (Durkheim, 2000: 17). Starting from this thesis, we would try to focus on what is going on “here and now” in the Republic of Macedonia, on the basis of the turbulent reality to express our positions related with new landscape in our society, as our lebenswelt, but, of course, having in mind the past, learning from mistakes made, i.e. the reasons for the problems that we are facing as a society. Unfortunately, at a time


1 Writing from a plate placed in front of the Faculty of Economy at the Sarajevo University (my writing from 21st September 2004)
when it is said that we are going through the geopolitics period in the chrono-politics (Virilio, 2003: 21) the Balkan, and our society particularly, is still facing a set of problems from (geo) political, economic and social nature, that prevent Europeanization of this area, as a crucial factor for the implementation of peace in this part of the “European yard” (I. Kadare). In this area, self-hypnosis on the idea that other ethnicities do not have normal rights (Kadare, Simić, Frčkovski, Hysa, 2001: 19), that the other is always culpable for the problems people face, that there is a “rough civilization perception” are still dominating (Davutogllu, 2003). There are negative reflexes of the Balkan type, and the mere intellectuals from this area “inspired" by the expression 'Balkan man' interpret it as a man with rude manners, a boor (see: Lexicon of the Macedonian Language), while others generate expressions such as Balkanization, homo balkanicus, Bosnization, Macedonian syndrome... It is more than obvious that part of manners and temper of homo balkanicus have a destructive role in our society’s everyday life, which is part of the Balkan region, and are reasons for the turbulence that we have while we are all living together.

Ethnicization of the state as a source of internal disintegration

Social structure of the Republic of Macedonia points out that it is a multicultural, multi-confessional and multiethnic society. Here, for millenniums and centuries, major world religions have found a fertile ground for their civilization values, various macro and micro-cultural histories that fill in the mosaic for the wealth of this part of the Balkan. Seen from the ethnicity aspect, Macedonia’s social structure is a plural one: members of various nationalities and ethnicities have lived together and are living here even today. Numeric demographic aspect varies from time to time, but diversity and pluralism have remained main features of this area.
Heterogeneity or ethnic diversity during the times of the socialistic Yugoslavia with whose establishment Macedonian nation was established as well, in a certain way, were managed properly. So, although there has never been a complete social cohesion and interaction between different ethnicities, under the flag of the motto brotherhood and unity that was system’s strength and did not allow exaltation of nationalism, all problems were being “frozen”, i.e. put in a refrigerator. Opposite various latent persuasions on national basis, especially between really stronger factions, there has not been an inflow of manifested conflicts.

In Macedonia’s example, even during monistic times, one could not speak about good relations, especially between the two most numerous populations, Macedonians and Albanians. Macedonians, who had the state apparatus in their hands and who considered the state to be a national one, have tried in different manners to express their superiority. Their monopoly over state and ideology, often by means of force, simultaneously supported or demonstrated the power of the “older brother”\(^2\). Thus the distance gained growth slowly, but certainly, and two sub-societies have been established and they lived one next to the other, but never together. During socialism’s time, the Latin proverb *Audi, vide, tace si vis vivere in pace* (*Listen, watch and be quiet, if you want to live in peace!*) (Maliqi, 2001: 10) or the one “If you want to live in Macedonia the way that we are building it, otherwise you can go to Albanian, because you are newcomers anyway!” (Pajaziti, 2002) were valuable for the Albanian community. Albanian citizens were to be pleased with the given rights. For a long time they were to use Macedonian toponyms in media and various printed editions (Skopje instead of Shkupi, Debar instead of Dibra, etc.). The state, inter alia, believed itself to be *Caesar dominus est supra grammaticam*. Albanians were to learn, mainly, the history of the others. Streets and schools, places that were demographically dominant were named by Macedonian and

\(^2\) Milosevíc’s picture was a means with which part of Macedonian citizens “scared” the Albanians at the time when the Serbian dictator was very “popular” (“Slobo’s” portret was quite obviously put in some factories, in cars, trucks...)
Slav heroes and historical figures (Cvetan Dimov, Rajko Zhinzifov, Boris Kidric, etc.). They were not given the right to completely express their cultural identity; the state interfered even in their children’s naming. Experiments were carried out on them, as was the case with mixed classes where they were to learn Macedonian language. (Maliqi, 2001: 17). The list of absurd items does not end here; the system interfered in Albanians’ lifestyle. There was a time when the state made a decision to break down Albanian families’ courtyards, under the excuse that behind the walls surrounding houses “unpleasant things might be cooking” for the system. In one word, the Albanian was the “black person” or the Nigger of our society. It was presented as the pre-civilized type, represented as the lost one on the streets and in the crowd in the Macedonian metropolis (video clip “Skopje” by the band Леб и сол) and in the society in general. The metaphorical issue raised on the front page of a magazine speaks in the same context, several years later, and it was related with the parameter Albanians - basketball. Discrimination is seen in the Skopje example, the left and right bank of river Vardar. Even a blind person can see that we are talking about two cities, two worlds. One “teneke“ (slums), typical ghetto, without infrastructure, without cultural facilities, and the other that looks as if it has been transferred several decades forward, with all elements a modern city needs.

After the Yugoslav Federation’s disintegration, as was the case in all other societies that have followed the communist ideology, a

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3 Albanian citizens were offered a list of approved and prohibited names for their newborns. A colleague from the University told me that even in 1990 he has not been allowed to name one of his girls Arbenita.

4 A scholar from the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research says that at the beginning of his employment in this institution he had to travel Skopje-Tetovo and that everybody could smell odors of sweat and fat. The bus driver, Macedonian, got up and rather nervously asked: “Who smells here?”, after which he immediately caught an old exhausted Albanian by his collar and “threw him out” (Maleska, 1997: 7). This is a sight resembling the triangle from the past in the USA: the Nigger, the bus and the White.

5 This is the title: What is the difference between Niggers and Albanians? Former know how to play basketball, latter do not.

6 Brass, tin
process of transformation was initiated, or as it was named in the intellectual circles - the process of transition from monistic system to pluralistic liberal democracy and from state socialism centralism towards market economy. This process initiated in the beginning of 1990’s, actually, can be called first transition, the process of transfer into a proto-democracy. This was the stage when second Macedonia was established as the heir of the ASNOM’s one, established back in 1944. The Macedonian model of democratic transition does not resemble any of the others from the transition countries. The reason for it lies in the fact that the political elite did not follow the evolutionary road of political transition process, but the one of political and arbitrary domination over the Albanian community in the Republic of Macedonia (Sadiku, 2001: 144).

First transition, actually, represents a trend of rough ethnicization of the state, initiated with the inauguration of the Constitution of 1991, from whose preamble one could conclude “only the Macedonian people are the constitutional nation of the new state”. State politics, in the words of Ulf Brunnbauer, treats other ethnic communities only as guests with certain rights; their participation in the government and administration was a symbolic one, much lower that their real percentage in the state’s overall structure (Brunnbauer, 2002: 10). The period of the 1990’s created a history, a lesson that should be learned on how not to manage the state. Although, Macedonia’s highest leaders named it “peace oasis” (Gligorov), analytics speak that Macedonia is oasis of absurd. Subjective self-evaluation is nonsense as no one can be the judge of its own matter (Nemo judex in causa propria). Actually, we are talking about “smuggling nation-state in constitution’s civil clothing/outlook” (Trickovski, 2004), which had increased the dose of dissatisfaction with Albanian population on a daily basis. Mistakes were being made one after another as if on a film roll: permanent majorization over Albanians in the legislative house, arbitrary decisions related with currency notes that had, mainly, Christian orthodox markings, state religious holidays, use of force in
Radolista, Old Bazaar, Tetovo (the problem with the Tetovo University), and state terror in Gostivar (1997).

Intolerance was growing every day, and it reached a state when Nazi calls of the type “gas chambers for Albanians” were being heard, just because they wanted education in their mother tongue. Unhealthy society played the deaf ear even when crosses were being mounted on clock-towers⁷ in Bitola and Prilep, when the 67 meters high “Millennium Cross”⁸ on Vodno was constructed and financed by the state (with money from state funds where citizens with different confessional affiliations contribute as well) so as to show that Macedonia is a Christian orthodox country.⁹ Ethnization, ethnocentrism and attempts for monoculturalization of Macedonia were visible. It is obvious that Macedonians and Albanians did not find common “transitology” language during the first transition. The project second Macedonia as the “real” nation-state of Macedonians was unsuccessful, and thus we had confrontations during the first year of the new millennium, which endangered the survival of the Republic of Macedonia.

After the several-month conflict in 2001, it was proved that, in critical moments, constitutional alternatives have a long-term role in the road towards society’s democratization or in democracy’s consolidation.

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⁷ The etymology of the words clock and tower indicate the cultural roots of the words and the facilities.
⁸ The American State Department in its International Report on Religious Freedoms evaluated the construction of this cross as a provocation (Dnevnik, October 9, 2002, pg.1)
⁹ While VMRO-DPMNE as the governing party, the national television initiated its program with a religious prayer, there was Christianization of the police forces with special religious plates being given by the bishop Stephan, MOC was invited to give its blessing on sport events, or events organized by the government.
Post-ethnic multicultural society and its enemies

The Ohrid Framework Agreement, signed on August 13th, 2001, as the only alternative for restoration of peace in the Republic of Macedonia, presents a new page in the history of this young state, the beginning of the stage of restoring, comprehending and understanding differences, the stage of implementing a multicultural concept in the society as a rational choice (Adam Przeworski) for finding a way out of the real galimatias the society found itself in. It creates conditions for liberalization of the legitimacy crisis that we have been living in for the last ten years, defines frames of democracy understood as a way of controlling state power, implementing a more righteous distribution of power and as an opportunity to establish legitimacy on the basis of political involvement of citizens disregarding their national and religious background. That is why it is important to have principles of integration and formal procedures for democracy (Gelevski, 2002: 10), principle of civil and civilized society where everybody is happy, today and tomorrow (Macedonia’s Future, 2001: 73-74), principle of multiculturalism and model of multicultural society that provide conditions for developing special collective and individual elements, that give opportunities for free development of all constitutional elements, conditions for establishing a constructive identity, instead of imposed and destructive from the period from the independence to the Framework Agreement. In that context it should be mentioned that multiculturalism is closely connected with democracy that requires openness of political participation for all citizens, in the real sense of the word, without discrimination, all citizens to be given freedom and equal citizenship, disregarding their demographic degree. Only in this way can citizens’ trust in the state and state institutions be restored. Only in this way can all citizens feel this state “truly theirs” and be liberated from the complex of the state being their “step-mother”. In liberal democracy,
a state offers privileges to its citizens, then asks for their loyalty, and in no case is it the *vice versa*.

The multicultural concept is extremely important, essential for our society. It is a new notion in our circumstances and conditions. Why do we say this? Since, as we mentioned before, Macedonia has always been the cradle of many cultural and ethnic features. The problem lies with the understanding of multiculturalism, which implies a state of sobriety for all of us, a change in our cognitive world. So, it is of great importance to change our mental constitution, to understand that difference within ourselves has been carved for centuries and that closing our eyes in front of such real picture could lead us to disastrous consequences. That is why we believe that the position for building multicultural society is erroneous and we should return to the multicultural sense. We are not constructing differences now; they have existed for a long time. All we have to do is make peace with the fact that there is enough living space for all. Are we facing difficulties when understanding differences? Yes. Ever since the day of signing the Framework Agreement, it had been proved that we are a closed society, that we are a society with numerous stereotypes and prejudices. During the briefing, where in a festive atmosphere the signatories of the agreement were present, as well as the President of the state and the foreign facilitators, when the president of the Democratic Party of Albanians spoke in Albanian, the former president of VMRO-DPMNE, in a sign of protest, left the event. Whereas the now late President said something in English to his chin about the whole thing being a real scandal. The absurd becomes bigger when one takes into consideration the fact that they signed an agreement on issues that, inter alia, are related with upgrading rights from the sphere of the use of languages spoken by communities. The fact that the representatives of the numerous biggest ethnics would hardly give up their privileges and superior status that they have enjoyed can be seen from the pressure they have performed over the public, both domestic and foreign, on the amendments of the Constitution’s Preamble and Article 19, anticipated as changes in the Framework
Agreement’s first version that have encompassed ethnic and religious equilibrium, and that was “fruitful”. So now, we have a soft hierarchy in these two aspects according to which the status quo has been preserved, i.e. form has been changed but essence remains the same. According to J. Engström, both the Constitution and the Framework Agreement’s Preamble have an ethnic character, and are in discrepancy with the international community’s intention to promote a civil, non-ethnic and multicultural society (Engström, 2002: 15). The tendency of confronting mono-centric and mono-ethnic Macedonia is seen in various public life spheres. On the geographic map of the Republic of Macedonia, among the symbols, one can find ones denoting monasteries. On various film propaganda sequences on Macedonia, in majority of the cases, only Christian sacral objects are presented. The question of whether only such facilities are considered historical ones, and whether only they represent the centuries-long culture of this country, is raised. Same can be seen in various tourist brochures on the city of Skopje and the state in general, for example: on the cover of the catalogue of the publishing houses from the Republic of Macedonia, Macedonia is presented as a mono-cultural society (that remind us of the medieval expression Cejus regio, ejus religio). Protests and action against legalization of Tetovo University, recent events on gathering signatures for a referendum against the new Law on Territorial Organization of the Republic of Macedonia, where the Macedonian block (opposition political parties, MASA, non-governmental organizations, MOC, intelligence) have publicly expressed political regression to turn the processes backwards, to go back in past (that was shown in a very simplified manner by the British Minister MacShane with the clock hands) are alarming for this society, the issue of decentralization, that is the key challenge for the quality of the rule of democracy in the Republic of Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; Stabilization and Association report, 2004: 6), puts a light on the dense xenophobia that is alarming for all of us. At a meeting organized by the World Macedonian Congress on October 20th in Kicevo, a poster encouraging citizens to vote for
Kicevo and not Korcova was being promoted. It was said “Macedonia is a biblical country, a country with historic roots and the same should not belong to others” (“Koha Ditore”, 2004: 5). It is unusual how some people cannot understand that Macedonia belongs to all its citizens, and not to a single nationality, that toponymy cannot be uniformed, that people change names of settlements according to their language, and not under somebody else’s direction (just as Thessalonica for Macedonians is Solun, and Duress is Durrësi). Although the international community has clearly stated that the Framework Agreement does not have alternatives (Hinrichsen, 2004: 6), that supporting the referendum is a destructive step for Macedonia, certain circles continue to live in their status quo condition, give suicidal resistance to the society reformation process, and shape themselves into a revisionist wave, they still cannot free themselves of fixed ideas, of the self-consciousness raised to a level of fetishisms (A. Sarevik) and make peace with the new post-Ohrid multicultural reality.

Third Macedonia and the New Identity

Political liberalization of Eastern Europe and the Cold War’s end has returned nationalistic feelings that have been repressed for a long time period by bipolar competition and repressive methods applied by communist regimes. The Balkans and Macedonia have misunderstood democracy. People from different ethnic groups should start learning how to live together, in no case should they remain in the past; instead they should free themselves of the

10 The Archbishop from Bregalnica region, Atanagel, informed the public on the Christmas prayer that the Framework Agreement has been turned into a dogma that is harmful for the Macedonian interests, whereas a prominent professor and administrator from the University “St. Cyril and Methodius” emphasized that Macedonia has become an undefined state with the Ohrid Agreement and that in order to amend this defect Macedonians should take the American example from a century and a half and initiate civil war against Albanians (Trickovski, 2004: 112-113).
syndrome of misperception of the other as a Hobbes’ *lupus*. Macedonia gained a new civil orientation from the Framework Agreement; a *new identity* based on respecting reality, a post-national concept according to which Macedonia is not solely the state of the Macedonian population, i.e. the Macedonian people can no longer count on the exclusive ownership over state matters (Trickovski, 2004: 49). The model that is to be established is the model of society that addresses different requests and needs of different cultural groups, i.e. the inclusive society. It is the model of democratic ethos and exaltation ideals. Our society should be freed of the bluffing philosophy of cohabitation and threatening discourse on ethnic based division. Societal energy should not be spent on emotional battles over the past, but on ones directed towards a more beautiful future (Trickovski, 2004: 53). Our society should be freed of ethnic conflict as an acute problem and of the “Macedonian syndrome” (M. Weiner); collective self-consciousness should be liberated from stereotypes’ claws, myths and historicism. Extremes such as the idea that Albanians and Macedonians are two separate worlds (Lj. Georgievski), the presumption that the characters of these two nations do not coincide, should be replaced with a request, on common ground, for normal communication, respecting differences and values of the other. A research study carried out last year by SEE University in cooperation with the Faculty of Pedagogy from the University in Skopje, provides a real picture of our society, and of our perception of the other and the insufficient preparation for respecting otherness.

Citizens’ positions on the issue of whether their language and their values respect the language and the values of the other. (H. Jashari and others, 2003)

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<th>Modalities</th>
<th>N</th>
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<tr>
<td>I respect them all.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>31.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only the language and the values of my people.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>24.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I partially respect them.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>30.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not interested/do not know.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>371</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
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</table>
Figures from this table provide us with a picture that speaks of tolerance and respect for the other, but also of relatively high degree of ethnocentrism and closeness of the circle of values of one's own nation. This should be due to the fact that we are talking about a post-conflict society, a society that is undergoing the process of healing wounds gained from mistrust and distance. In this context, it should be stressed that the two larger ethnicities do not know enough about each other. Religious factors contribute in that direction, since familiarization among people is the nucleus of sacral logos for the creation of the human being. Only people that do not know each other well, create different conspiracy theories by the other in their heads, which tend to result in cultural fragmentation, cultural annihilation, and ethnocentric standards. For us, a society that still thinks with the visualization of a caricaturist with a

11 The interest shown recently by Macedonians for studying the Albanian language is optimistic. It does not matter whether this is done out of pragmatic motives (easier employment), the consequences are positive – cultural interaction. It seems that the day when we are about to meet an ordinary Macedonian holding an Albanian newspaper that has previously been impossible, is near.

12 There are a lot of arguments for this in the everyday life: not long ago we have read in newspapers that a Croatian intellectual, who has visited our country in an official duty, asked the people from the escort (hosts) to take him late at night for a piece of burek (meat pie) in the Old Skopje Bazaar, since he has heard that the most specific and tasteful burek in the Balkans is made there. The hosts advised him that that side of Vardar is dangerous for going out at night and that he might get hurt. A university professor from Budapest tells the story that several years ago, prior to the armed conflict in 2001, he wanted to carry out a research in the villages in the Sara (mountain) region, and thus has asked a female acquaintance (ethnic Macedonian with an Albanian boyfriend), anthropologist that had graduated in USA, a cosmopolitan as well, that has worked on the Macedonian-Albanian relations, for assistance. He failed in convincing her to join him in touring the mentioned region. Her excuse as that it is not safe there, that the guest does not know the terrain and the people in the region. Finally, he has convinced her to join him. Unfortunatly their car broke down in one place. In such hopeless situation, in a short period, 10 Albanians appeared on the site and assisted the researchers in getting out of the situation. What is odd is how such a cosmopolitan has such deep prejudices. (Krastev, 2004).

Results from a research carried out in 2002 with 314 students and high school students presented in the forum “Cultural Decoration” showed that young Macedonians and Albanians do not know each other well and feel alienated one from another, that former have not entered a mosque, while the latter have at most seen an icon in their life (Dnevnik, October 8, 2002).

13 All people are descendants from Adam and Eve, they have the same genealogy.
negative reference (Dad, what kind of parliamentary majority is the one that respects the will of the minority?)\textsuperscript{14} as the model for defining our identity in a cultural, ethnic and religious aspect, that according to Averroes, is important. This model requires us to understand the other in its own system of references and in its cultural area, to address it the way it represents itself in front of us, and not according to the perception we have made in our spirit, to see it without our own negative and fictive prejudices. His second principle of the otherness, for this great thinker, is the right on being different. He does not recommend radical mixing, syncretism or radical disputes. He does recommend respecting differences, preserving one owns identity, one owns historical, cultural and race similarity, an advanced and positive dialogue. His third principle understands, in the sense of tolerance and acceptance. Averroes took care of justifying each road that leads to truth and understanding, though it is on our account. According to him, “justification is comprised of looking for arguments in favor of your opponent, just as we do it for ourselves” (Geleveski, 2002). Third Macedonia’s identity is multicultural, diverse, since “human societies are always diverse, although diversification degree varies from one to another”. Only general human cloning according to a matrix would enable existence of mono-cultural societies and societies with a mono-identity (Martinello, 2001: 15). According to this, one can say that all aspirations towards creating a mono-ethnic society is a work of a Sisyphus.

Conclusion

At the time when I was writing this text, as all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, I was under the psychosis of the issue of what if the referendum from November 7th is a successful one, of the issue whether the three-year labor for developing a new, peaceful, cohesive and stabile society will be lost forever. Worrying is the fact that intellectuals from the both ethnic corpuses (unfortunately, divided on ethnic basis) still have diametric opinions related with a problem that is crucial and concerns us all as citizens\textsuperscript{15}, instead of being \textit{the most rational societal group}.

Macedonia as a \textit{born again} identity should be build as \textit{unitas multiplex}, as a single item comprised of many elements that are functionally interconnected. Internal stability that is possible by changing political philosophy course based on the postulate that politics is art of leadership, not state destruction, brings Macedonia closer to Euro-Atlantic integrations and leads it towards a prosperous future. In this context, elimination of \textit{underclass} practice and cultural relativism that attributes the same values to all cultures are of great importance for this society’s peace. Discrimination may lead to repeated alienation of certain social groups \textit{vis-a-vis} the state and bring back disorder. The multicultural concept that is a top-topic throughout the world, especially after September 11\textsuperscript{th},\textsuperscript{16} is a solution for opening a new page in this society. It is politically relevant for approximation of ethnicities, for better interaction and decreasing level of discarding and mistrust towards the other. Accepting multiculturalism anticipated with the Framework

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{15} See: Civil Movement in Macedonia: Open letter of the intellectuals to the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia ("Dnevnik", November 4) and the statement of the Union of Albanian Intelligence in Macedonia on the public debate from 4th November on the topic “Ethno-national Referendum from 7th November – Reasons and Consequences”.

\textsuperscript{16} http://www.media-diversity.org
Agreement is essential, *conditio sine qua non* for the future and survival of the Third Macedonia, for the transfer from “hostile co-existence” (Sadiku, 2004: 17) towards normal one. It represents a *brand new vision for the future of the Republic of Macedonia*. In this context, there are living examples of multiculturalism being implemented: South-East European University where the teaching process is performed in a poly-lingual way is an example of a successful mini-multicultural society. All that is necessary is courage, elimination of prejudices and a pragmatic approach.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{17} Although such examples are rare, there are people in our society that say that if it is a mean for better future and strengthening the cohabitation in Macedonia, they would not be bothered if there is Albanian writing on the currency note – the denar. In that context we believe that it is high time to open the issue of the state anthem, which the Albanians (and the others as well) do not see it as their own, due to it's mononational character. An anthem is surely not a Bible, just as the Constitution was not so.
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MULTICULTURALISM, INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION: AN EXAMPLE FROM SEEU*

Abstract

Republic of Macedonia represents a living space (lebenswelt) which, because of its geostrategic position, is also called a center or the heart of the Balkans, Catena Mundi, a point where the cultures and civilizations are crossed and connected, where West and East, Christianity and Islam meet, where the cultural differentiation or mosaic is reflected with all its power.

If observed from a wider perspective, the Balkans and its area are from time to time mentioned in a negative connotation, as well: Homo Balkanicus is a syntagma that understands the excommunication of the other and otherness, the aggressiveness, the cultural exclusiveness, the ethnic intolerance, etc.

That fact inclusiveness and tolerance are stronger than stereotypes and that the spirit of peaceful coexistence is a

civilizational value of the entities that gravitate in this space, can be shown from the example of a cultural and educational institution: The South East European University in Tetovo. This university is a real model of how the diversity is not an obstacle for the development of the individual and the society. It is like a matrix of how culture and language should be connected and not brought apart. In its ten-year history, this accomplishment is an instance par excellence of the implementation of multilingualism, multiculturalism, of the opportunity to link the cultural variety to the dialog and eventually, it is a real example showing that we do not have different future, but the future is in the diversity.

This paper analysis the case of a European-oriented Higher Education institution, which aspires for achieving high standards in education, strengthening the cohesion of the society and the connection among the university, unity and the universality. (D. Zemmels).

**Key words**: multiculturalism, SEEU, Higher Education, intercultural dialogue, functional society.

**Multiculturalism: Brief Theoretical Approach**

Among the most widely used expressions in today's post-modern society are the notions like multiculturalism, multi-culture, *multi-culturality*, etc. The issue of multiculturalism, which has its origins in the western social and political anthropology, primarily the Anglo-American one, is a problem of the communication among the members of different cultures, ethnicities and religions. Multiculturalism fosters differences by emphasizing the need for tolerance and uniqueness of the groups that seek identity and protection within the tolerant society. According to Andrew Heywood, this notion is a descriptor and normative for cultural diversity, which is a result of the presence of two or more groups in
a society and whose convictions and practices create different collective identities.\textsuperscript{18}

Multiculturalism is closely connected to the diversity of communities which originates from racial, ethnical and linguistic differences, with the affirmation that differences are the pillars of the human unity. That is a philosophy of respecting the individual as a human being or God’s creation, as H. Goodings says, in the freedom of the identification of the self, you are either a black or a white man, a man or a woman, an American or a French, a Muslim or a Christian, etc. The notion was first used in 1971 by Pierre Trudeau, ex-Canadian Prime Minister. Among other things, he mentioned that, “the notion of biculturalism does not fully reflect our society. That is why the concept of multiculturalism is more appropriate in this case.” One of the definitions of multiculturalism in the anthropological and sociological literature is the following: “Multiculturalism is a policy with which public relations among different cultures of a society are regulated, including the way of utilization of languages and symbols.”

The topic on multiculturalism represents an important part of political programs in countries throughout the world and has an impact in bolstering the revision of public policies with the aim of finding a modus which is the most appropriate in fulfilling the requirements of different communities. From a normative point of view, it means recognition of differences, of the right to respect different cultures and the benefit of the whole society from moral and cultural differences. The well-known thinker, Charles Taylor, says that multiculturalism is a policy of recognition, an antipode of non-recognition or wrong recognition, which can be very dangerous for the society, can include means of humiliation and lock the person in an unreal, deformed and reduced shape of existence. Having in mind the fact that most people tend to stay close to their culture, the thesis of multicultural countries implies the idea that the special cultural-ethnical communities need to enjoy their rights,

whereas the institutionalization of those rights is the best way to achieve completeness of every society.

Multiculturalism accepts the importance of the religion, ethnicity, values of the lifestyles, and the feeling of being valued by both individuals and groups. Diversity and multi-layering are inseparable parts of every community in every phase of history. Human societies are multicoloured and multicultural says Martinello: "Only cloning people by a particular matrix will enable the formation of mono-cultural and mono-identity societies".¹⁹

Multiculturalism as a challenge for the Balkans and the Republic of Macedonia: From Ottoman Multiculturalism to Post-Ohrid Framework

It is known that the Balkans is a soil that in the recent history, especially in recent decades is a synonym for turbulent conditions, for intolerance, conflicting, for aggressive nationalism and for cultural differences that cause excommunication of the other, where they still watch over mythological leviathan. It is no accident that the term homo balkanicus denotes individual that is part of the collective who has not come to achieve empathy with the neighbor, which is oriented toward extreme politicization and partiality of the society. Former Yugoslavia was a sui generis example of experimentation with diversity and with multiculturalism. From 1945 the system implemented a policy which enabled mixing of cultures, while in 1952 was promoted building of the Yugoslav culture based on the interaction of all Yugoslavian national cultures. Pavkovic called this policy interactive multiculturalism, which after the reaction of the Slovenian intellectuals was abandoned. At the beginning of the sixties of the XXth century that policy is replaced by strict segregative multiculturalism which does not allow mixing and creation of Creole culture but seeks equality and cultural

development of each nation and nationality. Later, from the early 90’s, follows aggressive nationalism that was a factor of fragmentation of the former Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{20}

Republic of Macedonia presents a historical, political, economic and cultural reality of the Balkans. It is a part of this geographical area known for its ethnic and cultural diversity. Some authors have characterized Republic of Macedonia as the epicenter or the heart of the Balkans.\textsuperscript{21} The territory of the Republic of Macedonia in all periods of human civilization was a part of great empires and civilizations. Due to favorable geographical position, as a crossroad of civilizations and religions, in history it is known as “Catena Mundi”.\textsuperscript{22} Macedonia is a cultural mosaic, with a multiethnic and multi-confessional basis, \textit{unitas multiplex}, it is a corridor where East and West, Islam and Christianity merge, etc. This illustrates the symbolism of the cultural components of the Islamic and Orthodox provenience, mosques, churches that meet in the four sides of this country.

The best example for this is Skopje, the capital city and its old Turkish bazaar, which is a kind of Macedonia in miniature and where one can find elements of this cultural and civilization treasure. The church Sveti Spas, Mustafa Pasha Mosque, the specialized goldsmith for silver works, the bag maker, the shoe maker, next to the blacksmith, the voice of the bagpipe, tambura\textsuperscript{23} and çifteli,\textsuperscript{24} reflect the city of Skopje with all its authenticity. Skopje has another, very important symbol, the Stone Bridge, a monument with great history, something that has importance for the citizens of

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\textsuperscript{21} Ahmet Davutoglu, lecture held at Sts. Cyril and Methodius on the occasion of his proclamation of Doctor Honoris Causa, March 25, 2010.

\textsuperscript{22} Ferid Muhiq, \textit{Shkupi – kryeqendra e shtatë portave}, Skenpoint, Ckonje, 2007, pg. 4.

\textsuperscript{23} The tanpura, tambora, or tambura is a long necked plucked lute, a stringed instrument found in different versions in different places, three-stringed guitar.

\textsuperscript{24} The Çifteli (Definite Albanian form: Çiftelia) is an Albanian wooden, largely acoustic string instrument, with only two strings (in Albanian, çifteli means double-stringed).
\end{flushleft}
Skopje and for any other visitor. A local philosopher describes the metaphor of the bridge in a very good manner:

*Every bridge is a metaphysical miracle, the one in Skopje in particular. By crossing it, you do not cross only from one to the other side of the river Vardar. This bridge merges the cultures, rooted and flourishing in one place, in the city of Skopje. Therefore, it can be seen as a corridor between civilizations. Its arches, even today, connect Europe and Asia, East and West, Christianity and Islam, uniting them in an unprecedented way. On the same bridge we can see carved messages from the Koran and an orthodox Bishop throwing the cross in the waters of Vardar on Epiphany. Because of this bridge, Vardar in Skopje is also known as the Second Bosphorus. The knowledgeable say, the real Bosphorus.*

The cultural mosaic called Macedonia is special because of its deep diversity (Taylor, 1994) and it is a natural situation for this country. If we analyze the statistical data, we will notice that various ethnic and religious groups exist here. This diversity exists in Macedonia even before multiculturalism as politics and theory has arised. It is older than the notion of multiculturalism which entails the contemporary notions of human rights and cultural rights. The old empires dating from the antique times were entities in which different communities, religions, ethnicities and cultures coexisted mutually intertwined. The Ottoman Empire defines the cultural diversity by defining the cultural and religious rights of the non-Islamic (Christian and Jewish) communities. This system called the “millet” system (religious communities), enabled the regulation of the ethical, religious and language issues, promoting tolerance for everybody.

