Reconciliation and implacability: narratives of survivors from the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Basic, Goran

[Link to publication](#)

THE BALKANS SOCIOLOGICAL FORUM
Third International Conference

in cooperation with
**The Faculty of Public Administration
and Political Science (SEE University - Tetovo)**

**Ss Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje -
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje**

The Balkans
in the New Millennium:
From Balkanization to EUtopia

June 20-22nd, 2014 (Tetovo & Skopje - Macedonia)

THE BALKANS SOCIOLOGICAL FORUM
Third International Conference

in cooperation with
The Faculty of Public Administration and Political Science (SEE University - Tetovo)
&
Ss Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje -
Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje

Call for papers

The Balkans
in the New Millennium:
From Balkanization to EUtopia

June 20-22nd, 2014 (Tetovo & Skopje - Macedonia)

Content

A. Abstract

"The best way to predict your future is to create it!"
(Abraham Lincoln)

Balkan is a space of intersection or a place where east meets west, a space of multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity, multi-religiosity, but at the same time, a world of the tragic histories, metaphor of permanent misunderstandings, uncertainties, deconstruction and shattering tendencies. It is a part of Europe that in recent decades faces a series of problems caused by the negative perception of otherness, of stereotypes, and maybe by the new climate created by ethnocentric aspirations and worldview. The Balkans is still considered as non-Europianized geography of the old continent, as pre-modern Europe or a polyvalent entity that requires a prescription for long and lasting peace and *eudaimonia*.

The new millennium as a new stage of human and social development, which represents the beginning of a new period of sociological and anthropological changes perspective aiming at bringing innovations, a new chapter, which should be better than the past, different from the regional fragmentation that engendered the term "Balkanization" and *Homo Balkanicus*. In this context, this conference will treat the Balkans in correlation with a neologism, Utopia, a country of ideal felicity and perfection,
a place in which human society, natural conditions, etc., are ideally shaped in order to have a complete contentment. Also, it is a place where the organizational structure, fosters a limited governmental involvement, which permits human creativity and

achievement. Where prosperity does not have to be forced, it just happens (D. Hager). So, today in the aftermath of the bloody century, the questions are whether the Balkans are heading towards *Eutopia*, prosperous Europe or *kakostopia* (worst place)? Are we going to Europeanize ourselves or to balkanize the Europe? Are we on the right track and ready to *Debalkanise the Balkans*? Are the euro-integration processes bringing real changes, which are only formal, without any essence? What are the conditions needed for moving forward, towards the first stratum Europe?

One of the duties of sociology is to produce theories, which would bring social changes as well. Unfortunately, the sociology as society-building tool in our context has not achieved its specific goals and physiognomy, but for known reasons has ideologised science paradigm. Now, it is the time for us to give a new approach to whole sociological dynamics and agenda, give a new spirit and stimuli for real-scientific and objective interpretation of developments of the society.

The questions that can be posed in this context are as follows:

- Are the black pages of the XX th century history times gone past for the Balkan?
- How should sociology with its discourse bring new initiatives, new ideas and interests of individuals and the society as whole for increasing citizens' perspectives?
- To what extent does sociology explore the phenomena of globalised world, where micro entities are endangered from strong macro actors, such as the problem of migration of Balkan's population towards EU and Western countries in general?
- Why some new EU member societies and countries still perceive themselves as secondary strata Europeans, i.e. why they are in despair with their very short EU experience?

- What is the sociological status of the citizen and societies in the waiting list: Are they max-optimistic for their future or they are real skeptics?
- How does a typical Balkan mentality contradict the dominant yet the new ambitions of the Balkans peoples; new dreams vs. new post-communist actors?
- Orientalization of the Balkans vs. Occidentalization. Which tendencies are stronger?
- What will be the position of the Balkans in new Europe's order?
- What is role role of the social sciences in the XXI century Balkans in general?
- Can we produce sociology, which would change the Balkan societies?

B. Objective and topics

The main objective of the Third Annual Conference of BSF is to explore the new trends, tendencies and perspectives in the beginning of the Third Millennium in the Balkan area, a contribution via scientific *logos* to the society-building at this ignominian *lebenswelt*.

C. Organization and deadlines

The triangle Balkan Sociological Forum, SEE University and Ss Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje-Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje invite researchers and scholars of sociology and other human sciences from the all Balkan countries and others to take part in the Third Conference of Balkan Sociological Forum.

Please sent your proposals-abstracts until **May 10, 2014.** The abstracts are limited for 300 words, including standard remarks as name, surname, position, institution, main text, five to seven keywords and e-mail address.

- Deadline for confirmation of accepted abstracts: April 20, 2014.
- Adress for abstracts submission: a.pajaziti@seeu.edu.mk, h.jashari@seeu.edu.mk, j.abdullai@seeu.edu.mk, jakjor@isppi.edu.mk
- Full paper submission deadline: September 30, 2014.
- Participation fee: 40 € (fee payment on the first day of conference)
- The abstracts that receive the approval of the organizers shall be published in the abstract brochure of the Conference.
- The full papers after the peer review process will be published in the conference proceedings.
- The authors are requested to use in their papers APA style of citation.

D. Key topics:

- Sociology and (de)Balkanization
- Identities, History and Ethnocentrism
- Two-Speed Europe, or two Europes?
- Debalkanization and Eurointegration Processes
- EUtopia
- New Scientific Approach vs. Ideology
- Culturology and *Homo Balkanicus*
- Civil Society in South East Europe
- Economic Trends: Cooperation and Borders
- New Political Reality and Social Movements

- Spiritualism, Religion and Dialogue among Civilizations
- Neo-ottomanism in the Balkans: Real Challenge or Whimsy?
- Higher Education Challenges in Balkans
- Balkan's Young and Future: Facing Brain-drain?
- Media and Simulacrum in the Balkan
- Post-transition: Neologism or Reality
- *Balkanische* Democracy and its Discontents: Illiberalism as Challenge

Organizing Board

- Ali Pajaziti, SEE University, Tetovë, Macedonia.
- Jorde Jakimovski, director of Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje Macedonia.
- Hasan Jashari, SEE University, Tetovë, Macedonia.
- Svetla Koleva, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Jonuz Abdullai, SEE University, Tetovë, Macedonia.
- Lekë Sokoli, president of the Albanian Sociological Association; University "Aleksandër Moisiu", Durrës, Albania.

Scientific Commitee

- Svetla Koleva – president of the Balkan Sociological Forum, president of the Bulgarian Sociological Association, Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge,
- Lekë Sokoli, president of the Albanian Sociological Association; University "Aleksandër Moisiu", Durrës, Albania.

- Ali Pajaziti, vice-president of the Balkan Sociological Forum, SEE University, Tetovo, Macedonia.
- Jorde Jakimovski – director of Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje, Macedonia.
- Albert Simkus, Department of Sociology and Political Science,
- Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway.
- Hasan Jashari, SEE University, Tetovo, Macedonia.
- Otmar Höll, Austrian Institute for International Affairs - OIIP, Vienna, Austria.
- Enis Sulstarova, University of Tirana, Albania.
- Jonuz Abdullai, SEE University, Tetovo, Macedonia.
- Blerim Reka, vice-Rector for Science and Internationmal Relations, SEE University, Tetovë, Macedonia.
- Elena Andreevska, SEE University, Tetovë, Macedonia.
- Musa Musai, State University of Tetova, Macedonia.
- Emilija Simovska, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje, Macedonia.
- Zekerija Sejdini, University of Innsbruck, Austria.
- Sunaj Raimi, State University of Tetovo, Maceonia.
- Gjorgi Tonovski, FON University, Skopje, Macedonia.
- Anca Parmena Olimid, University of Craiova, Romania.
- Andrej Naterer – University of Maribor, Slovenia.
- Zeki Arslantürk, Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Hugo Mouton, University of Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.
- Ilija Aceski, University Ss Cyril and Methodius, Skopje, Macedonia.
- Saša Božić, president of Croatian Sociological Association.

- Todor Galev, Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Jonida Lamaj, Balkan Sociological Forum Secretary, Albanian Institute of Sociology.
- M. Ali Kirman, Sutçu Imam University, Kahramanmaras, Turkey.
- Ali Riza Saklı, RTE University, Rize, Turkey.
- Fadil Maloku, University "Hasan Prishtina", Prishtina, Kosovo.
- Slavejko Sasajkovski, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje, Macedonia.
- Ylber Sela, State University of Tetovo, Macedonia.
- Agron Rustemi, SEE University, Tetovo, Macedonia.
- Maya Grekova, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bulgaria.
- Shemsi Krasniqi, University "Hasan Prishtina", Prishtina, Kosova.
- Milos Besić, University of Montenegro, Podgorica, Montenegro.
- Martin Kanoushev, New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Diana Nenkova, Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria.

E(U)DUCATING TURKISH MAJORITY CHILDREN IN THE BALKANS FOR THE SAKE OF DEBALKANIZATION OF EUTOPIA

Ass. Prof. Dr. **Abdülkadir KABADAYI**
Necmettin Erbakan University
A.K. Faculty of Education

Abstract

Balkans has had a deep root for the Turkish people since the reign of Ottoman Empire. More than 10 million Turkish majorities have still been living in some Balkan states including Kosovo, Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Bosnia – Herzegovina, and the like. European Union has accepted the membership of Balkanian countries one by one. They have tolerated cultural and national diversities of all the member countries, and encouraged multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies, but in the mono-religious context.

