

**SS. CYRIL AND METHODIUS UNIVERSITY IN SKOPJE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY**

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY: CONTRIBUTION OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

**Proceedings of the International Conference
on the occasion of the centennial anniversary
of the Faculty of Philosophy
2-5 September Struga 2020**

Skopje 2021



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FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY



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AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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of the Faculty of Philosophy
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Skopje 2021

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Ratko DUEV

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A CENTURY OF HIGHER EDUCATION, A CENTURY OF DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC THOUGHT

The very title of these proceedings, "Science and Society: the Contribution of the Humanities and Social Sciences", carries an important question: what is the contribution of the Faculty of Philosophy in the development of science, and, thus, in the development of Macedonian society? The key role of the Faculty of Philosophy after WWII was to develop education and to promote institutions that are a pillar of the state. The development of the Faculty marked the start of social activity: the building of kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, social protection centers, special schools; education strategies and reforms; the preparing of personnel to be involved in state security and protection; excavation and conservation of the cultural heritage; the establishment of museums and many, many other institutions... the list goes on. The first issue of the academic journal, "Annual of the Faculty of Philosophy", was published in 1948, and the first issue of the first international journal, "Živa Antika", in 1951. A century of higher education at the Faculty of Philosophy means a century of science, and, thus, a century of state-building.

Today, the Faculty maintains the same role it did in the past. The development of all levels of education, the institutions created by former students and professors, are linked to the development of the Faculty, and, thus, to the development of higher education and science. The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje is a large family of over 20,000 graduates, MAs, PhDs; 3,000 current students, and a significant number of former and current professors and professionals in civil service. The professors are involved in the creation of numerous laws, strategies and projects concerning the development of education, culture, social protection, civil protection, gender equality, cultural heritage, etc.

Today's crisis is a great challenge for all of us, to adapt to the new conditions and to ensure a smooth running of teaching, academic research, and

the other activities of the Faculty. Although just a health crisis at first glance, which will inevitably be followed by an economic crisis, these changes will affect the whole of society, people's lives, mental health, education, culture, security, the vulnerable groups. Both in the past and in the near future, in order to overcome the crisis, we will need professionals from the academic fields that make up the Faculty.

That is our burden, which we have been carrying for a century. However, the Faculty has gone through many greater challenges in its existence: wars, crises, epidemics, earthquakes, floods, and it has always managed to continue with its mission - to profile professionals and to advance academics. With wisdom, understanding, hard work, as well as the application of digital technology, we will, together with our students, overcome this obstacle, and we will help our society deal with it.

The International Conference "Science and Society: the Contribution of the Humanities and Social Sciences" was attended by over 100 participants from Europe and Macedonia, but due to travel restrictions brought about by the pandemic, some of the sessions were held virtually. Our areas of research represent our obligation. By organizing the conference under such conditions, we have proven that we are already concentrating on a series of academic activities and projects to prevent the impact of the pandemic on people and society.

These Proceedings illustrate the determination of today's generation of professors to continue the development of academics, to remain faithful to the tradition inherited from generations of academics in the past, under all conditions, accepting all challenges brought forth by the start of the second century of our existence.

Humanities

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Denko SKALOVSKI

Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, Faculty of Philosophy

MODERN PHILOSOPHICAL ANTHROPOLOGY VERSUS GENETIC ENGINEERING: ERICH FROMM (1900-1980-2020)

Abstract: *The text is written on the occasion of 120 years Erich Fromm's birth and 40 years from his death, but the reasons are much deeper and more substantial. Fromm is one of the most complex thinkers in the field of contemporary philosophical anthropology, which lead with his transdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach to the appearance of such methodological approaches that have emerged in the international philosophical and general theoretical scene in recent decades. Although it is commonly thought that Fromm is only a psychologist and cultural anthropologist and multiculturalist (the father of the "humanistic psychoanalysis") he is a thinker of a far broader scientific and philosophical format. Uniting critically, synthetically, and creatively, several theories in the fields of philosophy, sociology, psychology, and theology, Fromm remains one of the few thinkers of the modern and contemporary era who has given original interpretation and successful upgrades of a numerous earlier theories - starting with the Marxist and ending with the psychoanalytic - which, among other things, results in his well-known and original interpretation of Christianity and religion in general. His "diagnoses" of the "diseased" tissue of modern civil society and the causes of its profound and chronic axiological and cultural crises - dating back to the mid-20th century - today they impose the need for re-actualization and affirmation of his complex humanistic science and theory, and their rethinking and reinterpretation again. This is particularly important at the time of the emergence of manipulation and experimentation with human genes and genetic engineering, in circumstances of post-industrial scientific and technological civilization. These negative and dangerous processes bring contemporary humanist thought into new and additional serious problems, dilemmas and a series of philosophical, ethical and bioethical challenges while trying to define human anthropological habitués and its uncertain future. After all, the same is recognized by a number of world-renowned and famous theorists and analysts of various scientific, philosophical, ideological, and even geopolitical provenances. All this makes Erich Fromm, both today and in the future, as an important, relevant thinker, whose theory has yet to grow in the interest of world social sciences and humanities.*

The text seeks to outline the main aspects and content of Fromm's work, and critically to refer to his most famous views, ideas and concepts, set forth in his major works, translated into all world languages, and commented and quoted by many theorists in the field of humanities and social sciences. It is important to note that Fromm often collaborated with philosophers, sociologists, and psychologists from the former Yugoslavia and visited former Yugoslavia several

times. The result of this is the publication of his collected works in Serbo-Croatian language in the early 90's of the last century. Several of his works have been translated into Macedonian language, and the master thesis by Slobodanka Markovska, Ph.D., defended in 1991, is devoted to his anthropological thought.

Key words: modern anthropology, human, bioethics, genetic engineering, post humans

The world is one great object for our appetite, a big apple, a big bottle, a big breast; we are the sucklers, the eternally expectant ones, the hopeful ones—and the eternally disappointed ones. (...)

The man of the organization has lost the ability for disobedience, he is not even aware of the fact that is obedient. At this point in history, the ability to doubt, criticize, and disobey may be the only thing that stands between the future of humanity and the end of civilization. (Underlined by – D.S.)

(Erich Fromm)

We have thrown the philosophies of history into the scrap metal. Are there other theories instead that clarify the practical consequences of scientific and technical progress? To whom are they addressed, what form of political practice do they refer to? (Underlined by – D.S.)

(Jürgen Habermas, 1980: 342)

One of such hasty and rash (over)thrown philosophies of history, for which Habermas is talking about, is exactly the multidisciplinary and multicultural theory of Erich Fromm. Today, interest in his works is rising sharply, proportionally with the deep **crisis** - which can easily be converted into an inglorious **end** - of a value system that we can name it colloquially and extremely simplified/conventionally as **Western**. This is all the more so because the social **reality** and (geo) political **practice** of the so-called West has long been disunited, disintegrated, and "fragmented," as one of the EU's most iconic creators has stated - and by the most assessments, the greatest living humanist and philosopher - Jürgen Habermas. (Russell, 2007; Habermas, 2010) That growing interest in Fromm is convincingly dominated by the positive receptions and critiques of his work, which begin with Kołakowski from the mid-1970s and (do not) end with, among a series of numerous other examples, the literal euphoria with Fromm on some social networks, **most of which on Twitter**. Knowing the current "emergency situations" in which almost the whole world is in due to Covid 19 pandemic, it is realistic to expect even greater interest from the world intellectual audience in Fromm's "human situations", but this time "globalized" and "digitalized". This is mostly due to the already

chronic conflict (read: class) of the **real** and mass/common human needs of the majority of humanity (read: common interests), with the **lies** and "needs" (read: interests) of **capital** and the transnational capitalist **elite/class** (largely the military establishment), which is **for the profit** and the survival of the wealthy **minority** part of humanity almost ready to question the survival of the **majority** of the entire human race, but also, ultimately, of itself. (Fromm, 1980) Not to remind that it is **this** and **such** world "emergency situation" and all its **self-destructive irrationality**, and the main reasons for its occurrence, put the famous Fromm's "human situation" and its Freudian-Marxist "diagnosis" and conception/projection of the future **again** in the focus of the main philosophical, scientific, geopolitical and even **ideological** interest. (Habermas, 1980; Žižek, 2009: 70-101; Sarkanjac, 1993)¹

*

Kořakowski refers to Fromm's philosophical, ethical and general humanistic views and concepts with mainly positive critical assessments. According to him, Fromm clearly reflects the Marxist critique of the cultural situation in the industrially developed capitalist countries, whose main feature is the **general decline** of the initiative spirit and the individual **responsibility** of man for himself and for the environment/community in which he lives. Here we see the general **destruction of civilization**, which is mostly due to **technological processes**, interventions and revolutions (this time digital), and the uncritical belief in the **Promethean myth** of the emancipating/liberating power of science and technology, the benefits of which are extremely ambivalent, having in mind above all the greatest danger to the survival of mankind and the entire biosphere - the production of the atomic bomb and the arms race that is gaining momentum today again. (Weizsäcker, 1986; Kořakowski, 1989: 113; Skalovski, 2005: 182) However, Kořakowski notes, it is not clear enough from his analysis why and how evil and alienation prevailed, and on what basis

¹ Due to the limited space on this occasion, we will attach only one part/excerpt from our more extensive study of Erich Fromm, which will be published in its entirety elsewhere. Namely, we will present only excerpts from the critical and concluding review of his work, and therefore we apologize to the potential reader for a certain logical disconnection and "jumping" on different contexts and topics, which will inevitably cause certain problems in understanding the text. But, in the end, our intention and our possibilities in this short essay are of informative character, and not a complete, analytical and plausible presentation of his works, which is practically impossible due to its volume and heterogeneity. Ultimately, we just want to "make" potential readers interested in the works of this great contemporary thinker.

hope/expectations should be based that the healthy/ **constructive** forces and tendencies in man - one day, and perhaps sooner/later - will prevail over the sick/pathological and (self) **destructive ones**. Today, mostly with the help of the mass media, we only manage to "visualize" these destructive forces, i.e. to "aestheticize" them and quickly "forget" them. (Virilio, 2006: 111; Skalovski, 2018)

According to Kołakowski, this ambiguity of Fromm is typical of utopian thought, which, on the one hand, claims that the ideal he describes arises from the human nature as it really is, although it has not been realized so far, i.e. that the man is "summoned" to live in friendship **with others**, and at the same time to develop **his** individuality/personality. On the other hand, Kołakowski evaluates, Fromm is aware that the so-called "Human nature" is in fact also a **normative term**. Of course, the claim that people are capable of love, solidarity, empathy is true, but it **does not automatically follow that** they are the only representatives of the "true" human nature, and that in contrast to them and unlike them, there are no people who embody **different/opposite** moral and anthropological properties and qualities, which are dominated and overcome by the urges of hatred, intolerance, non-recognition, violence, **aggression**, etc. In simpler/other words, it is again **overestimation** of the human potentials for doing good, and **underestimation** of its potential for doing evil. If it were otherwise, we would not be talking about the divisions of people, among others, into good and bad. Thus, Kołakowski concludes, "*Fromm's notion of human nature is characterized by this characteristic ambiguity, merging normative and descriptive ideas. Fromm, however, shares that ambiguity with Marx and many other Marxists*". (Kołakowski, 1985: 437)

And when it comes to Marx, here is the place to mention another inaccuracy, or perhaps his illusion, which refers to his conception of **human freedom**. Probably influenced by Rousseau, and similarly to the notion of human nature, Marx also **underestimates** the essence of the key "masters-servants" **political** relationship developed by Hegel, namely the trans-historic conditionality of man's need for humility, obedience, and slavery. Simply put, in other words, Marx **overestimates** man's need to be free, and **underestimates** his need to be a slave/subject/servant, i.e. the fact - "that not everyone wants to be free". (Muhic, 2001: 204) (**Underlined by - D.S.**) (Some claim that there are whole peoples/nations who do not want to be free!?) For the sake of truth, Fromm is exactly that Marx's humanist follower who with the work *Escape from freedom* has managed to penetrate much deeper into the **paradoxes/controversies** of the human psyche and its "free will", which in certain dangerous, insecure and

miserable social/**historical** situations/circumstances force it to "voluntarily" give up all its "freedoms and rights", and hand them over to a political leader, in return for a shred of temporary security, comfort, and "survival," which, as Nazism and Fascism have shown, will eventually pay dearly/bloodily, namely with wars and mass destruction, atrocities and sufferings, tens of millions of human lives, including his **own**, and with traumas and frustrations that leave lasting and deep traces in his personal/individual and collective historical memory.