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26 Државен Завод за Статистика. *Попис на населението, домаќинствата и становите во Република Македонија 2002*, Скопје, 2005, pg. 34.
In the post-Ottoman period, the things started to change. Different nationalisms generated intolerance, because the process of forming a nation (nation-building) was based on the premises of exclusivity, ethnocentrism and ethnic nationalism. During the socialistic period the question of human rights and the attitude towards different cultures was neglected. With the 1974 constitution, Macedonia was defined as a pluralistic state and 1989 and 1991 are years when politics of a national state were designed. This trend was changed after the conflict in 2001, when the Framework Agreement actually redefined the country according to a multicultural concept, which meant promoting a civil and non-ethnical society (Engstrom). But during the last couple of years, the new developments are starting to go in negative directions, especially between the two biggest ethnic communities. This phase revealed the fact that our democracy is a limited democracy (I. Aceski) and that the actual politics resembles the concept of F. Zakaria of illiberal democracy.29

The multiculturalism, which is a common reflection of this society, resulted from several inconsiderate steps (Macedonian Encyclopedia, Skopje 2014...) that create tense situations. According to the analysts, post-framework Macedonia which, instead of steadily advancing in the process of establishing internal peace and Europeanization, became an oasis of stagnation, tension, partitocracy and a model of a divided society.

Education and multiculturalism: SEEU Example

The South-East European University, which was established in 2001 to promote the higher education in Albanian language as well as increase the rate of Albanian youth in the higher education in

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Albanian in the Republic of Macedonia, is a new, modern educational institution with already proven qualities. As a first private public non-profit university in the country, it managed to grow into a higher education model for the region, offering quality accredited study programs in compliance with the international trends and the Bologna Declaration, and especially with the demands of the local and international labour market. This university follows the principle which states that education enables advances in the science, technology and cooperation as well as contributes to the opening and developing of the society.\footnote{Студии на ЈИЕУ: Можности повеќе од било каде, Tetovo, 2009, pg. 3. Studime në UEJL: Viti Akademik 2010/2011, Tetovo 2010, pg. 3.}

SEEU, which promotes equality, has also established the maxim to be open to everyone, to implement justice and merit, regardless of ethnicity and to improve the interethnic understanding as one of the segments of its mission. In this context, particular attention is given to the multilingual, multicultural and geographical features of the region. The university is a model of an institution where the other and the distinctness or diversity may be a bridge for connecting the representatives of the different cultural elements. SEEU’s main thesis is the concept that the interethnic and intercultural dialogue may be also strengthened through education. This institution is an example of multiethnic and multilingual education, which the international institutions characterize as an impressive language policy\footnote{EUA Report, Institutional Review Programme, Brussels, 2005.} in South-Eastern Europe. SEEU has proved that it successfully combines the experience from the American and European universities, synthesizing them with its distinctness and daily advancement in promoting open and rational society.

This institution with over 7000 students,\footnote{Lajm, April 6, 2010, pg. 6.} according to ethnicity 82 % are Albanian, 15 % Macedonian and 3 % other (Turkish, Roma etc.) SEEU currently offers 23 first-cycle programs and 29 second-cycle programs at five faculties. All this is supported by modern and efficient infrastructure with high international
educational standards, completes the mosaic of success of a unique educational institution in the country and the Balkans.

If we perceive Macedonia as a multicultural country, then SEEU can be considered as the most authentic reflection of multiculturalism. Here, the students can pursue studies in three languages - Albanian, Macedonian and English. The University implements the so-called flexible use of languages, which means use of the local languages and at the same time enabling students to use the lingua franca of today's world (the English language), as well as the German, Italian and the French language.

In order to have a clearer picture of the correlation between the multiculturalism and the education i.e. the multiculturalism as a practice in SEEU, we will present the data collected from a study which included the SEEU staff – the administration (6,3 % and the academic staff (93,7%)\(^{33}\). The research is based on a sample of 80 respondents which comprises 1/5 of all the SEEU staff, meaning that the collected data is highly representative. 67,9% of the respondents had a MA degree, 19,8% had a PhD degree and 12,3 % had a BA degree. According to the ethnical background, 79% were Albanians, 17,3% Macedonians and 3,8% others. The research was done during 2009/2010 winter break. Although the questionnaire consisted of 51 questions, we are exploiting several of them in this study (19, 31, 35, 37, 40, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, see Appendix) which add to the creation of multicultural atmosphere in our academic environment.

After the first introductory questions the questionnaire continues with the questions that illustrate SEEU staff’s perceptions on the image of the University, the ethnic and cultural diversity, the superiority, the academic careers and their relation towards the values and tradition.

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\(^{33}\) We would like to thank Linda Ziberi for the quantitative part of the research and Agron Rustemi who did the statistical processing (Linda Ziberi & Canchu Lin, “The influence of organizational culture on the use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) on a university campus, from the perspective of social influence theory”, Bowling Green State University School of Media and Communication, 2010, reserach in progress).
One of the key questions in this research is "We should recognize the cultural and the ethnic diversity is a fundamental characteristic of SEEU" (question 43). The majority of the respondents, namely 80.5% answered positively and only 3.9% said the opposite. The interesting thing to mention is that only one third of the respondents (31.1%) think that "It is best for SEEU if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible" (question 45), meaning that the cultural and the ethnic background are a valuable part of the self perception of the SEEU staff. Nevertheless, they are not seen as an obstacle for the creation of a respectable individual in the society. This is probably due to the communist period experience, when the system tried to disregard the differences and creating a super-nation which later proved to be an absurd and unsuccessful social engineering project. The answers of the 37th question demonstrate that in spite of all the differences people still feel as one big family. Just a minor part of the respondents (1/10) had doubts about the cohesiveness of the institution.

Respondents do not support the fact that “The unity of this organization is weakened by people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways/tradition” (question number 47). Only 39% answered in favor of neglecting and marginalizing the tradition, meaning that the unity at SEEU will improve if we do not stick to our traditions.

**Diagram 1.** We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this organization.
From the diagram (where scale 1 refers to “strongly disagree”, and scale 5 means “strongly agree”) it can be seen that more than 10% think that there is no need to learn about the inheritance of the others. It can be concluded that only more than 10% of the examinees think that there is no need to learn from the inheritance of the others. It means that the examinees absolute majority have the opinion that the knowledge level of the other cultures it’s not enough, that there is need of permanent knowledge and learning about ethnical and cultural differences (question number 46). Absolute number of examinees (85,2% vs 2.7%) have the opinion that “An organization that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.” (question number 46).

From the further data analysis we can conclude that only 49.4% of the surveyed people declared that can feel ethnical superiority, which means that although the percentage of the majority community in this institution is much larger (82%), they succeed to develop tolerant climate and cosmopolitan values.

**Table 1.** I am proud to be an employee of SEEU.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
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</table>

As it can be seen from the table only small number of tested university staff members have dilemmas about identification with the Institution. 86% of teaching staff member and administrative staff at SEEU are proud to work in this institution. (question number 31). These data facts are in direct correlation with the answers in question 40 (“SEEU's image in the community represents me well”).
77% of the examinees agree with this fact, 81.6% said that are ready to continue their entire career at SEEU (question number 35).

The employed at SEEU try to present the institution in the best possible way, to present the University in public as a very respectable institution. Only 77% from the surveyed declared that the situation at SEEU is not as good as it should be. It means that the employed in this institution are satisfied from the developed standards at SEEU and actively work on promoting values incorporated in their everyday academic communication.
Conclusions

Multiculturalism, as a policy for building healthy coexistence with the otherness, has been present at the Balkans since the Ottoman ethos (Deliso). Universities should be places where the openness, transparency, tolerance and cosmopolitanism are cherished as a discourse, which will further be shown in the other societal categories, from the demos to the elite. Macedonia has history of coexistence and potential for a peaceful co-existence and this experience should be used for developing constructive policies, especially in the field of culture and education.

The SEEU as the most European creature at the Balkans (O. Rehn), is a real refreshment of the educational system in the Republic of Macedonia and the society at large, because with its image of an international and multilingual university, it implements the most contemporary standards of a multicultural society. From many aspects it can be treated as an extraterritorial component of our academic world.

From empirical research we conclude that:

- Cultural and ethnic diversity is perceived as high value from the employees in SEEU.
- The differences are not obstacle for communication and building bridges of cooperation, and campus and practice of SEEU academism are adequate mode for integration of diversities.
- Quantitative majority does not imply always a sense of superiority, academic circles have to teach people that they should lean on individual values and not on the shoulders of numerical facts.
- The government or lidership should change the concept of education, should eliminate the idealization of national histories and should develop verbal and organic communication rather than contextual one.
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- Lajm, April 6, 2010.

• CULTUROLOGICAL STUDIES • Education • Politics • Identity •


• http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/53577/fareed-zakaria/the-rise-of-illiberal-democracy
### Appendix: List of questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>I strongly feel that I’m an ethnic majority in this organization.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>I am proud to be an employee of SEEU.</td>
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<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>I would be willing to spend the rest of my career with SEEU.</td>
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<td>37.</td>
<td>I would describe SEEU as a large “family” in which most members feel a sense of belonging.</td>
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<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>SEEU’s image in the community represents me well.</td>
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<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>We should recognize the cultural and ethnic diversity is a fundamental characteristic of SEEU.</td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>It is best for SEEU if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>An organization that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>The unity of this organization is weakened by people of different ethnic and cultural</td>
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<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this organization.</td>
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RELIGION AND EDUCATION
IN NEW MILLENNIUM MACEDONIA

Introduction

*Keywords:* secularism, moral crisis, education, religious education, religious culture, Republic of Macedonia

The religious revivalism that has overwhelmed many countries throughout the world is also present under our sky. As part of this revivalism come the demands of a great part of the population (of all age groups) for the incorporation of the religion course in the public education system.

The greatest part of EU members have since long included this course in their education systems. After the dissolution of Yugoslavian Federation, some “new political societies” (Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia) immediately started to care about incorporating religious education in their public schools, aiming to liberalize education and at the same time to show their parting from the monistic ideology that for a long time had excluded religion from state institutions.
This study analyses the experience of various European states regarding religious education and the way it has been implemented in their public schools. It also treats religious education in our country, in the context of Republic of Macedonia where the main obstacle to the incorporation of this subject appear to be the atheistic-agnostic elites and the Constitutional Court which has abrogated the course twice from the public education system on the grounds of protecting state’s secularism.

The most important part of the study is the empirical study, the survey conducted with 400 respondents of hollow of Polog, through which we have tried to have a look at the attitude of students, teachers and parents on the matter.

Religious Education:  
The European and Balkan experience

Spirituality and religion have accompanied man from the first human being to this day. Schopenhauer says that man is a metaphysical being, while Hans Freyer asserts that since the most primitive societies man has lived on religious norms just like he has lived within social groups. Anti-religious worldviews and those secularist ones lately have either sprained or marginalized it, making the human being into something else, alienating him from his dualistic nature (soul-matter), producing serious social crisis which most famous theoreticians try to deal with by putting forth solution thesis. “Nomad soul” (I. Kropek), chaos and social anarchy put forth the inevitability of finding a core that would bring the human being back to the rails of normality and naturalness, of ethics and morals that are closely connected to religion. As it is known, one of the tools of effective socialization, besides family and other factors, is also religious education.
West Europe countries have started dealing with the matter of religious education or catechism immediately after the WW II, implementing it in various ways. Religious education has been implemented in public schools since 1944. Germany has made religious education part of curricula in public schools with the 1949 constitution. In 1959 a course was legitimized in Belgium, that was a combination of ethics, civil culture and introduction to religion. Religious education has for long been discussed in transition societies and beyond.

In European states we can see three main models of the implementation of religious education:

The *first model* is the confessional one applied in Nordic states. Finland is taken as an example, where 97% of pupils learn according to the curriculum planned by the Lutheran church, whether their parents belong to that church or not. But there are alternative courses if non-religious parents demand this. Although the aim of religious education is confessional, students may also acquire basic knowledge about other religions in order to sow tolerance and respect in children towards adherents of other religions. The *second model*, that of bi-confessionalism is Germany, where Lutheran catechism and Catholic catechism are offered equally. The *third model* is that of “two monopolistic practices of south Europe”. As example serve Italy with Catholic religious education and Greece with Orthodox one.

We also have two other examples of an attitude regarding religious education: Netherlands with its pluralistic system, where students are prepared for a multi-cultural society and France with its secular system, where religious education is totally outside the education system.

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34 The term catechism, gr. κατηχισμός, deriving from kata "down" and echein "make sound", "whisper" or indoctrinate, means "analysis of the dogma of the Christian religion by answers and questions."

In 1990 was founded the organization of European Association of World Religions in Education which organizes annual meetings and its key purpose is to help teachers to achieve as efficient as possible teaching on religion.\textsuperscript{36}

After the independence of Slovenia from Yugoslavia, with the changing of laws on primary and secondary education was discussed at length about the inclusion or not of religious education in public schools. In 1993, a committee consisting of representatives of the Catholic Church and government was formed. The proposal of the Catholic Church was that confessional religious education should be introduced in public education and the subject to be under its authority. According to analysts, the lack of religious education as a fundamental part of national education would make the Slovenian state schools to produce students with “heads full and hearts empty”.\textsuperscript{37}

On the other hand, state representatives and some experts stood for a secular school system similar to the French and American one.

In the school system of the Slovenia, the religious education class does not contain classic (confessional) religious education, but rather is seen as ethics and knowledge of the world's largest religions, or religion and ethics (\textit{verstva in etika}). This course is elective and the church has no access in its composition which is made by the state and its institutions.

Religious education in the regular school system of the Republic of Croatia has started since 1991/1992 and has a confessional character. This elective course\textsuperscript{38} is taught in primary and secondary schools and its incorporation has been done

\begin{flushright}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 113. \\
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Plan i program vjerskog odgoja i obrazovanja}, Glasnik Ministarstva prosvjete i kulture Republike Hrvatske, p. 3. \\
\end{tabular}
\end{flushright}
gradually in order to provide teachers and a certain number of students interested in this subject. 39

In Croatia, the religious class intends to develop in students human and religious feelings. It is also implemented for non-majority religious communities (Orthodox christians, Muslims, Jews, Adventists, Church of Jesus Christ, etc.). The Law on Primary and Secondary Education says that "The contemporary pluralistic and multicultural society, as the whole Croatian society is, requires a pluralistic and intercultural approach regarding the contents of the educational system. This inter alia means that the new education system in Croatia should enable everyone to know and develop their culture, but at the same time to know and respect the other's too." 40

By decision of the Ministry of Education and Sports, the relationship between school and religion and the curriculum of history class changed in the academic year 1995. In secondary schools was introduced the subject of ethics for all those who do not elect the religious education course. It is estimated that with these steps, Croatian education accepts the practice of many European countries. 41

The subject of ethics that is taught during the four years of high school, contains many topics dealing with religion. For example, in the first grade, in the curriculum of ethics course is present the theme "man as religious being" associated with sub-topics: the concept of religion, religion, art and culture; religion, tradition and nation, etc. There are similar themes in the texts of other grades of secondary education.

Bosnia and Herzegovina functions as a federal state composed of three entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic Srpska and Brčko District) and religious education is implemented differently in these entities. In the canton of Sarajevo the religious

39 The religious class should be attended by at least seven students to be conducted.
40 Plan i program vjerskog odgoja i obrazovanja, p. 4.
41 Владо Тимовски, Образованието и религијата, Feniks, Skopje, 2005, p. 112.
class is offered to Muslim students only (as elective subject). In the Republic Srpska, only Orthodox students enjoy the right of religious class, which is compulsory.

The first steps for the introduction of religious education in state schools were taken in 1990, during the first multiparty elections, while in the academic year 1991/1992 this subject was implemented in some schools of Sarajevo. In 1994, the Ministry of Education, after receiving approval from parents, decides the introduction of religious education (as elective course) in primary and secondary schools. This decision foresaw five separate confessional teaching curricula: Islamic, Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish and Adventist. 42

The content of religious education course is confessional or religious, therefore the purpose of this course is to cultivate at students religious feelings about a certain religion, or making them know the religion to which they belong by developing positive feelings about it.

The main responsibility for the organization of religious education in public schools belongs to religious communities, but also to the state and its institutions. Besides religious education, there is also a non-confessional course called Religious culture, which teaches about beliefs, values and practices of various world religions. In the Republic Srpska it has been introduced as an experimental subject, while the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina applies it only in some schools. 43 The course is non-confessional and its purpose is to teach students about the teachings and practices of all religions living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was discussed upon since 2000, in the Conference of Education Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it has been implemented since 2004 in the form of a pilot project. In the mentioned Conference it was concluded that "education must serve for

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42 Group of authors, Religija i školovanje u otvorenom društvu, Fond Otvoreno Društvo Bosna i Hercegovina, Sarajevo, 2009, p. 17.
43 Religija i školovanje u otvorenom društvu, Ibid.
connection (between communities), which should live in peace and tolerance among themselves".44

Since 2000 Serbia has launched a wide debate on the issue of incorporation or not of religious education, a debate which included intellectuals, government representatives, religious leaders, political figures, theologians, teachers and university professors, sociologists, psychologists, human rights activists, non-governmental organizations, etc.

In 2001 the decision was made for confessional religious education, which would include the seven traditional or historic religious communities in the Serbian state. This elective course will be offered in the first grades of elementary and secondary schools, but students who don’t choose for this subject are given the option of choosing the subject of Civic culture or none of these two.45

The issue of religious education has been resolved through a Regulation on primary and secondary education in 2001. It also regulated state-church relations, before it passed to the parliament to be adopted as law. In 2002 came the Law on Primary and Secondary Education (Sections 3, 4, 6, 10 and 11), which defines the powers of those who will decide on the curriculum of religious class and the assigning of teachers. According to these articles, the right to design the course of religious education belongs to the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the traditional religious communities in the country.46

By the 1991 constitution, Bulgaria recognized the equality of all citizens, “privileging nobody on racial, national, ethnic, gender, religious, educational, civil status, political opinion and affiliation ground” (article 6, paragraph 2)47.

44 Ibid., p. 87.
45 Kuburić, Ibid., p. 111.
46 Ibid., p. 120.
With the changing of the state system (1989/90), the democratization of the country, the church began to organize “Saturday schools”, offering Christian children catechism lessons. Between years 1990-1995 the church which dealt more with issues of returning confiscated properties, failed to propose anything positive to state schools. In 1995 the theologians had prepared a curriculum for religious education, offering the Ministry of Education a vision to include this subject in public schools, something which the state, although it claimed that it is detached from the communist legacy, has never agreed.

The teaching staff of one of Bulgaria's theological faculties, seeing the negligence of the government to solve the problem of religious education in public schools, on its own initiative would incorporate this subject at some state schools. Within two years the implementation of religious education in these schools, this initiative gave its results and this case panned out.48

In 1996, Education Minister would visit schools where religious education was implemented and saw the great interest of students on the subject. Since then the government would implement the subject in all state schools (as facultative course).49 The Ministry of Education is responsible for the textbooks. The purpose of including this subject in public education network has been the assumption that it would motivate students to tolerance and pluralism.

From 2000 onwards, the state has taken several initiatives to resolve this issue, setting up commissions that dealt with the compilation of textbooks, but all these initiatives have failed. Currently, religious education covers less than 1% of students and it can be said that there is no religious education in Bulgaria's public schools.50

49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., p.2.
Albania is one of the few Balkan countries that has not incorporated religious education in its public schools. Even more puzzling is the fact that it lacks even the subjects that can be taken as a substitute for religious education (such as ethics or history of religions) and which can be found everywhere in the European public schools where confessional religious education is not implemented. However in April (2012) Education Minister of Albania has welcomed the proposal of five religious communities for the introduction of a religious subject in primary and high schools: “It is important, I think, that students to obtain knowledge about religion. We also have teachers studying Philosophy and Education. The experience of many other countries is such that such a subject is among elective courses”. On the other hand, the opposing reasoning holds that religious education would lead to “spiritual parceling” that its implementation is “against the constitution, against history” (P. Xhufi), that “education has a secular character and that means that there can not be religious lessons schools” (E. Ruka). 51

In Kosovo, a parliamentary debate was opened recently on the issue of permitting the headscarf (Islamic dress for women) and the incorporation of religious material in public schools. The initiative for introducing religious education and allowing the wearing of headscarves in public and private schools of Kosovo was taken by the AKR (New Kosovo Alliance) led by Bexhet Pacolli. Time between the amendment and voting for the law was too short, so the quarrel between supporters and opponents of this amendment was too harsh and unconstructive.

Photo 2. Parliament of Kosovo during the debate about amendments on religious education.

While the former insisted that religious education in public schools is in accordance with European standards, the latter said that such action is inconsistent with the Constitution of Kosovo, which defines it as a secular state and neutral in matters of religious beliefs.52

By majority vote, lawmakers rejected the proposal put forth by the parliamentary group of the New Kosovo and supported by the Serbian Independent Liberal Party and the group of deputies of other minority parties.

Kosovo Islamic Community (BIK) has been very unequivocal on the necessity of incorporating religious education in the educational system of Kosovo. On the other hand, Episcopate of Kosovo (Skopje-

Prizren Diocese) has declared itself as against the incorporation of religious material and this is probably the only case in the world where priests join the nonreligious in a religious initiative.

Religion and education in transitional Macedonia

Religion as a social phenomenon has accompanied man throughout his history. At different periods, its effect has been greatly reduced but has never entirely disappeared. In communist countries, on the grounds of Marxist principles, a severe struggle was adopted against religion, which was advertised as the “opium of people”\(^{53}\). It was thought that by accusing religion as an obstacle to the development of society, its reputation would gradually decline, losing so its influence in society. This ideology was also present in Yugoslavia, part of which was the Republic of Macedonia. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia seven new states\(^{54}\) would be born and each of these states would replace the old monistic system with the democratic multiparty one.

With the destruction of the ideology that promised the paradise of this world, the value of the phenomenon called religion, which had been the target of repeated offences during the time of the “red plague”, immediately began to increase. Since then, ranging from ordinary citizens through to elite, from the individual members to the institutions, all began to identify themselves with religion and the religious.\(^{55}\)

This ideology would prove powerless to eradicate the phenomenon called religion from the conscience of the faithful.

\(^{53}\) Pajaziti, Ibid., p. 41.

\(^{54}\) In the first decade of this century, from the ruins of former Yugoslavia two new countries would be born: Montenegro, which split from the federation of Serbia and Montenegro after a referendum held in 2006 and Kosovo which unilaterally declared independence in 2007.

Since the system of that time proved powerless to remove religion from the consciousness of people through propaganda, it would also prohibit by law religious education which it had previously allowed in religious schools and mosques.

Lately it appeared that they were not aware that religious education was preserved in the consciousness and practice of believers in their families. Despite various measures and pressures, it was carried out in various ways. It was maintained by the family which in the course of socialism carried religious education and rituals generation after generation.\textsuperscript{56}

In Macedonia’s post-communist period too, the process of returns towards the sacred started in the time of transition of governing systems. This statement is confirmed by a study done in 1991, according to which 74% of young people of age 15-17 said they believe in God.\textsuperscript{57} With the democratization of state religious institutions were also given a larger space of action. Religious entities would engage themselves in many directions: economic, social, political, religious; by building religious object for the needs of “new believers”, their activity would be noticed in the publication of books with religious themes, religious clergy’s participation in debates, but also in the daily press.

As everywhere else in the world, in Macedonia too the issue of educating children from the religious aspect has been implemented in various forms in different periods. Even during the monist system, religious instruction outside the educational system has been carried out without interruption. The places where these lessons were conducted were religious buildings, such as mosques.


and churches, homes, other buildings and even fields.\textsuperscript{58} Within mosques functioned the \textit{mekteb}, religious schools, and these facilities have served especially to realization of religious education.\textsuperscript{59} Religious communities have even earlier dealt with the issue of organizing this activity. The Macedonian Orthodox Church has been more passive in the sphere of religious education, organizing it in a few churches in the country only. Islamic Community of Macedonia (BIM or BFI), has traditionally been more organized and more active in the area of religious instruction. According to a survey made by S. Kostovski and E. Simovska in 1987, there were 1511 followers of religious classes in Skopje, 2300 in Tetovo, and 740 in Gostivar.\textsuperscript{60}

In recent years, religious communities in Macedonia have increased their activities in terms of organizing religious education. The thesis that learning should take place in public schools, and religious facilities should be used for prayer has been put forth since long. One of the claims is the fact that the interest of young people to classical form (in religious buildings) of religious education has declined.\textsuperscript{61}

The first initiative for the awareness of public opinion about the incorporation of religious education religion into the school system, was taken by the religious elites, especially by Macedonian Orthodox Church, supported by Islamic Community of Macedonia. In 1996 a meeting took place between the clergy and some political representatives specifically for this issue. The first concrete step of introducing religious subjects in schools dates from 1999/2000, when the Minister of Education of the time opened the first class in schools with the presence of clerics (Muslim and Christian), saying

\textsuperscript{58} Very interesting is the case of Rafiz Efendi from Rashche village (Skopje) who, in order to avoid repercussions by the communist regime, ordered his students to prepare themselves with hoes as if they came to his field to help him plying the corn.
\textsuperscript{59} Recently, various NGO\textsuperscript{s} and student clubs organize courses of religious education, usually during weekends or summer holidays.
\textsuperscript{60} Тимовски, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{61} Тимовски, p. 126.
that mistakes of the past were being corrected and that education was taking a pro-Western course.62

Voices for the incorporation of religious class in the education system will be heard since 1998, when the ruling coalition VMRO-DPMNE63 & PDSH64 was in power. During the ruling period (1998-2002) of this coalition government, will open many the issues affecting religious institutions in the RM and its believers in general, such as the return of properties to religious communities and the incorporation of religious education in public schools.

So, during this period, the Macedonian Orthodox Church, supported by the ruling party which had a nationalistic and religious orientation, will consider which “card” to use in order to convince the public about the importance and necessity of incorporating religious education in public schools. The solution was simple: the ethical function of religion.65

Despite the political goodwill of the time for the incorporation of religious education in public schools, numerous procedural and organizational obstacles would postpone the introduction of this subject in public education network until 2002, when it began to be taught in primary schools.

In April 2002 changes were adopted in the laws on primary and secondary education, by deleting article 13 which prohibited religious education in primary schools. It was emphasized that the subject is optional and it enables students to take voluntary religious education.66 The incorporation of this course was proposed by lawmaker Mihajlo Georgievski, while Minister of

63 The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (Macedonian: Внатрешна македонска револуционерна организација – Демократска партија за македонско национално единство, ВМРО-ДПМНЕ).
64 Albanian Democratic Party (Albanian: Partia Demokratike Shqiptare).
66 Pajaziti, Ibid.
Education Novkovski immediately accepted it on the reasoning that “it is better for the state to control religious education than the subject be carried out under the auspices of religious institutions and students fall under the influence of various types of religious fundamentalism”.67

This decision by the government to incorporate religious education in public schools would be declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court which would issue by the end of 2003 a ruling on the prohibition of the subject in question.68 The decision drew much reaction from various circles. Religious communities would say that with this decision the parents were denied the right to educate their children religiously.

With the amendments, from September 2008, this course would be applied to the fifth grades of primary schools and would have the status of elective subject. Before the completion of the school year, the Constitutional Court would abolish article 26 of the law on primary education dated 19.08.2008 which determined that: “In elementary school religious education can also be implemented as elective subject.” The reasoning by the Constitutional Court consisted in the principle of secularism or secular state as defined in article 19, paragraph 3, which states: “The Macedonian Orthodox Church, and the Islamic Community of Macedonia, the Catholic Church and the Evangelical-Methodist Church, the Jewish community and other religious communities and groups are separate from the state and equal before the law”. So the conclusion was drawn that the introduction of religious education in primary schools violated secularism.69

Although the Constitutional Court for the second time in 2009 prevented the implementation of religious education, the government did not renounce from its project for ethicizing the schools. Government’s justification for continuing the search for

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solutions to the religious class, even after the ban by the Constitutional Court, is best explained us by the Minister of Education of the time Stojanvoski, according to which the Constitutional Court abolished the form of religious education but not the need for its implementation: “No doubt that we as a ministry, will again consult with relevant factors and professional services and will come up with concrete solutions.” That the government will continue in its intentions to find a trail on the issue of religious education in public schools is also confirmed by the visit of the President of Commission for Religious Affairs and Religious Groups, V. Bozhinovska, who during the meeting with President of Islamic Scholars (rais al-‘ulama’) said the key subject of the talk had been the reincorporation of religious education in public schools.70

Since 2010, in the network of public education, in fifth grade, has been taught the subject titled “Ethics of religions” as an elective course. This course, from the moment that the student chooses it, becomes mandatory and is equal to all other educational subjects. The fund of the course is 2 hours per week or 72 hours for the entire school year.71 It should be emphasized that the prepared textbook indicates that it is an improvisation course, an implicit and pedagogically lout religious education.

Empirical research:
Citizens’ perceptions on religious education

The empirical part of this paper consists in the study conducted with 200 high school students, 100 parents and 100 teachers of primary and secondary schools from the hollow of Polog (Tetovo and Gostivar). About 450 questionnaires were distributed while 400 of them were accepted received for evaluation, avoiding those questionnaires that were incomplete.

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Among the questions raised is that concerning the definition and perception of religion. Respondents were given three alternatives to express their position on religion: The first said that “religion is a divine law-system for this and next world”, the second that it is “a necessary thing, that the sphere of it is not this world but the next,” while the third was that it is “a fruit of the human mind that will disappear with the development of science”. The answers give us this statistical picture:

**Table 1. Perception of religion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A divine law-system for this and next world</th>
<th>A necessity, the sphere of it is not this world but the next</th>
<th>A fruit of the human mind that will disappear with the development of science</th>
<th>No answer</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The greatest part express the classical theological or religiocentrist opinion, defining it as a subject, law-system determining issues of this and the next world. The secular outlook is supported by only 15% of our respondents, while the progressive-evolutionary view is supported by only 2%. It is interesting that the scientist-positivist position is very weak compared to a survey conducted 15 years before (15.7%, Pajaziti, 2003: 102).

To parents and teachers we have addressed the question whether they have sent their children to religious schools, Islamic centers, mosques to be endowed with religious code, with basic knowledge of Islamic religion. Of 200 respondents, 131 (66%) persons have appeared active in this direction, showing concern about the religious feelings of their children, this being the reason that has lead them to send their children to a religious authority to equip them with knowledge of religion, which usually means
learning to read the holy book, the Qur’an, and the basics of religion-Islam. On the other hand, 63 persons (31%) have indicated that for various reasons they have not sent their offspring to religious schools.

**Illustration 1.** Have you sent your children to mekteb or mosque in order to give him religious knowledge?

There is a clear difference between parents and teachers in this matter: 73% of parents and 58% of the teaching-intellectual staff have sent their children to receive informal religious education.

Of 180 students who were part of the process of religious education (*mekteb*, mosques, private at home etc.) 80% claimed to have learned many useful things, 8% think they have not learned anything, and 10% have learned but not as much as they expected. These figures tell us that religious schools and mosques provide useful things for the younger generations who are the builders of the future.

Recently, or let’s say in recent years a fierce debate is going on about whether religious education should be implemented in our public schools or not, and opinions *pro* and *contra* have been expressed in this regard. Through question 8 we have aimed to measure the pulse of the citizens of Tetovo and Gostivar on the
incorporation of religious education in public schools of RM. Results obtained indicate that 86% of respondents consider religious education as necessary. When we consider three categories of respondents, parents, teachers and students, we get the following results: 90% of parents, 78% of primary school teachers and professors and 88% of students see religious education as a formation necessary for everyone. The highest percentage of those who see this subject as unnecessary are teachers (5%, 1% of parents and 2% of students), who also lead the category of undecided (17%, against 9% of parents and 10% of students).