Turkish people have existed for centuries just by obeying the rules of their culture, tradition and religion. They have been 10 million majority populations both in Balkans and European countries. They have had their way of living and had nucleus types of family and mostly authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles. They have reared and educated their children what their cultural and traditional values say. It is also not easy to give up all these values mentioned just for the sake of Eutopia of EU.

The aim of this study is to discuss the child rearing, educating and parenting styles of Turkish families in Balkanian countries. In the process of debalkanization and Eutopia of EU how it is changed? Do debalkanization and membership of EU change their parenting styles and child rearing philosophy? Could the Balkanian Turks keep their identity, culture and language in the process of EU Eutopia? These are the least but not last questions to be answered. As a result, some recommendations will be made for the Turks, majority of Balkans.

Keywords: *E(U)ducation, Balkanian Turks, Majority, child rearing, parenting styles.*

APPLICATION OF QUALITY INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN KOSOVO

Afrim LOKU
University of Prishtina "Hasan Prishtina"
Faculty of Applied Sciences in Ferizaj
afrim.loku@uni-pr.edu

Gazmend DEDA & Arben TERSTENA
University of Prishtina "Hasan Prishtina"
Faculty of Applied Sciences in Ferizaj

Abstract

The issue of service quality has been the focus of continuing interest to the academic world and the business since the late 1970s. Meaning quality for us? Is it something good or nice? Although this would be the best way for the definition of quality, we cannot rely on descriptive parameters, but should incorporate a standardized measurement content or quality control. Quality can refer to one of these two things: quality of design and quality of production. It is entirely possible that the product is well designed, but be produced worse or opposite. Quality as a concept describes the relationship between expectations and the resultant and is always part of economic transactions. However, systematic management has changed the quality of industrial practices in science-based methodology, drawing statistical theory, system dynamics, learning strategy and organizational behavior. Quality is a powerful concept because it integrates rigorous engineering concepts of value, human satisfaction efforts for excellence in all types of work.

Keywords: *Quality, Standard, measurement, control.*

HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION CONCEPTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Ali MUSLIU, PhD[1]

Abstract

There is an unimpaired link between ideas of Human Rights and Conflict Resolution. The essence of human rights is to verify the juridical position of the individual with the state power. Given the breadth of human rights and its complexity this paper will introduce the reader to the scope of the Human Rights Concept and the Conflict Resolution aspects in the Republic of Macedonia since 1991. A greater emphasis is given on the Ohrid Framework Agreement in the range of conflict resolution and derivation of constitutional human rights changes in 2001 and its present challenges and perspectives. In 1991 the international community received shocking news of the genocide in the region of former Yugoslavia. Within couple months thousands people had lost life in the most horrible and incomprehensible ways. Macedonia at this point was considered as oasis of the peace. The paper is to proceed at three levels (i) in-case comparison of sequence of attempted settlements, failed and successful, to see what processes led to success/failure conflict resolution in Macedonia and (ii) cross case comparison of the processes at regional level (Croation, Bosnia and Kosova) and (iii) the role of international community in conflict transformation in Macedonia. At the end the paper

---

[1]   Ali Musliu is a teaching professor at the State University of Tetova - Law Faculty

gives a special attention on the transformation of the Human Rights System in Macedonia from a rethorical concept of ideals to a more concrete tool of conflict resolution in the national level. Human Rights issues are becoming the main challenge factor for the integration of Macedonia into the European Union.

BRAIN DRAIN: REFLECTIONS OF THE SYNDROM OF THE BALKAN'S TRANSITION PERIOD TO MACEDONIA

Ali PAJAZITI[*]

Abstract

The syntagm "brain drain" means the departure of educated or professional people from one country, economic sector, or field for another usually for better pay or better living conditions, permanent loss of highly skilled and educated people (Horvat, 2004:77) It is phenomenon of erosion of the human capital of the developing countries towards developed ones, especially towards Europe and USA. It is called also as brain circulation, brain gain, brain exchange, brain overflow and brain taste. It is a social trend specific for transitional countries of South and Eastern Europe.

It is estimated that at least 10 of the Slovenian researchers work abroad as elite emigrants. According to a 2000 survey, 66% of Romania's students are likely to emigrate (Tascu, Noftsinger, Bowers 2002); between 1990 and 1992 around 40,000 Bulgarian scientists emigrated to the U.K., Germany, France and Ireland with the intention of settling permanently (Straubhaar 2000). Based and Ambrosetti's research (2013), 1074 scholars emigrated from Albanian in the period 1990 – 2008. According to 2010 official data in the Republic of Macedonia the number of unemployed people with the higher education (bachelor, master and PhD) as 38136, i.e. 12.7 % of unemployed population of this

---

*   Associate Professor, South-East European University, Tetovo, Macedonia.

country. 189.747 consist the population that more than 4 years did not achieve to find a job. (Dinkovski, 2012) More than 69% of students plan to migrate somewhere outside Macedonia. The interview with the students of the Cyril and Methodius University shows that student explain their choice to migrate with some reasons as more chances, opportunities, better financial conditions, access to global mindset and culture, escape from societal injustice etc. (DECA, 2014) The Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Macedonia got itself engaged into developing the "Stop Brain Drain Strategy 2013-2020".

This paper discusses the issue of brain drain in Macedonian context, offering a analytical approach based on empirical data correlated with the push and pull factors, making comparisons with the neighboring and other transitional countries. Based on filed data also tries to help for developing a productive strategy for stopping this XXI century syndrome.

Keywords: *brain drain, modern emigrants, brightest human capital, Macedonia, university youth, transition, 2014*

DESIGNING THE BALKANS IN POST-COMMUNISM: IDEAS, IDEALS AND DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS IN THE ROAD TO EUROPE

Anca Parmena OLIMID

Abstract

Designing the Balkans in post-communism means dealing with questions and answers of interpretation beyond the simple exercise of democracy viewed as "the only game in town". The present paper starts from the assumption that the road to the European integration has to be "constructed and explored" as a "one picture", particularly focusing on the marginal borders. To analyze the linking between ideas, ideals and democratic traditions means to broadly conceptualize the three above archetypes using the elements of "local repertoire" and the challenges of European provisions. In this direction, the study aims to identify the shortcomings in the recent theories and concepts of integration leading to proposing alternative explanations and extents and meeting the basic expectations of the democratic reform associated with the European commitments in the transition period.

Keywords: *democracy, tradition, Balkans, integration, post-communism, reform, transition.*

EXPLORING THE CONSTITUTIONAL, BALANCING THE POLITICAL: THEORIZING THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN FIVE BALKAN COUNTRIES IN A COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE (ALBANIA, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, BULGARIA, MACEDONIA AND ROMANIA)

Anca Parmena OLIMID

Abstract

A mutual consensus maps the relationships between the constitutional and the political, namely, the guarantees which apply to the field of human rights and freedoms as those detailed in the constitutions of five Balkan countries such as: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania. Through a qualitative analysis of the legal text, the study examines the constitutional background of the proposed principles contributing to a better understanding of the role of basic laws for the political system. With special reference to the constitutional framework, the article proposes a theoretical exploring of the law texts aiming to rationalize the features of a theoretical paradigm of the human rights and freedoms protection in the Balkans. While focusing on Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania, the article discusses the various implications of the protection of human rights and freedoms for the political architecture.

Keywords: *human rights, freedoms, Constitution, Balkans, political system.*

TURKEY AND MIDDLE EAST

Armela PENGILI[2]
University of Tirana
Department of History and Phylology
pengiliarmela@gmail.com

Abstract

Turkey's future role in the Middle East is likely to expand, but it will remain limited for a number of reasons. These include Turkey's differing political culture and geographic marginality, as well as the fact that other regions—such as the Balkans, Cyprus, and the states of the former Soviet Union—are of greater importance to Ankara than the Middle East is. The most important Middle Eastern countries from Turkey's perspective will remain Iran, Iraq, and Syria, where problems of water, political ambition, religion, boundaries, and the PKK are factors. In contrast to the regions where Turkey plays a more significant role, its relations with the Middle East, though more active than in the past, will remain cautious and tentative. Many factors, from the Kurdish problem to the new political order, are forcing changes in Turkey's traditional foreign policy orientation, but the nations of the West will continue to be Turkey's most important political and economic partners and the focus of its foreign policy.

Keywords: *Turkey; Middle East; Peace; Relationship.*

---

[2] Armela Pengili has finished Master Studies in International Relations and is actually a PhD Candidate in International Relations in University of Tirana.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGES, AND ACTIVE EMPLOYMENT POLICIES IN KOSOVO

Ayman GAD,
SEE University
miami_pro@yahoo.com

Abstract

The unemployment and employment, both are the main keys to economic and social development everywhere. In this context and in particular is the case of unemployment in Kosovo. Based on the fact that Kosovo is considered a new country, in terms of the formation as a modern state not in the Balkan region but also throughout Europe, with the youngest population, this means that the challenges that Kosovo faces are more the bigger and more difficult than of any other state.The issue of unemployment in Kosovo is not only fundamental stone for the construction of the homeland, investment, energy utilization of her sons and a bright future, but for the political elite is considered to be a strategic issue and a mechanism for mitigating the economic and political crisis, economic and social situation. The issue of unemployment, as a disease that Kosovo suffers from it, the way to handle it needs a lot of effort and hard work. Despite reaching a significant progress in the recent years of the current policy issue of unemployment such as: the extension of measures and active labor market policies for the employment protection, capacity building for professional trainings, improvement of physical infrastructure, work environment .nevertheless all this are not

enough to achieve the desired expectation. Thus, must take decisive and applicable measures for an optimal solution to this problem, such as increasing the attraction of foreign direct investment from abroad, reduction of the interest rate, regulation of the banking system in Kosovo, etc.. This is the only way to achieve a more effective policy for reducing the unemployment, to achieve security, social stability and to push forward in the progress and welfare.