So, going back to Kołakowski and moving on, we agree with his conclusion, and we go a step further, believing that, basically, and although, to our knowledge of Marx's works, he never explicitly said that, Marx **believes** that man as a natural being **is born good**, but bad social (**class!**) conditions **force him** to do **evil**. Ergo, with the struggle for the gradual abolition of bad/inhumane social conditions and the gradual creation of new and increasingly humane ones, and the phased abolition of all repressive/oppressive and **authoritarian** institutions, led by the **state** (read: socialism as a transition/transitional phase), and their replacement with **associative**, he will be de-alienated and will be returning/return to his original, authentic, humane, "good" and "free" nature, as in his own abandoned **home** thousands of years ago, **his birthplace, a lost paradise** (read: communism). Ultimately, in our (and not only our!) perhaps exaggerated assessment, this delusion/ilusion (or, if we will, ideological construction) is an eschatological remnant of the "Christian", post-Hegelian consciousness in Marx's materialist philosophy/interpretation of history and a number of other Marxists, Proto-Marxists, and Proto- **Hegelians**. (Sarkanjac, 1993) But let us not forget, among others, the words of Žižek: "*Hegel's system is a plane without a pilot*", i.e., "a process without a subject", or abstraction without concretization (popularly: a forest without trees). In other words, humanism without **man**, and what all the previous attempts to build "socialism with a human face", which was supposed to be Marx's main idea, turned into. (Žižek, 2008: 413; Honet, 2019)

Similar ambiguities, dichotomies and anthropological controversies in Fromm's thought are stated by a number of other connoisseurs and analysts of his thought, including the most explicit Zharko Trebješanin, back in 1983. (Trebješanin, 1983) However, these controversies not only do not reduce the relevance of his thought, but, on the contrary, make it even more attractive and provocative/inspiring. Earlier in 1979, on the occasion of the publication of Fromm's *Marx's understanding of man* in Serbo-Croatian, Obrad Savic

spoke critically affirmatively of Fromm and his great contribution to the development of Marxist critical anthropology and theory in general. (Savić, 1979: 91-94) According to Savić, Fromm is especially creditable of the great reaffirmation of **Marx(ism) as a critical science for man**, because it is an idea for such a humanistic **philosophy** that would be primarily interested in the **fate of man** so far, and would be **co-responsible** for, and focused on, predicting its different and **better** future. Opting for this type of philosophy, *"Fromm analyzes the historical chronicle of those events which led to Marxism being so thoroughly misunderstood and twisted in its opposite. Of course, it is a matter of emphasizing only some factors to which the exceptional responsibility for the fate of constructing Marxist forgeries is attributed. The West has always lacked an extensive Marxist culture, and Marxism has hardly been accepted as an official and academic thought."* (Savić, 1979: 91-92; Cuculovski, 2007)

The new and **recent** critical reviews and valorizations of Fromm's work are convincingly dominated by the affirmative and the positive, by various, often opposing, geopolitical and (multi)cultural manifestations, which shows that his thought and its "messages" have a trans- (geo)political and **trans-ideological** significance, and even astonishing universal acceptance (from Europe, USA and Latin America, to Russia, Japan, China, etc.). (Sarkanjac, 1993; Funk, R.,/McLaughlin, 2015)

This latest global interdisciplinary acceptance and influence of Fromm can be seen, among other things, in the growing number of international conferences and symposia on his work. They give us nearly the most accurate information about the widespread fields and cultural contexts of reception and interpretation of his main ideas, and different social and cultural issues and different filters and refractions through which his work passes in different cultural contexts and **different cultural traditions** in which his theoretical "system" of thought is more actively being read directly and critically. In doing so, Fromm achieves a growing influence in the modern humanities and social sciences and studies: from sociology, psychology, and psychoanalysis to philosophy and the philosophical sciences, to theology and religious studies. The general assessment is that despite some limitations, even idealistic naiveties in his ideas, notions and visions - with some creative upgrading, modification, expansion of reference frames and reformulation - they can be a valuable and useful "weapon" in dealing with the solution of the problems arising from the deep world crisis and the enormous global inequality, mass poverty, famine and mortality, violence, aggression and genocidal wars, and the general cultural

and axiological crisis, which led to the destruction of the environment and climate change that apocalyptically endanger the survival of human kind and the entire biosphere. (Funk, R./McLaughlin, 2015)

In the domestic, Macedonian environment, apart from Ljubomir Cuculovski, among others, we emphasize the good analytical and critical reviews of Branislav Sarkanjac, whose criticism fluctuates between partial agreement and partial disagreement with Fromm, especially from the aspect of **ideologizing human consciousness** and the phenomenon of internalization of the ideology as an anthropological problem. There is also Suzana Simonovska, and **especially** Slobodanka Markovska, with her master's thesis dedicated to Fromm's work, whose critical reviews and analyses helped us a lot in preparing our review of Fromm's work. (Markovska, 1994; Sarkanjac, 1993: 190-191)

Considering his urgent relevance, his work *To have or to be* deserves special attention. This **philosophical**-anthropological study perhaps in the most illustrative way expresses his deep knowledge and **understanding** of the critique of political economy as an ontology of the social being (Lukacs), although Fromm modestly announces it only as a "psychology" of human living/existence, which in its disjunctive form exists as a question *to be or not* in the conditions of the capitalist system. **Capitalism** is a globally self-destructive system/**process**, because in **reality** (Wirklichkeit) there is no ontologically permanent substance, and "only processes are real", says Fromm, which is in line with the ontological counterpart we have in the philosophical conception of Buddhism, i.e. in Western philosophy from Heraclitus to Hegel. Capitalism is a transient and temporary phenomenon, as are all other social and spiritual phenomena/processes in human history and the persistent efforts to make it exist forever are already pathological/**psychognomic forms of life of capitalism**. (Honneth, 2007:70-92)

Due to its unsolvable internal systemic **contradictions** - primarily **economic** - capitalism as a system/process can no longer exist and survive without endangering the existence of all mankind. As such, with the power of **historical necessity** (not "free" moral choice) it must be overcome and replaced by another/changed/improved system (concept of socialism), as the only **historical alternative** that will allow existence and **survival** and "sustainable development" of human civilization as a whole. (Fromm, 1980: 51-79) From an ecological point of view, or from the point of view of the ecosystem, radically and simply put, capitalism and ecology can be merged as much as oil and water can be merged, and the phrase "sustainable development" is, in

fact, *contradictio in adjecto*, because any further development/**progress** of the capitalist way/system of production of material living conditions has an imperial/postcolonial, namely "global" character, and as such it **inevitably** leads to ecological self-destruction and the end of human civilization. (Allen, 2016)

In the title *To Have or to Be*, one can easily recognize the transposition of the famous Hamlet Dilemma from the Shakespearean play of the same title, which we can freely declare as a "drama over the dramas" of human existence and humanity in general, and his endless **active** pursuits and wanderings to discover the truth about oneself, and (self)cognition of the character/essence, the meaning and appropriateness of human life, the biosphere and the totality of the cosmos in general. In that broadest possible context of objects of philosophical research into the modern *conditio humana*, in a word, all questions of "life and death" are sub-summed/sublimed in a synthetic way in this work by Fromm. However, respecting the norms for the scope of this article of ours, which is approved/allowed to us, instead of an extensive analytical elaboration of the ideas presented in it, as with "our" conclusion we will be satisfied with the concluding words of Fromm himself.

"With all the explanations for the fatal human passivity in matters of life and death, there is another one which is also the reason why I am writing this book. I think of the standpoint that we have no alternative to the models of corporate capitalism, social democratic or Soviet socialism or technocratic "smiling-faced fascism." The most responsible for the popularity of this view is the fact that there was very little effort in studying the feasibility of completely new social models and experimenting with them. Indeed, until the problem of social reconstruction becomes a preoccupation, even only partially, of the best minds of science and technology, the dream will not be able to see new and realistic alternatives. (Underlined by - D.S.)

(Fromm, 1980: 63)

For us, Erich Fromm's humanistic thought remains a great human suffering without a single drop of bloodshed, and without a single bullet fired. Yet his words aim and strike right into our hearts or into the "human heart," as Fromm himself names it. Fromm's works have their "soul", unlike many others in Western thought, who due to the excessive "rationalization" of all human and humane, and "pouring dirty water along with the healthy child", lost the deepest and most precious humane - his **soul**. Without any melodrama, false empathy, poser pathos, poetic metaphors, naive and disappointed idealistic humanism and academic theorizing and petty-bourgeois moralization and hypocritical "humanization" and stressing over everything, Fromm writes

a whole shocking testimony about the huge tragedies of the 20th century. **However**, despite any form of pessimistic fatalism, he does not lose faith and **hope** in the possibility of building a **freer, more humane and happier world**, which we, living at the turn of the 21st century, illusory expect to come true. In Fromm's words, the Great Promise failed to come true to us, and he seeks to find the reasons for that failure. (Fromm, 1984a: 55-64) But, moderately poetically speaking, if this **dream of a better, more beautiful and happier world** does not come true for us, then at least let it come true for our descendants and all future generations, because **as much as it is necessary** - on top of all good and bad **historical** experiences so far - for man to finally get rid of the illusions of a possible better world, **it is just as illusory** to expect that man in the **future** will be able to live and **survive** without new "illusions", as its uncontested rights, freedoms and responsibilities, and which would be **beyond** all previous illusions. (Fromm, 1984b) It is difficult to be predicted and assumed, but I think that the work of Erich Fromm gives such an optimistic vision without illusions and unrealistic expectations, being, alas, just another of the many unfulfilled human desires, longings, hopes, promises and **dreams** for a better and happier life. Ultimately - and in the spirit of the positive utopian energy that is missing (has gone) today, and without which man can't live and survive - **nothing ever comes true, to people who never dream of anything**. This optimism is all the more important at a time when freedom is an illusion and democracy is a farce, and the level of the general intellectual, moral and political state has never been lower in the modern history of world civilization and culture. But on the other hand, with all the risk of being declared dictators and conspirators of the "strong hand" and endangering human rights and freedoms, and with the aspiration to be philosophers who are "critics of everything that exists" (Marx) - including ourselves - the question of the risk of total/unlimited freedom remains unavoidable, namely without any limits, norms and rules of **responsibility** (read: nihilism), as well as the question of "too much" democracy, which even in Plato provoked explicit opposition?! (Skalovski, 2005) But these are chronically "sensitive" questions that open a new Pandora's Box, and as such we will leave them for another occasion, when we would not be talking about Erich Fromm.

But in order not to be rightly accused of too much poetic sighs, and too much emotionalism, sentimentality, and even irrationalism and too much criticism, we end this part of the review of Erich Fromm with his findings and

assessments, which should be "Rationalist", i.e. transtemporal step beyond the limits and limitations of their "spirit of time" (Zeitgeist):

"The process of revision of an author, which distinguishes the essential and the new from the random, time-conditioned elements, is itself a product of a certain historical period that influences the interpretation. In this creative interpretation, the creative and valid elements are again mixed with time-limited and random. The revision is simply not right, just as the original is not simply wrong." (Underlined by - D.S.)

(Fromm, 1984c: 4)

This and such a conclusion is even more important for us if we manage to know diachronically and synchronously the situation we found ourselves in **the year of 2020** on the occasion of the Covid 19 pandemic, and because of which before its calendar end we can qualify it as one of the **turning years** in the history of civilization, primarily in terms of how it will be governed, how it will be manipulated/deceived, and how man/humanity will be controlled and exploited in the future. (Zinovjev, 1991: 21-25) Because if already now man does not **resist** and if he obediently carries out the orders for "life under masks and visors", and at a distance that will continue to increase interpersonal alienation/miscommunication/socialization, it is easy to assume that its biological and "mental" reproduction is definitely and **deliberately** called into question. (Fritzhand & Donev, 2020) In fact, it is too obvious that the "placement" of the Covid 19 pandemic is in someone's profitable interest. So, more than 40 years after Fromm wrote these lines, we have to ask ourselves which of his ideas are pioneering and **anticipatory** (both utopian and **dystopian**, such as the current pandemic), and which are merely expressions of time and space limited reference frame? (Funk, R./McLaughlin, 2015) Because it is worst when we hastily, recklessly/thoughtfully and prematurely declare someone's ideas and concepts completely obsolete (mostly due to ignorance and the influence of ideological derivations, stereotypes and prejudices), and we will throw them into the dump of history, and already in the next new historical "human situation" we will realize late that we have made - and still do - **big mistakes**. (Honet, 2019) Great minds are such just because they are able almost all the way to accurately **predict** the situations in which man/mankind **yet** will find itself (manage); states that his mind will **still** have to/must reflect and interpret correctly, if he wants to succeed in directing the development of humanity to the **right path** that will enable and ensure **existence/survival** and prosperity in the future, too, because otherwise - **there will be no future**.

(Jonas, 1981; Skalovski, 2005) Erich Fromm's thought, with all the limitations that self-understandably every individual mind has, is a paradigmatic example of such an always relevant, current/anticipatory and powerful thought.

And when all this, which we have presented and commented on in this review of the work of Erich Fromm so far, is located in a **technological civilization**, and is co-placed and opposed to everything that **genetic/biological engineering does today**, then we open a **new Pandora's Box** of posthuman/ethical dilemmas, challenges, temptations, **(ir)responsible risks**, unknowns and uncertainties that it **has yet** to face - in Kant's language - **the critique of the Practical mind** of man. (Jonas, 1974/1980; Skalovski, 2005) On top of this, it must be emphasized that Kant's ethical imperatives certainly remain indisputable and valid, but they are like ethical reflections and articulations **insufficient** to prescribe **new ethical imperatives/rules/norms**, and whose **need** arises from the **new** ethical conditions in which man finds himself under the dictatorship and oppression of the **scientific-technological civilization**, and its always new, justified and unjustified, necessary and unnecessary, innovations and infinite "perfections", which definitely bring into question our traditional representation of ourselves, the "big picture" of man as such, to which we have become "accustomed" in the last few centuries of modern humanistic/holistic philosophy and culture. Those "needs" of hers - real and imagined - are **dictated by the interests of capital/profit**, not by the real/**realistic** needs of man, and which, as such, not only instill no moral and humanistic optimism, but they dangerously and self-destructively "smell" of definitive global self-destruction, as anticipated by increasingly frequent crises of all kinds, including the current Coronavirus pandemic, which is just one of the consecutive that we should expect in the future. Thus, they will have to be constantly revised and **supplemented** with "critiques of the digital mind" (Nonevski), as part of the broader "Critique of the virtuous mind" (Skalovski) and, finally, with critiques of the **global** *conditio humana* of all mankind. (Skalovski, 2015: 5-14; Nonevski, 2018: 67-108) Only from the position of such **freedom** and such **right** to constant and **always new** reading/**interpretation**, expansion of the outdated reference frames, and constant discursive **addition**, depending from the **needs of new life situations**, we can argumentatively talk about the need for constant re-actualization and philosophical reaffirmation of the **critical thought heritage of Erich Fromm**. The bottom line, not only in terms of Fromm, but in general, especially in a time when "the very philosophy has become a problematic tackle" (Gadamer), and not to mention science at

all, just with such a "general" cognitive **method of understanding**, the study of **history!** of human **thought** will retain its appropriateness and **meaning** for the **future**. (Gadamer, 1984: 165-177; Honneth, 2019/2015) Ultimately, beyond philosophy and the possibility of talking about "pure philosophy" today, it would be useful to conclude that Fromm's work proves the possibility for a certain **theological critique/prognosis** of the social-psychological consequences of the scientific-technical revolutions. (Babosov, 1973: 64-103)

However, it was the urgent need to **understand** the philosophical-ethical dilemmas prompted by the development of biotechnological and genetic research and experiments that gave rise to the new ethical discipline - **bioethics**. One of its priorities is **caring** for the moral and social implications of **bio-medical** research and technological innovations and genetic engineering in general. *"In that sense, human life itself, in all its phases, is an area of application of bioethics - starting from the very conception of life, its development and the end of life."* (Simonovska, 2006: 674; Temkov, 1999; Donev, 2018: 127)

And when we speak about the **end of life**, or the phenomenon of death, it is luck (or misfortune, as you like it) that man cannot become immortal, as we are warned and reminded by the "prophetic" words of Fromm: "Man can become like God, but he cannot become God." (Fromm, MMVIII: 71) In another way, if it was otherwise, even with the help of **biotechnology and genetic engineering**, who knows what would come to do in his/her already far-**twisted Mind**, which is the main creator of all today's **runaway world** (Giddens), and guided by the postulate that Günther Anders formulated as early as 1956: *"Do not leave unapplied anything that is applicable."* (Horkheimer, 1988; Anders, 1985: 18; Giddens, 2003; Simonovska, 2006: 671; Davchev, 2020) We are not adherents of the logic of absurd conditional questions such as "what if", but we dare to **believe** that - based on everything we have read from Erich Fromm - he would agree with a postulate that could roughly read: "All human ideas are applicable except the idea of immortality." But to make the absurd even greater, we can add: *All human ideas are applicable, even the inapplicable ones, but if and only if - someone's mortality or immortality will bring - **profit**.* (Žižek, 2008; Skalovski, 2010: 189-200)

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THE PERSISTENCE OF THE SACRED IN THE PROFANIZED CONTEMPORANEITY

The sacred at the basis and the basis of the sacred

Despite the topic of the conference being mostly about society, the point of view in this text is not sociological, but rather focuses on a broader area: the reality of the contemporary religious man, or of man experiencing some form of sacred manifestation in our (predominantly) disenchanted, profanized world.