Table 2. Religion as a constructive moral-ethic factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the dimensions of religion is that of ethics, and some have even claimed that morality is another aggregate state of religion and nothing else. Empirical data of our research shows that respondents are almost united in their attitude towards religion’s constructiveness in the moral aspect. Only 5 people out of 400 respondents have not accepted the sentence proposed by us that presupposes a positive correlation between religious education and morality, always in favor of youth as a category that is the guarantee of future for any social group from family to nation. Teachers appear as with more doubts as to the relation between religious education and the ethical formation of the youth, as compared to parents and students (“completely agree”, teachers 60%, 78% of parents and students 75%). This is also confirmed by answers to the proposition “Religious education might indoctrinate the young population (students)”. 56% have agreed to this proposition, 16% have said they “do not know”, while 30% have claimed that religious education could indoctrinate neither children nor the young.
Social values and beliefs represent certain qualities and opinions that are common to a culture or group of people. They may be religious, economic, political, etc. By using the Likert scale we have tried to derive results concerning the following question: “The school, besides educating students, should also form them spiritually and educate generations with genuine values” (question 10). So we assumed that education is not only a mechanism of transmission of data, information from one instance to another, from teacher/professor to student, but a much more complex process that also implies the cultivation of man, equipping him with a set of values that make him a human being and not just winner of a diploma or professional on a certain field. This is one aspect where education is lacking today because the school is perceived as an “education factory”, where children entering as such come out as students of various profiles (according to their orientation), which causes multiple upsets in their future lives as well as in their relations them with other members of society at the micro, as well as macro plan, because today's problems are not just local but of a universal, global nature.

**Illustration 2.** Education and values: School, besides educating students, should also form them spiritually and enrich generations with genuine values.
One of the important questions in our survey is that about when the religious education should begin to be offered to children, an issue that has to do with the psychological and pedagogical spectrum. According to the most fundamentalist circles, religious education should start in kindergarten or lower grades (1-4), while proponents of the moderate view assert that catechism is more suitable for primary school but in higher grades, from 5 to 9. The third claim that religious education should not be given to children in primary school because it creates confusion, by proposing them abstract concepts, but to high school students, who already have a few things clear. We have also given two alternatives as “at all stages” and “at none”. The survey results indicate that almost half of respondents (45%, almost the same percentage for grades 1-4 and 5-9) think that religious education should be provided in elementary schools, 15% have seen kindergarten or preschool education as the most appropriate stage to sow religious views. Only 5% have said that the most appropriate stage for religious education is high school, indicating that secondary education is seen as more professional knowledge. 34% said that catechism should be provided at all stages of education from kindergarten to high school. Only 1% have supported the position that religious education should not be on the agenda or public school curricula. 37% of the teachers would have implemented religious education in grades 5-9 (18% of students and 15% of parents say “Yes” to catechism in grades 5-8). It is interesting that every second student supports religious education at every stage of education.
One of the important issues of school and pedagogy in general is that of the teacher, the lecturers who always represents the helmsman of the educational process, the one that manages learning and is responsible for the progress and success achieved in this direction, but also the responsible one for failures and the status quo as well. For a long time with us discussion has been going on regarding the issue of the subject, its nature and character, whether it should be religious education, education on religions, history of religions, ethics, religious ethics, etc., always together with issues about who should be the teacher, what should his profile be, theological or with a more secular background, like philosophy, sociology or history. Opinions in this direction come from criticism that if the lecturer would be from the clergy this would bring about the indoctrination of students, that they lack the required methodical-didactic and pedagogical formation, giving priority to the later, primarily sociologists and less historians, since religion is not only a historical category, but is dynamic. On the other hand, religious communities, such as Macedonian Orthodox Church and Islamic Religious Community of Macedonia maintain that the subject must be taught by theologians because they are the most competent ones for the subject, while defending its own framework with the purpose of employment of graduates in theological faculties. Results from Question 12 show that the vast majority
(81%) of respondents thinks that religious education should be taught by theologians, 17% insist that philosophers and sociologists must appear in front of students in catechism classes, while only 1% speak in favor of historians. Students and parents on the one hand have similar attitudes about who should teach catechism, theologians (83% -86%) whereas with teachers, as expected, this figure appears lower (72%). As to the sociologists/professors of philosophy-religious education relation, the least affirmative approach belongs to the parents (5%), more affirmative are students (14%), whereas the highest percentage is with teachers, more than a quarter (28%).

Next question (“The presence of clergy in schools is a) normal, b) great absurdity and c) an innovation that will be accepted as normal over time.”) gives interesting results: 64% have marked “a”, 6% “b” and 30% “c”. Although most accept the theologian without problem at school, see nothing wrong with this “innovation” and consider it as a very natural in the framework of education, the rest, although entertaining a certain animosity or dilemma, says that we passing through the phase when this innovation will be accepted by the school environment. Analyzing comparatively we note that mainly intellectuals have suspicious on inclusion of muslim clergy in the public education network (8% versus 4% of parents).

Illustration 4. The causes why the project for religious education in public schools failed

Since the 2010-2011 school year, in public schools of RM has been offered the class of “Religious ethics” as a substitute for classic and conventional religious education that was abolished by the
Constitutional Court. Our respondents are of the opinion that the main cause why the project for religious education failed is government policy (49%), another part of respondents see atheist circles as the cause (28%), while another smaller part blame religious communities for their sluggishness.

Parents attribute the failure of the project to implement religious education in schools mostly to politicians (42%) and atheist-agnostic circles (38%), similar to the students (52% -30%), while teachers in the first place also put state policy (49%), but as guilty no. 2 show the religious communities, their incompetence to provide an appropriate framework and curriculum that would coincide with the needs of time and school (26%). Religious communities are less guilty for parents (8%).

To the question whether the active “Ethics of religions” course in schools replaces “religious education”, 61% answered “no”, that it cannot directly and by merit substitute religious education, 27% claimed that it “partially substitutes”, while only 12% claimed that it substitutes properly. Thus, we conclude that citizens have major dilemmas regarding the class with a strange title that is currently available. From a mini-search that we conducted in the virtual space the terms “Ethics and religion”, “Ethics in religion” or “Religion and ethics” appear more acceptable. Teachers express themselves as more flexible towards the new subject (36% think that the ethics of religions does not substitute the traditional catechism, while with the students this percentage is 50%).

It is very significant that respondents are not very concerned by the modification or transformation of “Religious education” to "Religious ethics" or by the cancellation of religious education class. Only 20% claimed violation of their rights, 45% said their rights were not violated, and 35% are indolent regarding this issue. Parents are most worried by the abolition of religious education (88% of them saying their rights of conscience have been violated). More than a third of students (36%) are in confusion on this matter, they "don't know" if their rights have been violated.
Conclusions and recommendation

The discussion on the issue of implementation of religious education, catechism, or education on religion in the framework of formal primary education system has been going on for a long time in our society, in different circles, ranging from politicians, journalists, intellectuals to the ordinary citizens. Dilemmas regarding this issue range from the secularist, antitheist perspective which is categorically against religious education (or religious class), on the ground that this case "would further propagate ethnic and religious division" that "it would politicize the right of faith, that "it would indoctrinate the most vital part of society", to the religiocentrist or pragmatist-functionalist spectrum which holds that no society can survive without a healthy youth and the way to the "completion" of a healthy individuality passes through enrichment with spiritual, transcendent values, with religious paradigms.

In Republic of Macedonia the first voices for the incorporation of religious class in the educational system would be heard in 1998, the year in which VMRO-DPMNE came to power in coalition with the Albanian Democratic Party. In the school year 2002/2003 experimental religious education became part of the third grade curriculum. Before the end of the academic year, the Constitutional Court abolished this decision of the government. The second attempt was made in the school year 2008/2009, when religious education took place as an elective course for the fifth grades. As in the first case, the Constitutional Court reacted again by abolishing section 26 of the Law on Primary Education under the pretext of protecting the secular character of the state. Since school year 2010/2011 government has come up with a proposal for a class that would substitute classic religious education, the "Ethics of
"religions", which represents a synthesis between catechism and ethics.

Through this theoretical and empirical study we aimed to present a picture of religious education in continental and regional level, focusing mostly on our reality, RM, namely the region of Polog, in Tetovo and Gostivar. From the field research we have reached these concrete conclusions:

- The vast majority (82%) perceive religion as divine law and an active part of life, whereas a minority sees it as a human product and issue of the Hereafter.

- Macedonia's Albanian citizen has the concern of religious education of generations (61% claimed to have sent their children to religious courses in maktabs and mosques, in course organized by NGOs, etc.)

- 86% of respondents see religious education as a necessary formation for everybody. Parents and students have more positive opinions on catechism than teachers and professors.

- 96% of the representative group have backed the position that religious education helps society with the moral-ethical education of the youth category.

- Students, parents and school teachers do not see the school as just an "education factory", but as a seeder of values and virtues (97%).

- According to the respondents, the most appropriate phase for providing religious education is primary school (45%). A minority believe that religious education should start from kindergarten (15%), while much smaller is the percentage of those who would offer this course in high school (5%). Only 1% claimed that this case should not be offered in any cycle of education.

- Theologian is the preferred profile for teaching religious education courses (81%). 17% prefer
sociologists/philosophers, and only 1% prefer historians as teachers of this course.

- As causes for the failure of religious education class, respondents see government policy (49%), atheist circles (28%) and poor organization of religious communities (16%).

- 88% of respondents claimed that the Constitutional Court's intervention to remove religious education from public schools violated their rights of conscience.

- Empirical evidence, in total indicates interest and persistence of various circles for the introduction of religious education in public schools, for the implementation of this subject into school curricula; particularly strong support by parents, but also by students and a considerable part of teachers.

Finally, we recommend:

- Following of the line and example of most democratic European countries that operate according to the demand of the demos, of vox populi (voice of the people).

- A more professional approach by religious institutions on this important issue for youth, future generations and society in general.

- Development of religious education textbooks by professionals with pedagogical-didactic formation, also paying attention to the visual-art aspect.

- The modification of the actual "Ethics of religions" class in terms of form (title) and contain.

- The opening of educational departments within theological faculties that would train qualitative staff for performing the whole process of religious enculturation of the school youth.
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HIGHER EDUCATION IN BOLOGNIAN WAY: THE CASE OF MACEDONIA (SEEU AND SUT)*

Non scholae sed vitae discimus!
(We never learn four our schools, but for the sake of our!)

A Latin proverb

Key words: information society, university, RM, education, Bologna Declaration, reforms in education, e-learning

Introduction

Sociologists characterize the era we are living in, of belonging to the third wave, after the first wave has finished (the agricultural society) and the second one (the industrial society), now since we have already entered the information one, when it is not important the mastering of the technical sources, as well of the machines which transform them, but the mastering of knowledge. The Republic of Macedonia is a society with an overprolonged period of transition, a phenomenon which generates different problems in different social spheres. Education as a dominant paradigm of the

information society is a determination of the development streams and combined with knowledge and science it brings the overall transformation of the society. So the thesis is as follows: The more qualitative the education is, especially the higher one, the more advanced is the society in the global competition of knowledge. In Macedonia the higher education is in the phase or process of passing from the traditional into a postmodern one, based on the mutual European space which targets the creative knowledge. All this is followed by the reflections of the Bologna process which means reforms, increase of the quality, mobility and lifelong learning. In this context, this paper beginning from some elementary questions, will give a real view of the structure or the higher educational net – in the Republic of Macedonia, and the directions of the future developments of the university world, beginning from the classic till the modern ones, the private as well as the public ones, the modern academic curricula (concerning all the three studying cycles), the clear results of learning, the local, regional and global inter-university cooperation, the influence and the inclusion in the business sector, the permanent increase of the quality, etc. This research is illustrated with empirical-qualitative facts connected with the study research in Macedonia, with a special emphasis of the Albanian higher education in the country (SEEU and SUT), including the whole Albanian academic space, that is the trends of the countries of SEE.

The new millennium and the informationalism

Nowadays the world is found in the third millennium, in an epoch which is observed from an optimistic view, but also from a kind of a defeatist point of view. The followers of the first point of view speak about a paradise like future, while the second ones about apocalypse. Education is one of the social dimensions which
has the crucial role in the epoch when the society gains the social priority.

The concept of the society of information is a sociological term, a postmodern and a futurological one, according to which the main factor of the social development is the use of the technical-scientific informational one, and others as well, within the frames of the so-called “the fourth sector” of economy. Theoreticians like U. Beck, A. Giddens and M. Castells acknowledge that since 1970 the transfer from the industrial society into information one, has been made on a global level. The information society, on a theoretical plan is closely connected with the post-industrial production (D. Bell, A. Toffler), while the main protagonist of this theory is the Japanese theoretician E. Masuda.

The Spanish sociologist of the information society (Castells), connected with this society has used the name “galaxy of internet”, taking for its basis the famous paradigm of Marshall MacLuhan. This galaxy replaces the one of Guttenberg, in which prevails informatism, microelectronics, automatisation, where the only productive power is science. (Trajkovski, 2004:72)

In the information society the state power is in the hands of those who control the information flow. In these societies the agricultural work is of a third kind, while on the other hand, the number of those who deal with the human relations or with the exchange of information is being increased. The wave of the information society does not include only the western world, but also every single corner of the globe. What is more, in the countries of “the third world”, the era of information has got much more influence than in Europe or America, as it is stressed by John Naisbitt in his work *The Global Paradox*. While the first wave lasted ten millenials, the second one two or seven centuries (beginning with the steam machine or from the first technical and industrial developments), the last one has got only several decades since it began. According to Castells, the understanding key of the information society is the idea of the net, where the internet as a net...
above all nets, as an engine of the digital civilisation creates its
cr\n
concrete and imaterial symbol. (Kulla & Thomollari, 2005: 288-291)

The era of information is also changing even the (dis)course of
the education; nowadays education is not an aim, but but a mean-
motiv. (Akyüz, 1992:267). Peter Drucker since 1980 predicted that
the following decades, education will change much more than the
period when the book was printed for the first time and changed the
modern school three hundred years ago. Today, the concept of
education as an important social agent has changed a lot from the
traditional one. The economy where education is the only and the
real one, as well as the primeval source of the production of riches,
it puts many new requests to schools dealing with the success and
educational responsibility. Now we are again in a situation where
we ask the question that what means an educated person? The
pedagogues say that education does not only mean “filling” the
young people with all the possible information, as if they were CDs
or boxes, but their encouragement should be connected with the
every day events, to make them aware of their capabilities to see the
reality and to act according to it, which means being responsible in
facing the reality in order to act according to it. What is more they
will be responsible and able to judge living actively. (Budić &
Andevski, 2010:109) In the meantime, the methods of learning and
teaching have changed. (Drucker, 1992: 206) Today is spoken about
the electronic learning (e-learning), for distance learning, for the
most sophisticated educational techniques, for the intellectual
capital, for the management of knowledge etc.

Previously a manner of learning was a tiresome description of
manuscripts, listening to lecturing and recitals, and then follows the
printed book, while today the computer is much more reachable
than the book. It serves the pupil and the student in the way in
which even the teacher can not be present in the classroom. It
allows a lot of variations, and is very entertaining. Despite this, TVs
and commercials, as means of visual pedagogy give new
opportunities. In a commercial clip of 30 seconds can be covered
much more than covered by lectures that might be covered by one month teaching. (Drucker, 1992: 222)

Today, for the first time in history, the formal education penetrates all around the society and it is not a privilege of a small stratum, a specialized group of scholastics, bureaucrats, or judges. In this unique situation, the social involvement, and the efficient economic, political and cultural citizenship are the main conditions of mastering a high culture. (Gellner, 2011:22) But why is it happening so that in spite of the big widespread of the education, there is a decrease of the quality of the scientists, we are facing more and more educated barbarians, with people who have a very shallow general culture, who are getting richer and richer but are not living a really valuable life. (Drucker, 1992:218).

That is why the university plays an important role. It is the instance where the critical pluralism is being developed, which creates the position with the prevailing slogan, “within the interest of searching the truth”. (Popper, 2009:76-77)

The widespread education, the University and “the new mission”

Education is the basis and the main criteria of the progress of every single community. It means a thorough mastery of the system of knowledge, the creation of the abilities and the practical habits, the creation of our forces and cognitive capacities, the creation of the scientific attitudes about the world, connecting knowledge with the practical and professional activities. Education encompasses all the means, instruments and the methods which are oriented toward “the change of the behaviour of the people, either through the enlargement of the knowledge, or through the changes of the attitudes”. (Arsenijević & Andevski, 2010: 32) The different researches done in economics and sociology, have shown that the highest level of knowledge influences positively in productivity,
innovation, democratization and the social cohesion. (Ibidem, 36) Education is closely connected with knowledge and life. As Ortega Y. Gasset writes on his book *The Mission of the University*, knowledge is the biggest achievement of the human being, but bigger than that is life itself, because it enables the realization of the knowledge. Having knowledge and an efficient education, there should exist intersubjectivity between knowledge and life, an interconnection between the ideological-observer (*theoria*) and the acting one (*praxis*).

To the above mentioned line should be added the educational range which a human being has to possess in his epoch of continual gaining of knowledge and professionalism. According to Gassett, the professionals should live in the level of their society and they should have the capacity to have their influence in the social life. (Kardaş, 2008)

The learning life of the formal education achieves its culmination in the University, in this universe of knowledge and research. The University as a link of a lifelong education and a phase of the *postsecondary education*\(^72\), throughout history and even now with the huge groups of students is *spiritus movens* of the society, it is an instigator of the advancement and the social progress, of the radical changes, of constructivism and creativity which triggers the welfare steps in the society. The University, and the school in general, instigates the social mobility, which is a factor through which the able and the successful ones can climb the higher social strata, from the lowest ones. (Drucker, 1992:214)

Today, in the new millennium and in the XXI century all the questions being asked dealing with the University are above others the following ones as well: What is the mission of the University? In what manner the University can accommodate the essential characteristics of our age? How can be found the balance between the traditional mission of the Univesity and the changes of our age?

\(^{72}\) Postsecondary education, which otherwise is called a high education or tercial education, shows an optional level of study above that which is asked by the law.
Universities are not ivory towers; they have met the needs of the society and the whole world throughout history. Now they have special tasks which have been imposed on them by the social instances, especially the last 50 years when the widespread university education has been implemented, when professional schools have been founded which turned into institutions that served the nation, (Fallis, 2004:4-5) even more, they served the region and the globe, taking into account the fact that many universities as a result of the financial crises and the weakening of the states in the process of globalization and the enforcement of the international capital, are found in the hands of multinational companies.

A matter, in the epoch where knowledge as an international property which has its trade price, has triggered a lot of discussions about the mission of the school, that is universities. Are the educational institutions the only transmitters of knowledge or something more? According to H. Akyüz the school’s functions are the following ones: the revival of the feeling of humanisation, the individual development, socialisation and the citizen’s education, the economic, the knowledgeable and the professional one. (Akyüz, 1992:264-267) In general, the universities amongst other things have three important tasks: (a) keeping pace with culture, (b) professional education, (c) scientific research and preparing the new scholars. According to Gasset the University has to teach the people the following things:

1- The physical outline of the world (physics)
2- The main topics of the living world (biology)
3- The historical process of the human kind (history)
4- The structure and the function of the social life (sociology)
5- The outline of the cosmos (phylosophy) (Gasset, 1997, 101)

Making his own reflections during the past ten years, as a president of the University of Michigan, James Duderstadt says that” The unpredictable characteristic of the society is its
unpredictability. They do not believe that tomorrow will look like today. Universities should find their own paths to keep their mostly liked aspects of their core values, in order to meet powerfully the opportunities of the world which is changing so rapidly. This is the main challenge at the opening of the the new century”. (Duderstadt, 2000:21)

Today, the great number of researches shows that the high education has a great impact on the creation of knowledge, which is based on the development of economy and of the democratic society. (The World Bank, 2002) The ability of the society to produce, select, accommodate, make trade, and use the knowledge is shown as a critical factor for the stable economic development factor and the improvement of the life standard. In this direction, instead of telling the public what will be taught to the students, it has to be thought much more about the educational objectives of what the students will be able to understand and implement after they finish their studies. (Kwiatowski & Sadlak, eds., 2003) So, the today’s university education should concentrate much more in the learning outcomes. In this context the whole educational process is not concentrated on the teacher, it is not (teacher- centred), but on the student (student-centred), while the teacher is a facilitator or a manager.

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**Fig. 1.** The teacher’s and student’s perspective according to Biggs (2003b)

The question that will be asked in the future will not be “what have you done to get your diploma?”, but “what can you do after you have got your diploma?” This approach is very important in the labour market and is very meaningful when we take into consideration the matters of a lifelong learning, of the non-
traditional learning, as well as the non-formal educational forms. (Purser, Council of Europe, 2003) Even the international instances such as EU, as we can see by the decision of the Council of Europe approved in Lisbon, 2000 have the following target-to be “a more competitive and dynamic economy in the world, based on knowledge, able for an economic stable development, for better jobs and a bigger cohesion in the society”, in order to built the knowledgeable European society.

The trends of the higher education in South-East Europe

The educational tradition of the Western Ballkans or SEE, is rather complex. Ex-Yugoslavia had more or less a unique centralized and ideologozed educational system. After 1991 political separations, the creation of the new states generated new systems which according to their individual conditions were developed and transformed in different ways and dynamics. Slovenia very quickly finished the war and that quickly made the needed reforms especially those concerning the curricula. (Zgaga, 2011:4-9 in Pajaziti & Jashari, 2012:11). Croatia relying on its long educational tradition did not embrace Bologna immediately. In Bosnia after the year 1995 even the high education, just like everything in the overall society, was divided in political and ethnical lines. From one University, the one of Sarajevo, were created two basic centres: the one of Sarajeva and the other one of Mostar, but there were other Univesities that were established in other cities like in Tuzla, Zenica etc.

In the Balkans, the number of the students who get enrolled in the public Universities and the private ones as well, in the last 10 years has been increased. The following diagram we can see that in 2005 from all the countries of South Eastern Europe, the highest percentage of enrollment in the high education is present in
Slovenia (83.2 %) and Croatia (36.3 %), while the lowest Macedonia (21.2%) and Albania (21.7%).

**Fig. 2.** The percentage of the enrollment in high education in some transitional countries, 2005

The Source: Data base TransMONEE, 2006.

This situation, as far as Macedonia is concerned, has been changed a lot, and in 2010 this percentage has been increased more than 90 %.

The percentages of graduation in the Universities of the above mentioned countries are very low. For example, in Serbia there are only 20% of the students who graduate on time, while in Croatia only 10-15 % (2007). These percentages go together with the percentages of withdrawal which are much higher than the average of the countries of OECD - 30 % (OECD, 2007). This region has got problems even with the quality of the high education: there prevails encyclopedization, the old methods of lecturing, as well as the examinations through which is tested learning by heart and factual memory (see: EUA, 2003). The Balkans countries on the one hand have a very low degree of the students mobility, while on the other hand a high percentage of the students who are sent abroad for their high education. In 2004 the only country who attracted more students was Bulgaria (3.63 %), then Romania (1.53%), Slovenia (1.06 %), than less then any other country Macedonia (0.25 %).
These data are much lower than of the 27 countries of EU (6.32 %). (EC, 2007) The Universities can not manage to direct their limited sources in research activities where they would have had comparative advantages, having thus strategic connections with the other institutions of the SEE, and even wider. (Linden, 2008:16) The investments of the state with public income are very low compared with the countries of the EU, and so this percentage is 1.1. % of GDP. It also has to be stressed that these countries suffer from ensuring of the high professional power with university qualifications, in order to meet their needs for their enlargements. (Linden, 2008:6) The educational high systems in this region are not that much prepared for the following two tasks which are very important and are connected with the contribution in the sphere of competition: the absorption of knowledge and innovation. The number of researchers is relatively small, while the cost of researches is rather low.

After the year 2000 as a characteristic of the innovations in education, have been the private universities and their role in the society with their enrichment of the offer and the increase of the students’ approach. When speaking about the private education, the countries of the Southeastern can be divided in two categories, into those which are more opened toward the private education (Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and he Kosova) and those that are more close toward this matter (Bosnia and Croatia). According to statistical sources connected with the high education where the Albanians live, the following tendencies are present:

- In Albania in the last 4 years the number of the students in the private universities has been increased for 28 %, with an increasing tendency for every year (983 students in 2004 and 12166 in 2008).
- In the year 2008 in Albania there were 11 public universities and 17 private ones. In the year 2008, only 4 of them have been accredited, but later their number has been increased.
• In the Republic of Kosova in 2008, there have been 52772 students, where only in the University of Prishtina have been registered 25840, while in the private universities 18922 students.

Even in Macedonia, the period of transition brought the birth of new universities, and in many cases they described it as a “University boom”. The chart of the places of the high education in the Republic of Macedonia brings in front of us these institutions, the state one “Ss. Cyril and Methodius”, “St. Climent of Ohrid” (Bitola), The State University of Tetova”, The University “Goce Dellçev” in Shtip, SEEU, FON, European Univesity, University “American College”-Skopje, The Faculty of Tourism, The Faculty for Bussiness-Economy, Accademia Italiana etj.

The number of the students, either in public universities as well as in the private ones in the Republic of Macedonia is increasing.

• According to the data of the State Statistical Office in Macedonia, in the academic year 2008/09, have been registered: 63437 students. From those 81.6% have enrolled in the state Universities and 18.4 % in the private universities. That year have fonctioned 94 faculties with 2108 lecturers.

• The number of the students who have graduated in the high schools and faculties in 2009 is 10232. In 2007 there have been 53 research institutions. In the academic year 2010/2011 the number of the lecturers and the scientific collaborators in the high educational institutions has been 3861.

• In 2010 the grade Master and Specialist have obtained 691 persons (479 or 69.3% Masters and 212 or 30.7% specialists). These figures speak fon an increase of 12,7 compared to 2009.

• According to the State Statistical Office, in 2010 the grade Doctor have obtained 157 persons, which shows an increase of about 31.9% compared to the year 2009. The greatest number have finished their Doctorial thesis in social sciences (52.9%) and the humanities (24.2%), and then
follow the technic-techological sciences (8.3%). 80 new Doctors of sciences were females (51%). 51.6% from these people who have obtained the scientific title Doctors, have their professions in educational system.

So we can conclude that in Macedonia still prevails the high public education *vis-a-vis* the private one, compared to Albania and Kosova where there is a balanced situation.

According to Linden and the others, the countries in Southeastern Europe have unbalanced systems of the high education. One University which is found in the capital town dominates the whole system concerning the registration and the resources. There has been a lot of time spent in the bureaucratic changes inside the University, without making the needed changes of the curricula and the lecturing practice. “It is believed that the talented people of these countries leave their home to search for their fate somewhere else than the citizens of other European countries”. (Linden et.al., 2008:vii)

The reforms of the high education in the Republic of Macedonia as an outcome of the Bologna process

On June 1999 the representatives of the Ministers of Education of 29 European countries signed a contract in Bologna (Italy) to formulate the Bologna Declaration, in order to establish a European area for the high education (EHEA-European Higher Education Area). The overall purpose was the improvement of the efficiency and efectivity in the high education all around Europe. This declaration triggered the so-called “Bologna Process” which stresses “The action lines” in which the results of learning would play an important role (Adam, 2004, 2006). One of the logical consequences is that from 2010, all the programmes in the institutions of the third cycle should be based in the concept of the learning and the
curricula should be redesigned to reflect this. (See: Kennedy et.al., 2)

The Bologna Declaration of June 1999, beginning with three points, (a) the educational system in three cycles, (b) the ensurance of the quality and (c) the qualifications and the periods of studying (the credit system and the mobility), urged a big number of reforms in the high education in a lot of countries in Europe. After a lot of dilemmas, after a lot of debates, resistences, this process has already become the most important academic and social task and engagement in 46 european countries. Today in 2011, Bologna tries maximally to make vivid the paneuropean educational area where the students will be given a wide transparent offer of the courses of a high quality, with a lot of approaches and facilities in the procedures of gaining new knowledge.

The liberalization of the enrollments in Macedonia especially during the academic year 2010/2011 devastated the earlier criteria of enrollments and the positions of the balance between the private universities and the public ones. The Government made almost free the enrollment in the public universities, a step that harmed the private universities and the competition.

The Republic of Macedonia became a member of the Bologna Process in 2003, while it began the changes of the system of high education since 1999. In this direction has been approved the Law of high education and the reforms that followed made the Universities to begin the affirmation of the lifelong learning, the implementation of ECTS, of the studying progames according to Bologna, integrated universities, the use of IT (information technologies), the system of three cycles, the implementation of the concept for good learning results, putting into practice the supplement diploma, the joint degrees, the mobility of the students and the teachers, the internal and external evaluation etc. (Programi nacional..., 2006:250-262) The Government of the Republic of Macedonia has been making for a longer period of time a medial campagne pro-education with the slogan “Education is
force, knowledge is power”. The state marketing was about the informatics universities, for web-learning, for call tech, for dispersion, while the reality says that a lot of townlets got their universities, only formally, without any real university and academic meaning, that is in many universities the exams were made in business offices, in primary schools, and in the so called “handicraft houses” etc.

In the meantime happened the changes in the Law of high education dealing with accreditation and evaluation, which mingled with the academic circles. The professors of the University of Skopje came out and protested in the streets to defend the autonomy of the university and the dignity of the profession of the scientist. The idea of these changes in the Law was to implement the so called already accepted standards in the European area of education. These standards are implemented by ENQA-European Network for Quality Assurance, and others as well. This evaluation is made by commissions of different fields from at least three professors of internationally recognized Universities. In the so far laws for the high education from 2000 and 2008 the process of evaluation and accreditation have been separated processes. There was the Accreditation Board and the Evaluation Agency. While on one hand the Accreditation Board functioned on a permanent line, The Evaluation Agency worked from time to time. It did not have any meeting, as is the case in 2004-2007. In the new Law of 11 February 2011, is formed a new mutual Board for evaluation and accreditation, in order to establish a system of values and quality of the high education. This system determines:

a. Evaluation of the quality of the high education, of management, financing, academic activities
b. Implementation, confirmation, acceptance of academic institutions, of different study programmes and their accreditation
c. Self-evaluation and external evaluation.\footnote{It is the very external evaluation the boiling point between the minister of education and the universities. A big number of senates refused the changes in the new Law especially in the external evaluation where it is stressed that the autonomy of the university has been ruined. (Dnevnik, February 17, 2011).}

According to the Decree of the Government for the regulations and standards for the establishment of the activity of the institutions of the high education (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, nr. 168 from December 24, 2010):

The existing institutions of the high education which realize studying programs of the third cycle/PhD, the mentor should have: in 2010, at least two reviewed works in scientific international magazines, in the specific field; and at least one participation during the last five years in an international conference;

From the 1 January 2011, at least three revised works published in international scientific magazines, in the specific field, at least two participations in international conferences, and from January of 2012, 4 publications and 2 participations in international conferences.

In 2015 are requested publications in international magazines with impact factor.

The other changes have to deal with the criteria of realizing the third cycle of studying programs. (The Official Gazette of the RM, nr. 168, December 24, 2010 and nr. 17, February 11, 2011)

The higher education in Albanian language in the RM

Albanians, as the second ethnic group in the RM, have been studied in their mother tongue since 1994 when the University of Tetova was established. Before this date the high education in this country, except the Teacher Training School in Skopje, did not exist. Albanians of this country as a result of their language and political problems had to get their university diploma outside the country,
first of all in Kosova but as well as in Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia and so on and so forth. An Albanian University was a taboo topic for the government of Macedonia till the second half of the final decade of the XX century, which irritated the Albanian population which from time to time expressed its dissatisfaction through protests of different forms.