Keywords: *Kosovo, unemployment in Kosovo, unemployment policies, budgets, solutions and proposals.*

WOMEN WHO MADE HISTORY

Besim GOLLOPENI, *PhD cand.*
University for Business and Technology - UBT
E - mail: besim.gollopeni@gmail.com

Abstract

This sociological research, with quality character, aims to investigate a human event that occurred in the municipality of Suhareka respectively Doberdelan village during the 90s, for which there was not written before. During this period, as in all of Kosovo and the municipality of Suhareka, political circumstances created, have created a situation unsuitable social and economic for the majority Albanian community. Social and economic situation was aggravated further when most of the Albanian population were forcibly removed from their places of work and was stopped all investments in health, education, etc…, thus deepening divisions and differences between communities lived on this side, completely based on discriminatory – political way.

Seeing this situation highly unfavorable political and socio - economic separately, women from the Doberdelan village, on its own initiative undertook a human activity, particularly so in exceptional circumstances, to build the home health of the Doberdelan village, which home health the lacked community in that area and beyond. To build the home of health was asked a proper organization of the human character, for reasons which required funds, lacked institutional support at the time. On occasion, the women of the village with the support of the wider community decided to donate through given gold ornaments for

building house of health, which later turned into a symbol of humanity being named with the name of the world-famous Albanian humanist "Mother Teresa". This home health during the 90s especially '98 - '99s served enormously in providing free medical services to tens and hundreds of thousands of residents of that area and beyond.

LINKING LOCALLY-ELECTED POLITICAL OBEDIENCE TO SEAT SECURITY: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ELECTORAL LEGISLATION IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Cătălina Maria GEORGESCU, PhD
Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, University of Craiova
Department of Administrative Sciences,
History and Political Sciences
Political Sciences Specialization
cata.georgescu@yahoo.com

Abstract

The present study analyses the relation between the observance of political party line by locally elected politicians and the security of their political office by advancing the hypothesis according to which there is a clear relation between political party resignation and lose of political seat. The methodology use din order to validate this hypothesis implies a comparative analysis of the electoral legislation in South-East Eauropean countries in search for evidence on the supposedly legally-based relation between political obedience and politicians' mandates security. The study is also oriented towards introducing in the research the effects of the relations within South-Eastern administrations among the public position occupied by the civil servant, the position of public dignity occupied by the politic decision-maker and the political office itself.

Keywords: *electoral law, mandate, politician, political party, resignation, South-East Europe.*

ADOPTING THE CONSTITUTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNISM. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Cosmin Lucian GHERGHE*, PhD*
Faculty of Law and Social Sciences
University of Craiova
avcosmingherghe@gmail.com

Abstract

The adoption of the new constitutions in Eastern Europa after 1989 according to the standards of Europe's constitutional patrimony under the direct supervision of the Venice Commission, of the Council of Europe, constitutes one of the most important political events. Thus it was accomplished the passing from the totalitarian state, from a centralised economy to a market economy, from the single party to multi-party system and the rule of law.

Keywords: *constitution, Venice Commission, rule of law, political party.*

IN SEARCH OF AN EXPLANTION FOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE DURING EUROPEAN UNION ENLARGEMENT: APPLYING CONTINGENCY THEORY TO THE STUDY OF LOCAL PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Cătălina Maria GEORGESCU*, PhD*
Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, University of Craiova
Department of Administrative Sciences,
History and Political Sciences
Political Sciences Specialization
cata.georgescu@yahoo.com

Abstract

This study builds a new approach on the changes within the public sector by re-positioning the perspective of analysis of institutional change, using the support of the *contingency theory* and submitting for validation the working hypothesis which assumes the value of independent variable to historical events, state structure, but also to local identities during the process of European Union enlargement. The study thus imposes the correlation of interpreting the impact of historical facts and of South-Eastern Europe specificities (culture, mentality, identity, legislation), but also a theoretical specialization which assumes the use of key concepts from the field of political sciences and public organizations.

The dynamics of institutional changes must be approached in relation to pre-existing policies and rules (*path dependency*) which could become constraints or even obstacles in the process of institutional and political (re)configuration. The models of *agenda setting*, *contingency* and *path dependence* allow a rational analysis of legislative, governmental and administrative public interventions, and implicitly, of political and legal implications over national policies. The anaysis of the dynamics of institutional changes in the context of European Union enlargement implies researches not only on *Europeanization* and on political mobilization to legitimate the results of agenda-setting, but also on imposing *contingency theory* which values the strategic prognosis of a future course of action based on the conditionalities of different historical and political contexts and by which one can trace a profile of the relations between public administration and European enlargement in different states and the creation of a profile of the consolidation of local level institutional structures.

Keywords: *contingency theory, EU enlargement, path dependence, organization, change.*

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PLURALISM WITHIN WESTERN BALKANS AFTER 1989. CASE-STUDY: LEGAL CONDITIONS REGARDING THE FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ROMANIA

Cosmin Lucian GHERGHE, *PhD*
Faculty of Law and Social Sciences
University of Craiova
avcosmingherghe@gmail.com

Abstract

The article presents the change in the political regime underwent after 1989 within the Western Balkans, change which would lead to major turns in the political, economic and social organization of these states.

Multi-party system in the Romanian society represents a condition and a guarantee of constitutional democracy regulated both by the Constitution and the law of political parties. Through the Decree-law no.8/1989 in Romania was created the legal framework regarding the re-appearance of political parties, which would comprise permissive conditions, which led to the appearance of numerous political parties, the legal framework being defined through the Law of political parties no.14/2003.

Keywords: *political party, law, constitution, conditions, Romania, party system.*

CULTURAL IDENTITY OF ALBANIANS FACING BALKANIZATION AND EUROPEANIZATION

Drita MEHMEDI, *PhD*
dritamehmedi@gmail.com

Abstract

All are born into a culture where we learn how to behave, we learn cultural models that guide us in society. Every society has its own specifics development. Cultural identity is a phenomenon in which participate different social agents. Without cultural models, a large number of individuals would be lost in time and space, so no group will be able to survive if they lose their specificity to inherit and elaborate culture. Albanian people as a part of the Balkan, has proved that they are not easily subjected and assimilated by invaders, they are integrable, but they don't bypass national determinations. They have passed various conquests and systems for hundreds and thousands years old but still remained with their national identity, this is realized thanks to the indomitable cultural identity.

Cultural identity represents connecting node for coexistence in the Balkans since each nation is representing different culture, this means different values, therefore it can lead to misunderstandings, if we are not available to understand cultural diversity by emphasizing similarities.

However, cultural identity is the base of a nation . The tendency for choking cultural identity by state affiliation or

integration in the European Union is a violation of human rights , therefore this paper activities, using descriptive method will describe how cultural identity of Albanians survives facing " Balkanization " and " Europeanisation" .

Keywords: *cultural identity , values, nation , coexistence , cultural diversity.*

WESTERN BALKANS: ECONOMIC TRENDS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION AND THE EU INTEGRATION

Asst. Prof. Dr. **Elhami SHAQIRI**
International Balkan University
Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences
International Economic Relations
e.shaqiri@ibu.edu.mk
elhami.shaqiri@gmail.com

Abstract

This scientific research paper will try to examine and analyze economic trends in the context of globalization and the EU integration, respectively the importance of regional trade between the Western Balkan Countries on economic growth. In this scientific research we will focus on the major implications with regard to the globalization of the world economy in relation with the regional trade between the Western Balkan Countries. This research will also shed some light on the importance of the Strategic Management in dealing with the major challenges and opportunities that derive from the globalization of the world economy in relation with the Regional Trade between the Western Balkan Countries and their impact on economic growth. In addition, this scientific research will show that the trade flows between regional countries are positively related to their respective economic growth and therefore to the increase of living standars. And this in turn would further advance the EU integration procerss of the Western Balkan countries.

The success and the prosperity of the region in the decades to come will be to a certain extent due to the integration policies with regard to trade as well as due to the Economic and Management factors with the commitment to deliver the best in products and services for their customers through continuous improvements in people, technology and assets. This is because of the Globalization of the world economy which is endowed with a high technology and skilled labor force and other Strategic Management factors. This is indeed of great significance as it enhances the competitiveness of the region, and this in turn further advances Regional Trade between the Western Balkan Countries and their economic growth.

Keywords: Economic Trends, Globalization, Regional Trade, Strategic Management, Trade Liberalization, EU Integration.