The sacred is believed to be ontologically and axiologically superior to the profane (the non-sacred, the quotidian, the ordinary) in primordial religions and in the religious life of today. In archaic settings, the need for self-determination and the affirmation of the sense of belonging to a group (its identity, its values, its customs), is fulfilled through the sacred, through intense social cohesion within the religious cult and the community. The community confirms itself (its constellation, its sacredness), therefore establishing its role in the world: survive, keep safe, persist, succeed. The primordial belief in the sacred is essential to the way of life – it structures reality, it gives directions, it orders time and space, it governs relations. The sacred reality, when believed to be infinitely more important than the profane, exhibits performative powers in establishing ways and patterns of subsequent beliefs and behaviours, and in affirming the position of the religious man (*homo religiosus*) in the world. The sacred has an unknown, otherworldly power and majesty, and it has performative strength. According to the religious archaic man, the sacred allows for things to exist, and on the basis of the power of sacred myths and rituals, the rules, relations, values and concepts of the community are established and developed. This means that custom law, interpersonal relations, health practices, lore, art, and proto-metaphysics are all in some, direct or mediated way, established in virtue of the sacred.

The sacred and the profane share a relation of double mutual dependence, which is the basis not only of religious belief, but the entire structure of the

expression of belief – the religious cult and the connections and practices which stem from it. The sacred is powerful, but fragile. While it renders the profane possible, safe and ordered, it is susceptible to corruption, to impurity, to desacralization. The profane is ontologically inferior, which means that it is dependent on the ineffable power of the sacred reality, (it is believed that) it cannot sustain itself. However, while the profane realm does not sustain itself if no sacred foundation, persistence and intervention is constantly involved, it is responsible for the sacred. The profane reality - ordinary, unexceptional, weak and dull - lends itself to the sacred, preventing it from (severely) declining. The profane reality ceases to be when it gives rise to the tools necessary for the proper functioning of the religious cult. The sacred, susceptible to the corruption of the unholy and the impure, is protected within the beliefs and the practices of the cult. Since the community is organized around the strength and meaning of the sacred, even in its least religious aspects (seemingly removed from it), it is indirectly connected to it. The need for the sacred to be safe and protected, so that it can keep the profane safe and nicely ordered, is expressed through the sets of prohibitions of the negative cult, and through the constant dedicated engagement by the believers to keep the sacred reactualized, intense, refreshed, powerful. These are the crucial elements of the fruitful functioning of this basic, sacred-profane dichotomy.

For the religious man, who unwaveringly believes in the sacred reality, hierophany is always an exteriorization of power unlike any pertaining to the profane realm. Hierophanies make things work; they make them fruitful and prosperous. However, the belief in the sacred includes the belief in its decline through the passage of (profane) time: most of the primordial religious cult is dedicated to the (partial) reactualization of the initial sacredness of the world, and most of the contemporary religious behaviors follow this need. The intensity of the sacred in the world has subsided through time, and the modern way of life lacks the constant fascination by a superior reality. This decline is also staved off in the contemporary context of self-deliberation, thanks to the different ways of displaying religiousness and of communicating faith in the (post)modern world. The belief in the sacred perseveres: transformed, adapted, and incorporated in the contemporary societal, emotional, aesthetical, and ritual needs and ways of expression. For those willing to seek out meaning, wonder and awe, the sacred is there.

There are various modalities through which the sacred has persisted: through myths that have turned into allegories and legends and fables, to

contemporary super heroes and moral authorities; through rituals that have lost their numinous value, but have acquired profane significance; through instances of collective exaltation or individual admiration that have found new grounds for expression. The new human rites are stemming from the old rituals; the motives in popular culture develop from the mythical models. The persistence of the sacred is ineluctably apparent in the constant human need for dedication to something, fascination by something, and the engagement with the extraordinary.

“There is not even solitude”

Homo religious is a descendant of his sacred ancestors; he believes that the sacred can be exteriorized through any person, event, object, phenomenon. The dedicated believer thinks that through communal action, through the religious actions of the society, the initial manifestation of the sacred can be reactualized. This means that the original time of profound sacredness can be at least partially and briefly brought back, so that the superior reality, transposed in the “now” of the sacred time in the cult, can ensure the continued preservation and safety of the world. However, this homo religiosus speciation seems somewhat anachronistic in the contemporary world.

While many advantages of the loosening of the constraints of organized, or even compulsory religiosity are obvious, like the possibility for genuine, authentic faith, untainted by the pressure of pious appearances, or the deeply personal, completely intimate and unmediated connection to God, still, this insistence on autonomy, on self-deliberation, resonates as a disadvantage of the secular age. While liberating, the lack of referral to higher instances to regulate social and interpersonal relations and personal decisions can be troubling. Any such yearning for a deferred responsibility can be seen as escapism in the secular age, which exhibits a permeating distrust for the need to commune with the sacred, or the need for solace by the divine.

The inspirational ideas about man’s ability to find and maintain meaning in life, the striving for emancipation from external and supernatural forces, the enhancement of critical thinking and the freedom of choice also mean that there is less place for the divine. The power of humanity is sufficient to keep a world that is a true cosmos and not chaos, that is known and illuminated, and not a mess of wildly under-researched ineffability. Kant’s “sapere

aude!”¹ means that immaturity (a result not of ignorance, but of the lack of courage for autonomous use of reason and wisdom), can be overcome. The enlightened man needs no authorities, he is capable of self-determination. Since freedom has always come with the burden of responsibility, and the abundance of options with the confusion of choice, it is no surprise that life is complex and filled with anguish.²

Of course, this does not mean that spiritual endeavors and religious feelings are non-existent, or repressed by an external disapproving authority. For Taylor, the explosion of religious lives, this radical proliferation of religiosities and spiritualities is a main attribute of the modern age.³ Obviously, our modern perspective of the sacred differs immensely from that of the sacred in its “golden age” (or rather, the age where the reactualization of the “golden age” of the sacred origins was a *raison d’être* of religious and societal life). As it was previously mentioned, the fact that religiosity is now a deeply personal choice, persuasion and pursuit, makes it authentic and free. This, however, entails that the sources of the experience of the sacred are much more difficult to find, compared to the past when they were constantly around, although not easily accessible. The objects of religious sentiments and cultic behavior are not connected to the very existence of the community, like it used to be at the beginnings of religion and of custom law, nor are they as strictly defined as in the later religious institutions and systems. It is hardly true that the contemporary world lacks meaning, however, meaning is to be discovered or created.

The rediscovery of fascination

The sacred in the world, as it was previously mentioned, is prone to declining. The beginning of philosophy meant that myths were slowly transformed from sacred tales into allegories, didactic stories; from a sacred narration of the Beginning and the sacred ancestors, into fun little anecdotes about imaginary creatures. The rituals slowly changed from cultic, sacred activities, to

¹ I. Kant, *Was ist Aufklärung?: Ausgewählte kleiner Schriften*, hrsg. von Horst D. Brandt, Hamburg, 1999, 20-22.

² Besides in the works of the existential philosophers, the attention to the human lostness in the world (and to man as thrown into the world), is characteristic of the artworks of the early twentieth century. Dreyfus and Kelly list Eliot, especially “The Wasteland” and Beckett, especially “Endgame”, which testify to the dark fate of living in the modern age, H. Dreyfus, S. D. Kelly, *All Things Shining*, Free Press, New York, 2011, 28-29.

³ C. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Harvard University Press, Boston, 2007.

profane, repetitive actions, like customs, or habits. According to Eliade, when the feeling of the need for religiosity towards the cosmos fades, the perspective of the participation into sacredness and into infinity, and the idea of the responsibility for the continual safety of the world completely changes. This development of the communities outside of the necessity of sacred dedication, means that deities stop being accessible through the participation in the cosmic rhythm. The religious significance of the repetition of paradigmatic acts is forgotten, which is, for Eliade, a direct introduction into a pessimistic worldview of existence. The cyclic time becomes frightening when it is desacralized, when it stops being a way to reintegrate the primordial situation, and with this, a way for the reactualization of the mysterious presence of the divine, Eliade claims.⁴ Celebrations turn from dominantly sacred to profane. Ordinary (profane) actions are less defined and conditioned by their sacred background.

The sacred, however, persists. Myths do not simply disappear; they are transformed (into allegories, fables, stories, novels, comic books, television series), desacralized, but still here. Rituals persist as well, transformed into contemporary forms of initiations, remembrances, celebrations adjusted to the conditions of the world today. Certain traces of the nostalgia for the Origin, for the Beginning, typical for the primordial religiosity and the lengthy period of the human connection with the sacred, and the desire for ritual recreation of the world in the cultic actions are clearly visible in all the repetitive celebrations, in intentional and organized group activities, in the jubilees in the arts, in the sporting events etc.

A large portion of the ways and forms in which the sacred manages to survive and thrive is due to the amalgamation of Christianity with the pagan mythical characters and events, and into customs and narratives we still have today, further desacralized. The reconciliation of characters and events is quite obvious in persons like saint Elijah, or the god of thunder and lightning; saint George, or the dragon-slayer; saint Nicholas, or the Traveler, the Sea-fearer, the Messenger etc. The sacred in Christianity is multiplied: like in the primordial contexts, not only persons are sacred, but also their symbols, the things they represent (like portraits on icons, frescos, sculptures). Their remnants are believed to have special powers (some bring fertility, some good health, courage, fecundity etc.); sacred are the places in which they moved

⁴ M. Eliade, *Le sacré et le profane*, Gallimard, Paris, 1965, 95.

and worked. The need for veneration, for a connection to a reality beyond what is known, the need for assimilation by an ontologically and axiologically superior reality, the need for hope and comfort remain: the cult of the saints is the cult of the sacred ancestors or lesser deities, the cult of the heroes is the cult of the gods, on a lower level of adulation.

Mythical characters served (and still continue to do so) as an inspiration for the arts, especially starting during the renaissance.⁵ The opinions and stances of these authors could not significantly differ from the primary mythological sense, since the mythological themes and meanings could not be truly separated from their form. In this sense Meletinsky purports that in the boundaries of the traditional stories, some non-traditional literary forms with enormous generalizing force were created. These forms would determine not only the social characters of their time, but some of the basic human ways of behavior through characters like Hamlet, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Misanthrope etc., so-called “eternal characters”, which became special patterns (similar to the mythological paradigms) for the future literature (17th-20th centuries).⁶

Of course, there should be a distinction between the structure and the mythical origin of literature, and the mythological function that reading serves. Mythical types of adventures are present in many novels of the modern age, including the temptations and tribulations the protagonists need to overcome, modelled after the mythical hero, and transformed from versions of the stories of the mythical water/plant, the paradise island, the quest for some sacred object, or from sacred initiations, from ineffable mystical experiences, and so on. Any contemporary story can be analyzed through Propp's five categories of elements in the fable,⁷ and through his (or Greimas') list of narratemes. The twentieth century, through Tolkien and Lewis, as well as a great number of science-fiction authors, abounds with attempts at contemporary mythopoesis, or the introduction of “contemporary mythology” into literature (and later in film and other media).⁸

⁵ Out of thousands of examples, just the briefest of glimpses: Sacred and profane love (Titian), Leda and the Swan, painted by Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Rubens; the works of Caravaggio, who painted Narcissus and two versions of the Gorgon Medusa, and Bacchus (whom Michelangelo sculpted). The first lyrical opera, *Daphne*, tells the story of Apollon and Daphne the nymph, the oldest extant opera (also by J. Peri) is *Euridice*.

⁶ Е. М. Мелетинский, Поэтика мифа, Наука, Москва, 1976, 278-281.

⁷ Я. Пропп, Морфология "волшебной" сказки, Лабиринт, Москва, 1998.

⁸ An excellent example of the survival of mythical characters and situations are Joyce and T. Mann. Meletinsky counts them among the pioneers in the discipline of the poetics

The perspective of sacred things, those that pulsate with an external, unknowable power, which exteriorize inexplicable strength (if the belief that any manifestation of the sacred is a an exteriorization of power or might), things that cause the best and most plentiful source of meaning, gradually declined with the progress of the Enlightenment. Dreyfus and Kelly remark that the discovery of sense through feelings of fascination by a superior power is not completely lost. They claim that through the reading and study of the western classics, for example, one can discover crucial moments which pulsate with almost divine, sacred and powerful presence. The work of art embodies the truth of its world, as they put it.⁹ Dreyfus and Kelly propose that artworks shine, thus illuminating the way of life, and that all other things are illuminated by their brightness. The authors point to classical works, like Homer's *Odyssey*, Melville's *Moby Dick*, as well as Foster Wallace's works *Infinite Jest* and *The Pale King*, showing that the light of the sacred has faded in the contemporary civilization. Still, people need the feelings of the sublime; the fascination of an alien, powerful reality; being moved by something extraordinary; being rendered speechless by beauty, goodness, honor, pride; the sense of shared exaltation, and similar sentiments of enchantment.

Both the traditional understanding of the experience of the sacred and the contemporary feelings of (almost) sacredness are about the manifestation of ambivalent, strong feelings of awe, of fascination and trembling, of instinctive reactions, of being attracted to, and desiring to be assimilated by (and assimilate) the incredible otherworldly numinous power.