Table 1. The students enrolled in bachelor’s studies, citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, according to their ethnicity and gender, 2009/2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Macedonians</th>
<th>Albanians</th>
<th>Turks</th>
<th>Roma</th>
<th>Vlachs</th>
<th>Serbs</th>
<th>Bosnians</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 788</td>
<td>46 928</td>
<td>6 583</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>30 036</td>
<td>25 756</td>
<td>2 681</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public high professional schools</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 868</td>
<td>1 800</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 526</td>
<td>1 480</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Faculties</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43 585</td>
<td>39 280</td>
<td>1 820</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>23 967</td>
<td>21 783</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious faculties</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High professional schools</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private faculties</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10 906</td>
<td>5 501</td>
<td>4 685</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 374</td>
<td>2 368</td>
<td>1 745</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this data we can conclude that continuing studies from the secondary into the high education is 10 times lower in the Albanian population than the Macedonian one. So there are 46928 to 6583 Albanian ones. In the academic year 2010/2011 and 2011/2012 there is a largening of the SUT and this enlargement is much bigger compared to the results of the above table. From 2001 and on there is a continuous increase of the number and the percentage of the Albanian students. While in the academic year 2001/2002 there were 3040 (6.68%) Albanian students, in the academic year 2002/2003 4292 (8.98%), in 2003/2004 5335 (10.40%), while in 2004/2005 9540 (15.50%) Albanian students. (Programi nacional..., 2006:249)

**Tabela 2.** Teachers and associates according to the scientific qualifications, and ethnicity, 2009/2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>Macedonian</th>
<th>Albanians</th>
<th>Turks</th>
<th>Vlahos</th>
<th>Serbs</th>
<th>Bosniaks</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>3464</td>
<td>2902</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doctors of sciences</strong></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1644</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MA</strong></td>
<td>895</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>specialists</strong></td>
<td>201</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tercial education</strong></td>
<td>492</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.11.11.pdf*

From this table we can conclude that from the ethnical point of view the number of the Albanian staff and the associates according to the professional qualifications is in a disfavour compared with the Macedonian one. From 1876 PhD's there are only 106 Albanians, while from 895 MS's only 76 are albanians.

The State University of Tetova, with its seat in Tetova, with the initiative of the Albanian intellectuals from Gostivar, Dibra, Skopje, Albanian political parties as well as some non-govermental organizations, has been established on December 17, 1994 and
officially has been recognized on January 2004. SUT is a center of the high education and it has got 10 faculties, 34 study programes and 85 profile orientations. The number of the students is three times bigger during the last three years, which is over 10000 students. Only during 2006/2007 have graduated 933 students from different profiles. About 10 % of the students are non-albanians, a fact which shows the multicultural vision of this University.

SUT tries to follow the modern educational trends, so that it has opened the faculty of Applicative Sciences, with very inventive syllabi as megatronich, economic engineering, architecture etc. It cooperates with wordly famous universities, such as George Washington University, University of Ljubljana, University of Zurich, University of Stuttgart etc. (Tempus, 2008: 6) SUT, despite all the difficulties it had faced, has managed to create a history of 15 years and to turn into a real cradle of the Albanian public education.

The of South-East Europan University, open in the November of 2001 in order to advance the Albanian high education in the Republic of Macedonia, is a modern educational institution of the non-profitable character. It has got 5 faculties and 2 Training Colleges, an institute, with 23 programmes in the first cycle and 29 in the second one. This University has got very comfortable buildings, four amphitheatres, 50 classrooms, modern offices, computeric centres, library (with more than 30000 books) and areas for the accommodation of 450 students. The technological system of information has got a satellite which enables videocommunication and a quick exchange of information. (http://www.tetova.gov.mk/al/q/18/) This University has managed to become a model of high education in the region, since its foundation. It offers accredited curricula of a high quality in accordance with the international trends (ECTS, e-learning, e-service, e-grading), in accordance with the Bologna Declaration and with the needs pf the local and international labour market. This University has the principle that education enables the
advancement of science, technology and cooperation, thus contributing in the development of the society. SEEU promotes equality, as a segment of the mission which begins with the slogan “opened for everybody, implementing the laws and merits, advancing the inter-ethnic understanding”. It gives a lot of importance to the multilingual and multicultural geographic specifics of the globe; it is a model institution in which the other and the otherness are a connecting bridge among the different cultural elements. This university, which promotes the open and rational society, is a successful story which combines the American university experience as well as the European ones, synthesising all of these in its specifics. In this European university study more than 7500 students (82% of the students are Albanians, 15% Macedonians and 3% turks, Bosniaks,...). (Pajaziti & Abazi, 2010)

Taking into consideration the European concept, this university is an average one when speaking how big it is, which is specialized in the socio-economics sciences, well-equipped, with a modern infrastructure, it gives an enormous contribution in the economic development of the region, with a high level of employment of the graduated students, thus making itself very attractive for the students. This university tries to be internationally recognized by offering teaching and develops excellent researches for Macedonia and the region, to be transformed into the “the first university of the third generation”. The former EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Olli Rehn, by giving his support to SEEU said: "The South East European University is the most European creature of the Western Balkans."

All study programs provided by SEEU are accredited by the Accreditation and Evaluation Board of the Republic of Macedonia and the quality of our curricula and assessment are regularly reviewed according to our institutional quality assurance

74 Cooperates with Indiana University, Pittsburg University, LSE, Paris 12, the University Vienna, Bamberg University, University of Jonköping etc.
procedures and through a cycle of external programme review using international specialists.

Research and publications are increasing in number and scope. These important academic research activities are supported and monitored by the Research Office and Pro-Rector for Research.

The University seeks to support effective staff performance. For academic staff, this is done through procedures such as an annual Learning and Teaching Observation Scheme and the active consideration of students’ opinions from the Student Evaluation Survey. All staff is required to take part in the individual Staff Evaluation Process and all these processes are linked to an integrated Staff Development Procedure, offering internal and external opportunities for professional development and training.

The University welcomes and positively uses both national and international evaluation and quality accreditation for continuous improvement. We receive valuable evaluation and advice on a twice yearly basis from our external Quality Champion. It actively refer to the latest developments and trends in higher education in Europe which are part of the Bologna Process. Also the University has been positively evaluated twice as part of European Universities Association (EUA) external institutional review program; and its administrative and management processes have been successfully validated according to International Standards for Organization (ISO 9001/2008). (Quality Assurance, 2012) In the first national ranking of universities in the Republic of Macedonia, in February 2012, SEEU was ranked second out of nineteen higher education institutions according to a ranking system conducted by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University in collaboration with the country’s Ministry of Education and Science. This ranking supports SEEU’s objective of pursuing excellence and equality in higher education.
Macedonia’s HEIs Ranking: Shanghai Jiao Tong University (2012)

1. University Ss. Cyril and Methodius – Skopje
2. South East European University (SEEU) - Tetovë
3. University “Goce Delcev” – Stip
4. University “St. Kliment Ohridski” – Bitola
5. University for Computer Science and Information Technology “Ss. Apostle Paul” – Ohrid
6. International Balkan University – Skopje
7. The first Private University, European University of the Republic of Macedonia – Skopje
8. Private Faculty of Business and Economy – NEOKOM - Skopje
9. School of Journalism and Public Relations
10. University American College Skopje
11. First Private University – FON – Skopje
13. State University in Tetovo
14. University for Tourism and Management – Skopje
15. International Slavonic Institute G. R. Derzavin in Sveti Nikole
16. International University in Struga
17. MIT - Skopje
18. Private Professional Institution of Higher Education for Business Studies “Euro College” – Kumanovo

(Source: http://www.shanghairanking.com/Macedonian.HEIs.Ranking/index.html)

Stressing the fact that the higher education in Albanian Language in FYROM suffers from an internal competition which frequently seems irrational when we take into consideration the fact of “the competition for clients” (students) instead of the encouragement of the deficit spheres, quality competition...

This “silent war” is tragical when taking into account that the wave of the discrimination of the high education in the Republic of Macedonia.\(^\text{75}\) The interference of the Albanian politics in universities has damaged a lot the image of the Albanian high education. (The case of SUT).

\(^\text{75}\) SUT has got almost twice more students (9.864) than the university "Goce Dellcev" in Shtip (5.784), while the incomes from the state budget are very low. The annual incomes per student in SUT are only 22.873 denars (or 372 euros), while in "Goce Delchev" are 48.000 denars (or 780 euros), that is 110% higher! (\textit{Shenja}, 03, July 2011, p. 37)
Conclusions and recommendations

Today we live in the world of *fast culture*, where the things change rapidly. As a famous scientist says, today Socrates the bricklayer would have been in his bricklayer shop, while Socrates the philosopher would have been too much involved with the preoccupations and the variety of the basic disciplines of the modern philosophy such as the symbolic logics and linguistics. Today education is a determiner of the status of each individual and society that is either being a statist or an actor in the global area. In the new millennium the university is facing new challenges, because new changes are to be made which are resisted firmly within the academic society. Serious scientific analysis says that the university must pass from the phase of critical judgement into the one of creating projects and searching for financiers. (Turaljić, 2006:13)

From everything that has been said so far we can conclude that:

- The countries from the Balkan still suffer from the consequences of the ex system and the authority of the lecturer, in the period when the student should be the center of the educational process.
- The universities in the Republic of Macedonia should work harder to keep the real pace of Bologna.
- There should be more investments in the assurance of the quality of education and in the field of scientific researches.
- There should be made changes in considering the diploma the only finder of a job, but the fact that a diploma accompanied with applicative abilities creates jobs, should be taken into consideration.
- The cooperation among the Albanian universities in the RM and the overall Albanian space, region should be increased. Cooperation with prestigious European and global universities.
• Ali PAJAZITI •

- The cooperation among the university and different companies of different sectors should be increased.
- The evaluation and the self-evaluation should be transformed into an important mechanism of the control over the academic progress.
- Different projects from the international union should be used like FP7 and others for the sake of innovative research that will be utilized from the community.
- The students should be encouraged to take an active role in the increase of the quality.
- The concept of the learning outcomes should be implemented.
- Deficient fields of Albanian higher education in RM, in particular natural and technical sciences should be advanced.
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• http://www.seeu.edu.mk/files/StrategicPlan0812web.pdf.11.10.2011
UNIVERSITY YOUTH AND POLITICS IN POST-TRANSITIONAL MACEDONIA (FYROM)*

Keywords: transition, university youth, politics, FYROM, political apathy, political ethics

Introduction

The fall of communist regime was one of the most important events in Western Balkans: changes in political context, in economic relations and in mindset, in life philosophy an *modus vivendi* at all. The *cornucopian myth* and *cargo cult* were the two anthropological items that can be associated with newborn communities and states. But the new perspective and new system appeared with new problems: ethnical clashes, unemployment, poverty, i.e. unstable society in general.

Negative trends affected all social stratum, groups, especially the category of young, the most dynamic component of social changes and the creator of the future. Process of democratization was perceived as more chances for citizen, new horizons, but political trends showed the politics, by definition, the process by

which groups make decisions, appeared as high utilitarian acitivity that worked in favour of new political elite.

In the Republic of Macedonia, within last twenty years the politics firstly was reserved for the transformed politicians, ex-communists that changed their colours in liberals, social-democrats, nationalists etc., and after a young generation of politicians achieved higher positions in political area. But politics and politicians are very unpopular terms in todays circumstances in RM. *Corrupted politicians, dirty business* are the most used descriptors from demos to young.

This research is an empirical research, questionnaire applied with 300 university young (South East European University and State University of Tetova) in December 2011 and January 2012, targeting exploration of perception of politics at university youth in Macedonia. Our hypothesis was that day by day youth feels animosity toward politics and politicians. And the data verified this claim: only 24 % of respondets (students) perceive politics as positive image, only 8.3% agreed that politics is service for community, 79 % of respondets said that politics and hypocrisy are synonims.

The social transition and Macedonia: Post-transition as a social demand

As a word transition means a passage from a condition into another, while as a term it defines the process of democratization or the practice of nondemocratic regimes turning into democratic ones. This process has firstly been witnessed in Latin America and then in southern Europe, to be followed by central, eastern and southeastern Europe and the so-called West Balkan. The transition includes all those spaces in which the passage from nondemocratic systems into democratic ones is taking place. A characteristic of the transition of ex-socialist countries of Europe is the passage from the
state-directed economy into the market economy and civilization values like free enterprise, competition, private property, pluralism, open society etc. The social transition that occurs within the state boundaries in countries that once were behind the Iron Curtain, has gone ahead in a curving line, with rises and falls, contradictory and unexpected curves, often through dramatic and painful occurrences. Any big social change implies qualitative transformations of economic, judicial, political and cultural matrixes of daily life. A more complex meaning of transition shows itself in the context of deep, structural changes an all subsystems. The post-communist transition towards “market democracy” is characterized by the simultaneous occurrence of three processes. In the political sphere there is a revolution towards the system of constitutional democracy, liberalism, pluralism, peaceful competition for power, division of powers, supremacy of law, parliamentarism, guarantee of unalterable human rights and freedoms, the transformation of state apparatus to the service of citizens, decentralization of power, the civil autonomous society, independent media, protection of minorities etc. One of the most important phenomena in the transition of central Europe countries is the destruction of the totalitarian authority, “the loss of the father”, the loss of meaning and the damage caused by the dissolving reality. The process of transition includes rival values and ideologies which compete with the leading state discourse. The economic subsystem includes reforms for liberalization, macroeconomic stabilization and privatization. In the interacting space of democratization and market economy the freedom of enterprise is created, the basis for macroeconomic policies is achieved and the means of economy for the minimisation of noneconomic factors, especially political ones, are intensified. The embrace of national identity, xenophobia, “the immature state”, pseudodemocracy, abuses in privatization, profound changes in social stratum, the birth of a new rich class (the case of Croatia: the thesis about 200 rich families in the croatian society) etc. The democratic transition ends when a government elected through free general elections comes to power.
and it can make new policies and when the three powers are in full service to citizens. (Milardović, 2004:13; Pajaziti, 2003:23-32)\(^7\)

Some explain the social transition through the metaphor of a man who has been ill for years and nobody has believed his condition to get better someday. But a miracle happens, a new method is invented. The doctor decides to apply this new approach, the shock therapy, without knowing what the repercussions will be. And the patient is on feet, having strong fever. Years go by and he starts to regain his functions. In the meanwhile he has moments of desperation. The process is not easy. He has short periods of crisis again. He starts feeling to be worse than he was and for months on his performances indicate decline. The patient does not refuse the medical treatment. He has hopes and doesn’t want to think about his previous pathologic condition. Sometimes he gets bitter on the doctor who he thinks “gives him unattainable targets”. He doesn’t want to make those daily exercises. But one day he reaches his old health condition and goes even beyond.\(^7\) The doctor tells him he doesn’t need assistance anymore, that the healing is complete. His friends tell him the same but the patient is not sure. He can not find the proper clothes, does not work properly and sometimes loses his conscience.

So the period of transformations goes with its turbulences. Different theoreticians have dealt with the issue about when social transition ends. Lavigne says this phasis of social development ends when the countries become EU members. Gelb says it ends when the problems and policies of today’s transition countries resemble those of countries in the same level of development. As a condition for the conclusion of transition Avejnar puts forth the end of central planning and the functioning of the market system. In connection to this Kornal puts three conditions: the loss of monopolizing power by the communist party, the privatization of the dominating part of

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77 Annete N. Brown, *When is transition over?* (Michigan: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1999),
production means and the market to be the dominant coordinator of economic actions. In 1999 Avejnar asserted that ten years should pass for the transition to be concluded.\textsuperscript{78}

The Republic of Macedonia is a small Balkan country that is passing through a long period of transition, during which the majority of population got poorer, when unemployment, vulnerability and social exclusion are social graves while the life satisfaction is a dream. The instability of the region as result of the “balkanization process” (\textit{Bellum omnium contra omnes}) and the situation that creates an improper clime for investment contributed to the rise of social instability. Corruption is another serious problem that obstructs the natural development and the approach of the country towards Euro-Atlantic structures. Some have called the transition of Macedonia\textsuperscript{79} as a transition with “factory defect”. The process of transition in this country from centralized economy into the one of free market expressed in Dahrendorf’s words, implies the change of political institutions in six months, that of economic relationships in six years and that of human attitudes and values in sixty years.\textsuperscript{80} Macedonia faces high unemployment (35%)\textsuperscript{81}, the \textit{experimentum macedonicum} dilemma, disagreements with neighbours, the name issue with Greece (Macedonia’s Greekness & Greeks’ Macedonianness),\textsuperscript{82} antiquisation, the church issue with Serbia, that of language with Bulgaria, broken interethnic relations (between Macedonians and Albanians), a chapter that was thought to be over with the interethnic conflict of 2001 and the Framework Agreement which implied constitutional changes in favor of non-Macedonian ethnic groups and communities that however failed to bring \textit{conclusive peace}. From 2006 and on the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{78} Brown, \textit{When is transition over?}, 7-8.
\textsuperscript{80} NISPA-cee (Skopje: Institut “Otvoreno Opštesvto”, 2005), 7.
\textsuperscript{81} Ali Pajaziti et.al., \textit{People Centred Analyses: Quality of Social Services} (Tetovo: SEEU & UNDP, 2010), 48.
\end{flushleft}
country has been living under the turbulences of permanent provocations by Macedonian state nationalism which showed itself in the most refulgent way in the case of the Macedonian Encyclopedia, that of the fertility law, in the case of the castle church in Skopje, antiurban project “Skopje 2014”... Handball fans in Nish or anywhere else throwing offending anti-Albanian slogans, the troubles in spring 2012 when two Albanians were executed in Gostivar, children beaten in Skopje etc., are some of the “products” of policies of Gruevski and those of new millennium's excommunicating Macedonian revivalism.

Citizens remain in the hope of passing into a better phase, that of post-transition which would see the triumph of constitutional democracy over illiberal and authoritarian policies, the domination of imposed coexistence by natural co-living, as well as a high level of life quality and social wellbeing.

Youth and immoral politics

Youth is a term that denotes physiological, demographical and sociological dimensions of a social group, a social category and which in general includes individuals who follow the education process, who can not stand on their own economically, who are sensitive to social issues and demographically include the age group between 15 and 25. Some take the limit to 30, even to 35. Youth is the most dynamic and complex phase in life. Arnet says that young age starts at 18 and ends at 25 or 29. Its main characteristics are physical and psychological development, dynamism, emotionality, spirit of enterprise, impatience, search for identity, rebelousness, crisis, anxieties, sorrows, reactions, conflicts, dreams, passions, endless demands, disharmony between psychophysical and social development etc. It is a preparatory phase, when the personality qualities needed for bearing professional and family responsibilities are gained, when the young starts behaving more independently
and with more responsibility, when he establishes friendships and chooses his/her mate. Platon has defined youth as a phase of “spiritual intoxication”, while Aristotle has defined the young as “insensitive creatures”. In traditional societies, the young becomes an adult as soon as he enters the productive phase in life, by working and achieving material gains. The technological society has delayed the process of employment for the young. The Baby Boom phenomenon in USA after Second World War has caused the strengthening of youth as a social category and the birth of numerous youth movements and subcultures. (Pajaziti, 2003:77; Kızılçelik-Erjem, 1996:230-231). Sociological interest on youth as an age marked by search for identity, evident instability, frequent changes in school, employment and love, transition from adolescence to maturity, personal freedom and self-focusing, saw a special momentum in the 60’s when the juvenile population was seen above all as a potential factor of unrest, trouble and revolution.

University youth makes up a category of academic citizens who pass the phase of their intellectual-professional overbuilt towards new passages in life, towards carrier in various social spheres, towards personal and social-collective responsibilities and benefits. It has often shown itself to be the spiritus movens of the society. University youth is a mobile and dynamic social mass as has been witnessed in USA in 60’s, in Paris in 1968, Tienanmen 1989. This can also be illustrated by the Albanian example in the demonstrations of 1980 in Prishtina and those of students in 1990 in Tirana that brought by the fall of Yugoslavia and of the monist system in Albania respectively.

Politics as one of the main institutions of the human society has been defined in a number of ways. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary has defined it as the science and art of governing. Laswell (1936)

83 Pajaziti, Fjalor i sociologjisë, 553-554.
says it has to do with the question of who takes, when and how. Bertrand de Jouvenal (1963) defines it as an activity through which a human being puts another human being into motion, while David Easton (1979) connects politics to the distribution of values. The British philosopher Bertrand Russell (1938) talks about the production of aimed effects. According to Sartori, politics is a sphere of sovereign collective decisions. In general, politics as a public activity and as an art of the possible implies compromise, consensus and the participation of various social groups in governing.

While analyzing the relations of the modern human being to politics, today’s sociologists have found out that fanaticism, intolerance and overvaluation of the personal political ideal are evident features of making politics. They have even invented the term “political drugging”. Today, like in all spheres, in politics too interest is stronger than the motive of serving. This society is dominated by the transacting pathology that has produced the conflict between personal interest and morals, between political market and human solidarity relationships. The whole political action in it is unified with the objective: having the power and using it. The high level of corruption, of abuses and unlimited greed make the differentia specifica of Balkan politics. The most plastic description of the politician of our lands is made by Prof. Servet Pëllumbi, who says in connection to the typical politician of today: “What I say today I alter tomorrow. I am dialectical!” while suggesting that “politics also requires morals”. Politics nowadays, especially in west Balkan countries is an unpopular sphere with a low social rating, among masses in general and particularly with the young.

85 Stephen D. Tansey and Nigel Jackson, Politics: The Basics (Routledge, 2008), 8.
86 Ylli Buflu, Tempulli i demokracisë (Tirana: OMBRA GVG, 2010), 25, 27.
87 Gëzim Tushi, Arsyetime politike (Tirana: Toena, 2010), 100.
88 Përparim Kabo, Autoritarizëm në tranzicion (Tirana: Plejad, 2006), 203, 204.
89 Servet Pëllumbi, Edhe politika do moral (Tirana, Rinia&ISPS), 64.
The citation below illustrates this best:

Nowhere in the world and not with us dealing with politics implies either honesty or high moral consciousness. Politicians in our parts confirm this every hour, in every step and action. Many of us mention with nostalgia and respect the names of politicians like Gandhi, Churchill and Mandela who compared to today’s politicians look like “moral giants”. In politics’ morals, everything that brings one to the aimed intention is allowed (Machiavelli). In such a discourse nothing can surprise us or make us wonder.\(^90\)

American essayist H. L. Mencken says talking about a good politician is like talking about a honest thief, while G. Orwell says the political language is designed to make lies sound true.\(^91\)

In a study made some years ago with 300 young people from the capital Skopje, it results that only 20% of the young trust the parliament and only 11% trust the political parties.\(^92\)

Another poll (Jashari et.al., 2008) with 507 students has found out that 63% have not expressed any preference of political engagement, 19% have said they sometimes engage in politics, and only 18% have expressed political activity. 29 persons only have answered they could walk for 5 km to take part in a political event (sport, culture and religious events have resulted much more attractive with 70.4% together).\(^93\)

According to a study made in autumn 2009, politicians are shown as worseners of interethnic relations in Macedonia. 71.2% of poll participants have asserted that politicians at national level

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93 Hasan Jashari et.al., Studentët dhe lëvizjet globale, politike dhe religioze (Tetovo: SEEU, 2008), 73, 79.
influence negatively in interethnic relations in Macedonia (percentage in 2008 has been 44).94

If we make a comparison of the echo of the first democratic elections in Macedonia in November 1990 that was 84.8% with that in the 2011 elections that was 53.9%, we can clearly see the tendency of the popularity of politics in the country.

**Table 1.** What effect do you think the following institutions influence ethnic relationships: Politicians at national level?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Improve</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Worsen</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. No effect</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Facts show that most of the young people want to leave the country and look for their fate somewhere outside Macedonia. “Perspective is sought outside Macedonia” was the title of an article at *Telegraf* (23 February 2012) that argues that young Albanians taken by the “Balkanian syndrome” go to work in west Europe and America, while Macedonians prefer Australia and New Zeland more. According to the International Migration Office, 50 young people with a university diploma, the so-called “modern emmigrants”, prepare to leave the country each day.

Let’s listen to the story of a student, Anita S. who has graduated in economy with a grade above 9 and who has been waiting for a job since five years. She offers us a clear view about politics and the perspective of young people in Macedonia:

“I think politicians do not solve the real problems in parliament. Everything I hear are only their quarrels with each other while the social issues they used to vow would be primary for them, are not even included in their daily

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94 Pajaziti et.al., *People Centred Analyses*, 70.
agenda. I can’t wait for a job forever. In the meanwhile I married and have children. My husband is a graduate too but he has a job in which his education is not relevant at all. We have given the documents for a migration visa to Canada and we have to wait. I want to go. There can’t be worse than this."95

Perceptions of university youth about politics

Bro ... politics is a whore .......? (I apologize for vulgarism)? People are enough split in parties .... especially young ..... young’s place is school, college, work ... not the rallies and other political bulshits. (forum.kajgana.com)

The last part of this research is made up by the empirical dimension, that of research on the ground, realized through a semi-structured survey with 22 questions, applied in December 2011 and January 2012 with 300 students of two universities: South East European University and State University of Tetovo. According to the State Statistics Institute, 63.250 students have been registered in 19 high education units of Macedonia for the academic year 2011.96 The limitations of this research are time and groups, which mean the results are about the time the poll was conducted and with the university category as it does not include other categories of youth. Our main hypothesis was that students have negative attitude towards politics, towards the politician profile and political parties.

It is known that political and wider participation by the young is important in showing the “healthiness” and functioning of

democracy, influencing positively in forming the identity of new persons (Flanagan & Levine, 2010: 160).97

Of the total number of students, 85 (28.3%) were from first year, 104 from second year (34.7), 85 from third year (28.3), and 26 (8.7%) from fourth year. 53.7% of respondents were males, while 46.3% were females. In urban-rural categorization the raport was 49%-51%. 49.7% of the students were from SEEU and 50.3% from SUT.

Table 2. Politics according to students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deception</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service to community</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in the table above, the great majority of students see politics as money, power and deception, with only a minority considering that it serves the community. This is also confirmed by the data of the question “whether they have a positive or negative

97  Lavrič, *The Social Profile*, 188.
image about politics”. 72% of the representative group have a negative image, and only 24% think positively. These results show us that politics is not playing its role as a service to citizens, as a management in favor of contemporary *demos* and *polis*. This confirms the thesis of Eugenio Scalfaro who says morals and politics are in conflict with each other.98 To the question whether political elections and politicians are a challenge (1), desperation (2) or pleasure (3), only 6.3% have marked the third alternative.

**Figure 1.** Hipocrisy is an inseparable part of the identity of politicians

[Pie chart showing responses to the question about hypocrisy among politicians]

As seen in figure 1, respondents see a close connection between the personality of politician, his identity and an anti-ethic characteristic as hypocrisy. 80% have confirmed this, 9% don’t agree, and 11% do not have a clear attitude on the matter. This reality is also confirmed by results from the question “whether the politician has been corrupted in the aspect of moral values”. 66.3% said “yes”, 22.3% don’t have any attitude, while only 11.3% have a positive opinion about the relation between politicians and morality and don’t think that today’s politician is morally corrupted.

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Question number 12 in the questionary was about the function of political parties, whether it is in favor of community or is corruptive for the individual and the society. As seen in the graphic illustration above, the great part of students have a negative attitude towards political parties. 62.7% see parties as institutions for corrupting and degrading people, 10% see them as institutions that produce serviles, while only ¼ think that political parties promote values, recruit quality staff and promote the advancement of individuals and society. The economic background of students seems to influence on their perception of politics: 22.7% of students with family income above 27.000 denars (~400 €) and 4% of those with a family income of up to 9000 denars (~150 €) see political parties as institutions where values are promoted.

An important issue that has to do with the functioning of the social system, democracy and achievement of life quality is the meritocracy applied in employment. As the illustration below shows, employment in Macedonia is mainly carried on party basis. Only 11% of respondents have answered that employment is made on the quality of candidates or on basis of legal procedures. This is also confirmed by the comment of a young man, Arben, to the daily Zhurnal:
“In order to have a certain job one has to be a member of the party in power. While private employers do not offer high salary or certainty. I’ll try to work on a ship.”

Illustration 3. Decisive factors for employment

This situation has prevented the young population from approaching politics too much, causing it to show a political apathy and keep itself far from political actions. Our research shows that more than half of respondents (55%) are politically inactive, do not want to hear about politics and politicians. This is a depressing picture if we consider the fact that youth is the future of a society. Most apolitical are the students of SUT, 64.9%, compared to those of SEEU (45.6 %). The later show more readiness to join the political caravan (45.6% as compared to 22.5). Students in better economic conditions are more active in their choice as compared to those with a weaker economy (50%-32%).

Another question asked to students aimed to detect whether they were “full” of the actual politicians. The results show that ¾ of students want new faces in politics. They even assert that “only new faces could change the political climate in Macedonia”.

Politics is made in micro as well as in macro plan, which means in the global level, and includes faces that appear more and have greater impact in the international political developments than others. By giving the names of some politicians we aimed to see
which global politician is more preferred by the young seekers of knowledge. The data show that the most popular politician among SEEU and SUT students is the actual Turkish prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan (34%), followed by the American president Obama (22.7%), the Albanian president Bamir Topi (18.3%), German chancellor Angela Merkel (12%). The most unpopular politicians appear to be Putin with illiberal-authoritarian reflections and Berlusconi with a "scandalous fame".

**Illustration 6.** Politicians most popular among students
Conclusions

The transition of southeast Europe countries, their passage from communism to democracy constitute the most important phenomenon in European history since the 50’s. This process is hard, troubled and painful to citizens. The Republic of Macedonia is a transitional society with a delicate democracy, weak economy and impaired social cohesion. In short it is an instable society, even called as a divided society by some. The general situation of this social reality makes young people speak pessimistically about their future and show doses of great dilemmas towards social institutions, including politics which should be the promoter of advancement in all spheres of life.

From the ground research we made with students of two universities, we reached these conclusions:

- In general, for the university youth politics offer a negative image and symbolic.
- From the junior to senior years, the level of trust on politics goes higher (from the first year students 38% said politics have a positive image while only 3.5% of fourth year students asserted this).
- Students show a low level of interest in politics (55.3% apolitical).
- According to the young academic citizens, politics and morals are oxymoron, antonyms. A moral politician according to students does not exist.
- A deep chasm shows itself between politicians and people (only 26% think politicians are close to the people).

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100 Brown, *When is transition over?*, introduction.
Political parties are perceived by students as the best “devices” to find a job.

The new generation is “satiated” with the ancien régime, the old faces in politics and it wants new faces in politics.

On basis of the results of this research, we recommend political parties to change their attitude towards the young, not to recruit them just as political militants but to be in search of the young “brain and creativity”, to find the student elite and from it to prepare the future managers of politics. We suggest the awareness of the young through panels, conferences and various meetings about the activities of the people in charge and also higher transparency. The policy makers must be conscious about the dissatisfactions and frustration of the young who have high educational qualifications but low income, which live in crisis while they can be manipulated by different circles for the most bizarre intentions.
References


http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/FYROM/83666


TURK AND TURKEY PERCEPTION AT ALBANIANS IN THE BEGINNING OF 21st CENTURY*

Abstract

Albanians as one of the cultural, ethnic, political and economic factor of Balkan Peninsula were part of Ottoman Empire and Pax Ottomanica. But after 1913 up to now they lived in different regimes and states, coping with crucial challenges of protecting the authentic code of ethnical and religious identity. Looking from nationalistic viewpoint the gained in dependence from a great power and choosed to form their own national state, but even after one century of “divorce”, there is an emotional link between Turks, Turkey and Albanians dispersed in six Balkan societies. However, the hard and unscrupulous antiottoman and antiturk propaganda did not succeed to cut this invisible tie between this to nations. This article is based on a empirical study, questionnaire applied in 2008-2009 with 571 respondents from Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo, including questions on konwledge on Turkish language, on perception of

future of Turkey, meaning of Turkey for them, the best Balkan city, issue of sport, music, etc.

**Keywords**: Turk (ey), Albanians, cultural contact, antiturkism, antiottomanism, ideology, friendly country, Turkish art, Turkish sport.

**Turkish-Albanian relationships: The real historical-relational dimension**

A day in November 2011. I was driving from the city center of the Macedonian capital together with my daughter, student at the high school for medicine, now coming back from her trip to Turkey (Kusadasi). She has lived for seven years in that country while the author of these lines was a student there (1993-2000). After some routine questions about how the trip to the Turkish Mediterranean passed, the details start to unfold. To my question as how the students got understood with the Turks, she replied: “Dad, most of them know some Turkish from the abundant serials casted every night in our TVs!”

The mediatic boom of these serials has to do, among others, with the affinity of the Albanian culture with the Turkish one, which makes an interconnection and mixture hard to divide by some definite line.