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN THE KOSOVO - CASE (1989 – 1999)

Elton DEMOLLARI
eldemollari@yahoo.com

Abstract

Kosovo has been , is and will be the key to solving many problems that the Balkan's carry. As an independent state, the challenges that the troubled region of Kosovo has to overcome are numerous. Germany has played and is playing an very important role in the political arena of international security. The purpose of this paper is to identify and highlight the role, position and importance, of Germany (a country that always engages increasingly in many regions of the world) and its foreign policy in today's international field. I will be mainly talking about Germany's influence in the Balkans troubled by conflicts, focusing on the role it had in Kosovo during its conflict in the '90s. It will be a detailed overview of the activities of German foreign policy in finalizing Kosovo'sissue. It will include German hesitation and shading in this delicate matter. Once again, this paper will highlight Germany's decisive role of in this matter .

Keywords: *Germany, NATO, the KLA (Kosovo's Liberation Army), military intervention, the Contact Group for the Balkans (CGB) .*

REGIONALIZATION OF BALKAN AND TRANSITION

Prof. Dr. **Fadil MALOKU**

Fakulteti Filozofik – Unniversiteti "Hasan Prishtina"
fadil.maloku@gmail.com

Abstract

Today there is no state, no country and no corner in the globe that can remain indifferent to all the rapid changes that are taking place in almost all spheres of everyday life. Today, when most post-communist countries are freed from the shackles of communist illusion, mostly countries of Eastern Europe, are going through transition periods. We can say that among the most significant problems is the identification of the process of globalization, and that of transition. Certainly one of the biggest loads in studying the phenomenon of integration represents exactly and its role in the processes that occur in addition to strengthening its economic and health policy in all societies. Because integration, like globalization, on the one hand is associated with modernity, mass distribution of modern technology, modernizing market economy , political pluralism , and human rights , While on the other hand at the same time it is also a process of global powers domination , especially the U.S. So today there is a considered number of sociologists who identify the transition process of globalization , with that of Americanization of the world .

Keywords: *communist Illusion, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Empire, transition, globalization, the Western Balkans, integration, modernity. Information technology, political pluralism, human rights, Americanism, etc.*

THE BALKANS' UNIQUE MOMENT

Fatos TARIFA, PhD
Director, Institute for Studies on Democracy and Development
University of New York Tirana
Member, Albanian Academy of Arts and Sciences
fatostarifa@unyt.edu.al

Abstract

Contrary to conventional wisdom, far-fetched myths, and naïve clichés, the Balkans are no longer a "powder keg" at the heart of Europe. Adam Przeworski's fear of two decades ago that some of the Balkan countries instead of going West could end up South has not been justified. On the contrary, all evidence indicates that progress in the Balkans is real, considerable, and encouraging. The firmest ground for confidence in the future is that democracy is taking hold throughout the region. Instead of reviving their "historical memories" or the use of force in settling past accounts, the Balkan peoples have chosen to detach their minds from what binds them negatively and harmfully with their past. They have finally understood that the past can and must be transcended in the name of—and the hope for—a better and prosperous future. Palpable desire to make up for the lost time is evident throughout the region. In today's dynamic era of globalization, interconnectedness, and increasingly irrelevant borders—as well as in light of the current events in Ukraine—most citizens in the Balkan countries view cooperation among them and their full integration into NATO and the EU as necessary to secure their country's future. This time for the

Balkans is one of those rarities, which Hegel called history's "unique moments". As has occurred in other major transitions, today all Balkan nations face innumerable creative possibilities for renewal and progress. My paper will argue that the burden of the past is not heavier than the promises of the future and that the challenges faced by all the countries in the Balkans are not obstacles, but opportunities.

Keywords: *Balkan history, historical memory, democratic development, transformative change, regional cooperation, security.*

CIVILIZATION AS FACTOR OF GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES OF THE BALKAN POPULATION

Prof. Dr. **Fejzulla SHABANI**

Abstract

Through this topic will attempt to explain the historical and cultural role of civilization in the changes that have happened to Balkan people, especially in the 20th century.

Based on the facts and geopolitical factors on Balkanization towards a utopian idea, through this topic will try to elaborate that civilization in the Balkans has been a portable factor, very dynamic due to the major changes that occurred in the Balkans after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

The main purpose of the topic is to clarify what is the role of civilization in the Balkans and how can civilization affect in the dialogue between the Balkan peoples, irrespective of different outlooks on culture and religion they belong to.

CHALLENGES OF EU INTEGRATION FOR BALKAN COUNTRIES AND AMERICAN APPROACH

Florenca KORBI[3]
University of Tirana
Department of History
florenca_lleshaj@yahoo.com

Abstract

For the first time in its modern history, the entire Balkan Peninsula has the opportunity to coexist under one security and developmental umbrella combining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). While Washington has spent the last decade extricating itself militarily and politically from the Western Balkans and allowing EU institutions to assume the leading role, unresolved disputes that are mishandled by an indecisive and divided Union could pull Washington back into the region. This could be evidenced in more intensive diplomacy and intrusive mediation or even in the context of new peacekeeping missions. The EU has emerged as the unchallenged international actor in the Balkans; the region, exhausted by a decade of conflict, is recovering stability and the capacity to cooperate; the EU has no other plausible enlargement agenda in sight and could use the direct involvement of some of its Member States in the region to facilitate the accession process.

---

[3] Florenca Korbi, has a Bachelor Degree in English Language and Literature, Master Degree in International Relations and is currently a PhD Candidate in International Relations at the University of Tirana, Albania.

Although scaling down the US engagement in the Balkans is consistent with the process of European integration, now seen as 'the only game in town', the EU should encourage that engagement to continue, especially in view of the fact that the United States enjoys strong credibility in the region (particularly in Kosovo and Bosnia) and that its professed primary goal, precisely, is to assist the region's accession to the EU. In short: European integration strengthened by an Atlantic insurance policy.

Keywords: *EU Integration, Enlargement, Balkan, Security Policy, European Union.*

MIGRATION PROCESSES AND THE LABOUR MARKET – SITUATION, REGULATIONS, POLICIES

Assist. Prof. Dr. **Galina KOLEVA**
Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge – Bulgarian Academy of Sciencies
galyak@gmail.com

Abstract

Migration processes involve a global redistribution of the workforce and in this sense they have a challenging influence on the state and prospects of the national and local labour markets.

The acceleration of the migration streams to places with better opportunities for work, income, personal development, forms part of the logic of rational choice. There is a completely different sense and weighting involved in understanding migration as the impossibility of being at home. For many of the potential emigrants, the last wave of emigration from Bulgaria was closely bound up with the loss of meaning, opportunity and the prospect of being at home. Bulgaria occupies fifth place among the European countries with the largest negative net migration. About 90% of the outflow to foreign countries are persons at an age when they are able to work; about 70% of female emigrants are at the age of fertility. The paper comprises (a) an analysis of the underlying processes in the present-day development of Bulgaria that shape attitudes towards leaving the country, and (b) an analysis of the effects on the labour market in the light of the impact of the economic, demographic and

educational crises, and the crisis of values. Another question is: What policies are being promoted to retain young and trained manpower? Data from both national studies and European statistics (Eurostat and Eurofound) are used to describe the trends in migration and in the Bulgarian labour market.

Keywords: *migration, emigrants, workplaces, education-training, qualification structures, active labour market policies.*

RECONCILIATION AND IMPLACABILITY: NARRATIVES OF SURVIVORS FROM THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Goran BASIC
Department of Sociology
Lund University, Sweden
goran.basic@soc.lu.se

Abstract

This article analyzes retold experiences of 27 survivors from the 90's war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One aim of the article is analyzing markers for reconciliation and implacability, the second is describing conditions for reconciliation which are actualized in those stories. Interactive dynamics which prevailed during the war associate post-war reconciliation with the war time. These stories of reconciliation, implacability and conditions for reconciliation, are not created in relation to the war as a whole only but also in relation to one's own and other's personal actions during the war. These stories on reconciliation become a forum for confrontation between us and them – not least through dissociation from others war actions. In the interviewees stories implacability is predominant however reconciliation is said to be possible if certain conditions are met. These conditions are, among others, justice for war victims, that the perpetrators' recognize their crimes and display strong emotions (for example remorse and shame).

Keyword: *narrative, emotions, condition for reconciliation, shame, remorse, reconciliation, implacability.*

THE ATTITUDES ABOUT DISCRIMINATION OF THE STUDENTS ON THE BASIS OF ETHNICITY IN THE ETHNICALLY MIXED SCHOOLS

Gordana STOJANOSKA, PhD[4]
Zlatko ZHOGLEV, PhD[5]

Abstract

In terms of great ethnic heterogeneity in the world, as well as in the Republic of Macedonia, the attitudes about discrimination of the students on ethnic grounds that are formed have great significance. If it is known that the primary and the secondary socialization takes place in the family or in the school, the parents and the teachers have great influence on the formation of future attitudes of the children. In a survey conducted in an ethnically mixed primary school, a questionnaire was administered to teachers that are teaching and parents whose children attend these schools. This research has shown that there are ethnic groups in the Republic Macedonia who believe that such discrimination exists. Moreover, the findings revealed that there is, a difference between the parents and the teachers in the intensity of agreement with the view that this kind of discrimination exists.

Keywords: *discrimination, ethnic groups, teachers, parents*.