Play and the sacred

The ritual nature of games is another way of the persistence of sacred. While Huizinga's seminal work on ludology, *Homo ludens*, remains unchallenged, not much has been done to develop the study of the links between the possible role of play in the origins and the history of ritual practices. On the one hand, there is an evident difference between play and ritual: they seem to be disparate phenomena, one unburdened, flexible and free (although not free of rules), the other exhibiting formality and rigidity.¹⁰ On the other

of mythologizing and the creation of the mythological novel as a separate quasi-genre, E. Мелетинский, op. cit., 365.

⁹ H. Dreyfus, S. D. Kelly, op. cit., 102.

¹⁰ See G. M. Burghardt, "The Origins, Evolution and Interconnections of Play and Ritual: Setting the Stage", C. Renfrew, I. Morley, M. Boyd (Eds.), *Ritual, Play and Belief, in Evolution*

hand, the hierarchization and rules of games (often based on repetition and un/expected outcomes or consequences), and the fact that they open a space-time “bubble” within reality in order to happen, make them quite similar, and obviously closely linked to rituals. Rituals can, therefore, be considered “as if” and in essence pretend play.¹¹

The fact that man is capable of playing with different options, perspectives and scenarios, the very fact of play, makes man connected to the sacred: ludology supposes that one plays with sacred dedication. In its cultic-ritual manifestation, religion has some characteristics of play. Huizinga treats myth, ritual, art, law, language etc. as play. According to him, it is precisely in myth and ritual that the great powers of the civilized life have their origin. Custom law, commerce, gifting, crafts and arts, poetry, science, wisdom, they are all rooted in the foundational play of the primordial sacred actions. The cult is play in the fullest sense, it is a dromenon, which means it is an action, but also acted out. In the form and function of play, the position of man in the world finds its first, highest, most sacred expression.¹² Gradually in play the meaning of the consecrated acts enters, and the cult is formed.

Guardini points out that liturgy shares many of the characteristic of play. For example, it could be said that it lacks purpose, but not meaning (the purpose of liturgy is God, not man). Both child’s play and artistic creation are similar to liturgy. With maximum care, liturgy gives the serious rules

and *Early Human Societies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2018, 23; G. M. Burghardt, *The Genesis of Animal Play: Testing the Limits*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2005.

¹¹ See A. B. Seligman, R. P. Weller, M. J. Puett, B. Simon, *Ritual and its Consequences: An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008; and of course, V. Turner, who underlines the role of play in ritualization (*From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, PAJ Publications, New York, 1982).

Dissanayake purports that what is commonly recognized as ritual in humans has its origins in the constituent elements of play and ritualized behaviors, as observed in many non-human mammals. These elements also represent the antecedents and components of art in a wider sense. Furthermore, they are also key ingredients of rituals, and play a role in the efficacy of rituals founded in arts, especially through the inspiration of belief and the instillation of doctrine in the participants. She analyses the participatory aspects of ritual, and the components that ritual and play behaviors contribute to human ritual practices (see E. Dissanayake, “From Play and Ritualisation to Ritual and its Arts: Sources of Upper Pleistocene Ritual Practices in Lower Middle Pleistocene Ritualised and Play Behaviours in Ancestral Hominins”, C. Renfrew, I. Morley, M. Boyd, op. cit., 87-98).

¹² J. Huizinga, *Homo ludens - Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur*, Athenaeum Boekhandel Canon, digital library, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2008, 43-45.

of sacred play which the believers play in front of God himself.¹³ The forms, the rules of play, are an object of deep investigation, instead of mere needs which the play meets.¹⁴

According to Caillois, while at first it seems unlikely that the dedicated believer and the one who plays, or the cult and the gameplay, are similar, it becomes clear: the sacred and the ludic can be identified. In the cult, a closed space is separated from the world, and for a certain time, regulated actions, acts that represent of actualize a mysterious reality are performed. The participant is transported outside of the ordinary existence.¹⁵

Caillois includes himself in the pioneers of the identification of the sacred and play, but claims that he differs from Huizinga in one key point (it is, in fact, two points). He does not believe that the forms of play and the cult, by making sure to separate themselves from the regular order of existence, assume an equal position towards it, nor does he believe that they have an equal content.¹⁶ Play for Caillois is pure form, an activity which contains its purpose, with rules that are followed simply because they are rules. This does not apply to the sacred, which is pure content, indivisible power, ambivalent, ungraspable.

According to Fink, by being cultic at the beginning, play was installed right at the centre of attention of the archaic man.¹⁷ Within the cult, ordinary things are elevated to sublime, powerful positions. Man constantly lives in the world, but due to his priorities, has not real relation with the world. This connection is established on the level beyond the profane, as contradictory as it sounds, through the ludic nature of the cult.¹⁸

Some of the things that shine and illuminate other things in the contemporary, largely disenchanted world, can be found in the joy of sharing a fulfilling intellectual experience; or in the beauty of meeting kindred spirits; in the awe of inexplicable achievements and emotions; in the numinous experience of being a part of something greater. For all those who look for it, the sacred is here.

¹³ R. Guardini, "Liturgia come gioco", *Lo spirito della liturgia - I Santi segni*, Morcelliana, Roma, 1980.

¹⁴ R. Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes*, Gallimard, Paris, 2008, 206.

¹⁵ R. Caillois, *L'homme et le sacré*, Gallimard, Paris, 2008, 208.

¹⁶ Caillois never explicitly formulates this, but, following his theory, it is plausible to extract such a summary.

¹⁷ E. Fink, *Le jeu comme symbole du monde*, trad. H. Hildenbrad et A. Lindenberg, Editions Minuit, 1966, Paris, 170.

¹⁸ E. Fink, op. cit., 138-139.

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LETTERS No 3 AND No 4 OF NICHOLAS I MYSTICOS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE (901–907, 912–925)

Abstract: *There can hardly be any major doubts of the huge and multifaceted influence that church hierarchs have on the communities in the Orthodox world. In view of this, it is barely surprising that the various aspects of their life, work and creativity provoke and will continue to provoke the scientific interest of generations of scholars. The research efforts in this article also are prompted by the desire to add touches to the role of Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos in the foreign affairs, as evidenced in two of the earlier letters in his abundant epistolary legacy.*

Keywords: Letters; Diplomacy; Refuge; Asylum; Secular authority; Hierarchs.

In view of the active participation of the hierarchs of Constantinople in the internal and foreign political life of Byzantium, as well as in taking into account the forced overthrow of the Patriarchs Ignatios (847–858, 867–877; † 877) and Photios (858–867, 877–886; † 896) and their re-enthronement, what was happening with Nicholas Mystikos at the early 10th century can hardly be defined as extremely unusual or surprising. However, during his second tenure as Patriarch of Constantinople in 912, he probably did not even assume what his role would be in the fate of the Empire (Kazhdan, 1991, 983–984, 1466–1467, 1669–1670; Станковић, 2003, 30–36, 42–62, 68–78, 87–112). A year later, due to the rapid, one after another deceases of Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912; † 12 May 912) and his brother Alexander (912–913; † 6 June 913) and due to the infancy of the born in September 905 heir to the throne Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913/945–959; † 9 November 959), the Patriarch proved to be a key member of the gathered Regency. It is no coincidence that the chroniclers of the era did not miss to pay attention to this fact (Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 1838, 380; Leo Grammaticus, 1842, 287–288; Geogius Monachus Continuatus, 1863, col. 1128; Псамафийская хроника, 1959, 75; Symeon Magister, 2006, 296–297;

Skylitzes, 1973, 195). For example, it was from the position of a leading regent that he was forced to write to Tsar Simeon I the Great (893–927; † 29 May 927) in order to prevent the Bulgarian campaign against Byzantium, prepared in response to the broken peaceful relations between two states during the short reign of Emperor Alexander (Nicholas Mystikos, 1973, 26–38, 527–528).

In fact, the correspondence between Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos and the Bulgarian ruler began before the tense events of the summer of 913 and lasted until the last months of the hierarch's life in 925. The exchange of letters did not cease either after the high Byzantine clergyman lost his key position in the Regency – when Empress Zoe Carbonopsina, the mother of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, imposed control of the government or after the accession of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944; † 29 June 948). Not only the so-called “Bulgarian letters” [Letters №№ 3–31], but the rest of the rich epistolary legacy of that hierarch of Constantinople have long received due attention from scholars because of their role as a primary source of information about events in the Balkans in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East in the first quarter of the 10th century.¹ Despite the abundant and long-term research interest in the ideological, political, philosophical, ethical, religious and diplomatic aspects in the letters of the Patriarch, it must be admitted that there is still something to be added to the study of some of the data in their texts.

The abovementioned applies to a great extent to two very long-known in scientific circles fragments of the correspondence of the high Byzantine clergyman (Mai, 1839, 170–175; *PG*, 1863, cols. 40–45; Grumel, 1936, 145 [№№ 623–624]). As early as the end of the 19th century, Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935) suggested that letters № 3 and № 4 of Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos were related to the fate of a Byzantine subject who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. Sent simultaneously to Tsar Simeon and to the Bulgarian archbishop, they represent an attempt to intercede for a fugitive who was returned to early medieval Bulgaria. The prominent medievalist is inclined to assume that the fugitive seeking refuge at the altar of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was probably “among the captive Greeks [Rhōmaïoi – i.e., Byzantines]” (Златарски, 1894, 394; Cf also: Дүйчев, 1939, 26–28; Nicholas Mystikos, 1973,

¹ About the peculiarities of the Byzantine epistolography and its role in the challenges faced by the representatives of the imperial ruling, political, spiritual and cultural elite, see: Krumbacher, 1897, 452–454; Darroizes, 1960; Hunger, 1978, 199–239; Mullett, 1981, 75–93; Mullett, 1992, 203–216; Hatlie, 1996, 213–248; Mullett, 1997, 11–43; Riehle, 2020, 1–30; Kotzabassi, 2020, 177–199; Bernard, 2020, 307–332.

XXXV, 16–27, 527). It must be acknowledged that there is some uncertainty and disagreement in the exact dating of the letters. According to one of the main opinions they were written during the first patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos, while the other accepts as a more probable some early moments in his second tenure. The grounds for such an assumption are by no means negligible. They are connected both with the war of 894–896 and with the initiatives of the Bulgarian ruler in the southern and southwestern direction in the early 10th century (Hristov, 2015, 79–83; Христов, 2018, 214–231) Also, in the interest of objectivity, it should be noted that there are reasons according to which the seemingly unreasonable decision of Emperor Alexander may be in response to raids by Bulgarian troops in the Byzantine possessions before the summer of 913 (Karlin-Hayter, 1969, 588–589; Каждан, 1976, 94; Bozilov, 1980, 73–81. Cf. also Shepard, 1989, 9–48; Shepard, 1999, 567–585). Without underestimating the briefly mentioned discrepancy, along with taking into account the diplomatic rivalry between the Bulgarian ruler and the Patriarch of Constantinople, delving into the discussion in this very direction seems to overshadow other possibilities for studying the text of the concerned fragments of the Nicholas Mystikos' epistolary heritage.

A passage within the well-known letter № 3, which is addressed to Tsar Simeon the Great reads as follow: “...*There is a man, perhaps worthy of punishment, perhaps merely fallen, as men may, into misfortune, who out of fear of your authority fled for refuge to the temple of God which every Christian acknowledges to be the eye of the world, and in which I, albeit unworthy, offer up worship night and day. This man, as he was being dragged inevitably from the temple, moved me, by his invocation of the Holy Sanctuary, and the respect owed by all Christians in common to the holy places of God, and the immunity of those who take refuge in them, to refuse (what else could I do – I, the servant, albeit unworthy, of the Holy Sanctuary?) even to consider allowing those who were trying to drag him away to execute their design, insolent as they were and brutally as, on your behalf, they conducted themselves toward me. However, when they undertook, and altogether confirmed to me, that you (my Son) would do him no harm, but that he should be granted your pardon and forgiveness of his fault, I drew him out of the temple and sent him off, calling at the same time upon God and His All-holy Sanctuary, both now and hereafter, not to leave him unavenged if – may it not be at your hands, my Son! – he should meet with any harm of suffering...*” (Nicholas Mystikos, 1973, 19)

The search for *asylum* in the church of Hagia Sophia as well as the refugee removal from the temple is also mentioned quite unequivocally in the letter No 4 to the Archbishop of Bulgaria. “...Let me now explain the matter I am writing about. A certain man took refuge in our most holy Church ... When he had taken refuge in the Holy Place of God, there came some who, to do a favor to the Prince appointed by God, wished to drag the man out of the temple; to whom, as they were most insolent and brutal in action, I refused to listen, or to allow them to drag the suppliant from the temple until they had given an assurance that he should suffer no harm at the hands of the Prince appointed by God. Then they took him from the All-holy Sanctuary...” – writes the Patriarch (Nicholas Mystikos, 1973, 23). Along with this, however, a number of important aspects remain unclear. It is not clear exactly how the fugitive managed to reach Constantinople; whether he fled across the border or traveled in a group visiting the imperial capital for diplomatic and/or commercial reasons; how the people of the Bulgarian ruler learned about the *asylum* sought; and last but not least, why he was forcibly removed from the church.

In view of our knowledge of the epoch, perhaps the least worrying is the question of why it was namely the church of Hagia Sofia that was chosen as a place where the fugitive was trying to take advantage of the right to *asylum*. Its role in this particular respect was confirmed by Emperor Justinian I the Great (527–565) relatively soon after its construction (Cotsonis, 2002, 41–55). By the way, long before the middle of the 6th century, in the territories of the Eastern Roman Empire, *asylum* law already has a centuries-old history, whose roots go far back to the times of Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Ancient Greece. In Rome, it is also observed, despite some nuances and particular restrictions. When paying attention to the establishment of the practice of granting *asylum* in the church, the Council of Serdica of 342–343 is usually mentioned. Canon 7 of the council's decisions is considered one of the key, earliest, surest testimonies in the outlined direction. Another issue is that judging by its text, it is as if it is not a novelty, but rather a conciliar sanction of an aspect that is already perceived as part of the duties of the church hierarchs (Sinha, 1971, 5–11, 15–17, 50–51; Kaeuper, 1982, 631–632; Hess, 2002). In the last years of the 4th century, the secular authorities attempted to import control and impose restrictions on the granting of *asylum* to escaped slaves and debtors. There are some reservations about the effectiveness and wide application of these attempts at regulation, their knowledge and observance by the bishops in turbulent times immediately after the death of Emperor

Theodosius I (379–395) and the division of the Empire between his minor sons Honorius (395–423) and Arcadius (395–408) (Shoemaker, 2011, 21–43). On the other hand, from the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century, the Emperors of Constantinople continued their legislative efforts regarding the right of *asylum*, which outlined the general framework for refuge conditions in the church valid in the following centuries in Byzantium.