The essential paradigm of Albanian-Turkish relationships is that of two friendly people, of two brotherly nations tied to each other historically, culturally, emotionally, politically and in many other dimensions of life. This line of affinity and contacts goes back to the time when Albanians started to convert to Islam and reaches our days when the rewriting of the Albanian history, especially the part that has to do with the Albanian-Ottoman and Albanian-Turkish relations, is being discussed. Their common past has made Albanians percept the Turks as “part of us” and themselves as part

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101 Valley of the Wolves (Kurtlar Vadisi), The Fall of Leaves (Yaprak Dökümü), Ezel, Thousand and One Nights (Binbir Gece), etc.
of the Ottoman domain, as “a community integrated in the Ottoman Empire”, while others, like Slavs and other nations, have come to identify them as “the long arm of Turkey”, or to describe Albania as “the minor Turkey” or “the Islamic isle of Balkan”. So much so that even Muslim Albanians are described as Turks by their Greek-speaking compatriots, as told in an article about Himara.

The Albanian community has used the opportunity to be part of the governing hierarchy of the Ottoman state, so sheikhalislams, eminent commanders, notorious poets and writers, prime ministers, ministers and governors have emerged among Albanians. Even the first dean of the University of Istanbul (Daru'l-funun), the erudit Hodja Hasan Tahsin, was an Albanian.

Individuals of Albanian origin have become an inseparable part of the Turkish history and culture. Mehmed Akif from Peja, author of Safahat and of the Turkish national anthem, or Sami Frasheri (Shemseddin Sami) who in 1898 wrote a number of articles about the reconstruction of Turkish and in 1899 published the first ever Turkish-Turkish dictionary, the Kamusu’’t-turki, and who in the meanwhile was the first representor of the Turkish nationalism and Ottomanist movement, are symbolic personalities of Turkey. So we have a mixed form of Albanian-Turkish culture and vice versa.

Even the man of the Albanian independence, Ismail Bej Qemali, contrary to his popular image as an opponent and enemy of the Ottoman state, during all his life has served to the Ottoman Empire.

As is well-known, Muslims of Balkan, for one century have been living under pressure as they make up the key object of “the other” for the new Balkanian nations. Since 1913 to this day, Albanians have lived in various states and regimes (Serbian, Bulgarian, Italian, Communist Yugoslavian, Atheistic Albanian) facing major challenges.
in preserving the authentic code of their ethnic and religious identity.

The mentioning of the Muslim and Turkish presence in negative connotation even among Albanians, has come as a result of the orientalistic, Catholico-centrist and Slavian-Orthodox propaganda that from the academy to the church has endeavored to destroy this relationship of five centuries. Albanians make up the biggest percentage of the Muslim population in the peninsula and also the weightiest issue in these lands. For this reason it was deemed as necessary to divide them physically first then emotionally from the Ottoman and Turk in order to be pushed into a ghetto and be more easily controlled.

A big community of Albanians from all ethnic Albanian territories live in Turkey today. According to some speculations, their number reaches up to five millions. It was significant that in a meeting with high representatives of the Albanian state, the Turkish President Suleyman Demirel told them that he was the president of the greatest community of Albanians.\(^{105}\)

Turkey has played an important role in Albania’s NATO membership and in the recognition of Kosova (it was the third state to recognize Kosova’s independence). Turkey has strong commercial ties with Albania and Kosova, it carries many investments in infrastructure, education, culture etc. Turkey considers Albanians as natural allies and Albania as a country whose internal security and territorial integrity it has a strong interest on. The Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu, in his best-seller *Strategic Depth*, says: “Two important objectives of Turkey’s short-term and middle-term policy are the strengthening of Bosnia and Albania within a stable structure.” Further he will add that Albania which has contradictions with both Serbia and Greece, by a

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historical instinct sees its fate as dependent on Turkey’s weight in the region.\textsuperscript{106}

Today when Turkey is one of the giants in the global economic and political scene and day by day is becoming an ever stronger factor in South-East Europe through investments (TAV, TEB, Halkbank, Epoka University, high schools, Cevahir Holding), some local authors has described this situation as “The Ottoman Empire Ante Portas”.

The anti-Turkish propaganda as a nation building device: The ideologic elitism as opposed to the masses

According to the famous Albanian writer and poet Ervin Hatibi, the post-Ottoman era is a historical page in which the Albanian intellectual elite indoctrinated by the pan-Slavist policies, started to launch the thesis on the Albanian-Turkish antagonism which tended to see the Turk and the Ottoman as the other. So the political divorce generated a new perception, that of the “european us” and “asiatic them”. One of the greatest personalities of the Albanian letters Ismail Kadare was the one who re (started) the attack against the Ottoman-eastern part of the Albanian identity. In one of his works he underlines the “european identity of Albanians”, holding the thesis about the western character of Albanians’ culture and religious beliefs and also the thesis that the EU integration would make true the natural tendency of Albanians who have been violently separated from the West.\textsuperscript{107} A so-called “Kadare’s group” has formed around Kadare, who fight with all the methods “Turkey,

\textsuperscript{107} Ismail Kadare, \textit{Identiteti europian i shqiptarëve}, Onufri, Tirane, 2006.
the old lady” which, although a NATO member and EU candidate, is still seen as the Ottoman Empire.108

On the same line goes the following passage by Rexhep Qosja who joins the caravan of Albanian ottomanophobes:

“The Turkish suppression has severely impaired the natural development of the Albanian nation, by cutting the ties it had so far with Europe, by changing its course hitherto european and by spoiling the life rhythm it had hitherto reached. By cutting it from Europe in almost every aspect, the Turkish suppression would delay the development of Albanians in all spheres: material, economic, cultural, civil, urban... It would gravely endanger the spiritual and cultural identity of the Albanian people, built on one side on the Roman culture and Christianity.”109

Later these two authors would engage in a fiery debate on identity. Kadare’s discourse about Albanians’ historical mistake in accepting Islam (which he hold must be taken back by a collective conversion to the faith of their fathers, Christianity), about the pure western culture of Albanians without eastern-Ottoman elements, would be opposed by Qosja. The writer and politician from Macedonia Arben Xhaferi also emerges as an anti-ottomanist and anti-turkist in his essay titled “Kinship” (Akraballëku) presents the Turkish-Albanian affinity as dangerous to the Albanian identity.

The secularist intellectual discourse and the ideologic Albanian academism make synonyms of words as Turk, Anatolian, cruel, passioned, ignorant, sword-in-hand. This discourse imagines a grotesque pavilion of demonography arranged on a hierarchy of evil, with the Sultan at the top and then viziers, generals etc., of course all of them Turks and continuing with minor Albanian demons like landlords and such, servants of the foreigner.110

110 Ervin Hatibi, Republic of Albanania, Ora, Tiranë, 2005, p. 44.
anti-turkist fanaticism can also be seen in novels (e.g. Ben Blushi), poems, films where Ottoman officials are identified with sexuality, poligamy, harem, Turkish eros etc.\textsuperscript{111}

For the enstranged Albanian intellectuals who use the orientalizing discourse, the euro-religious exclusivities and the (pseudo)Christian supremacism, the classical matrishkas of the presentation of Albanians as Turks or half-Turks (Hatibi)\textsuperscript{112} the Ottoman period is the dark one, the symbol of suppression. They even forget the most critical moments for the Albanian existence, they forget the stages when Albanians' survival was in doubt, like the medieval period when the Roman and Byzantine empires grave endangered the early Albanian identity. The Serbs were especially active in invading Albanian lands and physically eliminating the population of those lands. But this fact too “is marginalised or even hidden by the Albanian historiography”.\textsuperscript{113}

The anti-turkist propaganda installed in education and culture, generating for decades hostility against Turkey and especially against Islam, denies all positive aspects that the long cohabitation in the Ottoman Empire has brought to Albanians. The prejudice about Turkey as invader while the cruelest other invaders have been “pardoned”, can not be explained outside the context of an anti-islam strategy, among Albanians who hold the idea that their national identity is only Christian as well as among foreigners who stimulate this ideology. But this tendency is blocking energies, is spoiling the internal dialogue and is wounding the Albanian identity.\textsuperscript{114} Today, freed from the marxist and enverist cage, the “anti-turkist, in fact anti-islamist” creations can breathe freely and flourish on the expired chemicals of historical deception.\textsuperscript{115}

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\textsuperscript{112} Ervin Hatibi, “Sa ka turq në Shqipëri”, pp. 30-34.
\textsuperscript{113} Milazim Krasniqi, “Shtresimet e identitetit kulturor e kombëtar shqiptar: po më tutje?”, in Jusufi-Kajolli and others, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{114} Krasniqi, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{115} Hatibi, Republic of Albanania, p. 46.
\end{flushright}
This anti-islamist and anti-turkist hostility is also launched through the highest political personalities, like the ex-President of Albania Alfred Moisiu who on 10 November 2005, in his speech titled “Interreligious tolerance in Albanian tradition” held in the Oxford Forum, said that Islam is not an authentic faith of Albanians but a religion brought by the Ottoman army and not a residential faith for that matter, but an artificial Islam, that in every Albanian Muslim one would find fifteen centuries of Christianity.116 On the line of radical anti-islamism stand also priests like Dom Shan Zefi, Dom Shan Gjergji etc., who openly call for the elimination of Islam and for the conversion of Muslims to Catholicism.

School books are also extremely infected with anti-turki and anti-ottoman stereotypes, transformed into paradigms of national apology and pride, of post-communistic opportunism and of pan-Albanian proeuropeanism. For example, the History of Albanian People 4 describes the Ottoman sultans as invaders of the Albanian states who have taken hostage the children of Albanian princes in order to secure their submission.117 Scanderbeg is shown as nation’s archhero and as a protector of Europe against Turks. The literature textbooks 1, 2, 3, 4, describe Turks as destructors, ruiners and spoilers of Albanian lands. Schoolbooks in Kosova too contain such illustrations that now are cliches about the Ottoman state and Turks. We find in them attitudes holding that one of the factors in Islam’s acceptance was not only economic pressure through taxes that Christians were compelled to pay the state, but also the abduction of male children to Istanbul, the islamic education given them, the revenge by state organs on the population etc. So under shallow nationalistic-romantic perceptions descriptions similar to the history books of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece are made, similar also to Andrić’s novel The Bridge Over Drina.118 Albanian children learn the historical enemies of Albanians for their allies and their true allies for enemies, to come to a deformed view on the historical

118 http://www.kosovahaber.com/?page=2,14,8436

132
reality (Milazim Krasniqi). The matter goes so far that according to the Minister of Education and Science of the Republic of Albania, the adjective Ottoman has a negative meaning. The anti-ottomanist spirit is expressed through a pathological discourse by Kastriot Myftaraj, Anton Kqira, Maks Velo, Pirro Misha, www.zemrashqiptare.com, or nongovernmental organizations like "Illyricum Libertas" in Tetova. Writer Abdi Baleta says that antiturkism is a mask of the anti-albanianism of serbophilia and russophilia.

It is the time today for Albanians to learn history without myths and without ideas offensive to certain periods and certain nations. In this line was the declaration of the Turkish Minister of Education Omer Dincer on 19 August 2011 for the review of history in the context of making it objective, followed by Davutoglu’s visit who said that history should be written out of the ideological enverist and titoist lines and under scientific perspective. Kosova’s Minister of Education E. Hoxhaj then asserted that history must be written by academics and not by politicians and governments. Whereas the Albanian ex-PM Pandeli Majko, getting over ottomanophobic and islamophobic views, would say that the Turkish appeal for rewriting history is not something worrisome.

From the elitist negative myth to people’s common sense: Perceptions of citizens in Macedonia, Kosova and Albania about the Turkish element

Below are data from a study about the perception of the Turkish element among Albanians, part of which we have been as well. The study was carried by GENAR from 7 October 2008 to 23 February 2009. It includes 571 respondents from three countries

120 Lajm-Magedoni, September 2, 2011.
121 Göç, Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler, TDBB, İstanbul, 2009, p. 4.
populated by Albanians, most of them from Macedonia (235) and less from Albania (178) and Kosova (158).

Figure 1. Respondents according to ethnicity.

As seen above, respondents are mostly Albanians (96.8% Albanians in Kosova and 100% such in Albania) while in Macedonia they make up 44.8% with the rest being Turks.

Figure 2. Do you speak Turkish?

The study shows that most Turkish-speaking persons are in Macedonia (81%), followed by Kosova (12.4%) and Albania (10%). In this context can the answers to the question “Which is your language of daily communication?” be taken. In Macedonia 52.4%
use Turkish as their daily tongue while this percentage in Albania is much lower (5.2% - 1.3%). It means that Macedonia is a much more turkophonic territory as compared to Albania and Kosova.

![Figure 3. What does Turkey mean to you?](image)

As can be seen, respondents from all three countries have positive sentiments toward Turkey, considering it as “a friendly state” (60.6% of respondents in Albania, 53% of respondents in Kosova and 27.7% of respondents in Macedonia). When we consider the number of Turkish respondents in Macedonia, the number of those who see Turkey as fatherland in Macedonia is natural (41.2%). If we add to these numbers the percentage of those who see this country and “big brother”, we can conclude that the perception on Turkey is positive.122

Another study confirms this picture. Seen in general, this study shows that Albanians, be they in Montenegro, Kosova, Macedonia or Albania, have sympathy towards Turkey. But mostly it can be observed in Kosova where such sympathy has grown from 83% to 96%. In Macedonia this percentage was 75% in 2008, 85% in 2009 and 70% in 2010.123

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122 Göç, Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler, p. 44.
123 Koha, 7 July, 2011.
Respondents from Macedonia have visited Turkey most (83%), followed by those from Albania (29.8%) and from Kosova (24.8%). Albanians visit Turkey for tourism mostly, while respondents from Macedonia have more reasons, like visiting their relations (32.3%), while those from Kosova and Albania are more active in business (20%). Respondents from Albania also visit Turkey for education (4%) while others don’t (0%).

Table 1. Which is the most beautiful city in Balkan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Macedonia</th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Kosova</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarajevo</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skopje</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirana</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cities are geographic spaces, memory and emotional emblems that draw people to themselves. In the question about the aesthetic aspect, which means about the most beautiful city, the most mentioned city (among Sarajevo, Tirana, Skopje, Belgrade, Sofia, Athens, Prizren, Ohrid, Prishtina, Thesalonika, Dubrovnik) is Istanbul (first in Albania, second in Kosova and third in Macedonia).

Communication means and sports constitute important components of information and identification in the global era. Our study also contains questions about these two spheres with the results that citizens of these three countries watch Turkish TV channels and Turkish soccer teams with these results: 95.1% of respondents from Macedonia, 38.7% of respondents from Albania and 61.2% of Kosovars says they watch Turkish TV channels.\(^\text{125}\)

\(^{124}\) Ibid., p. 46.
\(^{125}\) Göç, Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler, p. 53.
In sports, 81.8% of respondents from Macedonia, 56.3% of those from Albania and 44.6% of those from Kosova say they follow Turkish soccer teams. The most popular sport club in Macedonia and Albania is that founded by an Albanian (Ali Sami Yen, son of Sami Frasheri) Galatasaray, while in Kosova Fenerbahçe holds the place. Coming to music, 92.1% of respondents from Macedonia, 74.2% of those from Albania and 73.4% of those from Kosova say they listen to Turkish music. Most popular musicians are Tarkan (11.5% in Macedonia, 32% in Albania), Mustafa Sandal (18.1% in Albania, 11.8% in Kosova) and Ibrahim Tatlıses (34.8% in Kosova, 24% in Albania and 10.7% in Macedonia). It is interesting though, that singers of religious music like Mustafa Demirci and Avni Sami Ozer are known very little among Albanians.

**Table 2.** Views on Turkey’s future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Macedonia</th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Kosova</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wish a good future for Turkey</td>
<td>65.9 %</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be a part of EU</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed/modern country.</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not so fortunate/bright.</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table above shows that most of respondents wish Turkey a good future (65.9% of respondants from Macedonia, 54.3% of those from Albania and 32.5% of those from Kosova). Kosovars present the highest percentage of those who want to see Turkey in EU, with 31.3% as compared to 10% in Albania and 6.7% in Macedonia.

Albanians expect investments, jobs and material assistance from Turkey (49.1% in Albania, 40.5% in Kosova and 35.7% in Macedonia). Respondents from Macedonia, as compared to the other communities, have more expectances for investment in education (7%). Most expectances from Turkish cities in sister relationship to the local ones are entertained by citizens of Albania (64.5%) and Kosova (60.6%). Ataturk is most known by citizens of Macedonia (20.8% as compared to Sultan Mehmed the Liberator with 19.6%) then by those of Albania (11.8%) and Kosova (9.7%).

126 Göç, Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler, p. 58.
Conclusions

We can say that Albanian-Turkish relations are based on the friendship of nations. Turks have offered Albanians maximal help in their right struggle against despotism, violence and antihuman crimes. However, the pathologic anti-ottomanism and anti-turkism as well as the occidentalism as opposed to eastern values, present the picture of the actual state and spirit of the Albanian elite. One of the causes of the irrational hostility in some part of Albanian people, is that they have not written their own history books by considering the Ottoman sources. A history of Ottomans told in a more positive and non-confronting way would make Albanians feel closer to Turks. The general conclusions and recommendations deriving from the study are as follows:

- The Albanian people or more positively orientated towards Turkey and Turks in general than the intellectual elites.
- Albanians of Macedonia are more closely tied to the Turkish and Ottoman culture and language.
- Kosova appears of the Albanian community furthest to the Turkish cultural code.
- Sports and music play an important role today in promoting cultural contact of different entities.
- The discourse of the non-indoctrinated and non-ideological academics plays an important role in improving the image of the Ottoman and Turk among Albanian students. The process of purification of science, especially history, from ideology is necessary.
- Albanian offences against the Ottoman state are offences against themselves because Albanians have been part of this strong emperial structure.
• Students exchange is a good way to break stereotypes and cliches about the Ottoman state and Turkey.

• The Turkish state must pay more importance to the promotion of partnership and cooperation between both nations.

• Proactive diplomacy and principles of strategic depth must continue to be implemented in the vital Albanian space.
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• Ali PAJAZITI •


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ISLAM AS A GLOBAL PROVOCATION: INTEGRATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS FROM TARIQ RAMADAN’S PERSPECTIVE*

“The future of Europe—with a flourishing Muslim presence and an open European identity must be based on self-criticism, a permanent and open dialogue and a respect of diversities.”

Ingmar Karlsson

Abstract

Key words: Islam(ism), identity, cultural pluralism, universal values, integration, islamophobia

The worldview ideas of the Swiss-born of Egyptian origin Tariq Ramadan, who according to the “Time” magazine (2004) is one of the 100 most influential world thinkers and innovators of the 21st century, also called a Muslim Martin Luther, nowadays are very interesting and important in view of the fact of the current global changes and turbulences, when the world has entered a dangerous

new phase. The Islam, as one of the largest world religions whose number of adherents is increasing daily all over the world, is at the same time the most negatively viewed religious structure (islamophobia), especially after September 11, 2001. Europe and the Islam have been in contact ever since the 8th century, but the communication today is far more intensive (over 20 million Muslims live on the Old Continent). Today’s European Muslims are not only newcomers but natives; Euro-Islam converts who imbue special nuances to the social milieu. Some, like Tibi, discuss Euro-Islam, others like the xenophobes talk about Euroarabia and third ones use neologisms such as Londonistan (M. Phillips). Integration versus ghettoisation, Euro-Islam versus ghettoism, Islamisation of modernity versus modernization of the Islam are the main thesis of Ramadan, a university professor, who, in one of his academic discourses, discusses the subjects of belonging, identity, secularisation, Islam, universality, multiculturalism, integration and etc.

Islam as a global provocation:
Stigma (tisation) as hysterical paradigm

Islam is one of the major world religions, with the largest spreading percentage rate in universal frames, the only religion who managed to withstand the secularism, the modernism and what Gellner calls the unholy alliance of consumerist unbelievers. In the past hundred years, the hold of the Islam over the society and over men has certainly not diminished, but on the contrary, it seems to have increased. (Gellner, 2011:8) The Islam, in the past thirty years has transitioned from the private to the public sphere. Some sociologists call this process an Islamisation of the Muslims, holding Islamism as a political ideology whose manifestation is increasingly obvious in all the countries with Muslim population.
However, the representatives of this religion, apart from these trends, are faced with a large worldwide pursuit against them, especially after September 11, 2001, a date that changed the way Islam is perceived in the world history, a date that forced the former Secretary General of UN to say that the world has gone over the threshold of the 21st century through a fire door, that none of us would like to see. (Elkington, 2003) The year when the new millennium started brought a new global agenda: Islam-Muslims and terrorism. In this world ruled by the New World Order, where we witness a dozen of conflicts, the Islam and the Muslims are identified as the conflicting party, as the provocation for the globally accepted culture. (See: Ibrahimi, 2006). The ‘demonisation’ of the Islam i.e. the islamophobia that represents the Islam as a religion of force and terror is certainly helped by the ethnocentric and religiocentric prejudices and the focus on purely political benefits or pragmatism. The provocations towards the Muslim community are part of the global agenda, from the cartoons of the prophet Muhammad wrongfully portraying Islamic crucial components over the assaults and the burning of the Koran, to minaret ban, Anders Breivik case and etc.

The cultural memory of the modern man is full of politicized and negative mythical images of the Islam (the Orient) and everything it encompasses. It is the Islam issue that immediately entices reductive narration and description. The issue is identified with the oil embargo, the Taliban, Mullah and Mujahideen crisis, the plane hijackers, the suicide attacks of the kamikaze, the militant fundamentalists and etc. These labels can easily be traced on TV, in newspapers, on portals, web-pages and grafitti and so on. As a result of the whole, the Islam is treated as a problem. This problem is in the focus of the Occidental, the westerner of either European or American origin. (Kulenović, 2008, introduction) In general, the Western media often give the impression that the religiosity accompanied by violence, better known as fundamentalism is a purely Islamic phenomenon. Karen Armstrong would say:
“This is not the case. Fundamentalism is a global fact and has surfaced in every major faith in response to the problems of our modernity. There is fundamentalist Judaism, fundamentalist Christianity, fundamentalist Hinduism, fundamentalist Buddhism... This type of faith surfaced first in the Christian world in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century”. (Armstrong, 2002:164)

Nowadays, there is another, even more negative syntagm in use and that is the Islamic terrorism. Combining Islam to terrorism is an attempt to deprive the Islam of its ethical, cultural and even political legitimacy to speak in the name of the human rights and freedoms. (Filipović, 2002:15)

Filipovic says that the terror and the violence can not extrapolate from the originating society tissue, and locate on other external point and be assigned to only one religious or ideological source. Accordingly, there is no such thing as Islamic terrorism, but terrorism of particular (sub)groups or states, no matter what historical, ideological, philosophical or theological arguments or justifications are given. (Filipović, op.cit.:51)

Armstrong says that the Europeans find it difficult to communicate with their Muslim fellow citizens in a natural, equilibrate manner. During the antiracial protests in Germany, for instance, there were Turkish immigrants who got killed, while in France, the women who chose to wear a head scarf or hijab were treated abominably in the French press. In Britain there are many reactions when the Muslims ask for separate schools for their children, but there is no reaction when the Jews, the Catholics or the Quakers ask for the same. In general, the Muslims are treated as fifth columnists, saboteurs or groups that have some conspiracy against the European social environment.

The Muslims in the USA lead much better lives. There, the Muslim immigrants are well-educated and belong to the middle class. They work as doctors, academics, engineers, whereas in
Europe the Muslim community is part of the working class. (Armstrong, op.cit.)

We can justly state that all over the world, and particularly in the West, there is a stigmatised paradigm, a xenophobic and Islamophobic perception of Islam as the other, as some sort of foreign body.

Tariq Ramadan: Between philosophical and sociological discourse and theological and reformative apology

Tariq Ramadan, born on 26 August 1962 in Geneva is a Swiss academic, poet and writer, one of the major Islamic thinkers, and a former councilor of Tony Blair. (See: Laqueur, 2008:92-98) Contrary to the last century generation (Afghani, Rida, Abduh), Ramadan represents the new generation of Islamic reformists who advocate the exploration and application of the Islamic traditions and values within a modern pluralistic and multicultural context, calling on the adherents of this religion to embrace Western culture rather than reject it. The most famous Muslim intellectual from Europe, a professor of philosophy at the University of Geneva and a professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Fribourg, The Kroc Institute, the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, and Oxford University, is an author of over 20 books that elaborate important issues on reinterpretation and reforms within Islam itself and between the Islamic world and the rest of the world.

Professor Tariq Ramadan holds a Master in Philosophy and French Literature and a PhD in Arabian Language and Islamic studies from the University of Geneva. In Egypt, he attended a one-on-one intensive course in Classic Islamic Studies with private tutors.

He is also an author of 700 articles in collective books, academic reviews and magazines. Ramadan works as an expert in various commissions linked to the Brussels Parliament and is a member of several working groups and bodies concerned with Islam, such as Deutsches Orient Institute, British Council, Vienna Peace Summit, The Parliament of the World's Religions 2004 in Barcelona and Laïcité et Islam.

He is active both in the academic and wider circles with his lectures on theology, Islamic Law, applicative ethics, philosophy, social justice, economics, politics, interfaith and intercommunity dialogue. Ramadan is familiar with the polarizing sides, the European nihilism and Islamic theism, his doctorate dissertation is entitled *Nietzsche as a Historian of Philosophy*, but he has also studied the Islamic Law at the most famous Islamic university in the world al-Azhar. Apart from using his philosophical and sociological interpretative instrumentalism, he employs a theological approach, as well. In the field of theology he suggested his proposal for moratorium on stoning and the death penalty. Ramadan says that the *ulama* and the socially engaged Muslims should have an internal debate to prove that the injustices carried out under the religious guise are unacceptable. (Ramadan, 2005b). Within his theological analysis, he treats the concepts of Islamic faith (*iman*), the witness (*shahadah*), the perfection (*ihsan*), the Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the fundamentals of law (*usul-Al fiqh*), the scientific personal effort (*ijtihad*), the public interest (*maslaha*), the secondary questions (*furû’*) etc. He says that the application of law and justice is closely linked to the sources, the social, cultural, political and economic
context. Enforcing the Islamic law is flexible and open to changes. (Ramadan, 2011:83) It can be said that Ramadan is inclined to reforms but defends the Islamic doctrine and praxis.

Integration of the Muslims in the European Milieu: From ghetto-Islam to contextualized or Euro-Islam

There is no Western country, from Canada to Australia, by way of Sweden and the United States, where "the question of Islam" is not intensely debated. Not only populists but also extreme right-wing parties express concern over the new, problematic presence of the Islam and the Muslims. Similar reactions come from the traditional political parties, intellectuals and media. Islam is perceived as a non-Western religion and Muslims are targeted as second-class citizens: outsiders from within who still must prove their loyalty. (MAS, 2011)

With the increasing number of Muslims in the West127, the question about what it means to be a European Muslim is becoming increasingly important for the future of both the Muslims and the West itself. The crisis resulting from the Second World War and the necessity for consolidation of the Old Continent brought the first wave of economic immigrants, first the Asians (in Britain), the North Africans (in France) and the Turks (in Germany). The trend continued till the 1970s when the European economy demonstrated the first signs of weakness. After the 1980 the Muslim immigrants went through a mental change and they gradually started thinking

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127 Today in the EU countries there are between 15-25 million Muslims, a number higher than the number of Scandinavian protestants. Only in Germany there are over 3 million Turks, while in France there are between six or seven million Africans. Today in Europe, the natality rate of the Muslims is three times higher than that of the non-Muslim Europeans. It is estimated that in 30 years there will be around 60 million Muslims in Europe. Some xenophobic circles talk about Eurabia, Londonistan (M. Philips), Euro-Islamia (W. Lacquer), about changing the cultural and civil map of Europe. (Karlsson, 2002:363-364).
about building their future in Europe. After the presence of Muslim immigrants in the West for several decades, it is quite natural to notice tensions between the native Europeans and the Muslim newcomers.

Today, while the media are focused on radical Islam, Ramadan claims, a silent revolution is sweeping Islamic communities in the West, as Muslims actively seek ways to live in harmony with their faith within a Western context. (Ramadan, 2008)

Table 1. European Muslims in numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Muslim population</th>
<th>Total number of population</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>68.7 million</td>
<td>68 million</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>3.1 million</td>
<td>2.2 million</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>3.8 million</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>2.1 million</td>
<td>630,000</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5-6 million</td>
<td>62.3 million</td>
<td>8-9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>945,000</td>
<td>16.3 million</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>270,000</td>
<td>5.4 million</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia and Montenegro</td>
<td>405,000</td>
<td>8.1 million</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>310,800</td>
<td>7.4 million</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>339,000</td>
<td>8.2 million</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>0.4 million</td>
<td>10.3 million</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3 million</td>
<td>82.5 million</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>9 million</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1.6 million</td>
<td>58.8 million</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1 million</td>
<td>43.1 million</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>825,000</td>
<td>58.4 million</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm)

French, English, German, and American Muslims are reshaping their religion into one that is faithful to the principles of Islam, dressed in European and American cultures, and definitively rooted in Western societies. According to Ramadan, their goal is to create an independent Western Islam, anchored not in the traditions of Islamic countries but in the cultural reality of the West. He offers a fresh reading of Islamic sources, interpreting them for a Western context and demonstrating how a new understanding of universal
Islamic principles can open the door to integration into Western societies. Ramadan demonstrates how these principles can be put to practice, and how the Muslims can stay faithful to their principles while participating fully in the civic life of Western secular societies. Western Muslims and the Future of Islam offers a striking vision of a new Muslim Identity, one which rejects once and for all the idea that Islam must be defined in opposition to the West. (Oxford University Press, 2005) According to Ramadan there are four factors that create the atmosphere of the huntingtonian conflictual relations between the Muslims and the Western milieu:

1. Simplistic thoughts, “Muslims take our bread, they are to be blamed for the crisis.”
2. Binary vision: Us against them.
3. A victim mentality: “They colonise our state, we are victims of external aggression.”

To the first generations of Muslim immigrants, the Western cultural universe was very disturbing. It seemed that their customs and tastes did not correspond to their culture of origin; the new milieu hardly ever had any respect for the traditional rules of the Islamic morality. The prohibition of alcohol and interest (riba’) were not recognised by the Western culture and to them i.e. the Muslims, it seemed that everything was allowed in the name of the freedom. The first and natural reaction to this modern and post-modern libertinism was isolation of themselves as individuals, as families or as communities.

The story of Western Muslims is already different; they have succeeded in many different areas. The second, third and the next generations will have greater knowledge about their countries. The polls (like the Gallup poll) have demonstrated that the Western Muslims of today already feel at home in the Western hemisphere, they speak the corresponding language, respect the laws and gradually build a sense of belonging. On one hand, they are trying to
stay faithful to the basic principles of their religion, but on the other hand, they are developing a critical attitude towards some cultural peculiarities that their parents brought from their country of origin. They no longer feel conflicted between being a Muslim and a Westerner. (Ramadan, 2011) The new generations of European Muslims have left the geographical, social, cultural, political and intellectual ghetto. From day to day, they participate in debates over sports and music, national institutions, NGOs, political parties and media and etc. The names of Zinedine Zidane, Cem Ozdemir (The Green Party), Sami Yusuf and others are popular all over Europe. The signs of success are visible, and now, Ramadan claims, the integration works and the phase of post-integration has started.