---

[4] Docent on Faculty of Education – Bitola, University "St. Clement of Ohrid" – Bitola, e mail: gorde969@hotmail.com
[5] The full time professor on Faculty of Education – Bitola, University "St. Clement of Ohrid" – Bitola, e mail: zlatko.zhoglev@gmail.com

SOCIOLOGY OF POST-CONFLICT SOCIETIES IN WESTERN BALKAN

Hasan JASHARI
SEE University

Abstract

The countries that emerged as a result of the dissolution of former Yugoslavia are still trying to build their policies upon arguing among themselves. Twenty years after the division, none of the parties involved is interested in helping the others so that everyone can move further. The social distance among the people in the Western Balkans has almost remained the same. The weak communication among political elites distracts the economic development, the cultural, scientific and educational cooperation thus disabling the achievement of important social goals such as the overall regional progress. About 7,000 NATO troops and EULEX police forces guard the piece in Kosovo. It is about time Balkan countries built their peace on their own, including democratic institutions, rule of law, social justice, overall security for their citizens and non-discrimination.

All of the countries that emerged from the dissolution of former Yugoslavia still have unresolved issues and disputes; however, the most visible problem is the tense Albanian-Serbian relations. The question is whether both parties are already tired of this conflict. When Europe, at the beginning of the 19th century was fed up with conflicts, John Stuart Mill made a call for tolerance. Today, this conflict exists in Macedonia, too, as a neighboring country and with a large Albanian minority. Are

there any more Serbian politicians who say that Serbia has not been part of the latest wars… (Martina Fischer and Ljubinka Petrović - Ziemer, 2013)? Are there any more Albanian politicians who say that there should be no talks at all with Serbia? The main question in Balkans is how to prevent minorities?

It is time the whole region and especially Albanians and Serbs start building a sustainable peace for an optimistic future.

Based on statistical data analyses, surveys and interviews, we will attempt to explain these issues as thoroughly as possible, from the sociological and political-philosophical viewpoints.

Keywords: *Sociology, Balkan, Conflicts, Peace building, Tolerance.*

NEO-OTTOMANISM – A LEGITIMATE SCIENTIFIC TERM OR LITERARY RHETORIC? THE LEGITIMIZATION OF USE OF THE TERM NEO-OTTOMANISM IN MODERN GEOPOLITICAL DISCOURSE ON TURKISH NEW FOREIGN POLICY

Ida ORZECHOWSKA, PhD candidate
Institute for Political Science, University of Wroclaw, Poland
ida.orzechowska@uni.wroc.pl

Natalia PIOTROWSKA
Institute for Political Science, University of Wroclaw, Poland
n.a.piotrowska@gmail.com

Abstract

In the last two decades the term Neo-Ottomanism was widely used both by scholars as well as by journalist, however in the great majority of the analyzed literature the lack of the clear definition of the term is obviously remarkable. In many cases use of this term varies and depends on the attitude of the author toward Turkish New Foreign Policy and reproduces political and cultural stereotypes. Basing on the meaning of the term ottomanism/osmanism and taking into consideration foreign policy of Ottoman Empire in the 19th and beginning of the 20th Century the authors try to define and precisely determine the term neo-Ottomanism (frequently used also as neo-Osmanism). By employing critical analysis of the existing literature on neo-Ottomanism the authors aim first to compare use of this term by

Western scientists/journalists and by researchers and publicists from the areas which are the subjects to the so-called Turkish neo-Ottoman policy (first of all Western Balkans, but also Caucasus and Middle East) and second to answer the questions whether using the term Neo-Ottomanism to describe New Turkish Foreign Politics towards the Balkans is legitimized in terms of its historical connotation.

Ida Orzechowska is a PhD candidate at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Wroclaw, Poland, obtaining a degree in political science. Her main research interests relate to international security, the Western Balkans and conflict studies. Recently she has held visiting fellowships at the Institute for International Relations in Zagreb and Centre for the Study of the Balkans in London. Currently based in the Balkans, she is developing her dissertation on the correlation between power relation and stability in the region, and works as a freelance analyst.

Natalia Piotrowska is an independent scholar currently living and working in Turkey. She graduated in Political Science and Spanish Philology at universities in Poland and Turkey, as well as held numerous internships in Scotland, Serbia, and Turkey. Her main research interests relate to Turkish foreign policy, international security and Middle East.

Keywords: *Balkans, Turkey, Neo-Ottomanism, foreign policy, discourse analysis.*

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION:
CIVIL AND / OR ETHNICAL IDENTITY
IN MACEDONIAN CASE

PhD **Ilija ACESKI**
The Faculty of Philosophy Skopje
Department of Sociology

Abstract

In the paper it is analyzed the identity in the civil and ethnical view. Ethical identification is brought in relation with the political and historical context. The historical context is related to the communism fall, after the 90's, when in Macedonia, at same time are getting through the civil components in the ethnical identification, as well as the components that mainly get through from the specifics related to the ethnical, religious and cultural affiliation, that is politically shaped in the parties division on ethnical basis. The impression is that the political, ethnical/national and civil identity are three spheres that exist parallel in relation of the ethnical component, but in the same time, known in theirs "unity" in the ethnical groups. The political identity just "mechanically" compounds them in the interest of the community functioning, without bringing into the question the interest of the ethnical elite in the division of dominance. Is it possible a "civil identification", is there some equivalent for her, that can be recognized in the modern community construction? Does the mobilization of political on the ethnical basis necessary deepens the divisions and leads to community disintegration

under all basis and ends in divided society condition? These are some of the questions that the author is trying to answer.

Keywords: *ethical identity, civil identity, divided societies, civil identification, division of dominance.*

BORDERS AND BARRIERS OF "WESTERN" ALBANIA TOWARDS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Doc. **Iris LUARASI**
Department of Journalism and Communication
Tirana University

Abstract

There are groups in the Albanian society that have the idea that all evils come from ignorance and backwardness of the Albanian society as well as from the lack of a democratic culture in the country. Certainly this is the group that believes that all of the benefits and good things come from the West.

There is an ongoing political crisis in Albania, and every time we change political wings in the government we blame the opponents, deny everything good that has been done up to that point and by replacing not only the directors and heads of institutions, but also the specialists or simple employees of the administration. This political crisis is being considered as an Albanian way of handling the problems, while the solution is always hoped to come from the West.

Isn't that exactly the opposite we thought in communist times? Once we were kept thinking that everything bad was coming from the West and all the benefits and good things came from Albanians that were building the socialism on their own.

It is this overcome from one extreme to the other that probably hide the western dimension of Albanian political crisis.

This crisis is essentially a crisis of representation and very similar to the crisis that has gripped many western democracies today, where part of the electorate feel unrepresented by the political class and where elections have lost meaning because the change of parties not necessarily produce policy change.

Keywords: *integration, identity, politics, Europe, democracy.*

"THE STATUS OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS OFFICIAL USE IN MACEDONIA"

Izmit DURMISHI
State University of Tetova, MACEDONIA
izmit.durmishi@unitete.edu.mk
durmishi_izmit@hotmail.com

Abstract

Such topics addressing mutual relations between majority nations (ethnic Macedonian and Albanian) and their language in the Republic of Macedonia are of particular importance, especially when we consider that the Albanians and their language is mentioned very early in their compact Balkan lands, naturally dividing thus their vital space with other non-Albanian population.

Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure when speaking about the coexistence of several languages in the same place, taking as an example the typical Macedonia, as a country where many languages coexist: Macedonian, Turkish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek, Albanian, Romanian, etc.. Albanian and Macedonian in these geographic transoms have been in contact and cohabitation continuously for a long time, even for millennia (E.Hamp).

We must affirm that, historically that the territory of the Republic of Macedonia has always been multiethnic, multireligious and multilingual. Even in earlier periods of Greece, Rome and Byzantine, or after the arrival of the Slavs and Turks in the Balkans it was alike. Today the central place in Macedonia

takes its central place Macedonian and Albanian as for the number of their speakers. Our aim in this paper is especially emphasizing the two issues: the status of Albanian in this multilingual community and the factors that led to such use of the Albanian language.

During the elaboration of the topic we used, among others, the empirical method, using the questionnaire to illuminate the reciprocal relations between Albanians and Macedonians and their language. We have extended the survey especially in Pollog, the cities of Gostivar and Tetovo.

Keywords: *agreement, status, equality, use, institutional, linguistic community, multicultural, interethnic relations, etc.*

DOES EXIST A RISK OF BALKANIZATION IN NORTH AMERICA?
THE CASE OF QUEBEC IN CANADA

Jacques L. BOUCHER, Ph.D.
Professor Université du Québec en Outaouais
jacques.boucher@uqo.ca

Abstract

In 1994, Canada, with United States and Mexico, signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). To an outsider, it could seem that such an agreement has been the beginning of the continentalization process of North America after that one of Europe. Meanwhile, this is a mistake. In fact, as Jane Jenson pointed out, the economic development of Canada after the Second World War can be qualified of « permeable fordism » with the United State one. Someone will remember also that American trade unions started to organize units in Quebec as well as in the Rest of Canada already in the second half of the XIXth century, so that the same companies, operating on both side of the border, would respect the same rights at work. Then, it is easy to conclude that North American societies are very alike, including more and more Mexico. But this is not so clear, while more and more spanish speaking people live in important parts of South of the United States and the First Nations communities address the international forum calling for the respect of their territorial rights. Mostly, within that large continent, Quebec, a society of 8 millions of inhabitants, looks to get different of the rest of the continent on a cultural point of view as well as on the social and

economic levels. This presentation aim to expose how this particular society tends to maintain a specific model of development in the continent. For this, I will argue on the social movements outline and the role of the State bases.