In addition to the edicts of Theodosius II of 431 and 432, the *Codex Theodosianus*, promulgated by him, there are included the earlier provisions of the Emperors Valentinian of 386, Theodosius I of 392, and of Arcadius and Honorius of 397 and 398 (*CTh* IX. 44. 1; IX. 45. 1–5). Over the next century, most of them were repeated within the *Codex Justinianus*, and edicts of the Emperors Honorius (of 409), Marcian (of 451) and Leo I (of 466) were added. The latter deserves special attention, not only because of the definition of the principles for the application of the right of *asylum* but also because of the clearly emphasized and recognized role of the bishops in the specific field. (*C I*. 12. 1–6). Restrictions are also provided in *Novels* of Emperor Justinian I (*NJ* 17.6–7; *NJ* 37.10; *NJ* 128.13). In this regard, it should be noted that legislative decisions, regulations and imposed specific exceptions are sufficiently numerous and diverse and do not allow *asylum* for debtors (especially to the treasury), senior government officials, murderers, rapists, adulterers, heretics and escaped slaves. In fact, the exceptions severely undermine the true application of the principles of *asylum* and protection by the church, despite their most widespread recognition by the secular authorities in Byzantium (Thurman, 1969, 593–606; Cotsonis, 2002, 41–55). At least in general, it can be said that in 8th and 9th century, the Iconoclast Emperors Leo III (717–741) and Constantine V (741–775) as well as the first members of the so-called Macedonian dynasty – Emperors Basil I (867–886) and Leo VI the Wise (886–912), do not supplement or make significant changes to the early Byzantine legislation with regard to the right of *asylum*. And while the 17th title of *Ecloga*² reads not the particularly voluminous passage: “No one shall forcibly remove anyone who has taken refuge in a church, but the charge against the fugitive shall be made known to the priest and he shall receive assurances that the fugitive shall be lawfully tried and the charge against him given. But if anyone ventures to seize the fugitive by

² Except for *Ecloga* and its well-known corresponding parts in *Eisagoge*, and *Procheiros nomos* see also *Nomos Mosaikos* 46. 1–2; 47. Cf. also: Humphreys, 2014, 171–179, 242–248; Stolte, 2019, 171–178.

force from the church, he shall receive twelve blows and then the charge against the fugitive shall be properly investigated..." (E XVII. 1. Cf. also: PrN XXXIX. 7; Eis XL. 9; B LX. 45. 19), the 5th book of *Basilika*, presents provisions (with some abbreviations) from the edicts of 431 and 432, and also in detail there is represented the particularly important edict of 466, together with the additions from the time of Emperor Justinian I the Great in compiling the first book of his *Codex* (B V. 1. 11-15).

If we say that with the above-mentioned regulations, the challenges to the importance of the church as a place of refuge and the role of hierarchs in protecting refugees and *asylum* seekers are overpassed, it would not be true. As Ruth Macrides points out in the time of Emperor Leo VI "... there are signs of a reopening the question...". It is believed that the pressure of the hierarchs continued in the following decades and eventually led to new legislative initiatives by the central government in the reign of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (Karin-Hayter, 1964, 613-617; Macrides, 1988, 509-538). Nor should it be overlooked, however, that the efforts of the ecclesiastical authorities concern the extension of the right of *asylum* for murderers - not only for the persons who caused someone's unintentional death, but also when the assault on the victim's life was committed by willful, intentional murderers.³

It is more than obvious that the case described in letters № 3 and № 4 was not related to murder. This does not mean that the Patriarch of Constantinople is particularly relieved in his efforts and does not need to argue with Tsar Simeon and the Bulgarian Archbishop. It is no coincidence that in the initiated intercession, Nicholas I Mystikos explicitly stated in letter № 4 that the fugitive was „... a man who says he is neither of Bulgarian race nor the slave of anyone in Bulgaria, and is now sought for as a runaway slave ...“ (Nicholas Mystikos, 1973, 22). The additional touches in question are the basis of the mentioned assumption that we are talking about a *Byzantine* who is trying to escape from his captivity in Simeon's Bulgaria. It is interesting that they are the very reason for the appearance of doubt, especially if we take into

³ In fact, as is well known from the early Christian era, ecclesiastical authorities sought to intervene in the patronage of those accused of manslaughter, see for example: *Canons* 22-23 of Council at Ancyra (314), *Canons* 11, 43, 57 of St. Basil the Great (Patsavos, 2003, 96). About *asylum* in the time of the Komnenoi and in the late Byzantine period, and the deep traditions in the legislation in this direction, see: Павлов, 1897, 155-159; Соколов, 1909, 216-237; Macrides, 1984, 99-204; Macrides, 1990, 61-86; Атанасовски, 2016, 176-177.

consideration the so-called *ius postliminii* – highly typical for the Roman and early Byzantine law (*D XLIX. 15; C VIII. 50 (51)*). Cf. also: *E VIII. 6. 8; B XXXIV. 1. 16; B XXXIV. 1. 19. 2–4*). Explanations regarding the ethnic origin and forms of personal dependence would be in the background or completely redundant in the case of an imperial subject who was a prisoner of war or kidnapped civilian. According to the law of *postliminium*, upon their re-entry into Byzantium, those who had the misfortune to fall into enemy hands could restore their social status prior to captivity.

Of course, due to the limitations of the available information, it is hardly possible to be final and categorical in rejecting or accepting the hypothesis that we are talking about a Byzantine, who was a captive among the Bulgarians. However, serious doubts are emerging regarding the position expressed by the prominent medievalist. In addition, it is impossible to downplay the question of why a subject of the Emperors, upon his return to the Empire, was forced to seek *asylum* and to rely on the intercession of the church hierarchs, instead of taking advantage of the far more respected by the secular authorities principles of *ius postliminii*. Additional interpretations and even speculations with the data in the texts in question are definitely possible, but in the end, it seems most correct to note that letters № 3 and № 4 still have all the evidence of a failed attempt of *asylum* in the church of Hagia Sophia. At the same time, despite the ambiguities surrounding the fate of the fugitive after his expulsion from the church, the initiative of Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos fits very closely into the renewed efforts of the hierarchs from the end of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century to extend their powers with regard to the protection of *asylum* seekers. This, as can be seen, happens not only when there are cases within the empire, but also internationally.

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Abbreviations:

- B* - *Basilika*
CTh - *Codex Theodosianus*
D - *Digesta*
E - *Ecloga*
Eis - *Eisagoge*
NJ - *Novels of Justinian*
PG - *Patrologia Graeca*
PrN - *Procheiros Nomos*

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BALKANIZATION – INVENTION AND MISUSING

The main object of this presentation is to show how the term Balkanization appeared and its misusing during the past decades in common usage of the word. Mowrer wrote that the meaning of the word “Balkanization” is a creation for the region hopelessly mixed races of a medley of small states with more or less backward populations, economically and financially weak, covetous, afraid, a continual prey to the machination of the Great powers and to the violent prompting of their own passions.

Liridona Velju asserts that Balkanization has not clear definition. According to her opinion this term has been most often used to describe a wide range of complex and problematic situations, people and events (Velju, 2020: 1). Sanja Lazarević Radak writing about the using of the term Balkanization notes that this term has been interpreted as a complex phenomenon intertwined in the character structure of the Balkans, a heritage of the nations that had the misfortune to be ruled by foreign Empires. (Radak, 2014: 273). **According to the definition of Balkanization**, in Encyclopedia Britannica, this term defines or presents division of a multinational state into smaller ethnically homogenous entities. The term also is used to refer to ethnic conflict within multiethnic states. It was coined at the end of World War I to describe the ethnic and political fragmentation that followed the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the Balkans. The term *Balkanization* is today invoked to explain the disintegration of some multiethnic states and their devolution into dictatorship, ethnic cleansing, and civil war (www. Encyclopedia Britannica). However there is some omission in the definition of the term Balkanization. I assert this because of the fact that the term Balkanization has been widely used by the authors to depict not only political events, but also it refers to the economical and social conditions and situations in different countries around the world. An American journalist Paul Scott Mowrer gave us a similar but different definition of the term Balkanization. According to him, the term

Balkanization means “ the creation, in a region of hopelessly mixed races, of a medley of small states with more or less backward populations, economically and financially weak, covetous, intriguing, afraid, a continual prey to the machinations of the Great powers, and to the violent promptings of their own passions”. (Mowrer, 1920: 25) So, it is obvious that the term Balkanization has not referred only to the political and territorial fragmentation of the states. As Maria Todorova noted the term Balkanization entered the lexicon of journalists and politicians at the end of World War I when the disintegration of the Habsburg and Romanov Empires into a proliferation of small states reminded them of the secession of the Balkan countries from the Ottoman polity that had begun much earlier. (Todorova, 2009: 34)

It is obvious that this term was coined by the western intellectuals, journalist and diplomats. Arnold J. Toynbee of the University of London gave a public lecture on "Balkanization: Its Cause and Its Cure." He defined "balkanization," in the sense in which it was used by the Germans during the World War, as the breaking of a large empire containing many different nationalities their characteristic languages and institutions into its component cultural parts, each of which might or might not be competent maintain its political and economic independence against external aggressions. As typical instances he cited the breaking up of Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century into the present Balkan States and of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in South America into the nineteen states which at present occupy continent (Cram, 1935: 362).

The using of the term Balkanization after the First World War had a stereotypical notion and pertained to the negative meanings of developments in political, economical or social field. Here I will give few examples. Austin Harrison writing about the European decline and the situation in postwar Europe noted that the Balkanization of Europe implies the impoverishment of Europe which necessarily means the antagonism of Europe and enslavement to the military idea (Harrison, 1920: 82) According to Brailsford it would be difficult to overstate the evils with which this process of Balkanization threatens the whole life of Central and Eastern Europe, cultural, economic and political –“ This phenomenon of Balkanization seems at first sight to mean that nationality has asserted itself as a positive and shaping force. On a closer view one inclines to regard it rather as a sign of dissolution. The war has shaken the fabric of civilization on the Continent” (Brailsford, 1920:59-60). Harold Bloom introduced “balkanization” to mourn everything he detested in

his discipline: the proliferation of the ideologies of gender and various sexual persuasions, multiculturalism unlimited, the clones of Gallic-Germanic theory (Todorova, 2009: 36) He accuses, for example, ‘members of the school of resentment (Marxists, Feminists, Deconstructionists, etc.)’ of a ‘Balkanization of English studies’ A senior British official talks about the Balkanization of his country’s civil service: ‘The more you balkanize the service and create more agencies, the greater the risk may be that you will import people who may not behave as they might have behaved, with the same degree of propriety and fairness to those whom they serve (Goldsworthy, 1998:5). Using the words of Toynbee about the term Balkanization, Cram extended its usage to the ancient time in order to elucidate the existence of innumerable Greek city states and dissolution of the Alexander the Great and Roman Empires as well (Cram, 1935, 363-364). There are other examples for using the term Balkanization in order to denote negative occurrence in Europe and USA as well, but I think that abovementioned examples are more than sufficient to present the using or let to be more precise misusing of the word Balkanization.

The invention and applying of the term balkanization in negative manner has challenged a prominent Greek diplomat Ioannes Gennadius to react on the usage of this word with pejorative and negative of this word by the western intellectuals, journalists, politicians and diplomats. He asked why the words Balkan, Balkanize and Balkanization signify a state of constant unrest, lawlessness and upheavals. Gennadius considered that the applying of these terms is completely inaccurate (Gennadius, 1922:137). In order to express his resentments with the western approach to the region and the usage of the term Balkanization he wrote that the rest of Europe, during the past period, has been more thoroughly balkanized than its southeastern part (Gennadius, 1922:137). His opinion has not been far from the truth having into account the events that occurred in western part of the continent in the second half of the 19th century.

The political changes in Europe after the Second World War contributed to temporarily failing to remember the use of term Balkanization for the southeastern part of the continent. Veliu is completely accurate when she asserts that after the creation of the Yugoslav federation in 1945 “the world had the chance to see a divergent and antagonistic trend to that of disunity in the Balkan Peninsula. Yugoslavia was an antithesis to Balkanization” (Veliu, 2020: 4). However the using of the term to denote something negative did not disappear from vocabulary of the politicians, intellectuals, diplomats and

journalists. A second round in the use of “balkanization” emerged with the beginning of the decolonization process after World War II (Todorova, 2009: 35).

Regarding to the applying of the term balkanization in order to be explained territorial fragmentation and instability, as a result of the politics and interests of the foreign powers, the African case is very interesting for analysis. Postcolonial African leaders agreed that balkanization associates for the territorial fragmentation of the continent divided into many weak states. (Neuberger, 523). They has used the term balkanization to mark the territorial fragmentation of Africa, although, as Neuberger pointed out, that the question is what degree of fragmentation is considered as normal and when it does begin to be associated with balkanization (Neuberger, 523) Writing about the creation of East African federation Julius Nyerere said that he balkanization of Africa is a source of weakness the continent. In his article, published in 1964, he espoused vigorously for removing of the entire process of the balkanization of East Africa (Gibson, 2016, 34). Nkrumah, in his speeches and books, warned that Africa not to remain balkanized (Neuberger, 524). Nyerere and Nkrumah were not singular politicians who used the term Balkanization in order depict the situation in Africa. African leaders like Leopold Sedar Senghor, Ahmed Sekou Toure, and others had used the same term. Even today we can find studies where the African authors deals with the term balkanization as a remnants from the colonial past of the continent. Thus, Bofo - Arthur writing about the economical issues stressed that the internationalization of capital was the linchpin of globalization during those periods, which resulted not only in the domination but also balkanization of Africa by the imperial powers of Europe. European interests were the driving force. (Bofo-Arthur, 2000). However such using of the term Balkanization in order to explain the fragmentation of Africa as a result of the policy of the former colonial power has met with criticism by some western authors. Skurnik considered that the term 'balkanization', as applied to colonial policy in suggests a European 'divide and rule' policy, intended to fragment African unity. An examination of the policy of France towards fragmentation of French West Africa indicates that the term is inaccurate to describe French policy (Skurnik, 1967:332)

The applying of the term Balkanization with negative connotation can be finding in Indian political vocabulary. The former Indian president Rajendra Prasad referring to the political instability in the newborn Indian independent state and the question of the possibility of cession of some regions from India wrote that Jawaharlal Nehru prevented further balkanization of the country.