According to Tariq Ramadan, Western Muslims will play a decisive role in the evolution of Islam worldwide. By reflecting on their faith, their principles and their identity within industrialized, secularized societies, they will become the key in the self-reflection the Muslim world must undertake regarding its relationship with the modern world. (Ramadan, 2005a)

There is a third generation of Muslims living today in the West, particularly in Europe. They are much more educated than the first and the second generation and they rejected their parents' meeker stance as their differentia specifica, and seek greater acceptance in the society. Sometimes, as a result of the religious revivalism, their efforts are ill-advised, as, for example, Dr. Kalim Siddiqui's call for a Muslim parliament in the United Kingdom in the early 1990s. (Armstrong, 176)

Ramadan's most commonly discussed topic is pluralism. In his book *The Quest for Meaning* he makes synthesis of religions, from Christianity to Islam, from secularists and believers and argues that there is an urgent need for a new philosophy of pluralism so we can coexist peacefully. He says that the positive coexistence calls for mutual familiarity and respect, time and patience. The Muslims in their new environments demand freedom to witness the God’s unity, spirituality, and respect for these convictions but also
mandatory facilities for honest practice of their religious duties. In return, they are required to obey the Constitution and the laws of the host country, (Ramadan, 2011:174-176) which they must do undoubtedly. Nowadays, the European Muslims (together with the host Muslim converts), according to Ramadan, are in their own country, they are European citizens, *Europeans and Muslims*.

In Ramadan’s opinion, the Muslims of Europe should fundamentally change their mental construct if they want to face the surrounding world successfully. In his opinion, the classical division of the world in the house of Islam (*Dar al-Islam*) and the house of war (*Dar al-Harb*), the concept house of agreement (*Dar al'Ahd*) have no origins in the Koran or the teachings of Prophet Muhammad. He believes that these qualifications are works of man, historical categories for describing the world, and today we need to develop a deeper analysis, a new vision within this context. For this purpose one should study the teachings of Islam. (Ramadan, 2011:193) Ramadan says that there are many cultures but one Islam and the Muslims should abandon their *victim mentality*. The Muslim is not responsible whether the others accept the Islam or not since the individual preferences of the heart depend on God's will. The primary aim of each Muslim who lives in the *Dar ash-Shahada*, a ‘space of testimony’ in a modern, secular and industrialized society is to keep one’s spiritual life, values and identity. If one country guarantees safety to the Muslims, and this is what the West does, then we should add another dimension to the Islamic message with a universal character: His duty is to testify through his life and work. Wherever one can utter the words *There is no other God than Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger* and practice his religious duties, then that person is at home. This concept is opposing the old concepts which enticed the Muslims to reactive attitudes and holding to their minimal rights as minorities. Nowadays, in the modern world the Muslims should remind the people around them of the true God, to work on values and ethics, justice and solidarity. (Ramadan, 2011:213) In times of strong globalization trends, when the world is turning into equal
(Friedman) and a global village (McLuhan) it is hard to refer to the concept of *Dar (house)* since the whole world is our home. The Muslims also live in homes all over the world, from Korea to Alaska, from South Africa to Finland.

**Diagram 1:** The old and the new world

| ðâr al-ḥarb | ðâr al-īsâm |

*The old dyadic perspective of the world: face-to-face*

*The new perspective of the world: centre-periphery*

Today it is inconceivable to put a border between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. In this era of globalisation the old dichotomy of the world should be replaced with the one in the centre (the West and its capitals in the south) and periphery (the other part of the planet). The Muslims who live in Europe are in the centre, in the head that designs the symbolic apparatus of westernization.

Nowadays, Ramadan’s thesis is acceptable to many thinkers such as Karlsson who says that the Muslims should definitely be accepted as European reality. They are no longer North African, Indo-Pakistani or Turkish Muslims but part of one European culture. Karlsson stands for creation of a liberal and tolerant Islamic community, and the way to it is through abandonment of the spiritual ghetto and ‘demonization’ of the Muslims. (Karlsson, 367-370). Because of his reformative discourse, in many Muslim countries Tariq Ramadan is regarded as a destructive element, and his teachings a forgery of the authentic Islam, whereas in some right-wing parties of the West he is considered a fundamentalist, extremist or an Islamic militant (*Sun*). One thing is clear; he sees things from a scientific perspective and tries to find a mutual language for improving the current climate of intercivilizational phobia, and the New World Disorder. He is on the same line with
Edward Said who says that we can no longer talk about clash of civilizations but *clash of ignorance(s).*
Conclusions and recommendations

Tariq Ramadan is defined as a philosopher of the competing Islamic and European thought, who believes in the fundamental change that embraces the young generations of European Muslims. He believes in creating a European Islam as much as there is already an Asian or African Islam. According to him, Muslims should stay away from the reactive and inconsiderate views; they should develop a feeling of self-confidence, based on deeper sense for responsibility. Wherever necessary they should promote good and equity within and through human brotherhood. They should not be allowed to live in Europe but outside of Europe or as Muslims without Islam. They should be part of Europe with their Islamic identity and spirituality. The European context is favourable because, according to Ramadan, there is peace and safety there and none of the European Constitutions is anti-Islamic per se, nor there is legal discrimination although incidents of prejudice and racism do happen. He believes that the integration is the only way for the future of the Muslim community on European ground. Surprisingly, the native European Muslims (Albanians, Bosniaks etc.) as a separate model of Islamic existence are not in Ramadan's focus. In the future, we suggest and hope that translation of Tariq Ramadan’s other books will find their way to the publishing houses in Macedonia(n).\footnote{His To be European Muslim is already published in Albanian by Logos-A (Skopje, 2011).} We believe that his range of work could immensely contribute to the understanding of the European Islam and creating a climate of dialogue and coexistence within our balkanised context.
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CAPITAL-DIVISION AND ETHNO-URBANIZATION IN MACEDONIAN WAY: CASE OF “SKOPJE 2014”*

“Skopje is an earthly representation of the heavenly garden”

Ibn Kemal (XVI-th cen.)

Macedonia is historically known as ‘Catena Mundi’ (The Clasp of the World) due to its favorable geographical position as a crossroad place of important routes, civilizations and religions. According to some analysts, the processes of globalization have enhanced a more aggressive search of identity in the frames of the Balkan peoples, who wish to exclude the other. In FYROM homo politicus from its independence till now is following the steps of homo balkanicus, nationalism, ethnicization, exclusivism, etc.

One of the most destructive components of nation-building in this society is VMRO-DPMNE government’s antiurban-project “Skopje 2014”, described by analysts as “architorture and entombment”. The project based on the concept for “the past”, “prehistorical”, “mythical”, “antiquisation” and “the folklore”, which costs around 200 million € is purely ethnic-Macedonian project, Slavic, and Orthodox and which is contradicted by a considerable

number of citizens, as it favors only one culture, one history, one religion, one nation, and ignores inheritance, tradition of the city and the whole societal reality. It uses architecture and sculpture to support the culture of the party in power and the monoethnization of the state.

This paper tries to analyse from the perspective of urban sociology the repercussions of this project for the lifespace, urban ecology, social cohesion, its disintegrative dimension, destructive aspects for coexistence and multicultural *geist*.

**Keywords:** antiquisation, ethno-urbanization, cultural exclusivism, urban ecology, urban pathology, anti-multiculturalism.

From post-Yugoslavian society to post-Ohrid one: Turbulences as destiny

The Republic of Macedonia is one the states that were born after the dissolution of ex-Yugoslavia, a process that caused interethnic and interreligious conflicts, social traumas, the “social tsunami” and a very pesimistic view as to the future of Balkan. Like most of Balkan countries, Macedonia was taken by macabre conflictuality as well. The year 2001 brought the state to the verge of dissolving but it was the international intervention and the Framework Agreement of Ohrid that opened a new page in the history of the country, that of passing from a monoethnic political society (1989, 1991) into a multiethnic, multicultural one. The Ohrid Agreement brought a change in the character of the state, a promotion of peaceful and harmonious development of the society by respecting the ethnic and religious interests of all RM (Republic of Macedonia) citizens, equal representation of all ethnicities in all social levels. This new order of the state we can call the “post-Ohrid Macedonia” or “Third Macedonia”. It was this spirit of Ohrid that cooled the passions down at the beginning of the new millenium.
when soteriologists are waiting for salvation whereas we had the crisis.

When we talk about transition societies or post-Yugoslavian ones, we generally imply those societies that still suffer from independence fevers, societies of permanent crisis and which are in search for the course towards real stability. In its natural structure, Macedonia is a multicultural, anthropologically polymorphous society but which has not found yet what is called the common ground that would enable the societal stabilization. The reality of today’s Macedonia is that of a divided society, of a society with “ethnicizing of all spheres of life” (Atanasov, 2003: 141) in which nationalism is “a constitutive element of political action and identity” (Warren, 1993: 17).129

Twenty years after its independence and ten years after the conflict Macedonia still remains a victim to micronationalisms, unsolved issues, of its identity contested by its three neighbors, of language and church, Macedonian-Albanian relations within the country etc. The name issue is particularly keeping the country in a social purgatory, rendering Euro-Atlantic integration impossible. As Mathew Branwasser says, “the ambitious redefinition of this small country’s identity as a particular Balkan expression of hypernationalism, accompanied by trumpeting about the antique roots of Macedonia (or Macedonians better - A.P.) generates a rise of anxiety in international dimensions regarding the growth of authoritarianism”.130

The patriotic program of the government finds no support among Albanians who make up 25% of population. Albanian political parties continuously propagate that the “antiquisation” of Macedonian identity alienates RM’s friends from EU. In a study carried in May 2010, 78% of respondents have expressed the

129 Ali Pajaziti, Culture and the Quality of Life: The Case of Macedonia, Logos-A, Skopje, 2011, p. 44.
opinion that Albanian-Macedonian relations are gravely impaired.\textsuperscript{131} This shows we are living in a state of pathological multiculturalism.\textsuperscript{132}

The International Crisis Group, a nongovernmental organization devoted to the solution of conflicts, in its report published in August 2011, says: “The growing Macedonian ethnic nationalism, the authoritarian management with the state by the PM and his party, the declining independence of press and courts, the growing divisions in education and the sluggard decentralization are threatening a multiethnic civil state as Macedonia could be.”

German eurodeputy Doris Pack, in a meeting with members of Foreign Policy Commission of the European Parliament, has drawn attention that nationalism is on rise in Macedonia and that the recent developments are dangerous for the country. Pack said she didn’t believe that Macedonia could get the date for starting membership negotiations with EU, especially after the last changes in Greece and that came out to be right. According to her, “such a situation is dangerous because Macedonia was really on a good path after the Ohrid Agreement, whereas now there are many signals about the growth of nationalism.” (NOA)\textsuperscript{133}

European Council’s 2011 report states that the interethnic relations have been charged and accompanied by some incidents. The “famous” Skopje 2014 project is also contested here: “The urban project ‘Skopje 2014’ has created interethnic tensions. Members of non-majority communities have complained about forgetfulness towards their historical culture.” There is a political and ethnic selection in the distribution of the means for rural development and those for the development of agriculture. EC’s report also points out that investments in projects of culture and

\begin{footnotesize} 
\textsuperscript{131} A1, May 19, 2010. 
\textsuperscript{132} Niezgoda, Marian et. al., \textit{Culture in Transition-Transition in Culture}, Jagiellonian University: Institute of Sociology, Krakow, 2009, p. 15. 
\textsuperscript{133} Koha, 19.11.2011. 
\end{footnotesize}
education are not carried equally in all communes and do not reflect the multiethnic composition of the country.\textsuperscript{134}

**Authentic Skopje, cohabitation and cultural pluralism as opposed to artificial Skopje**

The notorious austrian thinker and philosopher Ivan Illich, within the frame of his controversial discourse, says: “You can wipe a city out by cutting its breath.”\textsuperscript{135} The hermeneutics of this sentence makes us understand that cities are living organisms, with body and spirit, “with cells and tissues”, they are breathing beings, that even rebel when someone takes their power, they are entities that never forget (M. Armagan) but that can cease existing in case we don’t cultivate and culturalise them. Comte did also consider cities as “real organs”. Since the oldest cities (Byblos, Damascus, Jericho) to this day, together with the cities that have brought civilization, a particular culture has developed that distinguishes it from the rural geist, the rural way of life. This culture has been overcalled city culture or urban culture, shehirli culture\textsuperscript{136} until a few decades (in some Balkan cities), taking the form of urban life in daily use.

The city is a specific social and cultural form, a source of certain social relationships\textsuperscript{137}, a locus where the phenomenon of the growth of rationality is observed. The city is sociological and economical majesty, a technical, cultural and anthropological artefact. The city is a complex public space, a work of art.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item $^{135}$ Mustafa Armağan, Şehir Asla Unutmaz, İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1996, p. 15.
\item $^{137}$ Gjyldane Mulla, Sociologjia urbane, University of Prishtina, Prishtina, 2000, p. 101.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Cities change very fast today\textsuperscript{138}. The grow and widen by changing their form and structure. The epoch of modernity has rendered the city more dynamic, has saved it from being a victim to narrowness and clanism, has cosmopoliticized it and has made it more open to the world. Today is spoken about underground cities, undersea cities, cities that fly in the stratosphere, cities that walk on earth like monstrous metallic insects.\textsuperscript{139}

Unfortunately Balkan as an unlucky space of history offers views of destroyed cities, of suffered cities that marked the last century away with the horror they passed through. Sarajevo and Vukovar are examples of dead cities, damaged by human hand. These cities were once destroyed by explosion, whereas many cities of countries in transition are destroyed by implosion, masovic horizontal mobility towards the epicenter, unnatural migration of people looking for salvation in capitals (like Prishtina and Tirana). They are deformed by overpopulation, by rurbanization. They have not been projected for such a high number of inhabitants. They don’t have infrastructural capacities to face the phenomenon of the enormous growth of inhabitants, cars, houses...

Skopje is a settlement with dimensions of a global city, in which not only various cultures and ethnic identities meet but which also is a city of historical and civilizing paradigms. It’s a city with a notorious history of cohabitance and multiculturalism. In fact, it is Macedonia itself. A capital where roads cross, where interests of rulers clash and where many cultures, traditions and languages melt with each other.\textsuperscript{140} Some have called Skopje \textit{l’ombeliuco del mondo}, kernel of the world and Macedonia \textit{catena mundi}. An academic and politician of Turkey, Davutoglu (2010), described this country as the center and heart of the Balkan.

Together with Sarajevo, Skopje has one of the most beautiful bazaars in the Balkan. One can find there the \textit{qeleshe} of the Albanian,
Macedonian hat, the headscarf of the Muslim woman, Turkish music and baklava, the Torbesh garbanzo roasters and the Gipsy wagoner. “Deset kebapi ve molam!” (Ten kebabs please!), “Simit pogaçë”, “Buyrum, buyrum!”, “Sa janë mollat?” (How much the apples?), “Kumanovo, Kumanovo”... calls Allahu Ekber, Allahu Ekber, the sound of the bell of Saint Spas Church are part of the silhouette and live theatre of Skopje.

Tourists or travelers from abroad today, as soon as they enter Macedonia receive a SMS that says: “Welcome to the cradle of civilization!” a borrowing that was previously used for Egypt and Mesopotamia. The cultural mosaic called Macedonia, distinguished by “deep diversity” (Taylor, 1994) is a natural state. It is a “civilization corridor” where East and West meet. Skopje is a child of two parents! Today, in 2012, five decades after the catastrophal earthquake, Skopje has dignitarily changed from Kenzo Tange’s utopia for an open city towards a divided one. The organic and natural Skopje has been replaced by another, artificial one, the GMC Skopje (genetically modified city), harmful to the social health of its inhabitants. This city has passed through many periods, from Skupi of Titus Livi, first century B.C., the Ottoman Uskub (1392-1912), the Shkupi of 1912, Skoplje (between the two world wars), the Bulgarian Skopia of WW2 and the Skopje/Shkupi of the communism and transition periods. Once the pride of the Dardans, today the “stolen city” overcome by urban delirium and collective political neurosis, by the ideology of alexandrist nationalism (although nations did not exist in the time of Alexander and mobility and pluralism were dominant) that damaged the view of this pearl of the Balkan.

141 Shih: Дејан Буѓевац et. al., Крадат град, Темплум & Плоштад Слобода, Скопје, 2010.
“Skopje 2014” as a metaphor of irrationality: the second Berlin on stage

Yesterday (25 November 2011) I was fulfilling my routine media ritual, watching TV I saw that another grand project is being prepared for Macedonia, the “Macedonia 2014” to which the Liberal Democrat Party strongly reacted. The *homo politicus* of the party in power since 2006 VMRO-DPMNE, besides causing a tensioning of the situation that continues still, also generated *über-Mazedonische* identity projects like Skopje 2014, a step of the “Gruevskian trans” which creates permanent internal and external conflicts through the old policy of identity.\(^{142}\) In 2006, one year after the administrative decentralization, the newly elected populist and conservative party started enlivening frustrations after the conflict about identity and the pressure of Europeanization until this attitude took visual urban forms (Skopje 2014).\(^{143}\) This project follows the line of monolithic and monocentric identity of the old profile of European cities that now has been given up in the name of variety of scenes and meanings which offers not only cultural diversity but economic potential as well. For this reason, for economic reasons, advanced nations are giving up harsh identities today, as national economies can not survive in the epoch of uncompromising globalization.

Through this project Skopje has been divided into the right side Skopje (Macedonian) and left side Skopje (Albanian). Analyst Kim Mehmeti said about this that “somebody wants separation and walls”.\(^{144}\) According to him, “divided into its southern and northern parts, Skopje is a city where those who today consider themselves ethnic Macedonians build their nonexisting past while Albanians


\(^{144}\) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2kV3N7xtBo4
and others who live today in the city want to preserve by any means the present that is deeply rooted in the Illyrian past of the city.”

So we have to do with an emotive metaphysics and identities for daily political use, with a conjuncture of the shamanistic party in power. It seems that some people forget that identification in the city differs from that as part of the national corpus. Through this delirium tremens, Skopje is slowly becoming the ugliest city in Europe, an example of kitsch and tastelessness. Historical inferiority and primitive consciousness have turned the plaza into a place where the identity of the over-Macedonian or Macedonoid is being forged.

Critics from international instances continue to come while the search for identity is being intensified. The city center has become a hotchpotch of historical statues that do not correspond to each other (20 big and 100 small ones). Within a small radius visitors see Alexander the Great in bronze, Justinian, the Orthodox saints Cyril and Methodius from the 9th century, Tzar Samoil, Dame

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146 Gelevski, p. 29, 41.
147 Gelevski, p. 73.
148 Minister of Finances Zoran Stavrevski said in a declaration he made: “It’s about rebuilding our identity. We are trying to resurrect our identity lost during the communism”. (Mathew Brunwasser, “Concerns Grow About Authoritarianism in Macedonia”, The New York Times, October 13, 2011)
Gruev, Goce Dellcev and many others. There continues the construction of the National Theater, of Macedonian Struggle Museum, of State Archive, of Archaeological Museum, of Constitutional Court, of Prosecution, Financial Police, of the Eye Bridge... all in baroque style, together with the renewal of the facades of building at Macedonia Square. One of the buildings of this anti-urban project is the 22 meters high Arch of Triumph, called “the Arch of Misery” by an analyst and which according to surveys results to be the most hated object among those of “Skopje 2014” (R. Ramadani) and in the solemn inauguration of which the Albanian party in the government (BDI) and opposition parties did not take place. A citizen asked what victory will the Arch of Triumph celebrate? Another one who asked CNN to be kept anonymous said:

“Now I try to avoid the city square. It has become a theme park. Wherever you turn to you find new bronze statues and sculptures. It’s like they are trying to create a national identity. I can’t imagine another city that builds an Arch of Triumph in the 21-st century.”

Skopje has turned into a Luna Park of monuments, a history in miniature, a legoland, a neverland with a little antiquity, a little Rome, a little Paris, a little Vienna. “Expo 2014” has become a metaphor of total space and historicism, postmodern syntax, buffer zone, a space for creating the new identity.

149 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pOBK1vfjJwg
150 “The capital city gets a controversial facelift”, The Economist, August 26, 2011.
151 Catriona Davies, “Is FYROM’s capital being turned into a theme park”, CNN, October, 4, 2011
152 Bogdanovic, p. 62.
The well-known architect Miroslav Grchev says the project is an architectonic remain, a kitsch, an absurdity that is costing 300-400 million Euros.\footnote{Official declarations mention a expenditure of about 80 million Euros while critics say the final bill will be about 500 million Euros (http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/gallery/skopje-2014)}

The ex-PM of Macedonia Ljupco Georgievski said to a Bulgarian TV about Skopje 2014:

“The center of Skopje is similar to Disneyland or to Asterix park in Paris. The remaining part of Macedonia has no repaired road, no cultural manifestation. It is a peculiar conceptual cartoon in the capital of Republic of Macedonia.”\footnote{albeu.com/30.01.2012}

All these are efforts to make this a monoreligious, mononational country and to give it a monocultural connotation that is opposed to reality.

“The planned reconstruction of buildings representative to the Slavic period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1930's) will have to create connections to the European, Christian and
borgeous city, although Skopje has never been such, and deny its oriental and Muslim past.”

It is horrifying that all this strategy is realized arbitrarily, as pointed out by EU ambassador Fuere according to whom if Delchev and Karev were asked they would not want their statues built without the opinion of citizens. Another analyst sarcastically said that if it continues this way, RM will see the “Bruce Lee Phase”, referring to the case in Mostar where citizens could not agree about the sculptures to be erected and so decided for the representation of the well-known artist. Macedonization as a Slavian-Orthodox ideology is opening its wings like a true lucifer. It's a provocation and tendency to surround Albanians and Muslims in a ghetto and give the impression that Macedonia and the Church are one, that antiquity and Ottoman objects will now on represent Orthodoxy. The absurdity is also evident from the fact that an orthodox church and statues of Slavian heroes are planned to be built in places where they have never existed before.

Photo 5, 6. Sequences from Skopje 2014: Antiquity, baroque and history

155 Mijalkoviq & Urbanek, p. 11.
156 Alsat-M, 17 maj 2010.
157 Suad Misini (Rruga drejt..., Alsat-M, March 25, 2010)
158 Pajaziti, p. 41.
159 Mehmeti, p. 28.
One of the most famous Macedonia film directors, Slobodan Unkovski, talks about the general troubled situation in Skopje and the responsibility towards this common entity:

“After the unleashing of the spirit of hate against different thinking (articulated also in the procedures for Skopje 2014) and beating of students in the square, everything became allowed and possible. This was shown by all events, the pressure, exiling, imprisoning, killing, overlooking protesters, closing of media, despising of the parliament, the ruining of weak capacities of the country, calls for lynching, the nontransparent spending of our money, the development of individual unsecurity.”

The history of Skopje (of Macedonia to put it better, since this cancer has spread all over the country) will also mention the period under the occupation of aggressive nationalism. It says that we didn’t have to surrender Skopje to the baroque dragon without trying to protect it, without trying to save it from this primitive invasion of tastelessness and arbitrariness, dilettant architecture, pathetic symbolics and recomposed quasipatriotism.160

The international factor, from politicians to media, also has a dissapproving attitude towards this project. The Wall Street Journal has out the title “A Face-Lift in Macedonia” regarding Skopje 2014, criticizing Gruevski’s populism and pointing out that while boosting the national pride of Macedonians this urban project troubles the cultural and political controversies.161 Another analyst says the project causes quarrel not only within Macedonia but also abroad, with the neighbor countries (Greece considers the project as provocative, while Bulgaria has in its own cities some of the figures in the Skopje square). He holds that it is absurd to spend all this money while 1/3 of the population lives on the poverty line.162 In October, last year, New York Times threw a title to describe the

160 Utrinski Vesnik, 14.02.2012.
161 “The capital city gets a controversial facelift”, The Economist, August 26, 2011.
situation with us: “Worries on rise regarding authoritarism in Macedonia”.163 A Croatian portal described the celebration of the 20-th anniversary of independence around the “antique horseman” as “circus under Alexander’s horse”, comparing Gruevski to the post-Soviet dictators like Nazarbayev or Turkmenbashi and his speech to that of Chavez.164

The idea and utopia of the ideator of the post-earthquake (1963) Skopje, the Japanese Kenzo Tange, was an open, rational, egalitarian city (UN, 1963), a city of flexible bridges of the civilising apparatus,165 while buildings and walls that divide the capital into the right and left sides, into northern and southern parts are being erected reminding old Berlin as a symbol of divided and nonfunctional cities.

163 Brunwasser, op.cit.
164 http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/svijet/147500/Cirkus-pod-Aleksandrovim-konjem.htm
165 Mijallkoviq & Urbanek, p. 28.
Conclusions

Skopje is one of the most important historical, cultural and political centers of the Balkan. The reasonable citizens of RM nowadays is witnessing that the more the Macedonization of Skopje rises, the more grows the division of the city and of the society in general. The city square is not an area of relax anymore but of tension. Any non-Macedonian that passes there is overcome by feelings of indifference and disapproval towards the government that has divided the city into two, “ours” and “theirs”. This form of national urbanization, of ethno-urbanization with kitsch hardens the view of this city to which they want to give colors of baroque and classicism. We don’t believe in thesis that “Balkan is a ground where the seeds of multicultural states do not grow, that in these lands it is hard for politicians of the same ethnicity to agree, not to speak about those divided by language, religion and the past”, we believe in the positive human gene regardless of geography.

Skopje is a city that somebody is trying to strip off its past. At this moment there is the tendency to cleanse its Albanian and Islamic elements. With this course RM has no healthy future when its capital undergoes a breach, a process of interethnic division. Skopje is not Skopje if it has two view, the urban and the “rurban” one; one with lighting, tall buildings, halls and cultural objects, and the other a city of misery, of the ruins of Gazibaba, Serava and Dizhon, of tin neighborhoods and narrow streets, one of the municipalities with the highest population density in Europe (in Çair 18,400 residents live in one square kilometer).166 In this atmosphere Macedonians ever more rarely pass the Stone Bridge to visit the “Albanian” part of Skopje.167 This city overcalled

167 Mehmeti, p. 39.
“Skupimetropolis” (Marcelin Komes) is daily losing its identity from populism and imperial obsession that generates only clashes like those of March 2012. Sociologically and architecturally, the project of nationalist aesthetics results harmful to the cohesion of a multicultural society like RM. We suggest the civil society to be more active in correcting authoritarian policies, for the awareness of citizens about the repercussions of immature steps and of the reaction of extreme factors in order to preserve the multiculturalism of this society facing the pains of passing into the post-transitional phase.
Appendix

Two Faces of Skopje

Highly Urbanized City

Shanty Town
(Gazi Baba and Shuto Orizari)
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SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF OTTOMAN FOUNDATIONS’ SPIRIT IN CONTEMPORARY BALKANS: MACEDONIAN CONTEXT*

“It would be absurd to search for the Ottoman heritage in Balkans for Balkans is the very Ottoman treasury”.

Marija Todorova

Introduction

**Keywords:** waqf, solidarity, social cohesion, service of society, Ottoman legacy, modern foundations, Macedonia

Ottoman culture and civilizational perspective as an universal item, for more than five centuries was a dominant paradigm in Balkans and in the space of today’s socio-political area called Republic of Macedonia. This worldview based on service to

humanity contributed in society-building that has its impacts up to now throughout the Balkan Peninsula. Awqaf, i.e. vakıflar is one of the crucial components of Islamic system, and Ottoman rule, that contributed in creating sustainable development via social benevolence that generated solidarity and possibilities for low social stratus to cope with poverty and other social problems.

Based on this cultural heritage, Muslim community in Macedonia tries to continue in the way of integrativist and non-exclusivist approach, creating alternative institutions for mass benefit, like cultural, humanitarian, scientific foundations that are a different voice in a period of post-transitional society with high percentage of unemployment, moral crisis, intra-family turbulencies etc. In a time when some circles (especially elitist ones) express anti-Ottoman feelings, demos that still live in accordance with traditional modus vivendi, perpect the foundations as very important tools that distrubute not only material, but also spiritual and cultural support (public lectures, books, scholarships, courses etc.).

This paper offers an analytical approach for understanding the socio-cultural role of some foundations (Dauti Foundation, Renova Foundation, Dituria Foundation) and humanitarian and cultural organizations (el Hilal, Merhamet and Ensar) in Republic of Macedonia. It is supposed to derive perceptions on the mission and vision of those institutions, their traditional benevolent spirit and impact in everyday life of citizens.

The Waqf (islamic foundation):
Social activism and philanthropy as a mission

The Arabic word waqf (pl. awqaf), in the form vakëf or vakuf in Albanian, means retention, fulcrum, confinement, imprisonment, detention. The deepest meaning of this notion implies non-perishable property, the confinement of a certain property to
humanitarian purposes and forbidance of its usage for any other purpose (Kahf, 1). *Waqf* implies so the exclusion of a property from circulation, in order that its income be used for humanitarian and charity purposes (Sherif, 2007: 10). According to Sejid Sabik, the *waqf* in Islamic legislation implies the detention of the basis and the facilitation of the achievement of fruits; in other words, the detention of a property and the distribution of its profits in the path of Allah (Sabik, 2007: 386). The *waqf* implies a benefit that an individual (*waqeef*) voluntarily allocates from his property by donating it in the name of God with the purpose that its income and other effects serve to the people. The *waqf* property cannot be sold, inherited, donated or altered in any manner.

The idea of *waqf* is as old as humanity itself. It has an ancient past as an institution of social policy. According to some, the institution of *waqf* is encountered with the Hitites first. An inscription dating from the time of king Hatusilis (1290-1280 B.C.) tells about a person who has made an act of charity (Sherif, 2007: 8). *Waqf* is one of the important tools used by the social state. *Waqfs* are universal, global institutions. In many world states today, from USA to Europe, these institutions carry various social functions. (Güngör, 2012)

In the Islamic worldview, according to *fakihs* (islamic lawyers), the first *waqf* ever was the sacred building of Ka’bah in Mecca since the Qur’an itself (Al-Imran, 96) states that it is the first home, the first temple dedicated to the worship of God. Considered from the judicial perspective, the ownership of a *waqf* is positioned as distinguished from the founder of that *waqf*. Some jurists assert that Allah is the owner of that *waqf*.

According to the Islamic view, a *waqf* is an institution legitimized by God, considered as a way to get closer to Him and to earn His reward. It is narrated by Abu Hurayra that Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: “When a person dies, his deeds cease while only three things of his deeds go on: continuous charity, knowledge that is benefitted from and a devout child who prays for
him”. The Prophet himself and his companions have left mosques, lands, wells, gardens and animals as *waqf* (Sabik, 386-7).

This institution has always provided public benefits, in education, healthcare, water provision, opening of roads, on voluntary basis by the non-public sector. It has generally been considered as a religious and humanitarian disposition while also having a socio-economic and cultural role (Islahi, 2003:iii). The *waqf* constitutes the joint between human psychology and economy and social life (Güngör, 2012).

*Waqfs*, closely connected to the religious spirit, can be categorized according to the purpose, duties, function, character etc. A *waqf* might belong to successors or to a family, might be one of charity, humanitarian and profitable, temporary, movable or immovable, regular or irregular, evidenced, might belong to rulers or might be independent, partial etc. (Sherif, 2007: 28-41).

It might be said that *waqfs* are symbols of love for humanity, of solidarity and sharing in order to be alive after death. They are humanly acts in the name of God’s mercy, tools for reducing the social antagonism between the rich and the poor, between different social classes (Sherif, 2007:11-15).

Ottoman heritage and *awqaf* in Republic of Macedonia

Ottoman heritage and culture are an inseparable part of the Balkans cultural mosaic in general, the later being an inexhaustable multicultural treasury. The cultural rise with Islamic colours in Macedonia started somewhere in the late XIV-th century with the Ottoman flow. Sacral and profane buildings like mosques, *masjids*, *imarats*, *madrasas*, dervish lodges, inns, caravanserai, residences, bridges etc. were built in various cities like Skopje, Tetova, Manastir, Strumica, Struga etc. (Jahja, 2012: 56)
The *waqf* as institution under the Balkans sky is directly connected to the coming of Ottoman Turks and their territorial enhancement throughout the peninsula. *Waqf* has a crucial role in the daily life of the Ottoman Empire, in the overbuilding of cultural, educational, religious and spiritual, social, economic life. Ottoman *waqfs* were the motor power factor of development in various spheres of life as education, healthcare, social security, urbanization, communication etc.