Keywords: *Small societies and particularism, development model, social movements.*

THE EUROPEANIZATION OF THE BALKANS MEDIA ROLE AND PUBLIC OPINION PERCEPTIONS

Dr. **Joana KOSHO**
Journalism Lecturer
"Aleksandër Xhuvani" University, Albania
joanakosho@gmail.com

Abstract

Since the 1990s, the Western Balkan region has gone through a series of transformations. These include: from war to peace, from conflict to cooperation, from ethnic divisions to integration. The debalkanization of the region is the Eastern European countries and the European Union's main aim, whose implementation is becoming a reality through Europeanization and regional integration. Europeanization - not just the integration in the Union, but the European values harmonization, the political and economic system adaptation, and social modernization - is a process in which each Western Balkan country must go through to be a part of the most successful projects: the European Union. These countries challenges not only stand to the fulfillment of certain conditions that the EU institutions have set for the EU membership, but to 'behave like Europeans', to adopt the European identity, to be debalkanized, and to rise above ethnic, political or social divisions. In this paper, the Europeanization of the Western Balkans is analyzed through the media and public opinion perspective. What is the media role in the Europeanization of the region, how is perceived by the public

opinion the integration process, and what can be improved in this regard. These are some of the issues addressed in this paper.

Keywords: *Europeanization, Western Balkans, integration, media, public opinion.*

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN MACEDONIA AND THE RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS

Jonuz ABDULLAI
SEE University

Abstract

Macedonia was one of the countries that luckily gained its independence without getting into the bloodshed triggered by the erupting nationalism in the heart of the Balkans. The setting of the new political and constitutional order in the country without getting a consensus resulted latter with dissatisfaction among the other ethnic groups in the new country.

In this paper we will analyze the causes and consequences in the last two decades, by highlighting the impact on the society development in particular case the relation with the neighboring countries. In the politic-making process we will show the name dispute problem with Greece as the main obstacle for the euro-integration processes. The weak economy and the high percentage of the unemployment don't leave much space for political luxury, but has a great impact on migration of the population.

Today Macedonia is a country with many problems, starting from the political, where the main opposition party does not recognizes the electoral results of the last parliamentary and presidential election, the fragile economy with high debts, the worsened relations with its neighbors and the emerging nationalism which endangers the interethnic relations between the

largest ethnic groups, put the country in a real test the result of which cannot be predicted. Therefore, new Balkans politics represents a real challenge for the governing parties in the country because installing peace and stabilization is a necessary need of the citizens as well as of the main political and institutional actors in the global politics.

In this paper we will use comparative method, content analysis and other methods, which will give as a real situation in Macedonia and the possible solutions.

Keywords: *Macedonia, crisis, policy making, democracy, challenges.*

THE POPULATION
AND THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Prof. Dr. **Jorde JAKIMOVSKI**
Institute for Sociological Political and Juridical
Research, Skopje, Macedonia
jakjor@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Abstract

The process in certain regions on one hand, and the increase in the population on the other hand, are plausible facts about the existing problems, and what can be anticipated in the future. This substantiates the notion that the time has come when targets cannot be fulfilled without a certain policy, i.e. the demographic development is to be coordinated with the socio-economic one. It must not be forgotten that the changes which have occurred regarding the population, in a spontaneous manner and in pronounced unplanned and unexpected circumstances in the course of the previous time period deserve attention due to the following reasons:

- The society is to modify and create new circumstances for the economic and cultural way of life of the population;
- The concept of development is to be based on a profound population policy that would reject the constant demographic-regional imbalance.
- The concept of development of the urban (municipal) centers is to be abandoned and the concept of development of the space is to applied.

Keywords: *Socio-economic development, demographic development demographic-regional imbalance , development of the space*

PANETHNICITY IN THE BALKANS

Prof. **Keith DOUBT**
Wittenberg University
kdoubt@wittenberg.edu

Abstract

Research on panethnicity addresses an encompassing identity for ethnic groups that typically and historically distinguish themselves in other ways. Research examines the social character and political depth of a meta-ethnic identity shared by ethnic groups otherwise distinguished by language, culture, religion, nationality, or history. For example, the ethnic identity option for Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican Americans is both their national origin and their panethnic identity of Latino. The ethnic identity option for Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Americans is both their national heritages as well as their languages and their panethnic identity of Asian American. Likewise, the ethnic identity of Native Americans is both their particular nation and their panethnic identity of Native American. While an ethnic group emphasizes cultural distinctiveness and resists categorization that compromises its particularity, the option of a panethnic identity is available, attractive, and can be taken.

Research on panethnic boundary formation focuses exclusively on the United States and sets of ethnic subgroups: Asian Americans, Native Americans, Indo-Americans, and Latinos. This study focuses on the complexity and process of panethnic identity formation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the broader region of the Balkans. Social conflict, violence, and

ethnic tension have been much studied subjects in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This research focuses on what panethnicity is independently of its political implications, although both historically and presently panethnicity certainly has political implications in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Even if not expressed in political action, panethnicity is meaningful at the collective level socially and culturally. Panethnicity mediates the tension between assimilation and ethnic particularism. Panethnicity does not dilute itself into a broad category with universal import; nor does it reify itself as a supra-ethnic identity. Even though the political structure established by the Dayton Peace Accords denies this panethnic identity, the culture of various panethnic marriage customs and kinship practices continue to bear witness to the reality of this identity.

Keywords: *panethnicity, ethnicity, nationality, Bosnia-Herzegovina, marriage customs, kinship structure.*

ANTICORRUPTION REFORM – "YES", BUT WHAT ABOUT POLITICAL WILL?

Klime BABUNSKI

Head of the Department for Applied Research, Scientific Documentation and Publishing at the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research
klimeb@isppi.ukim.edu.mk
mkklime@t-home.mk

Abstract

The paper: "Anticorruption reform – "Yes", but what about political will?" analyzed some of the data from the research project: "Legal Cultures and Anti-Corruption Reform in the West Balkans". The data have been collected through a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods: opinion polls with representative samples and focus group discussions with general public – "legal outsiders" and in-depth interviews with "legal insiders" – elected representatives, government officials, lawyers, judges, prosecutors and police officers. The Project has been carried out in Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia and is funded by the Research Council of Norway.

The paper focuses on several focal points. The starting point is the attitudes of the "insiders" and "outsiders" about the EU-integration process in general and particularly regarding the pressure from EU and international organizations to reduce the corruption. The next point is how the general public perceive the "insiders", their legal culture, their respect of laws, and their behavior in the context of bribe and corruption. Parallel to this are

analyzed the attitudes of the legal professionals about the legal culture of the outsiders. What type of corruption is the most serious threat to the country and who should primarily be in charge of fighting corruption are the next focal points. The paper ends comparing the evaluations of "outsiders" and "insiders" regarding the anticorruption efforts, does "legal culture" influence those efforts, what is the most efficient manner to contribute to or to improve the anticorruption efforts and at last (but not least important) how capable are the institutions responsible for anti-corruption reform?

Keywords: legal culture; EU integration; anticorruption efforts.

THE STRONG CORRELATION OF DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT;
THE CASE OF BALKANS

Leke SOKOLI
Aleksander Moisiu University of Durres-Albania
Albanian Sociological Association, Tirana-Albania
lsokoli@instituti-sociologjise.al
lsokoli@hotmail.com

Abstract

Over the last 15 years Balkans is vanished from the international TV screen or newspapers coverage. And if "No news is Good News", we can say: "Welcome to normality". Balkans has left behind the grave problems of the past (1999, and before) and is seeking a new beginning in the road of development, cooperation and integration. In this paper two of the Balkans new Challenges are analyzed: sustainable democracy and sustainable development, and their correlation as well. Speaking globally, results a 'law': the most democratic countries are at the same time the most developed countries. What about Balkans…? The hypothetic question of this paper has taken an answer, based in comparative methods, and comparing (1) Balkan countries with each other and with other countries, and (2) comparing the democracy, GDP and other global indexes as well. Referring Balkan countries (all, except Greece, with the same historical fortune as ex-communist ones), democracy is compared with its opposite regimes and is considered good enough. But the global

map of democracy shows that no one of the Balkan countries is in the group of the countries with "full democracy"; some are in the group of the 53 countries with "Flawed democracy", and Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina are between countries with "Hybrid regimes." As for the GDP per capita the West Balkan countries are ranked from 82 (Montenegro) to 110 (Kosovo). So a functioning democracy is a condition sine qua non for the sustainable development of Balkan countries. What makes the democracy sustainable? The answer is: sustainable development. In this paper some conclusions are drown and some suggestions are given for measuring and monitoring of both sustainable democracy and sustainable development, going beyond GDP on measuring progress.

Keywords: *Balkan context, democracy, sustainable development, comparative method.*

BETWEEN THE CIVIC AND ETHNIC- ON THE PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENT POPULATION IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Lidija HRISTOVA
Institute for sociological, political and juridical research
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University - Skopje
lidija@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Aneta CEKIK
Institute for sociological, political and juridical research
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University - Skopje
anetac@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Abstract

The research of the ethnic and national identity in a multicultural society such as the Macedonian one is relevant in reference to the question how those who identify with their ethnic group position themselves towards the broader political community. Does the strong attachment towards one's own ethnic group, especially when minority groups are concerned, means absence of attachment towards and identification with the state, as many authors who study social identities show?