(Prasad, 1987: 157). Nehru vehemently rejected the theory of Indian communist for multinational state which would lead to the balkanization of India (Prasad, 1987: 145). Even today Indians are very sensitive about the integrity of their country and the involvement of the foreigners in their internal affairs. Malhotra and Neelakandan criticizing some stances of western authors and politicians regarding the internal affairs in India, blamed the London Institute of South Asia for openly calls for the Balkanization of India (Malhotra and Neelakandan, 2016:298)

The violent dissolution of the former Yugoslav federation followed with bloody wars and ethnic cleansing has returned the term Balkanization to the southeastern part of Europe. Many Western intellectuals, scholars, diplomats and politicians has started to be concerned of the possibility of balkanizing of Europe instead of Europeanizing the Balkans (Simić, 2013:113).

Goldsworthy considers that imagination was manifested in the fear, frequently expressed in the Western media in the early 1990s, that if the war in the Balkans were to continue, a new Balkanization could undo the foundations of Europe itself. The ghosts of the First World War, reawakened by artillery fire in Sarajevo, made the Balkans the focus of attention (Goldsworthy, 1998:13). Recent literature has emphasized the negative connotations carried by the word 'Balkans'. These are exemplified by the term 'Balkanization' which has come to mean fragmentation into mutually hostile entities. Balkanization is the exact opposite of integration and, as such, it can be seen to represent Europe's past. Indeed, according to Ole Waever, it is not an external threat that today is Europe's defining 'other', but this conflicted past. (Davies, 2003:2). I must to add that the spiteful Balkan politicians and nationalisms are not only to blame for the possible Balkanization of Europe. Some behaviors of the member of the European Community, latter EU, contributed to the spreading of the fears for the Balkanization of Europe. The use of international recognition as an instrument for outside intervention meant the adoption of the political line of a forceful Germany. The Yugoslav crisis presented an occasion for a reunited, self-confident Germany to demonstrate its political muscle and, in effect, to safeguard vested Germano - centric economic and political interests in northern (ex) Yugoslavia - in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Schierup, 1994: 116). Greece continued to appear more 'European' than other Balkan countries. In a reflection of the complexity of the constructions of identity, the philhellenism which survived the Colonels' regime of 1967-74 seems to have been more seriously affected by Greek mem-

bership of the European Union. Once formally within the walls of the new 'Europe', Greece began increasingly to be seen as the other in the EU's nest. Goldsworthy, because of the attitude of Greece during the Yugoslav wars and its policy towards Macedonian independence, wrote symbolic 'Balkanization' of the Hellenes. (Goldsworthy, 1998:204)

Radak is a completely right when she claims, that during 1990's the term Balkanization entered into wide use as a kind of infection threatening to affect the whole world. (Radak, 2014: 279). We have come upon such examples of using the term Balkanization. Demands of the Scots and Catalans for independence from Great Britain and Spain and their insistence on widening of cultural and linguistically rights was a reason for Hobsbawm to use the term Balkanization to depict the policy of the European Union in regard the regions within the framework of the Union. According to his opinion the policy of the European Union of favoring regions against nation-states is a policy favoring separatism. Hobsbawm thought that Balkanization "will not solve any problems of linguistic and cultural identity" (Hobsbawm, 1996: 1078). The term Balkanization, in negative connotation, again is used for territorial fragmentation of some European states, but in this case is connected with cultural and linguistical questions as well. It is interesting to note that the term Balkanization of Britain appeared in *The Guardian*. According to Radak, the Balkanization of Britain became a popular phrase. She wrote "England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland had their Yugoslav counterparts. Scotland was equaled with Croatia, Wales with Slovenia, Northern Ireland with Bosnia, while England recognized herself in Serbia in the attempts to keep larger political and territorial units" (Radak, 2014: 280).

USA has not been absent from the applying the term Balkanization in order to denote some negative trends in American society. Mestrovic thinks that the American society still has a long way to go before it reaches the pitch of Balkanization in the former Yugoslavia, yet the existing divisiveness is already tinged with considerable hostility. (Mestrovic, 1994: 109) He points out that President Clinton and many others have hinted that the USA itself is succumbing to a sort of cultural Balkanization an "Eastern" phenomenon as evidenced by race riots and many other sorts of divisiveness. For example, according to him, Hispanic and African Americans forcefully criticize the logic of the predominantly white and Protestant culture that is imposed on them in the name of melting-pot America. Women and gays have taken on the status of fictional ethnic groups in the USA. There is open discussion of

secession in Hawaii, Northern from Southern California, the two halves of Texas (Hispanic versus Caucasian), even the cities of New Orleans and New York as "states. (Mestrovic, 1994:62) William Frey introduced the term demographic balkanization as a "spatial segmentation of population by race-ethnicity, class, and age across broad regions, states, and metropolitan areas ... driven by both immigration and long distance internal migration patterns" (Frey,1996:76) . Few years later Frey writing about some trends on the immigration issue in USA notes: "Current immigration along with ongoing domestic migration forces are creating a demographic balkanization that portends increasing divisions across broad regions of the country. If the new trends continue, today's multi-ethnic immigrant gateway regions may very well turn into individual melting pots in which different Hispanic, Asian, African American, Native American, and Anglo groups coexist and intermarry while still retaining some elements of their own national heritage. Although this ideal image of "one America" may be approximated in these regions, it will be less achievable nationally. In the rest of the country, which will look demographically quite distinct, different political agendas will come to the fore, and there will be a lower tolerance for the issues and concerns of ethnically more diverse populations in other regions "(Frey, 1999:79). Ellis and Wright, commenting about the term Balkanization, applied by Frey on the immigrant issue in USA, express completely different view and clarification. According to their opinion Balkanization is at best a poor analogy and "at worst, it is racist. Immigration- driven balkanization implies that newcomers to the country take responsibility for the break-up of U.S. society. We disagree. A threat to U.S. society stems not from immigrants, but from a new nativism, some of which derives directly from seductive phrases like balkanization. Words like balkanization help sustain an anti-immigrant, pro- Anglo conformist agenda that many immigrants rightly perceive as hostile to their language and culture" (Ellis and Wright, 1998: 694). So, they did not accept the applying the term balkanization to portray some developments within American society concerning the immigrant issue. Ellis and Wright, doubtlessly, consider the term balkanization as negative stereotype inapplicable for their country. Siegel, applies the term balkanization in negative connotation. According to his opinion this term refers to the extent to which Americans identify themselves as members of separate racial or ethnic groups that view one another with hostility (Siegel, 2006: 787).

My researches have brought me to the conclusion that the term Balkanization has a negative connotation in its using and applying. However, I found

an example of using this term with a positive meaning. Although Hanč the occurrences that took place in Central and Eastern Europe in 1918 considered opposite of Balkanization as the term signifies lack of order, he accepted this term if it symbolize struggle for freedom by the oppressed peoples (Hanč, 1944:22-23). It is very remarkable his definition for the word balkanization – “What the term Balkanization really means id the lack of international organization which would guarantee freedom to both big and small powers and which would make each the master of its own destiny” (Hanč, 1944: 23).

Despite the fact that the word Balkanization has been invented by the Western intellectuals and its meaning has been misused in order to mark negative approaches on political, economical, cultural and social conditions and events around the world, I must to emphasize that during last decade there are critics from the scholars about the using of the term Balkanization. Cufurovic considers that entering the political discourse at the end of the First World War, the notion of ‘Balkanization’ became “synonymous with dehumanization, de-aestheticisation and the destruction of civilization” (Cufurovic, 2017: 43) Simić thinks that as was the case in late 19th century, the Balkans and balkanization at the beginning of 21st century still represent, for a large segment of the Western community, a part of the constitutive myth of the Occident as a separate civilization, different from the Orient (East) which begins “on the border of Europe with the Balkans (Simić, 2013:129). According to Velju the word ‘balkanization’ will always convey something pejorative about the Balkan people. However, wrote Velju, “the question of whether or not the usage of ‘balkanization’ should be considered as a politically (in)correct act does not exclude and moreover should include continuing endeavors of debunking the discourse” (Velju, 2020: 9). Bideleux and Jeffries sadly accept that the concept of ‘Balkanization’ does convey some significant aspects of the predicaments in which the peoples and polities on this peninsula have had the misfortune to find themselves since the nineteenth century (Bideleux and Jeffries, 2007: 2). Hupchik does not spare from critics the attitudes of the western powers in regard the situation in the Balkans –“The nationalist ambitions of all Balkan peoples would collide violently in the decades following the Berlin Congress, the Western European-imposed terms of which became the fundamental motivation for the peninsula’s subsequent divisive events. (The same Western Europeans came to label those events disparagingly as “Balkanization”. Nor would Europe in general be spared the consequences of the radicalized Balkan nationalisms generated by the Berlin settlement” (Hupchik,2002: 267).

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Archeological excavations on the territory of ancient Macedonia are known to the scientific community as certain interventions in the form of reconnaissance, noting and disclosure as of the 19th century. These are mainly based on the travels through the Balkans by historians, epigraphists, archeologists, and even learned diplomats from Western Europe, but also by Balkan researchers who are acquainted with the ancient and medieval heritage (Margaret Dimitca, Jordan Ivanov, Bogdan Filov and others). These interventions continued intensively after the 1900s. Thus, in the part of our Macedonia, studies of the cultural heritage have been initiated through the recording, discovery and location of old and forgotten ancient centers. Excavations were added to these activities, particularly after the discovery of Pompeii, Troy, on the territory of Macedonia at places, such as Palatica (Vergina), with the first Macedonian tombs (Leon Heuzy, Arthur Evans) and in the early 20th century the first field interventions were initiated in Stobi.

After the First World War in Skopje, initial attempts were made to organize the Faculty of Humanities, within the Faculty of Philosophy, at the initiative of the scholar Jovan Cvijic (geographer, ethnographer), a Balkan scholar, as an independent clone of the University of Belgrade. Macedonia was the “promised land of archeology”, as it was often called by many scholars, closest to the high cultures of the Aegean and the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the 20th century, the greatest interest was focused on the ancient city of Stobi, seen and registered through the discovery by the sharp eye of the French erudite Leon Heuzy fifty years earlier. However, educated Germans, despite the war, would begin to show off their professional pursuits in discovering dormant history, as exemplified by the research carried out in Stobi by the famous Hald, Dragendorf, and others. Together, such pioneering attempts would be the basis for further research by knowledgeable Balkans in the newly formed state of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which included a larger part of Macedonia.

In that milieu of precious cultural heritage, at the beginning of the establishment of the Faculty of Philosophy, the professor Ćiro Truhelka contributed with great continuity. Born in Osijek in 1865, he studied History of Art, Archeology and related disciplines, such as classical languages, which at that time formed the studies at the Faculty in Zagreb. He developed his professional activity in the Zemal Museum in Sarajevo from 1885, then within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He has great merit in building and organizing this well-preserved museum with the longest history in the Balkan countries, opened in 1888. He worked as an archeologist, epigraphist, numismatist, ethnologist, linguist, trying to master the languages of the peoples living in the Balkans. On the territory of Bosnia, as his priority field, he explored prehistoric settlements, ancient Roman necropolises and stone monuments, up to medieval cultural horizons, including the famous Bosnian stetci. In 1922, he retired after a successful and professional pioneering activity on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He returned to Osijek, his hometown, thinking that he will spend the rest of his life there.

During this long period of research in Bosnia, he discovered the Neolithic settlements soenici in Dolna Dolina, the famous Butmir, but especially Glasinac landmark in the prehistoric Iron Age archeology in the central Balkans. For the first time in 1889, at the Congress of Prehistoric Archeology in Vienna he reported on the excavations of the famous Glasinac, which in archeology is known to our students and researchers from the Iron Age in Macedonia and beyond. Archeological centers, not so common at the time but very prestigious, defined in the 19th century as Societies, with the best known in Berlin, Copenhagen, Leningrad, and Moscow, as an honor, asked him to join their ranks. After the new field research, in 1894, he conceived the idea of organizing within the already built and famous Zemal Museum, the Archeological Congress in Sarajevo, presenting his discoveries of the region, covering them with his competence, his institution. Hence, thanks to him, Glasinac, as an archeologically recognizable landmark, entered the European prehistoric literature.

His scientific work covers a very wide chronological period from prehistory to the Turkish Ottoman period, with a very diverse, not only in time, and multifaceted approach in many disciplines. His work belongs to both the archeology and the history of Bosnia and the Balkans. We can define him as an erudite polyhistoric. He also dealt with medieval archeology and in 1900 he presented the results in this field at the Congress of Medieval Archeology

in Kiev. Thinking that the Albanian language, as one of the special languages in the Balkans, contains the Illyrian component, he studied the modern Albanian language and even wrote an article on Albanian grammar, publishing his studies in the magazine *Albania* which was published in the early 20th century in Brussels.

Therefore, a group of eminent university professors from the University of Belgrade, also known for their studies conducted in the 20th century in the Balkans and particularly in Macedonia, such as Nikola Vulic and Vlada Petkovic, would suggest that the erudite researcher Truhelka should be invited as a professor at the Faculty in Belgrade, especially for his interdisciplinary linguistic activity. He did not accept this offer, considering that it was not his primary vocation, by which, due to his high personal criteria, he could respond to the task. However, when he was offered to teach **Archeology** at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, which was in the process of establishment and expanding historical disciplines, he would gladly decide to engage in that pioneering mission in 1925.

He came with his wife to a completely unfamiliar world, Skopje, a variant of a multifaceted life and populations with different mentalities, despite the fact that for Europe the Balkans represent a single cultural milestone.

He intended to stay in Skopje for eight semesters after being elected full professor by decree of King Alexander. Yet, at the request of a group of students, to whom education in archeology means a lot, the professor would stay for two more years. As the professor writes his memoirs, these are two excellent students, a Macedonian from Lipljan and a Greek woman. He also wrote about the structure of students who attended his classes, and were obliged to take the subject of archeology while studying geography. They did not always manage to cope with archeological issues due to insufficient preparation from high school. Students originated from Macedonia but also from other areas of the former Yugoslavia. He was so pleasantly surprised by the education of two Dalmatians, who have known classical languages since high school, which even today could serve as an example of the quality of archeology studies in our country.

In his memoirs, he offers many testimonies about his view of the ongoing life in Skopje. However, coming from, at that time, a civilized environment or the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was not easy for him to accept those conditions. Still, he stoically endured the circumstances in which he was supposed to live, bearing in mind that this was one of the missions for promoting

higher education in Macedonia. That's how he named our country. He lived with his wife in a room next to the official professor's office and a reading room - the library. Skopje was a Balkan province, without water supply and neat toilets, which made his everyday life difficult. But, despite his caution and critical attitude towards the environment, he made many friends in the bazaar, pointing out that there he met, I quote "Macedonians, Turks, Arnauts, Armenians, Bulgarians, Vlachs".