The Balkans’ people who have been under the Ottoman rule for 500 years, have been influenced by this state in the social-cultural spectrum, in their traditions, habits, daily life, language, folklore, literature, political, economic and commercial views (Balkan Günlüğü-3).

Based on postulates that “everything created is temporary and only God is eternal. Whoever loves Him loves every creature”, that “the best of men is the most helpful to the people and the best property is that spent in the path of God,” the Ottomans created a civilization line that remains alive and influential after some hundreds of years, a segment that has influenced in the creation of the civilization of awqaf syntagm. The Ottoman gave this worldview to the Balkans as well as other geographic areas within which the *waqf* has been the basis for peace and social justice. (Balkan Günlüğü-1, 2012).

The Ottoman concept about the state was based on the “Devlet-i Ebed Müddet” (the enduring state) syntagma, a view that has given this feature to the *waqfs*. The rulers of the state have made everything possible for the services of a *waqf* to go on forever, to remain alive after their death through philanthropic acts. It was a constant phenomenon for the rich and trader Muslims to donate money or immovable properties to the good of cultural and economic development of the environment in which they lived.

Through centuries the fate of *waqf* has been closely tied to the development of places or political structures in which they have found life with rises and falls. The period of foundation and rise has
been followed by that of decline and indifference to continue with a new one: that of resurrection and prosperity. (Çizakça, 1998: 44). The waqf in Balkan is a by-product of the Islamic-Ottoman worldview, a heritage of Ottoman culture and civilization that at the time was a civilizing power. The first waqfs under this sky were founded in the XV-th or XVI-XVI-th century and played a positive role in the process of Ottoman power’s strengthening, enhancement and stabilization (Sherif, 7). Since then to the fall of this major state, the waqf has been an institution with impressing social activity and which was ruined by the post-Ottoman Serbian-Yugoslavian system for the purpose of weakening the Islamic factor.

During the Ottoman period, the waqf in Macedonia has passed through three historical phases. The first from the beginning to the end of the XV-th century; the second from the end of XV-th century to the middle of XVIII-th century and the last one from this century to the end of Ottoman rule when the waqf saw a drastic fall. According to Prof. F. Karčić, during the transformation of property relationships in the Yugoslavian society, this being a necessary condition for passing to the market economy, in the period after World War Two, the question of reprivatization, of the return of confiscated property. Surely, among these owners, religious communities, depraved of their property inherited through centuries, hold a special place (Karčić, 1991:267-272).

It can be easily said that from the Ottoman period, a symbolic part of the waqf has remained today. To say it more clearly, from a number of buildings like mosques, madrasa, inns, bridges, dervish lodges, imarat, zawiyah and many other movable and immovable properties left as waqf by various people, only a small part is in functioning state while the remaining part has been altered by political authorities or has been destroyed by time. (Bislimi, 2006: 60). According to a researcher, only 10% of the Ottoman objects are present today (Ibrahimgil, 2008). The most well-known vakeefs in Macedonia are Sungur Beg son of Abdullah, Is’haq Beg son of Yigit Pasha, Isa Beg son of Is’hak Beg, Kebir Mehmed Chalabi, Sinadudin
Yusuf Chalabi, Is’hak Chalabi etc. Charity buildings have been mostly in Skopje, Manastir, Ohrid, Tetova, Strumica etc. Evliya Chalabi notes that Skopje had a castle, 120 mosques and masjids, 2150 shops, a clocktower, nine imarats, 20 dervish lodges, one bezistan, many madrasas and seven hospitality houses. (from Chalabi, Hamzaoğlu, 2010: 281)

**Photo 1.** Altered waqf property: The Hamam of Daut Pasha turned into an art gallery (Skopje)

Since the departure of the Ottomans from these lands, the Muslim peoples have remained “orphans” of environments that have always tried to finish with the remaining Turks (that is, Muslims), sometimes by attacking their property, sometimes their honor and sometimes by attempting to eliminate them even physically. On the other hand, Muslims have tried by all means to protect their authentic presence, their religious, cultural and national values, sacrificing everything to this end. Awqaf as an element of Islamic worldview, have shrunk exeedingly during these hundred years to today. The different systems and regimes have taken waqf property by force. They have destroyed, nationalized it, have made it a state property etc. They have reasoned their
confiscations in the name of people, of agrarian reforms. In this manner some properties were put to the service of the state, some were distributed to public enterprises and some were given to physical persons who have altered them or made of them objects of economic transactions.

Photo 2, 3. The Cultural Center (Tetovë) build on the spot of the old mosque and the foundation stone of Philarmony on the spot of Ibn Pajko mosque

The mothering institution of *waqf* properties today is Islamic Religious Community (BFI). Earlier during the communist era, the very demand for the return of *waqf* was considered an illegal act, since according to the communist logic, property that was taken by law has been serving to the people so no discussion at all was accepted in this direction. After the fall of communism, a more liberal spirit appeared and IRC has even started the judicial-formal process for the return of these islamic properties, a process advancing by the pace of snails and against the law for denationalization (1998, 2000), that also is merciless on the *waqf*. This law states that properties of common interest are not to be given back. They shall be compensated in cases determined by law (Bislimi, 2007:95, 96). Worthy mentioning are also the double criterions that the state uses in returning the property of religious communities. The Macedonian Orthodox Church is privileged over
other communities. This also happens with the returning of nationalized properties. The Orthodox Church of Macedonia has long ago left the matter behind, while IRC has been given back only 15% (Halili, 2012:31).

Photo 4. The Ottoman clocktower in Manastir with a cross on top of it

Contemporary *awqaf* in the period of independent Macedonia: Foundations and charity organizations

In the Republic of Macedonia the *waqf* has physically undergone serious injuries while the spirit of Islamic solidarity has remained alive to this day. This is confirmed by the great number of foundations of humanitarian-cultural, charity organizations that act to the favor of human beings in general and of marginalized Muslims in particular. Today many societies function among us that offer religious, social, educative, urban services etc. This has a great weight when we consider the fact that the time we live in maybe has much civilization but people serving to people are rare.
Awqaf today are known under various names, as charitable trusts, foundations or non-profitable organizations with philanthropic, charity, educational, religious purposes and other activities that serve to the public interest, to the common good or to community. As part of the civil society they are also close to non-governmental organizations as implying organizations as a whole, societies and voluntary civil social institutions that constitute the basis of a functioning society, a multitude of institutional spaces, actors and forms that differ in their scale of formality, independence and power.

**Table:** Cronomological and quantitative map of non-profitable organizations in the Republic of Macedonia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Voluntary</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1138</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1535</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3077</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4203</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>6526</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3433</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>5769</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>10.700</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Sources: UNDP, 1999; МЦМС, 2003; Стојанова 2010:18)*

The idea of waqf is present in our lands through the concept of various humanitarian and cultural societies, through many foundations. However, one thing is to be stressed: that a waqf differs from a foundation in the way that the direction of a foundation has the right to sell foundations’s property, while endurance is stronger with waqfs (Kahf, 4). However, we hold the opinion that there is a certain organic and unbreakable affinity between waqf and institutions called today as foundations and cultural-humanitarian organizations. Both of them have purposes of solidarity, cohesion, interaction among people. In this aspect, it can be distinguished between the classical and modern waqf. To the first category we
might include the Islamic Religious Community as a legitimate inheriter of waqf properties remaining from the Ottoman period. IRC achieves its purposes through teaching and cultivating values, educative and scientific-cultural institutions, through any religious, cultural, scientific and socio-economic activity for the advancement of population.

Our target subjects in this study will be the second category: foundations and non-governmental organizations of traditional spirit, namely some of them like Dituria, Renova, Dauti foundations and el-Hilal, Merhamet and Ensar cultural and humanitarian organizations. It can be easily said that foundations are focused more in educational, cultural and scientific activity, without excluding humanitarianism while the seconds’ basic activity is helping the poor, the orphans, excluded social categories etc.

We’ll start our elaboration with Dituria Foundation168, which has a more educational spirit among foundations through scholarships, regular weekly discussions, scientific publications, the six-monthly scientific journal, international conferences etc. Its initiative activity was the encouragement of students – the professional scientific staff of the future – from some Balkan states to study abroad through assistance. Since 2006 this society started its de jure activity as well with its headquarter in Gostivar. The purpose of this foundation is expressed through the sentence: “Investment in knowledge and students is investment for eternity”.

The foundation aims to build a research and scientific institute and to open a university in the near future. The directing board of the foundation has been inspired by the idea of Sultan Fatih Mehmed who used to finance the ministry of education almost doubly more than the other ministries. To wazir’s question as why this investment needed when only 5% of students are successful, the Sultan replied: “It is worthy spending +95% of the budget for the sake of those 5% who become successful”.

168 Founder of Dituria Foundation is the philanthropist from Gostivar Husniriza Kukuli, who is working in the Slovak Republic. (www.dituria.org.mk)
Dituria Foundation every year finances 60 university students of various departments, 15 of master studies and 5 of doctorate studies, most of them studying abroad. The foundation also has the department of publications. Within 5 years 10 books by authors and 12 translations have been published. Weekly discussions have been continuing for seven years. The foundation publishes a bilingual (English – Albanian) magazine of scientific thought, named *Dituria* and another one for the youth under the same name. Activities include courses on foreign languages and mathematics. In 2011 the Dituria Foundation organized also the first international 5-days conference “Contemporary Trends in Philosophical Thought”. Participants to the conference were well-known names, university professors from different countries. For the second consecutive year, this institution organizes also a competition for high school students in spelling, monologue, figurative arts and music. Beside the cultural dimension, Dituria also helps the poor and the children of war martyrs of 2001. Dituria Foundation cooperates with a number of universities in and abroad, with non-governmental organizations etc. (Musai, 2011).

**Photo 5.** From the international conference of philosophy organized by Dituria Foundation, Mavrovë (2011).
Differently from the above-mentioned foundation, Renova Foundation is a branch of activity of the company of construction materials Renova (Tetova). The idea behind it goes back to the year 1992, while it was realized in 2005 and has the mission of developing the consciousness of the youth and the level of high education which would enable essential change to the social, cultural and spiritual situation of citizens and the catching of contemporary trends. The affirmation of positive values, moral orientation, realization of true educational, cultural, recreative, sportive projects, improvement of women’s status, avoidance of bad habits of the time through social activism based on religious values and Prophetic tradition are only some of the objectives of this institution. Renova has the motto that “People’s lord is that who mostly serves the people”. Actually this foundation distributes scholarships to 160 students. Besides it organizes campings, cooperates with international organizations (like el-Buhara from Malaysia). As humanitarian charity it offers monthly financial assistance to a number of societies in social and sanitarian danger, gives donations for the (re)construction of various buildings, supports institutions of education and healthcare, sponsors cultural and artistic manifestations, organizes sportive competitions for the retired people, supports the publication of texts and books, career projects (in cooperation with SEE University).

An activity similar to a *waqf* is also carried by Dauti Foundation, founded in 2011 by Dauti Commerce company. It aims at advancing the authentic social values, at lifting the level of social responsibility, protecting the society from deviant phenomenon, supporting public lectures, trainings, seminars, workshops and debates with students, supporting the publication of various books and magazines, rewarding the best education workers and students, helping schools with tools and other activities connected to the educational process. Dauti Foundation does not forget the poor as well. For this, they have foreseen help in food, in construction materials, medicinal assistance and other forms of help for endangered social cases. Besides, Dauti Foundation also aims at
training staff of companies, organizing round tables with businessmen, seminars, discussions, business forums etc.

The second category of our analysis includes cultural-humanitarian organizations. The most well-known Islamic charity society in RM is Humanitarian and Cultural Organization el-Hilal (1991), founded by voluntary activists whose mission was the softening of transition’s consequences, the idea of humanity based on the religious-national traditions that says that “man always needs man”. This organization deems itself as a honoured successor of charity and cultural societies that have acted in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, like Merhamet, Shefqat and Hidayet (Ahmeti, 2012:19). El-Hilal has had a great activity for two decades, helping refugees in the Yugoslavian crisis (Bosnia ’92-’95, Kosova 1999), helping the poor, orphans and students, distributing food during Ramadan, giving scholarships to students and helping them with monthly tickets, bags and school equipment), founding sacrifices, organizing blood donation etc. This organization does not forget activities in the sphere of culture, science and education, organizes scientific conferences, tribunes, round tables etc. el-Hilal cooperates with various national societies like MCMS, Soros Macedonia and international ones, like IGMG (Germany), IHH, Muslim Aid, SEE-ERA, European Muslim Union, CEI, CRS etc. It also communicates with political circles, as it was the case in 2009 with candidates for president, with those for head of municipalities, always aiming the public good.
One of the important entities that conduct activity close to the concept of *waqf* is also Cultural and Humanitarian Organization “Merhamet”. It was founded in 1997 as if by a feeling about the humanitarian catastrophes that happened to the people of Kosova in 1999 and to the people of Macedonia in 2001. Merhamet’s philosophy and idea is based on the principle of Islamic help to the needy. As an organization with six sectors (publication, information, humanitarian help, education, development and women’s department) it has branches in Skopje, Tetova, Kumanova, Struga, Gostivar, Dibër, Kërçovë and Prishtina. Only during the 2001 crisis Merhamet has offered help to 12,000 families affected by the war. This society also gives assistance to students in and abroad, distributes books (over 54,000 pieces) to schools, students and libraries, organizes courses, quizzes, etc.

The cultural and humanitarian society Ensar (Skopje), founded in 2002, has adopted as its mission the protection of spiritual and material values and culture, helping the poor, orphans and students in need, cultivating moral values. Ensar, that has strong ties with Turkey, organizes conferences, meetings, discussions and manages two dormitories for students, one for boys and one for girls. Ensar is particularly active in eastern Macedonia, where the Turkish-Islamic culture is very weakened and needs cultural and humanitarian
“injections” as tools of national and religious identity consolidation. Among other things, this organization also attributes importance to relivening the concept of the *esnaf* at Skopje bazaar, based on the tradition of cooperation, affinity and education on the line of the *esnaf* who has consideration for the environment and clients.

Societies and foundations acting in our country play a very important role in reducing social anomalies, in supporting groups in need, in developing the cultural life, in preserving the traditional and national spiritual values, in cultivating the generations. In short they constitute an important segment that helps the community in its own alternative ways, generating social cohesion and functionality, organic solidarity, interaction between social layers, affirming knowledge and science in interconnection with authentic values, creating a different psychology with the people, more positive for life and society.
Conclusions and recommendations

We can come to the conclusion that the *waqf* culture in Macedonia has been transformed into that of foundations and societies that by essence and mission carry an activity close to the Ottoman concept of *waqf*. *Waqfs* as an important brick of Islamic and Balkans culture, are part of a history and worldview that held as epicenter the humanitarian sense, charity and social support of the poor individual and society in general. The Ottomans created an inexhaustible source of development for culture, education, economy, whose tracks we still encounter today. In Balkans we find the *waqf* in its classical form as well as in the contemporary version: foundations and cultural-humanitarian organizations which, encouraged by the Ottoman-Islamic nucleus, have a positive effect in softening the cataclysmic situations in the country. They are active in charity, social assistance, feeding, financial assistance for home construction, in education and culture, various events like artistic exhibitions, promotions, tribunes, conferences, youth meetings, publications (books, magazines, booklets, CD, web sites) and in many other spheres as well. Their role is very desirable in a society with ¼ unemployment, with high vulnerability, with a population that faces crucial financial problems (Pajaziti, 2010:35).

We suggest that the many foundations and societies in Republic of Macedonia must:

- Cooperate more intensively among themselves and with international organizations.
- Specialize in different spheres, not to double their activity but each one to have its own priorities.
- Advertise their activities more in order to lift the curb of charities and the trust that donations go to the right destination.

169 The art of ebru has been actualized recently from this kind of organizations.
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DAVUTOĞLU AND THINKING DEPTH SERVING TO GLOBAL PEACE*

“Bookish character with a formidable knowledge in history!”

The Economist\textsuperscript{170}

"Davutoglu is one of the most brilliant intellectuals not just in Turkey but in the whole Muslim world as well. His intellectual CV is impressing".

Arbër Xhaferi

To talk about Davutoğlu\textsuperscript{171} means treating a scientific and diplomatic celebrity, intellectual, focusing on a "great man", dealing with the most important personality of Turkish diplomatic history, with a deep thinker who is the author of a practical and efficient geo-political doctrine, with a "planner" who aims to create a new world order based on universal standards and values, to establish the contours of a polycentric world, to build a dispassionate diplomacy; it means examining the author of the major Turkish strategy (\textit{Turkish grand strategy}) which constitutes "the ideological depth constant of the Turkish foreign policy,"\textsuperscript{172} the author of the


\textsuperscript{170} 21 October 2010

\textsuperscript{171} Regarding his scientific personality and opus see: Ali Pajaziti, \textit{Fjalor i sociologjisë}, Logos-A, Skopje, 2009, p. 105-106.

\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Novi Standard}, 26 June 2010.
book that is the foundation of Turkish foreign policy vision – which, more independent than ever, takes Ankara as its axis and not others – that made this country an actor and not an issue\textsuperscript{173}, a country that has power and the wind on its back\textsuperscript{174} and which is being represented ever more strongly in international institutions.\textsuperscript{175}

In addition I want to say that I consider Davutoğlu, who has launched a new era in Turkish foreign policy and diplomacy, as a teacher of mine for the moment, for one day (i.e. a university lecture) I have been his "student", as a student of sociology and anthropology MA (1997). Since that scientific meeting Davutoğlu has "tied me to himself" as a distance learner, has made me his student for life, has made me constantly dependent his writings, books, interviews, statements. My first meeting with him as an external (guest) student from the group of economists, as far as I remember, made me interested on his article "Self-perception of Civilizations", and there was born the initiative for translating Davutoğlu's discourse, for conveying a different discourse on the perception of civilization, sociology and international relations, unlike the dialectical (Marxist) and dialogical (Morin) ones, much more flexible and constructive, a diplomatic discourse that "generates" security, peace and democracy and is among the initiators of the Alliance of Civilizations.\textsuperscript{176}

The renowned Turkish intellectual, thinker, scientist, the famous expert of international relations, the diplomat and Professor Ahmet Davutoğlu is the man who has reached global fame by his own creative ideas. Here is concrete evidence to the universality of the opinion of this scientist-diplomat. According to the prestigious U.S. magazine \textit{Foreign Policy}, he has managed to position himself

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{173} Ben Judah & Dimitar Bechev, "Turkey: An actor not an issue", http://www.ecfr.eu/blog/entry/turkey_an_actor_not_an_issue, seen on 1 March 2011.
\item \textsuperscript{174} Novi Standard, 4 February 2010.
\item \textsuperscript{175} Secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization (Ihsanoglu), NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Defence Policy and Planning (Dirioz), President of European Council's Parliamentary Assembly (Çavuşoğlu).
\item \textsuperscript{176} Launched by Erdogan and Zapatero in 2005 with UN's support.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
among the ten most influential thinkers in the world according to the second annual list of *Top 100 Global Thinkers*, as the seventh, ahead of Kissinger (25), Paul Krugman (26), Fareed Zakaria (27), Thomas Friedman (33), Jacques Attali (47) etc. This magazine sees 2010 as a crucial year when the signs of the rise of "the rest of the world" (rise of the rest) were seen, through accelerated economic growth of China and the diplomatic rise of Turkey and Brazil. 177

As a good connoisseur of social sciences in general and psychology among them, Davutoğlu, so fascinatingly uses the self and ego (self-perception), taking it on the sociological level, on nation-building and state-building (state-building: superstates, large states, regional powers and small states), and does not stop there, but passes on global dimensions, in a macro concept of civilizations. The globally recognized expert in the field of international relations, history of political thought and political philosophy shows a multidimensional approach in this work to and civilizations and their worldviews (*Weltanschauung*), by dealing with how they see the truth, how they perceive themselves and the other / otherness and what stance they take vis-à-vis other cultures and civilizations.

Speaking of civilizational self-perception and awareness he offers five kinds of perceptive typology:

1. Strong and severe civilizational self-perception: The Aryan self-perception of the Indian civilization, which constitutes the basis to the exclusionary system of the castes.

2. Strong and flexible civilizational self-perception: Two examples of this self-perception we find in the eclectic civilizational basin formed under the political power of Alexander the Great and in the different forms of Islamic civilization displayed under Abbasid, Andalusian, Ottoman and Indian axis.

177 http://www.foreignpolicy.com/2010globalthinkers, seen on 28 December 2011
3. Strong and local civilizational self-perception: The traditional self-perception of the Chinese who considers his country to be the center of the universe. China's traditional name Zhongguo that means "Central Kingdom" testifies to this.

4. Poor and harsh civilizational self-perception: A *par exellance* example is the Mongolian self-perception displayed by Genghis Khan, who by gathering all nomadic elements under one political authority, blew like a hurricane or tornado over all the basins of ancient civilizations.

5. Poor and flexible civilizational self-perception: It is based on a simple and "bare" worldview with no universal claims. We find examples of this self-perception among natives of America, Africa and Australian.¹⁷⁸

He also elaborates phrases *homo islamicus* and *homo occidentalis oeconomicus axiomaticus* and examines west-centrism (West & Rest), the issue of *mission civilisatrice*, and that of one-line or linear flow of history. He has been among the first to challenge the distinguished names of global theoretical science and policy-making like Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington who offer endist, confrontational-conflictual and armageddonian-cataclysmic paradigms. Let's just recall the following phrase in an article by Davutoğlu where he says that the Bosnian crisis is the *end of the "end of history"*¹⁷⁹ raising his voice as a deep analyst against the voices of philosophers who end history. So history has not ended, there's no endism. The author rejects Fukuyama by claiming that the human searching process has not ended. The most vivid proof of this is the revival of local values in a form of settling the accounts with the global superficiality, giving meaning to areas of ontological freedom and confidence that represent ancient requirements of


man. He calls to the so-called normalization of history process. He stresses the importance of eliminating Cold War and colonial abnormalities. Fukuyama says that history has ended, while Davutoğlu claims that history has started, having been in an unnatural state during its preliminary period that should be normalized.\textsuperscript{180}

He criticizes Huntington’s concept of the clash of civilizations as a mental parameter that directly represents strategic recommendations to United States against the others, which creates a climate of anti-Americanism (remember the book by Ziauddin Sardar and Merrylin Wyn Davies, \textit{Why Do People Hate America?}) and antiglobalism, of post-Americanism (Fareed Zakaria, \textit{The Post-American World}), a climate against the Pax Americana as a paradigm of our time. Huntington’s dealing that shows the cultural or civilizational revival of non-western basins as a strategic threat and recommends that western strategists should manipulate civilizational contradictions among the basins in question, was not only subjected to serious reactions by non-western civilizations, especially by the Islamic and Chinese civilizations, but at the same time it raised many serious doubts among the Western elite and builders who felt the dangers of a categorical differentiation as the West-Rest\textsuperscript{181}. According to Davutoğlu “confrontational categorizations based on provoking civilizational differences like West against Islam and West against the others cannot in any way contribute to global peace and security, nor to the re-adjustment process of the international system. Erroneous strategic calculations based on confrontational categorizations will continue to be the main obstacle to global peace. Colonial ambitions and anti-colonial feelings of the last century could occur again with such strategic misuse of civilizational differences and all this will harm the west in general and USA in particular.”\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{181} Davutoglu, \textit{Thellësia strategijike}, p 16.
\textsuperscript{182} Davutoglu, “The Clash Of Interests: An Explanation Of The World (Dis)Order".
Davutoğlu is a thinker who through "proactive policy and multidimensional international policy" (Keyman, 2009), instead of the clash of civilizations and conflict, offers the world a message of understanding, coexistence and dialogue as indispensable alternatives. Unlike dogmatic strategists he is an impartial analyst and interpreter of the world in crisis we are living in, a supporter of constructive policies for a functional globe despite global conflictuality apologists. He works for realizing in the micro plan, as well as in the macro plan, his mission of creating a positive political climate. He is not an antiglobalist but an alter-globalist, as he says: a different world is possible. And he tries to realize it by activism in hot areas as well as by soccer diplomacy (Gül in Armenia for the Turkey-Armenia football match in 2008).

He also deals with the issue of the Muslim world and concludes that this inferior, colonized, confused world as a peripheral element of world politics, “which has lost its status as a determining civilizational power can regain this status on the basis of time’s circularity. This would require a renewal of Islamic civilizational parameters and values rather than a withdrawal of them in favor of adopting Western ones.” According to him, the Muslim world could create a new civilizational vitality, if the intellectual, economic and political elites could reformulate the stability of the historical wealth of Islamic civilization for achieving an efficient activation in the social, economic and political arena.

For the Albanian reader Davutoğlu is a familiar name. His works Self-perception of Civilizations, The Global Crisis and Civilizational Transformation and the Muslim World have been read with delight for some time now by our scholars, especially by those who want to look at things through a multidimensional approach and not only from a egocentric illusion or from the position of idola specus (idol of the cave). His ideas have found resonance and have

183 Kerem Öktem,, “New Islamic actors after the Wahhabi intermezzo: Turkey’s return to the Muslim Balkans”, European Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 2010, p. 25.
encouraged the local intellectual circle as well (A. Xhaferi, T. Arifi, S. Pendarovski etc.).

We have gathered here tonight to promote the most voluminous and popular work of the author, *Strategic Depth: The International Position of Turkey* (2001), whose nucleus in my opinion is to be found in the *Self-perception of Civilizations*. Through the doctrine of "strategic depth", revealed in detail in the work bearing the same title which was named by Graham E. Fuller as the most detailed systematic vision ever drawn about Turkey’s strategic position, and was called "the Bible of modern Turkey"\(^{185}\) by a Serbian diplomat and scholar (D. Tanasković), Davutoğlu has brought a new spirit in Turkey’s relations with the outside world. In this work, which has seen 43 publications in Turkish\(^{186}\), Davutoğlu foresees that Turkey, from a *marginal state* has the capacity to become a *central state* and finally into a *global player* or global power. According to him, Turkey has the *geographical and historical depth* as a European, Balkan, Mediterranean, Asian, Middle Eastern, Caucasian, Black Sea state that also has an imperial historical background (as heir to the Ottoman State) and it includes a mix of various elements of the spaces mentioned above, which meet under the roof of the modern Turkish state.\(^{187}\)

![Illustration: Davutoğlu's proactivism in various international institutions](image)

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185 *Novi Standard*, 26 June 2010.
186 Translated also into Arabic, Albanian, Persian and Greek.
This doctrine based on Davutoğlu’s innovative approach on geopolitics is grounded on these principles:

a) Security for all,
b) Dialogue as the primary way to resolve the crisis,
c) Economic (inter)dependence,
d) Cultural coexistence and pluralism.

It is interesting to note that some experts oppose thinkers who describe this doctrine as an Ottoman or neo-Ottoman challenge, as neo-Ottomanism, holding that the doctrine in question contains a vision that transcends the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and extends the historical ties and Turkish interests to Asia, Africa and the West. According to Davutoğlu Turkey cannot be compared with national states formed in the twentieth century; its position can only be compared with the position of former empires such as England, France, Germany, Russia, China, Japan etc. According to him, its geographical depth is part of the historical depth because the position of Turkey makes it a state of many geostrategic areas the same time. According to Davutoğlu Turkey also holds quite an important place in “East-West, North-South tensions. Seen from the East it is an outgrowth of the West, while from the West it appears as an extension of the East”. As the basic principles of this doctrine emerge: balance between security and freedom, zero problems with neighbors, development of good relations with close and far regions, multidimensional diplomacy, rhythmic diplomacy and stronger representation in international organizations. In this regard have Turkey’s relations with NATO, OSCE, OIC, the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation, the Economic Cooperation Organization, the G-8, D-20 etc. been analyzed on the plane of this doctrine. The book also includes reflections of strategic depth doctrine on marine basins, effective water policy in the Black Sea, Eastern Mediterranean, Aegean, Caspian Basin, in Cyprus, in the straits, in the Indian Basin and in the Persian Gulf. It also deals with the intercontinental strategy of Turkish foreign policy - based on the
doctrine of strategic depth - regarding Europe, Asia and Africa and plans and strategies towards regions of mutual intercontinental influence.

This doctrine of the "Turkish Kissinger," besides the extraordinarily raised image all around the world (as the "moderate Islamic actor"), includes the Arab countries that for a century have squinted on Turkey while today they look at it as an example and leader of the Islamic world. This has brought economic benefits to Turkey like the growth of export and these developments have led to an expansion of relations in culture and other vital areas. The facts show that all these countries have interests in cooperating with one of the twenty largest economies in the world (foreseen to be 10-th by 2020), with a country that is growing its reputation day by day. \(^{188}\)

Let's get back to the title of my article for this promotion: Davutoğlu is truly *sui generis*, he is one who connects opposites, antipodes, and sometimes hardly compatible or incompatible paradigms: within a day he can meet with the Taliban and Obama, with Ahmadinejad and Bush (Obama), with Putin and with the Chechen leadership, with Tadić and Thaci or Bakir Izetbegović, until recently with Netanyahu and Abbas, with representatives of East Turkistan and Chinese leadership...

One thing that I regret and that worries me as knowledge seeker is that diplomacy is taking Davutoğlu from the field of science, a concerns he has also expressed to me in meetings that we have had. But in a recent TV interview, he replied to journalist's question about "what he'd recently read?" by saying that he had finished a literary book (*Iskender Pala, The Shah and the Sultan*), indicating that he is accumulating in order to distribute and what's

\(^{188}\) With GDP per capita 13392 $. Vestel is the biggest TV producer in Europe, THY is the fourth flight company in Europe, after British Airways, Lufthansa and Air France-KLM (oficially announced as the best for 2011), the fourth producer of cars, one of the five biggest world producers of furniture (*İstikbal*), of sweets (*Ülker*), 11 of 100 world's best hotels are in Turkey. [http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/8b1d3bac-00d8-11e0-aa29-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1DHc4grsg](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/8b1d3bac-00d8-11e0-aa29-00144feab49a.html#ixzz1DHc4grsg), seen on 15 February 2011.
more interesting, that he has no complex in reading texts by coeval colleagues, which a good part of us does not do for various whims. Impressing in this statement was the fact that he had read it in the plane during the round-trip to America due to the lack of time because of diplomatic traffic. The facts indicate that Davutoğlu is localist as well as globalist, he stands for “glocalism”, recognizing both the material values (civilization) as well as spiritual ones (culture); he is eclectic and stands for a symbiosis of values.

Strategic Depth - based on Özal’s neo-Ottoman policies and in Erbakan’s multidimensional diplomacy – has been dubbed as a “naive concept and radical thesis” by some analysts under the sky who criticize it for creating a "virtual Ottoman Empire" and seeing the Balkans as the center of world politics and not as a blind loop. A Turkey abstracted from the hinterland called Balkan, Middle East and Caucasus can have no influence at all in the international arena. This is why Balkan has been one of the most visited regions by Davutoğlu since 2009 when he was offered the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is the region where the pacifying concept is promoted. In the meanwhile Turkey’s economic and cultural activism in the region is not lacking too (TAV, THY, Ramstore, Acibadem Hospitals, Epoka University, IBU, colleges of Gülen movement, restoration of Ottoman monuments, the opening of Turkish cultural centers, etc.).

When we talk about this doctrine and the Albanian reality my dilemma is whether we and Albanian lands in general and Albania in particular could become a pivot country from a torn country in Balkan and implement the zero problems policy with our neighbors (against the phrase “surrounded by enemies on all sides”), whether we could increase our confidence in our cultural, historical, political, economic, scientific, etc. capabilities. We believe that it depends on a new intellectual spirit that knows how to make synthesis and eclecticism between time and space, between yesterday and today, who understands the totality of national values with which we can

189 TRT Haber, December 26, 2010.
compete in the 'postmodern “international sprint” and that of \( w^3 \) society. Only the qualitative human element can give geography and history new meanings and perspectives - Davutoğlu says. According to him, every society must enter the process of self-renewal, of rediscovering the cultural references, of reinstating the social and moral-ethical reflections and must avoid the false self. In this regard, we remind remember that the institutional “cultural terrorism” which attempts by any means to alienate Albanian being from its substantive components has to be avoided.