Taking into consideration the Macedonian social context, we have set off from the assumption that it was possible for these two identities to be mutually exclusive, but also compatible. In a survey of student population in the R. Macedonia, four categories that express the relation of ethnic versus national identity have been offered. The results proved the general hypothesis– namely,

the minority effect- according to which the minority group gives greater significance to the characteristics of their own minority belonging. However, the largest majority of ethnic Albanians chose modalities that indicate compatibility of the two researched identities, even in cases when they emphasize their ethnic background. This could be an encouraging indicator in a multicultural and divided society, but still the question remains what almost half of the examined population of ethnic Albanians mean when they choose the categories that contain both ethnic and civic traits. Some of the results which refer to the attachments to different categories and the presence of the participative component, partly provide an answer to this question.

Keywords: *ethnic and national identity, civic identity, perceptions of identities, student population, Republic of Macedonia.*

EDIUM AND SMALL ENTERPRISES DEVELOPMENT, ROLE AND IMPORTANCE WITHIN AND OUTSIDE EUROPIAN UNION

Msc. **Myhybije ZALLQI-ZHARA**
myhybije.zallqi@unhz.eu

Prof. Ass. Dr. **Ibish MAZREKU**
ibish.mazreku@unhz.eu

Abstract

Recently, competition is rapidly changing, showing evident increase as efficiency towards Medium and Small Enterprises development. Therefore, the request for services increasingly is in "blossom".

Kosovo as a new born country knows role and importance of Medium and Small Enterprises in development of economy. More than 90% of enterprises belong to small and medium businesses. In spite of that Kosovo is still in its transitional phase, where undertakings and creations of small business are expecting to have a key role towards a modern economy with a free market, development, and economic growth. Actually, there is a disfavor environment for business, lack of cultural creation and undertakings.

From political point of view of Medium and Small Enterprises, how they face everyday problems, adding facts that European Medium and Small Enterprises are remaining backward in development, thus there is a necessity for an European Union action in such a way showing development data comparing with

American homolog's as an as initiated reason are given two programs by European Commission. Personnel Program for innovations, and Act for Small Businesses, where these two programs targeting guidance for Medium and Small Enterprises development, as well, efficiency increase for competitions.

Concept of this work is done having in mind Medium and Small Enterprises as an increase factor of economy and their trends, at the same time having a great importance identifying problems and barriers in their development, identifying community needs to improve development processes and, to move forward positive tendencies for strategic terms.

Keywords: *Development of Medium and Small Enterprises, Modern economy, Free market transition.*

THE PROFILING OF THREE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN KOSOVO

Ngadhnjim BROVINA, PhD Cand.

Abstract

The profiling of political parties in Kosovo, has an impact on policy-making for this state.

With this research we will try to give more or less an answer of where is Kosovo, more precisely how far   the political parties in Kosovo have reached to be profiled. This will be at least a guide for the present and the future to tackle the problem of profiling of Albanians political parties in the Republic of Kosovo, as well as to show their role in policy-making.

The purpose of this research shows that the necessity of profiling of political parties in Kosovo, it's of great importance because of the policy-making processes.

Samples were taken from crucial persons of political parties, from which we extracted the primary data.

In this paper we will use analytical method, based on primary data derived from questionnaires, as well as from earlier researches as secondary sources.

While the results derived from conducted questionnaires show that there are contradictions between what is said in the questionnaires and of that which is declared by political parties.

While the results derived from the conducted questionnaires show that there are contradictions between what is said in the questionnaires and what is declared by political parties.

As a conclusion we can say that the future of Kosovo, like of any other country, will depend on the profiling of political parties in Kosovo, because of this depends also the performance of the policy-making of a state, in our case, the performance of the youngest state in Europe, Kosovo.

BALKANS OR SOUTHEAST EUROPE? TRADITIONS AND NEW TENDENCIES ON STUDYING AND DISCUSSING THE SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN REGION PASCHALIDIS PANAGIOTIS

Paschalidis PANAGIOTIS
Post- doctoral researcher
University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki- Greece
Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies

Abstract

Many scholars and observers of the Southeast European region often use the terms 'Balkans' and 'Southeast Europe' as synonyms. It is well known that the term Balkans is mainly associated with negative meanings whereas the term Southeast Europe allows a neutral and less excessive discussion of the region. What is perhaps less obvious is to determine the implications of this phenomenon for the study and representation of the region in the post- Cold War period.

Distinguished scholars such as Maria Todorova have defended the use of the term Balkans since it constitutes a valid and commonly accepted category of knowledge. Furthermore, they have advocated its exoneration from all the negative meanings with which it has been associated mainly in the Western context. On the other hand, there are scholars who argued in favor of a substitution of the term Balkans by that of Southeast Europe in view of a less biased study of various phenomena.

Others believe that such a development will mark the completion of the troubled historical period symbolized by 'Balkans' and the beginning of a new chapter, that of full integration with Europe.

Such a phenomenon highlights something crucial. It is the fact that the study and the representation of Southeast European region are filled with dilemmas. The use of the two terms, to which we must add the term 'Western Balkans', could be associated with matters of scientific accuracy. It is equally an issue of broader ideological, political and cultural importance in regard to self- perception, otherness and European identity.

This paper will summarize both dominant and more alternative views on the study of the Balkans and the characteristics of the region as an object of study and knowledge. It will, furthermore, explore the ways in which the use of the terms has readjusted issues of identity and otherness.

Keywords: *Balkans, Southeast Europe, representation, knowledge, otherness, Europe.*

DIGITAL NATIVES BETWEEN LOCAL AND GLOBAL IDENTITY IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Petar ATANASOV, *PhD, Professor*
Institute for Sociological Political and Juridical Research,
University 'Ss Cyril and Methodius', Skopje
petar@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Bojana NAUMOVSKA, *PhD, Assistant Professor*
Institute for Sociological Political and Juridical Research,
University 'Ss Cyril and Methodius', Skopje
bojana@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Abstract

The paper will argue that the youth in Macedonia is caught on one side between the ethnicity and nationalism of its own group(s) and the demanded prospect of active citizenry and democratic consolidation on the other side. The important element is also the global context and the interest of youth for global phenomena and problems and the link between local living and global imagination. This is getting even more problematic when the exercise is done on the terrain of multicultural society. The paper will be based on original quantitative research done on the sample of 750 students on Macedonian universities. The main argument is that young generation that are completely digitally raised in multicultural societies with dominant ethnic identities will expose stronger local (ethnic) identities than global (cosmopolitan) conscience. The reason for that might be the

absence of stronger civic identity that would emerge if the society is pursuing more democratic values and civic character.

THE IMPACT OF THE CRISIS ON THE EU PERSPECTIVE OF THE WESTERN BALKANS: LESSONS LEARNED AND OUTLOOK

Rumiana ZHELEVA, PhD, Associate Professor
Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (ISSK-BAS)
rumiana.jeleva@yahoo.com

Abstract

Like elsewhere in Europe, the crisis has affected economic developments in the Western Balkans, from Croatia in the north to Albania in the south. The countries in the region face difficulties such as high unemployment, decreased availability of bank credit and reduced trade. Furthermore, the inability of their political institutions to deal immediately with these economic challenges has reinforced the negative effects of the crisis. What does this mean for the Western Balkans' accession to and integration within the EU?

This text presents the outcome of a project completed between 2010 and 2012, which analyzed the impact of the economic and financial crisis with regard to the Western Balkan countries seeking membership in the EU: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro, and Serbia. This study clearly shows that improving the economic situation is an essential precondition for public support for EU integration. At the same time it argues that the pro-European orientation of the Western Balkans ensures that they will continue to look towards the EU, rather than to the US or Russia. This is

demonstrated by the fact that they are not merely taking measures to recover from the crisis: **they are taking measures that are aligned with European regulations**. The Western Balkan countries may have a long way to go to become EU members, but they have proven their commitment to a future within the EU by **their pro-European solutions to the crisis**. However, it remains open, whether and to what extend these pro-European solutions are implemented in the practice successfully.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION: THE KOSOVO CASE COMPARED TO THE CRIMEAN CASE

Saimir OSMANI, Phd. Candidate,
Institute of European Studies,University of Tirana, Albania
saimirosmani@gmail.com

Abstract

Recent events in Ukraine, also, after the declaration of the Crimean independence and it's union with Russia, have reminded us the so much mentioned debate among scholars of international relations, but not only, as well as state sovereignty and the right of self-determination. The main controversy here is which principle limits the other, and it depends on the evaluation of each case. This work elaborates analytically and comparatively the declaration of Kosovo's independence by comparing it with the case of Crimean Independence. By drawing a parallel line between these two cases, which are absolutely very different from the historical perspective as well as the dynamics of political developments, Russia is trying to justify the violation of State sovereignty of Ukraine, and the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation . Governmental sovereignty has already lost its absolute importance, since is directly related to respecting human rights. Based on this principle, NATO intervened in Kosovo in 1999, and based on the principle of humanitarian intervention, it justified the violation of Serbian sovereignty, and ended the conflict and humanitarian disaster in Kosovo. In

Crimean case are there any other factors comparable to the Kosovo case? Furthermore, we will elaborate, why the Kosovo case is so different from that of the Crimean how and why the case of Kosovo being a case sui generis, cannot be used to draw parallel lines with any other regions around the world .