Before the start of the academic year, he prepared his lectures in the summer. He made a chronological schedule of all teaching units. He presented his entire program, according to European norms, before the teachers' council, which included professors of history, geography, pedagogy, and philosophy.

We find out about his teaching plans and engagements from his personal memoirs presented in *Azur Jurnal, Mala azurova povestnica*, entitled *USPOMENE - U Makedoniji*. He proposed a work program that even today would be ideal for realizing archeology teaching. Namely, he conceived the subject in three working contents, as the professor claims himself "my votum nuncupatum":

- Lectures referred to general archeology, special archeology of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans, from the earliest beginnings of human creation to the collapse of the Roman Empire.
- He thought that the Seminar should be organized as a Collection of copies of the archeological heritage from the wider scientific area, having as an example the *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* in Mainz, which is also practiced at the Faculty in Thessaloniki, but also to a certain extent, the Collection of Archeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, composed of originals discovered on the territory of Macedonia, which is a good example of performing a certain practicum for students.
- The third aspect conceived by the professor was in the form of field teaching, site visits, and student participation in excavations under his guidance.

Unfortunately, he could not realize everything, except teaching and visiting the sites. Funds were limited, even for library equipment, which he regretted. He opened his personal library for the use of students. When we elaborate his program, it is obvious that the contents are not much different from modern organization of archeology classes in university centers.

His field training took place in Skupi, the aqueduct, St. Panteleimon near Nerezi, the lapidarium in Kurshumli an, and especially in Stobi, where the excavations were at their earliest stage. In those years of his stay in Skopje, excavations were already being undertaken in Stobi by the Germans Hald, Dragendorf, followed by Eger, Saria and Petkovic. Truhelka expressed certain doubts in the professionalism of the excavations performed. What would he say about those performed from that time until today?

Within his professional opus, we would point out his work *Starokršćanska arheologija*, Zagreb 1931, which is known to the students of the faculties in Zagreb and Belgrade from the second half of the 20th century, as a textbook for the subject of early Christian archeology. This work was probably created as a result of his archeology teaching at the Faculty in Skopje. This is not just an excellent textbook, it's actually more than that. It's a kind of introduction to Christian archeology, but also an overview of the earliest phenomena of the Christian religion, accompanied by numerous examples of monuments found in the Balkans and the Mediterranean ecumenism with Christian architecture, relief decoration, and especially iconography. Through his extraordinary knowledge of Roman polytheism, the organization forms of Christianity, the sources, and the epigraphy, the reader is gradually introduced to the ideas of the new teaching which from the time of Constantine would become the recognized state religion.

From his field training in Stobi, the perceptions of some of the issues from the already discovered items began to arise. He supported his remarks and conclusions in his articles - papers, which were published in the Gazette of the Skopje Scientific Society I and II, entitled "Archeological notes from southern Serbia". Following the phenomena and customs through diachrony, he also published his research and insights into the influences between pagan Roman and medieval Christian customs. This is how his work "Larizam i Krsna Slava" is known.

To a large extent, he presented his long-term research opus, mostly related to the territory of Bosnia, in his studies published in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* in Sarajevo. Also, he could transfer the acquired scientific experience at the archeological department to the students from the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, and his pioneering pedagogical efforts are remembered and duly respected by most generations even today.

In this context of celebrating 100 years since the beginning of the works at the Faculty of Philosophy, apart from the activity of Professor Ć. Truhelka, we

cannot omit the works of Professor Dimche Koco who was an academic and as of today, we are celebrating the 110th anniversary of his birth. Professor D. Koco reinstated the Department of History of Art in 1945, and finally managed to define it as the Department of History and Art and Archeology in 1972.



Ćiro Truhelka in his cabinet

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THE CHRYSOMALLOS FROM LYCHNIDOS

Abstract *The golden fleece from the tale of the Argonauts is reminiscent not only of heroic deeds but also of the use of sheepskins to collect gold dust and nuggets from river beds, a practice known from prehistory until the 20th century.*

In the Mediterranean World the ram was a very popular figure between the late 7th and 4th century BC. It can be observed on the scenes depicted on Situla Art in the North-Adriatic hinterland as well as in the precious glass and amber collars with ram-heads used around the Mediterranean, and in the remarkable gold jewellery of the Classical Greek world.

The role of the ram as a symbol of male fertility and strength was highly valued and often decorated the cheek-pieces of warriors' helmets; the presence of ram's heads on woman's jewellery is likely related to their role as woollen textile producers and signalled aspects of personal and economic identity.

Key words: Argonautiká, Golden Fleece, Early Iron Age, Classical Greeks, ram-heads on helmets and jewellery

The ram and his fleece in Mediterranean

Under the leadership of the hero Jason, Greek warriors travelled on the famous ship the *Argo*, searching for a bride and her dowry - the Golden Fleece of Zeus' holy ram. This journey gives us a sense of the dimensions of the known world of antiquity.

King Pelias of Iolcus, a Mycenaean settlement in Thessaly, sent Jason to recover the Golden Fleece of the famous winged ram (*chrysollos*) in order to be rid of the young man as he was the legitimate heir to the throne. Previously, Phrixus and Hele the children of Athamas, one of the previous Thessalian or perhaps Boeotian kings, had fled from their stepmother Ino on the winged ram to Aia. Aia was the kingdom of the sun ruled by king Aeetes, and has long been associated with Colchis at the eastern end of the *Pontos Euxenos* (Black Sea).

To aid Jason in his quest, the ship maker Argus, with the help of the goddess Athena, built the miraculous 'talking' ship *Argo*, which reportedly flew like an arrow through the air. Several adventures had already transpired by passing through the *Symplegades*/Clashing Rocks at the entrance to the *Pontos Euxenos*, the route which led to *Colchis* on the east coast of the Black Sea. King Aeetes made Jason complete a variety of challenging tasks to obtain the Golden Fleece, such as ploughing with fire-breathing bulls and killing the dragon who guarded the fleece. He performed all of these with the aid of the king's daughter, the sorceress Medea, with whom he later fled from *Colchis*.¹

The phenomenon of the *Chrysomallos* as an ancient legend is connected with the Argonauts, and above all with the ram, itself as a symbol of male fertility and strength,

Rams in Applied Art as ex voto and decorative motifs on jewellery and helmets

As a result of influences from the orient, such as those from Luristan and northern Iran, the communities of Crete left a number of small animal bronze figurines in their sanctuaries for us to admire. These include deer, goats and rams. For example in Kato Syma a "black layer", dating to between the 9th to 6th centuries BC, produced 325 bulls, 177 rams and 26 goats made from ceramic and bronze. A relatively high number of rams have also been recovered from the sanctuaries of Hagia Triada and Psychro.

In the Late Geometric Period, around the time of the first Olympic Games in the middle of the 8th century BC, this custom of votive offerings of numerous small ceramic and bronze figurines of domestic animals reached the Greek mainland. In particular we find miniature figurines of cattle and horses, with a much smaller number of rams, cocks and geese. These little figurines, in some cases with a hole to enable them to be attached to a long bronze stick, have been found exclusively as votive gifts on the altars of sanctuaries in Olympia (five rams) and Delphi (seven rams), as well as one or two ram figurines from the sanctuaries at Pherai, Kalapodi, Phyllakopi and others.²

Between the late 7th and 4th century BC representations of rams, especially those of ram-heads, became one of the most popular domestic animal motifs in the Mediterranean world. We find ram-heads as part of precious metal

¹ Šašel-Kos 2006.

² Beilke-Voigt 2018.

and glass jewellery, as well as depictions of rams as part of Greek sacrificial practices, complete with priests holding knives, on Greek ceramic vessels.³

In the area of the central-north Mediterranean, in the hinterland of the north Adriatic, the ram is occasionally depicted on the earliest Situlae Art. Examples include the bronze lids from Este, Most na Soči/Sv. Lucija, Scoul/Schuls and Como-Grandate, dating mostly to the transition from the 7th to 6th century BC. They are depicted in the classical Greek sacrificial procession of four animals, with a domesticated bull and goat, or together with wild animals like stags, does and ibex. As a likely result of influences from the Eastern Mediterranean world there is also one scene involving a lion, and another with two imaginary fantastical beasts.⁴



Figure 1: Detail from the bronze situla from Vače/Slovenia, first half of 5th century BC (drawing Ida Murgelj. ©Narodni muzej Slovenije).

Later, in 5th century BC, the ram appears as a sacrificial animal on the situlae from Certosa, Bologna, Vače (Fig. 1),⁵ and on the situla from warrior Grave III/12 with the bronze belt depicting a scene involving fishing from Novo

³ Teegen 2002, 27, fig. 1: 1.

⁴ Este-Rebato, grave 187; Este, situla in Vienna; Most na Soči, (Sv. Lucija) Grave 351; Scoul/Schuls – Munt; Grandate (Frey 1969, 65-66, 101, pl. 40; 102, pl. 53: above; 103, pl. 60; 103, pl. 62: above; 103-104, pl. 62).

⁵ Frey 1969, appendix 1; Turk 2005, 35, fig. 52.

mesto-Kapiteljska njiva.⁶ A situla from Weisenberg barrow 2 also shows a ram in pasture, while another two fight each other.⁷



Figure 2: 1 Etruria, 525–480 BC (Paul Getty Museum), 2 Novo mesto-Kapiteljska njiva, Grave 4 from barrow VI, 5th century BC (after Križ 2017, 52).

Parallel to these late Situlae Art depictions of rams are the glass beads shaped like ram-heads. These were possibly produced as a result of influences from Phoenician and Carthaginian workshops, and also spread in the area as Situlae Art, with sizeable numbers known from the Early Iron Age graves at Dolenjska, Slovenia (Fig. 2: 2). These finely worked beads also spread along the Mediterranean coasts, and are known from Ibiza in the Balaeric Islands, Olbia, Sardinia and Carthage as well as from the Appeninian peninsula itself, Adria and Etruria. We also find ram-heads beads from numerous sites in Sicily,

⁶ Križ 1997, 58, 60, pl. 36-39, appendix 3, 4.

⁷ Frie 2017, 118-121; Gleirscher 2009, fig. 14: 6, 7.

the Eastern Mediterranean and even in the coastal hinterlands of Black Sea.⁸ Parallel to the glass ram-heads were amber examples produced in Apennine Peninsula around 500 BC (Fig. 2: 1), which provides us with yet more evidence for the popularity of this motif in female attire, especially by the necklaces in the communities of the Mediterranean.

In the Greek Classical world, ram-heads were depicted on various ceramic and metal objects, and began to be used as a motif in precious metal jewellery alongside other animal figures such as lions, bulls and goats. The appearance of rams in these objects, alongside other powerful beasts, helps to confirm the significance of these domesticates in the eyes of Classical Greek society at this time.

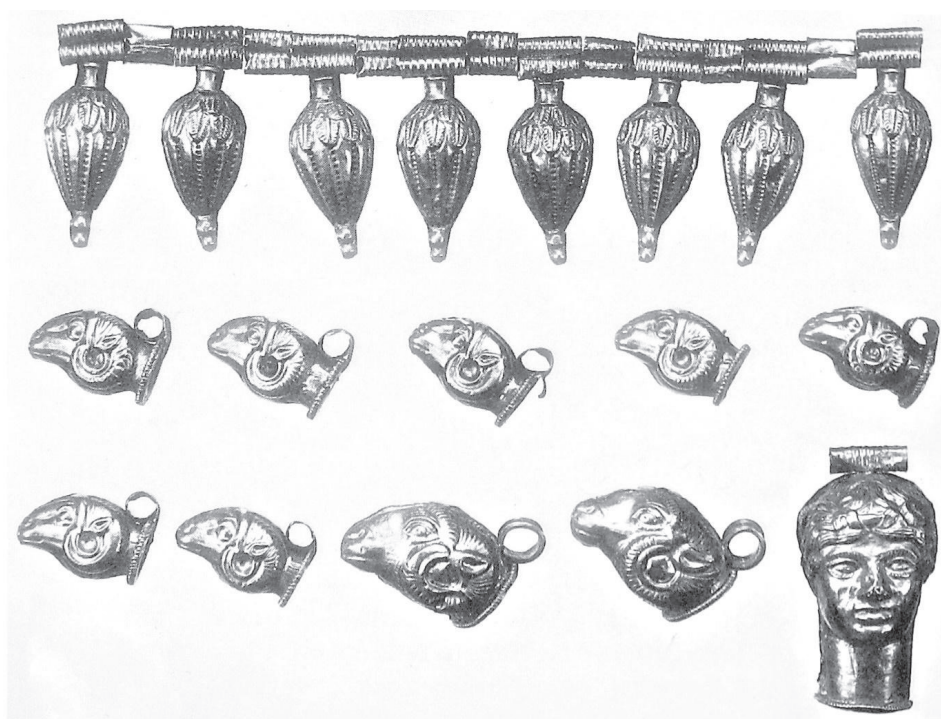


Figure 3: Roccanova in Basilicata, a golden necklace with foil pendants, 4th century BC (after Deppert-Lippitz 1985, fig. 89).

Several precious metal examples of jewellery from *Magna Graecia* (southern Italy) have been published, including a group of 6th-5th century BC golden bow fibulae from Ruvo in Puglia, where a ram's head is moulded on the catch-plate.⁹

⁸ Egg 2010, 535-539.

⁹ Nicolini 2006, 96-103, fig. 18-21, pl. IV.

B. Deppert-Lippitz described a pair of massive spiral earrings in which both terminal ends were in the form of ram-heads from mid-5th century BC, as well as the unique necklace with golden ram's head pendants from Roccanova in Basilicata (Fig. 3), dating to the end of the 5th century BC,¹⁰ perhaps a century later. A similar golden necklace pendant is also known from Cyprus¹¹. The necklace from Roccanova corresponds well to the glass and amber necklaces from the Mediterranean area mentioned above, on account of the shared ram motif.