Logos-A publishing house, by its selection of weighty works, by shaking the Albanian erudition ground, aims to give the mind momentum to new horizons, to carry out in maximum the motto promoted on the occasion of the 20-year jubilee “being the subject of free thought”. We believe that this work will take its place in the annals of building the tower of major translations slip and will particularly enrich the Albanian academic field of international relations and diplomacy and that it will become the manual of every Albanian politician.

Thank you for your patience!

\[190\] *Thellësia strategjike*, p. 56.
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12. TRT Haber, 26 december 2010.


*Skopje,*

*January-March, 2011*
SOCIETY-BUILDING IN MEHMET AKIF ERSOY’S LITERARY OPUS*

Introduction

The history of humanity has seen major figures who with their views and vision have left deep traces in the courses and social development of a community, but it has also seen giants who have surpassed their geography and blood boundaries to become a heritage of humanity, a colossus of the human race. Such is Mehmed Akif (1873-1936), a monumental poet and thinker who has inspired the cause of a nation and a faith community (ummah), a giant of spirit, personality, character and morality, a great idealist and one of the “constellation of Albanian writers who gave major works to the Ottoman culture.”191 As a “child of catalyses”, one who has experienced the sadness of the disintegration of a mega-empire, Mehmed Akif was treated improperly for a period in Turkey and in other Ottoman lands for ideological reasons but he is noted in the Turkish and Albanian history as the man who knew to speak his word to his time. The need for his discourse is particularly evident in our time, when a serious national and worldwide Islamic crisis is going on. But that cataclysm made him more mature, driving him to search for the causes and solutions. He has experienced the

191 Mehmed Akif, Fletèt (Safahat), Logos-A, Skopje, 2009, Foreword.
frustration and deep sorrow of the collapse of ideals. We can say that his environment and the education he received have had a great influence in his development as a poet, as man and as a society-builder through poetic discourse. In his masterpiece Safahat he has eternalized the periods of Ottoman society he experienced.192

**Safahat: a sociological analysis and epos**

There is a consensus opinion that the magnum opus of Mehmed Akif is the poetic work "Leaves" (or "Periods"). This voluminous book of Akif is a true sociological epos, an alternative sociology expressed through poetic words but with thoroughly sociological analysis, with real dealings of genuine social engineering. “Dealing with sociology means having a dynamic spirit, dealing with social change, with developments of society, trying to understand, to interpret and describe the social sphere objectively”. Here it is what Akif exactly did. What the Pejani (Akif was from Peja, Kosovo by origin) makes is a biographical analysis; he examines the link between social manifestations, political events, living conditions etc. Knowing well the ethno-psychology of Ottoman society, he passes to social facts, in what he saw with a sociologist’s eyes, through the method nicknamed "eyes and ears"

... *hayal ile yoktur benim alışverişi*  
İnan ki her ne demişsem görüp de söylenmişim.  
(...with fancy nothing I have to do  
Believe me whatever I said I saw it)193

This work actually expresses his breath for dealing with "social diseases", shows his sensitivity and social opposition, which is best seen in his opposition to the regime of Abdulhamid II by demanding

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192 "On Prof. Dr. Suleyman Hayri Bolay and his thoughts about Mehmet Akif",  
193 Fletët, 320.
a system based on Islamic tradition and on solidarity and freedom.\textsuperscript{194} Ersoy is a social poet, he takes the subjects he deals with from social reality. He does not make \textit{art for art} but for his fatherland and his people. It seems it was his passion to tell all his experience through poetry. Akif is a poet who rejoices and weeps with the joy and tears of the people. \textit{Safahat} is a narrative on the state of Ottoman-Turkish-Islamic society between 1908-1923, in all its dimensions. Besides being the author of the Turkish national anthem and spiritual leaders of the Turkish Liberation War, he is also known as a Muslim intellectual, and Islamist poet, as the strongest and most prominent representative of the Islamist movement\textsuperscript{195} at the time when three forms of policy were competing (Yusuf Akçura: Islamism, Turkism and Ottomanism). At that time the economic, political and social defeat that Islamic communities suffered due to technological backwardness were the main topics of the intellectuals at that time. While a part of the "elite" stood for complete imitation of Western civilization and culture, the Islamists stood for the adoption of technology while preserving the loyalty to and genuine connection with Islamic sources and the tradition, arguing that the causes of backwardness were the deviance from authentic Islam and the misunderstanding of it\textsuperscript{196}. According to Mehmet Akif the word should explain the ideal, the substance which a people aims and strives for. \textit{Periods} are a reflection on the symbol of faith and rebeling will.\textsuperscript{197}

Expressed in Weber’s sociological terminology, Akif holds the idea of selective affinity by demonstrating the interdependence of an economic status, a political one and of a religious practice, which form a cultural (civilizational) complex that advances the various

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, \textit{Historija osmanske države i civilizacije – II}, IRGICA & Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2008, p. 383.
  \item Ezel Erverdi et.al. (ed.), \textit{Türkiye dil ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi}, Dergah Yayınları, vol. III, p. 75.
  \item Erverdi, p. 76.
\end{itemize}
socio-cultural spheres. He insisted on a "collective action" encouraging anyone who he saw as fit and capable to work in the way of service to the people and nation. He advocated permanent activity and social dynamism:

There’s not a moment for you to sit and rest
To walk you have, forsaking peace with what you had and will!

He appreciated the producing social actors (generative actors) who are encouragers of social change and promoters of cultural changes while they (re)define cultural norms.

He showed great respect for the elite and intellectuals, describing them as perfect figures, the hope of the nation, candles of education. Ersoy laments over Ibrahim Bey, one of the rare erudite and virtuous people raised from the pure soil of the East, pointing out that if this great man who knew the languages of the East in a literary level, who had correctly learned French and Russian, were not by nature a friend of simplicity and an enemy of fame, would not die in a hospital of the poor.

With your sunset the world in darkness dwells today
And those playful dawns are not to raise again!

... Why did you decline so soon, o star of the East
While this land perfection had yet to understand

In the meanwhile, he advocates an organic link between the elite and masses or popular crowds. He says that the crowd, with the masses it takes, brings down any violence and tyranny.

He is against cultural degeneration, against the replacement of traditional beliefs and behaviors with beliefs and behaviors of the dominant culture and against the injection of values, thoughts, beliefs and other social and cultural forms.

198 Ali Pajaziti, Fjalor i sociologjisë, Logos-A & UEJL, p. 20
199 Fletët, foreword.
200 Fletët, p. 172.
201 Fletët, p. 156.
202 Fletët, p. 158.
203 Fletët, p. 159.
204 Fletët, p. 171.
He was against anomie, Durkheim’s concept that has to do with social situations in which disorders of public awareness, absence, suspension or inefficiency of norms, laws, rules and social values occur, leading to disorganization and instability in society. He rejects social disorganization as a structural social condition of depravity and disorder, caused by rapid changes in institutions, norms and values of a social trunk, by the collapse of the pillars that hold a stable society. He is against laziness, which he connects with lost high values, with destroyed wealth and happiness. He describes this pathological condition in the following verses:

The neighborhood café is the killing element of the East
It’s exactly like those old swamps.
The poor late people is buried alive,
Its conscience quelled in that hole and then it dies...²⁰⁵

He wants to save the future generation from this state of social coma that the Ottoman society was going through at the time and says “Even if you put yourself in fire don’t you burn your son!” He is against social defeatism and desparation, being optimistic about positive changes that may occur in the future. He addresses the man of the time with this message:

No! Break off the chains to your determination first!
Don’t say: “It’s over now, no ending to resistance!”
Don’t step back, o people, don’t lose your faith!”²⁰⁶

I had faith and didn’t my determination falter he says.

Because for the truth to come out
Success quest is required, determination
And quest and determination success require
And determination cannot do without aim!

The poet praises patriotism, love for fatherland and the old generations:

Manhood and bravery used to flow instead of blood,
Instead of life, desire for death was in hearts.

²⁰⁵ Fletê, p. 211.
²⁰⁶ Fletê, p. 305.
The family as the smallest structure that has preserved its value throughout history is considered by Mehmed Akif sees as the core of every society, the space where social health, individual and collective satisfaction is materialized: *Family life, the most pleasant life in the world*; the education and formation of personality with the family must start: *Education must start from the family, my son!* He laments over the collapse of the family and degeneration of family values:

> “Otherwise, if God forbid family collapses  
> Not the strongest arms could raise it anymore!”

With a harsh language Akif has criticized those who try to make revolution in the family structure. According to him they will become desperate and dishonored.

Akif is a sworn enemy of ignorance. He had the opinion that the society cannot live without knowledge and culture. He ascribed importance to the imperatives of the century, youth and future. He was an enemy of poets and writers who lead their people and nations astray. He asked, “Why ignorant could not learn life education?” The son at least should become a man and not remain an ignorant! He stands for a society of knowledge and science, similarly to Comte wants a triumph over ignorance and conjecture. He calls the ignorant a deviant:

> Never can the ignorant to the learned be equal  
> Blind he is, the straight path unable to find!

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207 *Fletêt*, p. 212.  
208 *Fletêt*, p. 313.  
209 *Fletêt*, foreword.  
210 *Fletêt*, 139.  
211 *Fletêt*, 245.
The relation between value system and social issues: Religion, modernity, nationalism and morality

Religion is part of the human being as “incurable religious” (Šušnjić) and a “animal metaphysicum” (Schopenhauer). It can be said that Akif is a religio-centrist poet and in his corpus, speaking with Bellah’s words “religious symbols are seen as expressions of the irreducible reality, the expression of the particular reality”, and religion is seen as “the whole of symbolic forms and acts which bind man to the basic conditions of his existence”. Religion is one of the basic concepts which Akif deals with and has the highest consideration about. Religion, similar to Durkheim’s thought, is the source of all social institutions. Akif is against atheism which he calls a new religion, or a pseudoreligion (*For a new faith atheism humanity knows*) whose proliferation causes serious problems for individual lives as well as for social life. He criticizes Tevfik Fikret’s work *Tarihi Kadim* (Ancient History, 1905) as a “blasphemous treatise” which left deep impressions on the intellectuals and young people who read it at the time and which “plucked the faith from the hearts of babies!” He calls blasphemy as darkness. He says that “to break through with everything in the way of progress, the guide should be the quality of man’s spiritual nature,” that without it, the hope for salvation is in vain!

*Religion it is, the society that keeps;*

*No other bind except it!*

*O you people who each other embrace for Aid*

*What’s the bind that people keeps tied?*

*To your share this religion was;*

*And if it’s gone, gone your are!*
He connects religion to the value system, to society’s moral and ethical background and says that the main source of morality is devotion, dedication for and fear from the Creator:

*Neither culture, nor conscience keeps moral high
From fear of God virtue only stems.*

Mehmet Akif sees religion as social cement without which society would collapse, he considers it as a collective representation, as a social compass, and its misuse as a way toward the abyss. It is this consideration for religion that made him leave the translation of Quran to an al-Azhar scholar to burn it fearing that secular republican government of Turkey might impose it to the nation in their daily prayers. That was the religious and social conscience of a colossus like Akif.

Akif was a sworn moralist who regards morality and ethics as the substance of proper society-building. He complains about and looks for a loophole from the social deviations of the time as alcoholism, adultery, gambling, thinning of marriages...

*What’s else about poetry and youth, except for beer and adultery?*

*Wanderers: nobody a profession has, no moral too;*

*All philosophers are though nobody to school has gone!*218

*All kind of infections: fever, prostitution, drinking, gambling.*219

According to him, the nation can be saved only if it appraises and raises moral values while on the other hand weakening of the national spirit also weakens the morality: “There is only one real opportunity for salvation: To raise morality!” He considers virtues as qualities of faith while seeing disbelief as a sign of defeat, even for the most learned men: “*While virtuous people faith indicate, many knowledgeable from disbelief suffer defeat!*”220 He advocates the blending of the trio science, morality and technology: “It takes
science, technology and high moral”\textsuperscript{221} According to the expert of Akif’s work, M. Ertugrul Duzdag, the poet “had his beliefs raised on this social formula: Religion = patriotism + knowledge”\textsuperscript{222}

Ersoy appreciates much tradition and traditionalism too\textsuperscript{223}, rejects myth and mythology as “warped worldview” \textsuperscript{224}, linking the latter to superstitions and Pharaoh and pharaohian culture. He complaints why intellectuals understand religion wrongly and try to eliminate it while the people, leaving the true religion throw themselves into superstitions.\textsuperscript{225}

He is against the atomisation of society, against the state of lack of connectivity and unity with other members of society. He says that unity gives life and elevates, while division burns and kills (İttihad Yaşatır Yükseltir, Yakar Tefrika Öldürür).\textsuperscript{226} He prays to God to avoid the divisions that burden on the backs of the world Islamic community (ummah).

\textit{Remove the obstacle to unity}

\textit{O God, don’t let the umma from this division suffer}

\textit{For centuries going on, in desperation let it not!}\textsuperscript{227}

He criticizes the press of the time as sowers of division:

\textit{Newspapers of all kinds of titles, numberless}

\textit{The seed of division continuously sow.}\textsuperscript{228}

In his concept of modernity he excludes ideas for the overthrow of religio-n and morality, rather insisting on their spread. He laments why the Islamic society has remained alien to the science of yesterday, concerning himself much about the lack of science and technology as a cause of outrages and decline of the generation. He says:

\textsuperscript{221} Fletê, p. 526.
\textsuperscript{222} Fletê, foreword.
\textsuperscript{223} Erverdi (ed.) p. 73.
\textsuperscript{225} Fletê, foreword.
\textsuperscript{226} Fletê, foreword.
\textsuperscript{227} Fletê, p. 682.
\textsuperscript{228} Fletê, p. 278.
Poor people the strength of understanding have lost
Nobody with science deals, with technology;
Down is the name of industry, of commerce as well;
There's agriculture only, on methods of Prophet Adam!\textsuperscript{229}

He feels this situation with burning inside and shows the way out of such agony:

\begin{quote}
To the science of the West turn your face,
And your duty do, by night and day
The old knowledge of three centuries to gain together.
Unnumbered fountains on the ground of technology,
Drink of them and their waters bring to the fatherland.\textsuperscript{230}
\end{quote}

In this context Ersoy takes as example Russia, especially Japan, which has not been alienated, having received the technology while has maintaining its self-identity (Ehe evil coming as a fashion, decays at customs!)

Akif is against nationalistic feelings, which he calls “perversity”.\textsuperscript{231} He says: “I could not, I can not understand how the feelings to separate and fall apart got into your brain. Was the devil who put the idea of nationality in your mind? The idea of nationality is the earthquake that will collapse from the foundations the Islam that holds together in one nationality so many nationalities distinct from each other.”\textsuperscript{232} Is there splitting in Islam? The Prophet cursed the idea of nationalism\textsuperscript{233} and ethnic bigotry. In another place he says: Neither party madness we need, nor the plague of nationalism! \textsuperscript{234} In this context it should be mentioned that the translator into Albanian used in a negative context the word nationality that is a positive term, a natural condition of social groups and we think it should be translated as nationalism. It should be emphasized that Akif, like all people, has gone through an evolution of ideas so it is interesting that in poems of 1912 he presents the idea of nation as a state of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{229} Fletët, p. 357.
\textsuperscript{230} Fletët, p. 528.
\textsuperscript{231} Yusuf Hamzaoğlu, Balkan Türklüğü-I, Logos-A, Skopje, 2010, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{232} Fletët, p. 279.
\textsuperscript{233} Fletët, p. 302.
\textsuperscript{234} Fletët, p. 367.
\end{flushright}
social defect (Fromm)\textsuperscript{235}, while in the March of Independence\textsuperscript{236} he speaks about the star of his nation, of his star, his nation’s star only...

\begin{quote}
\textit{For you, for my nation there’ll be no decline!}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{My flag that freedom loves, in freedom has the right to live!}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{My nation that to God prostrates, in independence has the right to live!}
\end{quote}

However it should be noted that in the national anthem, Akif again links nationalism with religion, with adhân, with prayer, with God, the temple, the martyr, speaking so about a kind of religious nationalism. Some say that he makes a distinction between racism (\textit{kavmiyet}) which disintegrates state’s tissue and nation (\textit{milliyet})\textsuperscript{237} to which he ascribes positive features of society-building. He aims a community system in which its members behave and act according to feelings and thoughts in common, according to the “us” feeling (Tönnies). Besides with the plight of nation and the nation, he deals with the lethargy of the East, which was in a position inferior to the West (\textit{working West- lazy East}, “East today is far. In morality as well as technology!”, “Collapsed homes, ruined and finished states.”). Always sympathizing with the sufferings of his father’s land, he curses the crime committed against Muslims in the Balkans, its actors and perpetrators.\textsuperscript{238}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[235]{A state in which the greatest part of the members of a society have not achieved the aim of freedom and spontaneity, have not known their self and are in a state of collective alienation.}
\footnotetext[236]{Published in \textit{Sebilurreşhad}, vol. 18, n. 468, p. 305, February 17, 1921, Ankara.}
\footnotetext[237]{Okay & Düzdağ, ibid.}
\end{footnotes}
Conslusion(s)

The Safahat of Mehmet Akif Ersoy considered “the nightingale of Islam” and the symbol of Islamic thought of a period, is an interpreter of the past and the future and it will never lose its value because it has been written with spirit, is non-conformist and constructivist poetry. In this work, the author makes a sociology and anthropology of Islam, based on universal principles of humanity, knowledge and tolerance, aiming to create an harmony between society and divine teachings. He is a pioneer of organic social solidarity, of social equilibrium based on an Islamic modus vivendi.\(^{239}\) He is ummatist, anti-cesarist and anti-despotist. He is against depersonalization and desocialization. Akif’s poetic opus is a masterpiece that all those who do social engineering should keep it close, from politicians to members of the academic world, university teachers, scientists of various profiles, in particular literary men, sociologists and anthropologists, Islam experts and theologians. Reading this opus helps learning the history of a wider society and the way how social trends were perceived by an enlightened Albanian-Ottoman mind who offers a map and a social project upon which to build a functional society. It is misery people not to adopt a thinker as great as him, with anonymous names appearing in various books and websites of Albanian literature and no room for a giant as Akif, a major poet and social architect. We suggest scientific institutions to deal more with Akif’s work and to try to popularize his discourse.

\(^{239}\) Okay & Düzdağ, ibid.
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BOOK REVIEW (1)


Not only the compilation of a dictionary but its review, as well, means a specific responsibility. This is so because dictionaries are the starting point in particular fields. The specific moment of the work “Dictionary of Sociology” (833 pages) by Ali Pajaziti is the fact that it is the first main building stone of a relatively new building, as is for example the sociological building. What is more, this dictionary is written in a language not that much trained in sociology as is the Albanian language.

“Dictionary of Sociology” is not simply a book more in the nowadays sociological libraries, which unfortunately is not that rich. It represents the first dictionary of sociology in Albanian. And when
a work is a pioneer in its scientific fields, it is twice welcomed and valued. This is so, firstly because of its academic and scientific values, and secondly, as a result of the fact because the author was courageous enough to finish such an unusual intellectual work. Pajaziti does not give the scholars of social sciences, or his students or those who are interested a book to be read well only one time. He gives them a book to be kept on the table for all the times, a book that can not be used periodically, but constantly.

At least I have used this dictionary in that sense during the period I had to evaluate it. I read it in several ways. I read it from the position of a scientist who has dedicated his study to sociology for more than two decades, from the position of a compilator and a writer of university texts on this field, of a lecturer, of a sociology writer, as a debater in different debates and panels, as a person very much interested in the fields close to sociology etc. What comes as a result of all this experience I would like to direct to the reader: before you begin to do something that has to do with sociology and social sciences (in general), before you begin writing an article, essay, a lecture, a planning, a project etc, “go to dic”! as an Englishman would have said. Which means, “go and check the dictionary!”. More exactly go to the “Dictionary of Sociology” by Ali Pajaziti. There is always a chance for the reader to find an explanation, a thought or an idea, a reference, and at least an answer to a given problem. It is understood that everybody will find a starting point that will help you realize what you have begun to do. This is the distinctiveness of dictionaries, and our colleague has given us a real dictionary.

The value of this work becomes bigger as a result of the fact that it is not limited only on the etymology of the sociological word. In the “Dictionary of Sociology” has been given a basic lecture on every single word that is important, of every sociological concept. He does not only make a list, but he also gives an explanation. He illustrates with variants of usage, referring to the “inventor” author of the word or a specific sociological concept, as well as to the
specialized other users of the word. He has “declined” the sociological terms in different variants of usage.

The author has not been limited by only several basic concepts of sociology. He has not been limited only by its core. Pajaziti has followed a principle which Joan Scott and Gordon Marshall, co-authors of the “Oxford Dictionary of Sociology” (2005), in its introduction has given the following formulation:

*Sociology has a very clear theoretical core,
but an absolutely undefined perimeter.*

“Dictionary of Sociology” is a work that corresponds to a wide perimeter of sociology, which as any other science is in a ceaseless development.

What is more “Dictionary of Sociology” does not serve only the sociologist, the student of sociology or the one who is especially interested in the sociological knowledge. It also serves to the person who is interested in the sciences related to the sociology. In the Dictionary are given even the words with a very dense usage, and the basic concepts of political sciences, psychology, history, anthropology or their sub-branches.

As far as my knowledge about the life and work of the sociologists is concerned, I can say that the preparation of a dictionary of sociology has been a result of the great desire of the majority of them. But the preparation of a dictionary looks like a big company. Works like this are produced, as a rule, by huge groups of specialists, who are supported by real institutions. While on the other hand Mr. Pajaziti has prepared by himself such an important sociological work. And this is not little.

But, on the other hand, in a good dictionary on a particular language, for example, it is a precondition that the author or the authors involved in building it, to know the language they are working on as a mother tongue. In this case Ali Pajaziti has written a work in a single sociological language, which has turned into his
“mother tongue”. This is a result of him being completed solidly as a sociologist.

It has become a habit that the readers of a work get acquainted with the critical evaluation of its first readers, as are for instance its reviewers. But instead of making a concrete remark, I would like to remind the readers that the author like everyone, who undergoes such academic adventures, follows a principle which Daniel Johnson has formulated in this way:

*Dictionaries are like clocks: even the best ones go a little ahead or backward, but it is understood that even the worst one gives you orientation.*

I am convinced that Pajaziti has not produced “a bad work that gives you orientation”, but only a good work. He deserves our congratulation. He deserves it for his extraordinary effort, for all the perspiration and time concentrated on it, for the clarity of the material which it contains, for the professional language and terminology, for the unity of this work, called “Dictionary of Sociology”.

For years I have referred to the dictionaries of Zingarelly, for instance. They are very famous. But I was impressed by the fact that in one of his editions published in 2005, which came as a result of publishing and republishing his editions, the following definition was presented:

*The compilation of a dictionary is a very difficult and delicate work. Experience shows that errors and inaccuracies can be limited, but they can not be avoided completely; we would like to thank from the very beginning the reader that will turn our attention toward them (this is my own underline, L. S.).*

So in the end, there is nothing else to say except to congratulate the author of this dictionary, the sociologist Ali Pajaziti for his work. I think that the sponsoring of this publication will be a great respect for every institution.
With the passing of time, sociology will be rather developed. It will continue to speak in Albanian, as well. And I am convinced that this dictionary will remain a referential point, in a generalized name: “Dictionary Pajaziti”.

Lekë Sokoli
The Head of the Institute of Sociology, Tiranë;
Chairman of the magazine “Studime sociale”
(Social Studies)
Tiranë, 31 October 2008

I accepted with pleasure the friendly offer to express my opinion on the “Dictionary of Sociology”. This Dictionary has been written by Mr. Ali Pajaziti, a PhD on sociology and a professor in the South East European University. Dr. Pajaziti, who is a colleague of mine, is also a member of the Institute of Sociology, which I have had the honor to chair since the beginning of its work.

A "Dictionary of Sociology" of this kind, with a very high level and dimensions, is without any doubt a newness for the whole “Albanian world”. What is more, it fills a huge gap which has been felt for a longer period of time. This is a special merit of Dr. Pajaziti which I consider to be of a high priority because he dedicated himself to such a voluminous work, which consists of more than 1500 articles and 800 computer pages. In the Preface of the “Dictionary of Sociology”, with a great modesty which makes the author’s work more valuable, has defined his work as a “minimum contribution”, but on the other hand, I would have defined it “a big contribution”. This contribution, what is more, opens the way to speak about a continuity of having a history of ours even in this field of sociological knowledge.

This author has faced the very complex task to select from all the very rich “glossary” of the sociological corpus, to select the most important terms in order to orient and move in the “map” of the phenomena and the sociological laws. Not forgetting to take into consideration the world achievements in the field of sociology, synthesized in the most prestigious dictionaries of the countries with outstanding traditions, and consulting more than 500 literary sources of the classic and modern literature on sociology. Thus, Mr. Pajaziti has formulated in a synthetic way the meaning of more than
fifteen hundred terms, which can freely be called columns of the “Dictionary”. This enables the people with different ideas, convictions and different cultural level, to understand in the same way the basic terms from the corpus of the sociological sciences. Thanking this characteristic, the “Dictionary of Sociology”, which can serve as a “book for everyone”, will help a great deal in the dialogue among people, which is so much needed in a democratic society, where we want to live with more space and more usefulness.

“Dictionary of Sociology” by Dr. Pajaziti has a status of a good scientific level, even though the author does not forget the need of presenting the columns in a simple manner so that they would be understood for a larger number of readers. I would like to stress the fact that I have found in this dictionary the most important achievements in the science of sociology, not in what the author calls “neologisms”, but also through terms which are well-known and standard in the origin of sociology. It goes without saying that this work can not cover the knowledge and the specific publications of different fields of sociology, but can very well serve as an encouragement for beginning even from the debating nature of the big number of subjects which are treated in it.

Being careful in this way in his “Dictionary of Sociology”, the author has given a wide field of use. This is so because you can find in it in a very satisfactory way all the possible sociologic information and knowledge. It helps not only the specialist of sociology but also the ordinary reader the opportunity to increase the cultural level, and be able to understand and fight for the political and social rights and freedom, for oneself as well as for the social group, or the ethnical group he belongs.

First of all this work of Dr. Pajaziti has to be considered as a contribution, which can widen the chances of cooperation among the sociologists on one hand, and other scholars of political and social sciences in the Albanian regions and those living abroad, on the other hand. It is also very important to say that Mr. Pajaziti
opened the “path” for its further enrichment. What I would like to say is the initiative to give this “Dictionary of Sociology” a national color, which in the future will be enriched and will enable in the following editions to include the new Albanian contributions in the field of the sociological studies. I am more then positive that with the increase of the new conditions as well as with the increase of the number of the sociologists specialized on important sociological fields, it is expected to have an enormous development to surpass the backwardness of the inheritance when sociology was considered a “capitalist science”!

As a conclusion, I would like on the behalf of the Academic Board of the Institute of Sociology to congratulate and thank Dr. Ali Pajaziti for his useful work that he is offering to the Albanian reader wherever he is, as well as for his contribution for the enrichment of the scientific and bibliographic fund of the Institute, where he will continue to be an active and respected member.

Servet Pëllumbi
The Chairman of the Institute of Sociology
Tirana, 10. 09. 2008
# Index

## A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam Przeworski</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghani</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amin Maluf</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>architorture</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awqaf</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baby Boom</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkanian syndrome</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellah</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Blushi</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertrand Russel</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bologna Declaration</td>
<td>34, 75, 87, 88, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce Lee Phase</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catena Mundi</td>
<td>27, 31, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Kingdom</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Taylor</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchill</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civilization of awqaf</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clash of ignorance(s)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>168, 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold War</td>
<td>18, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comte</td>
<td>163, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conclusive peace</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradle of civilization</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dauti Foundation</td>
<td>2, 8, 180, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Easton</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davutoğlu</td>
<td>199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delirium tremens</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of Sociology</td>
<td>227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divided society</td>
<td>33, 120, 161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emil Durkheim</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engström</td>
<td>17, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erbakan</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erdogan</td>
<td>119, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics in religion</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethno-urbanization</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euraibia</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euro-Islam</td>
<td>144, 149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fareed Zakaria</td>
<td>33, 201, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first transition</td>
<td>13, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy</td>
<td>162, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framework Agreement</td>
<td>15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 33, 107, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fromm</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fukuyama</td>
<td>202, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fundamentalist Judaism</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gandhi</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazi Baba</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon Marshall</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graham E. Fuller</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hermeneutics</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbes</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homo islamicus</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

I
Ibn Kemal .................................. 160
idola specus ............................... 204
IGMG .......................................... 192
IHH ........................................ 192
illiberal democracy ...................... 33
immoral politics ......................... 108
Ingmar Karlsson .......................... 143
interethnic division ...................... 173
Iskender Pala .............................. 207
Islamism .................................. 144, 215

J
Jacques Attali .............................. 201

K
Kadare .................. 10, 24, 129, 130, 141
Kalim Siddiqui ....................... 152
Karen Armstrong ...................... 145
Kim Mehmeti ..... 164, 166, 167
Kissinger ......................... 201, 207
Koran .................................... 32, 145, 153

L
Lavigne .................................... 106
Londonistan ......................... 144, 149

M
Macedonia 2014 ......................... 166
Macedonoid ......................... 167
Machiavelli ................. 111
Mandela .................................. 111
Marija Todorova ...................... 179
masjids ................................ 182, 185
Mehmed Akif ........... 127, 213, 214, 218, 225
Merkel .................................... 119
Miroslav Grchev ...................... 169
monoculturalization .............. 14
morality ........... 62, 115, 151, 213, 219, 220, 221, 223
Morin .................................... 200

N
NATO .......................... 128, 130, 200, 206
new identity ......................... 19, 168
New World Disorder .............. 154

O
Obama ........................... 119, 207
Orwell ................................. 111
Ottoman ethos ......................... 39
Ottomanism .......................... 7, 206, 215
Özal .................................... 208

P
pathological multiculturalism ..... 162
Paul Krugman ......................... 201
Pax Ottomanica ....................... 125
pivot country ......................... 208
political drugging .................. 110
post-Americanism .................. 203
post-transitional society ......... 180

Q
Qosja .................................... 130, 142
Quality of Life ......................... 161, 177
quantitative map .................. 188
Qur’an .................................. 61, 181

R
religious communities ........... 32, 47, 48, 49, 51, 56, 57, 58, 65, 67, 70, 184, 186
religious culture .................. 43
religious education ........... 7, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72
religious identity ............... 125, 128, 194
religious values ................... 191
Renova Foundation ............. 180, 191
• Index •

S
Sami Frasheri .......................127, 137
Sami Yusuf ..............................152
Sarajevo ............. 9, 47, 48, 83, 136, 157, 164, 197, 215, 225
Sartori ..................................110
SEE-ERA ..................................192
SEEU...27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 75, 76, 86, 94, 95, 96, 99, 107, 111, 114, 117, 119, 122, 197
Shuto Orizare ..........................175
Skopje 2014 ............ 7, 33, 108, 159, 162, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 177
Skupimetropolis .........174
state-building ..................... 201
Sultan Mehmed .......... ..........................138
Šušnjić ..................................219

T
Tariq Ramadan 143, 147, 152, 154, 156
The Economist 168, 171, 177, 199, 205
Third Macedonia .........18, 21, 23, 160
Thomas Friedman ..............201

Tienanmen .....................................109
Tony Blair ..................................147
Turkey ... 40, 75, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 150, 164, 193, 199, 200, 201, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 213, 220
Turkism .................................215

U
über-Mazedonische ...............166
ummah ..................................213, 221
underground cities ..............164

V
victim mentality .................151, 153
vox populi ..................... ............... 70

W
warped worldview ...............221
Weber ..................................215
Weiner .................................19

Z
Zemmels .................................28
Zinedine Zidane ..............152