Keywords: *State sovereignty, Self - Determination, Kosovo, International Recognition, Crimea, referendum, Human Rights.*

FROM NICHE TO UNIVERSAL SERVICES: MARKETING STUDY ON CUSTOMERS' SATISFACTION REGARDING THE USE OF COURIER SERVICES

Assist. **Silviu Dorin GEORGESCU**, PhDc
Faculty of Economy and Business Administration,
University of Craiova
g_silviu2000@yahoo.com

Abstract

After the fall of Communism in Romania, the first years witnessed the appearance and timid trials of developing the courier services market, in the same trend with the economic, social and political development of Romania. Following Romania's closeness towards the European Union and the opening of economic and political horizons, the private sector witnessed the first signs of development and organization, a period in which, at the end of 1990s the most important companies appeared in Romania, which would mark the evolution of this sector.

However, after 2000 the market fourished, a lot of operators started their business and discovered a great oportunity of profit. The continuous growth of this sector, as well as the necessity of satisfying the ever growing customers' needs, the passing from a niche segment addressed to companies (B2B) to a service which combines the natural person (B2C) have led to the companies

struggle to supply quality services, based on a performing technology and a standardisation of delivery process.

The present study aims at identifying the most important aspects of the delivery process from the angle of the client and of the degree of satisfying his/her needs.

EXPOSITORY FORMS OF NATIONALISM IN THE BALKANS

Prof. Dr. **Sunaj RAIMI**
State University of Tetova

Abstract

Western Balkans, in the post-communist era, after 1991, became involved in nationalist and religious conflicts. Nationalism can be broadly defined as the belief that the nation is the main principle of political organization. The problem of the wars of the 90s of the last century in the former Yugoslavia created a coordination of nationalism with religion (Perica, V., 2002). The main problem and the presented form of this nationalism was the doctrine that all the nations of the former federation have the right to an independent state. Nationalism as an ideology includes a wide variety of political, cultural, ethnic, economic forms. Political nationalism includes every attempt to use the ideal of the nation for more apprehensive political purposes. Nationalism emphasizes cultural regeneration of the nation as a particular civilization, and thus emphasizes the need to protect or strengthen a national language, religion, or the way of living in the country.

Ethnic nationalism coincides with cultural nationalism, but the ethnic group is glorified by promoting social cohesion to the nation with an emphasis on those that have descended from common ancestors. This implies a strong sense or perhaps more intensive discerning and exclusivity.

But the question is how to build pioneering coexistence, tolerance, as how to get Europeanized?

This paper through analysis of statistical data and documentation will explore and elaborate the main questions which are imposed, like: which ethnic and political nationalism ruined the federal Yugoslavia? What was the role of religious Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim communities in the armed conflicts in the Balkans after 1991? How the academies of sciences did line vis-a-vis ethnic conflicts today and how is their attitude today? What is the future of the Western Balkans and its nationalism?

Keywords: *Nationalism, religion, former Yugoslavia, Western Balkans, cohabitation, academies of sciences, religious communities.*

BALKAN SOCIOLOGICAL FORUM: FROM THE UTOPIA OF A PROJECT TO THE PROJECT OF A EUTOPIA

Svetla KOLEVA
Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
Sofia, Bulgaria
svetlakoleva2002@yahoo.com

Abstract

This paper attempts to subject to critical analysis the Balkan Sociological Forum throughout the time since its creation in November 2011 in Tirana, passing through the Second Conference of BSF held in Sofia in November 2012, and until the Third BSF Conference. In using the double meaning of the world "utopia", coined by Thomas More in 1516 as an imaginary place (literally, a "no place") and an ideal place, a "good place" (eutopia), we will examines the conditions that make possible the Balkan Sociological Forum's turning into 1) a field for debates aimed at overcoming both the stereotypes of Balkanization and the chimera of Europeanization in our research work, and 2) an efficient organizational structure promoting real educational and research cooperation through schools for students, including PhD students, exchange of teachers and students, and joint research projects.

The view argued in the paper is that the idea of Balkan cooperation in the social sciences, though it may seem utopian in view of the region's historical heritage and the present-day

clichés, can become a motor for what Edouard Herriot called "a potential reality" ("une réalité en puissance"), providing we believe in the initial idea and work today to build the future.

Keywords: *Balkan Sociological Forum, Utopia, Eutopia.*

TOLERANCE BETWEEN RELIGIONS - AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN SOCIETY

Prof. Dr. **Vlado TIMOVSKI**[6]
Prof. Dr. **Emil SULEJMANI**[7]

Abstract

The topic of this paper can be reduced to the stated headline: tolerance between religions, particularly the emphasis on universal published religions. But in earlier ancient periods, until our time, religion often merges with fanaticism and in many events produces impatient, causing many conflicts and religious intolerance.

When it comes to the major joints and frames psychological associations with basic elements and features, as well as differences types both universal religions brought to ecumenical religion, then it will be necessary to point out the following sociological religious phenomenology: nation and religion with historical priority. The nation becomes after religion with recurrent interact. Elements, symbols and functions as well as spells, and various religious liturgies, myths and legends, folk traditions and civilization in general are build and protected very well. On the other side, peoples and nations have common origin, territory and civilization which play a relevant role in further

---

[6] **Prof. Dr. Vlado Timovski,** University "St. Kirli i Metodij", faculty of Pedagogy "Sv.Kliment Ohridski" Skopje, R.Makedonija (vlado.timovski@yahoo.com)
[7] **Prof. Dr. Emil Sulejmani** University "St. Kirli i Metodij", faculty of Pedagogy "Sv.Kliment Ohridski" Skopje, R.Makedonija (emilsulejmani@hotmail.com)

establishing and building ecumenism for whole confessional world.

In other words, we live in those days when what we face is not working in our favor for the creation of the world ecumenical space. But of course it is in propulsion and deep process, for new intakes of ecumenical plan with specific directions to the globalization of Islamic and Christian humanism, to save the world from unforeseen cataclysms. This plan is a great work of Rene Guehenno, it was later supplemented from Frithjof Schuon, Swami Vivekananda, who all their life devoted to the religious idea or Philosophia perennis - we discover and judge the true witness of God's unity, which left traces - in Jewish, Christian, Islamic, Buddhist brahmanistic and in other industries, thus, different languages and human genes did not represent any obstacle.

Keywords: *religion, ecumenism, globalization, society, tolerance, civilization.*

MACEDONIA AND ITS INTEGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE ROLE OF ELITES IN THIS PROCESS

Prof. Dr. **Ylber SELA**[8]

Abstract

The Elites have been important not only for ruling the state, but also for the development, expansion and for deepening the process of integration. In the phase that Macedonia is, the elites have a fundamental and irreplaceable role for unblocking the integration process. Nowadays, the society in Macedonia is facing a major challenge, that of moving from the quantitative to the qualitative processes. Thus, in other words, it is moving from the extensive development stage to that of intensive development; from the general measures of standardization of every aspect of political, legal, institutional, economic, and administrative in internal and international plan.

This move to standardized quality will drastically increase the role of pro European elites in the country. Preparing the pro European elites is a big and a complex challenge. The refusal for many times for Macedonia to start negotiations with the European Union due to the conflict climate with neighboring policy especially with Greece, has raised doubts regarding the proper role of our political elite in the process of European integration. Considering this process as a key priority of our country, the

---

[8]   Prof. Dr. Ylber Sela is a director at the institute for political and international studies in Skopje.

impression is created that the current elite instead of serving as an asset in order to push the process forward as a locomotive, but the current elite behaves more like a burden, as a barrier that causes stagnation , and in sometimes even regress.

Keywords: *European Union, Macedonia, Integration, Elites, etc.*

BEING A MUSLIM WOMAN IN THE BALKANS – COMPETING DISCOURSES OF THE LOCAL MUSLIM TRADITION, ISLAMISM AND MODERNITY

Dr. **Zilka Spahic SILJAK**
Harvard Divinity School
Women's Studies in Religion Program
Cambridge
zsiljak@hds.harvard.edu; zilka@tpofond.org

Abstract

There is no proper answer to the question what is a woman, as there is no right answer to the question what is a Muslim woman in the Balkans. Identity is not a fixed category that can be portrayed in a single homogenous image. Being a Muslim woman in any region entails serious analysis of different factors relevant for one's identity, such as gender, culture, religion, politics, class, race, education and others. By employing feminist postmodern and postcolonial theories we can make shift from fixed static conceptualizations of identity towards dynamic and more fluid identity construction.

In the process of transition between two differing social, economic and political systems in the Balkans women in general experienced re-traditionalization of gender roles and Muslim women faced additional challenges to position themselves between competing discourses of the existing Muslim local tradition, Islamism and modernity.

Although most Muslim women declare religious identity in the Balkans, the expression and understanding of it depends on different factors including family tradition, education, societal norms and personal interest in religion.

The paper will discuss impact and coalescence of these factors on Muslim women and their strategies in being and becoming women with all layers of their identities.

Keywords: *Islam, Islamism, Women, Tradition, Modernity, Identity.*