The popularity of necklaces with ram-heads is also demonstrated by the case of a necklace with 17 amber ram-heads of different size from the burial of a queen of Aigai, dated around to 470 BC.¹² The amber is in a poor state of preservation, but the shape of the heads corresponds closely to the amber ram-heads from other necklaces from princely graves in the central Balkans. In the famous treasure from Novi Pazar around 80 pieces of amber ram-heads were found, whilst in the princely graves of Atenica altogether 12 pieces were recovered dating to the period from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC. Similar shaped ram-heads were also popular in the *Japodes* tribe, as evidenced in the graves from Kompolje, Prozor, Ribič and, in the case of a hoard from Lički Ribnik centuries later. Ram-head beads from the western and central Balkan, similar to fig. 2: 1, were manufactured in the Apennine Peninsula.¹³

In a monograph about Greek gold jewellery, which mostly considered those examples in the British Museum collections obtained from excavations in the second half of the 19th century, Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden demonstrated that rams were very popular as part of female attire. Such objects emerged in the Cyprus, northern Greece and the north Pontic region in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, typically in the form of golden bracelets with ram head terminals, or depicting the animals' entire body.¹⁴

From the three chambered Kourion/Curium barrow 73, Cyprus come the earliest potential pair of gold bracelets with copper alloy core and ram-heads terminals known from a burial context (Fig. 4: 2). Also found in the burial were six gilded bronze spirals, a pair of gold crescent-shaped earrings and a

¹⁰ Deppert-Lippitz 1985, fig. 89; 102.

¹¹ Williams, Ogden 1994, 248, cat. no. 186.

¹² Kottaridi 2013, 177.

¹³ Palavestra 1993, 236, 259.

¹⁴ Williams, Ogden 1994, fig. cat. no. 25; 32; 73, 118; 161; 186.

gold ring decorated with palmettos, both with filigree decoration. The grave group dates to the period between 450-400 BC.¹⁵



Figure 4: The bracelet with ram-heads or in the form of leaping rams: 1 Băiceni, 2 Kourion, barrow 73; 3 Thesaloniki?; 4 Velika Bliznica / *Phnagoria*; all to date in period in 5th or 4th century BC (1 after I Daci 1997; 2-4 after Williams, Ogden 1994).

In Băiceni, a famous Neolithic settlement of the Cucuteni culture, Iași county a Thraco-Getic princely cremation grave from beneath a tumulus produced an extraordinary inventory of rich decorated gold objects dating from the 4th century BC. It consisted of a *repoussé* decorated helmet, a torque and a 23

¹⁵ Marshall 1969, pl. 39: cat. no. 1985-1986; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, fig. 110; Williams, Ogden 1994, 228-231.

karat gold bracelet with ram-head terminals (Fig. 4: 1),¹⁶ both of which had copper alloy cores, and a few different appliquéés, some of them also possessed a hammered-on matrices.

Chronologically speaking, a much more recent example of a silver ram-head bracelet, probably designed to fit the wrist of a small woman, rather than a child, from the period about 350 BC, is known from the purported findplace at Pella. A silver bracelet with similar dimensions is also known from the Stathatos collection in Athens.¹⁷

The objects from the s. c. Ganymede Group were said to be found in the hinterlands of Thessaloniki before 1913. They consist of a pair of bracelets with rock-crystal loops and gold ram-heads (Fig. 4: 3), a golden strap necklace with beech-nut pendants, a pair of golden earrings with Ganymede and an eagle, four golden fibulae of Macedonian type and a set of gold rings with an emerald. It is the opinion of authors that the find does not show a clear uniformity, so it is possible that we are dealing with objects derived from more than one grave. The collection dates to between 330-300 BC.¹⁸

In Velika Bliznica, on the Taman peninsula near Phnagoria, a barrow with a 340 m circumference and 15 m height was excavated. At least three female burials, a robed chamber that likely also belonged to a female, and a male burial were discovered. The third female burial, excavated in 1883 in a stone chamber with a flat wooden roof, was interred in a wooden sarcophagus with ivory inlays. The grave inventory consisted of a pair of gold bracelets with copper cores and terminals in the form of leaping rams (fig. 4: 4), an olive wreath gold necklace composed of spherical beads, a pair of gold earrings with disc and pyramidal forms, a gold ring, a bronze mirror, seven terracottas, a bone spindle and a number of ceramic vases including a local black-glaze *oinochoe*, a miniature Attic black-glaze *skyphos*, an Attic black-glaze *lekanis* and a miniature squat Attic red-figure *lekythos* with two moulded Amazon heads. The deceased was buried between 330-300 BC.¹⁹

¹⁶ The terminals of the torques and bracelet from Mircea Petrescu Dimbovița and Marin Dinu have been described as horned horse-head, an far-eastern influences have been cited as explanations for the appearance of these motifs (1975, 107-109), in catalogue I Daci, 1997, 193, cat. no. 172 is described as capricorn.

¹⁷ Williams, Ogden 1994, 72, cat. no. 21.

¹⁸ Williams, Ogden 1994, 74-79.

¹⁹ Williams, Ogden 1994, 180-183.

Lycnidos, the centre of Deseratae

The ram motif was also present in the Ohrid Lake region, as for example in the Trebeništa princely graves and in the Gorna Porta cemetery at Ohrid. The Siren scene showing two rams depicted on the Greek black-figure kyliks from the Grave XIII, dates around 500 BC, and is one of the earliest known in the region.²⁰ The ram-heads on the cheek-pieces of an exceptional helmet from Tomb I and the ram-head terminals of a golden bracelet from Grave 127a from necropolis of Gorna Porta at Ohrid date to 170 years later.

The small golden bracelet with ram-heads terminals (Fig. 5: 2), (external diameter 6.5 cm, internal 4.5 cm, protome dimensions 1.8 x 1.0 cm), is constructed of golden sheet with a hollow interior. The embossed heads were made of separate gold sheets by beating and grooving, and fixing to the body with the help of a band and a thick nail. On the heads the horns curve into a spiral, whilst the noses are fashioned from a small band, whereas the other parts of the heads are accentuated only with notching.²¹

These precious metal bracelets belonged to the buried female child buried, Grave 127a²², provisioned with very rich attire. The golden objects from the grave were published in full in the *Gold of Lichnis*. They consist of a wire necklace with 26 gilded beads made from bone, a ceramic bead, two double needles of the “M” type complete with holster (one from gold, one from silver), a golden bracelet with ram-heads terminals (Fig. 5: 2), a golden ring with a female portrait, a golden crescent-shaped *appliqué*, a golden finger ring with an *appliqué* head mask (Fig. 5: 1), and 28 golden rosette *applicqués*. Certain objects as p. e. some golden rosettes ended up in the close grave pit from Grave 127.²³ To the grave inventory of 127a should be added two ceramic vessels, a bronze mirror and some bronze fragments and a gold *hippocampus* earring (Fig. 5: 3) which were found in a secondary fill within the wall of the later constructed Grave 124.

The bracelet from the inhumation Grave 127a is of a comparable construction to the bracelets with ram-heads described above (Fig. 4: 2-4). On the basis of the accompanying objects from the grave, we can date this burial, the occupant of which was female, to the second half of 4th century BC. The

²⁰ 100 years of Trebenište, 325, cat. no. 224.

²¹ The bracelet was first published by Bitrakova Grozdanova, 2006, 101, 108, pl. III: a; 2013, 22-23, 41, Appendix 1; Kuzman, Počuča Kuzman, 2016, 125, cat. no. 157.

²² Only one skull bone was found from the skeletal remains.

²³ Kuzman, Počuča Kuzman, 2016, 125, cat. no. 123-134, cat. no. 155-189.

same may be said of the finds from the Ganymede Group in the hinterlands of Thessaloniki, and the grave excavated in 1888 excavated in surroundings of *Phnagoria*.



Figure 5: Ohrid-Gorna Porta, the finger ring, bracelet and earring from Grave 127a (after Kuzman and Počuča Kuzman 2016, cat. Nu. 155, 157, 159).

From the cemetery Gorna Porta at Ohrid we have mention also a ram-head depiction on a helmet. In the famous Tomb I the ram-head is adorns one of the six helmets (Fig. 6: 3). The helmet, of Illyrian type III/1 (after Hermann Pflug²⁴), is richly ornamented in embossed high relief. On the dome of the helmet is a laurel wreath and the cheek-pieces are decorated with large ram-heads. The helmet has a dotted inscription ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩΣ (*Teutios Philoxenos*). The incredible contents of the Tomb I were dated to archaic period of 5th century BC, and later more precisely to the first half of the 5th century BC.²⁵

Ram-heads located on elongated cheek-pieces are also characteristic for the Chalcidian helmets of Pflug's type III, produced in workshops of *Magna Graecia*²⁶ and are well represented on the Chalcidian helmet from the Calabrian site at Lokri (Fig. 6: 1; *Lokroi Epözephirioi*).²⁷

Greek and Macedonian helmets with mythological motifs decorated in high relief, as in the case of the Chalcidian helmet of Plug's type V from Grave 127 from Gorna Port (fig. 6: 4), are extremely rare.

²⁴ Pflug 1988, 43, 53-54, 55, 382-383, fig. 10-11.

²⁵ For gold finds see: Kuzman, Počuča Kuzman 2016, 34, 106-122, cat. no. 104-154: for entire inventory and its datation see: Kuzman 2018, 215-221, pl. III and IV.

²⁶ Pflug 1988, 140.

²⁷ Baitinger 2011, 66-67, fig. 43.

They are mostly known only from fragments, such as the embossed rounded cheek-pieces decorated in high relief from the site of *Tithorea* on the slope of Parnassus, which depicts a motif of Eros on a dolphin (fig. 6: 2). Another example is the cheek-piece with an embossed seated and pensive Odysseus from Megara. A well preserved helmet from Capodignano (Capitignano) has instead a horse head embossed on both cheek-pieces.²⁸



Figure 6: Bronze helmets with embossed relief decoration: 1 Lokroi Epizephyrioi (Baitinger 2011, fig. 43), 2 Tithorea (after Andriomenou 1976), 3 Ohrid-Gorna Porta, tomb I (after Kuzman 2018, pl. I) 4 Ohrid-Gorna Porta, Grave 127 (after Битракова Грозданова 2017, appendix 2).

²⁸ Pflug 1988, 145, fig. 13, 15.

The helmet from grave 127 with its richly embossed decoration (Fig. 6: 4) is a most complete specimen of the Chalcidian helmet of type V. The dome of the helmet is decorated with two mythological Pegasuses with their wings raised so as to indicate flight, or a race. The legs of the Pegasuses are raised and oriented from the back to the front of the helmet. The empty spaces under them are filled with two spirals. The cheek-pieces have different scenes, on the right one is Hercules killing the Hydra, on the left, badly preserved, is an indeterminate human figure. The helmet has small attachments for feathers.

The Chalcidian helmets of Plug's type V were until now without chronological comparison. They were dated according to both analogies with similar embossed works with mythological scenes, and the shape of the cheek-pieces. On this basis they likely date to between 400 and 375 BC.²⁹ The grave inventory with un-decorated hinged cheek-piece of a Chalcidian helmet from from Ocna Sibiului, southern Transylvania is dated to the first half or middle of the 4th century BC,³⁰ the Grave 127 should be dated in the same period.

Our helmet from the Grave 127 fits well into the trends of powerful warriors and leaders in *Lychnidos* wearing different, time-specific Illyrian, Corinthian, and Chalcidian types helmets, a practice well represented in graves at Trebeništa (graves I-VIII, XIII)³¹ and in Ohrid-Gorna Porta (tomb I, graves 143, 138 and 58).³²

From Tunisia a gold Greek stater of Kyzikos is known. It depicts a ram standing above a tuna fish, and was minted in Mysia, Kyzikos between 500-460 BC (Fig. 7: 1). It demonstrates to us the symbolic importance of this animal in the period. A bronze coin of Zeus-Amon with ram's horns and a laurel wreath on the obverse, and a winged thunderbolt on the reverse with the inscription ΔΑΣΣΑ ΠΗΤΙΩΝ (*DESARITION*) was found on Plaošnik hill in Ohrid (Fig. 7: 3). Pater Zeus was the supreme god of the ancient Greeks, and since the 5th century BC was incorporated into the Greek belief system. Aries's horns are an important attribute in the depiction of Zeus-Amon, and they were also adopted by the divine Alexander III of Macedon. The coin from Plaošnik, minted in the tradition of Alexander III of Macedon staters (Fig. 7: 2), is therefore important because of its uniqueness and represents the discovery of the first coin of the *Daseretae* tribe. It thus likely dates to the end of the 3rd or 2nd century BC.³³

²⁹ Pflug 1988, 145.

³⁰ Rustoiu, Berecki 2012, 161-163, 166, pl. 1-2.

³¹ 100 years of Trebenishte 2018.

³² Guštin, Kuzman, Preložnik [2014].

³³ Битракова Грозданова 2017, 446, fig. 6.



Figure 7: 1 Golden stater of Kyzikios (© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), 2 silver coin of Alexander the Great (Dahmen 2007, 120, fig. 8.2), 3 Bronze coin from Plaošnik hill in Ohrid, with the head of Zeus-Ammon with ram's horns and a laurel wreath on the obverse, and the reverse depicts a winged thunderbolt and the inscription ΔΑΣΣΑ ΠΗΤΙΩΝ (*DESARTION*).

The Illyrian type helmet with ram-head on the cheek-pieces (Fig. 6: 3), the precious bracelet (Fig. 5: 2), as well as the coin of *Deseratae* with its expressive ram-horns (Fig. 7: 3) also show that in Ohrid, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the role of the ram as a symbol of male fertility and strength was highly valued. Not only because of the connectivity with Zeus earthly divinities like Alexander of Macedon and many of the *diadochi*. The economy of these communities was based on breeding sheep, both due to nutrition and access to secondary products such as wool and milk, which were important aspects of

the economy in the centuries of transition between the Early and Late Iron Ages and end of Classical Period. The importance of sheep (and rams) was not only reflected in the belongings of the heroes/warriors/leaders of the community (Fig. 8), but also prominently displayed in their wives' jewellery, with ram-heads necklaces and bracelets regularly appearing in the period between the late 6th and early 4th centuries BC.



Figure 8: The precious Celtic items and Greek imports from the princely grave at Kleinaspergle, around 450 BC (© Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg).

The Chrysomallos legend and its today's reminiscences

The sheep's fleece had a central role in the various versions of the *Argonautiká* and similar tales. Odysseus used it to hide himself and his crew to escape from Pol cave. This famous fleece of the antique winged ram (*chrysomallos*) likely alludes to the ancient use of fleeces to collect river gold and mining in streams, and has been clearly recognized in the tale of the Argonauts.

The river Phasis (Greek, Georgian *Rioni*) was well known in antiquity. This is the the main river of western Georgia, which originates in the Caucasus Mountains in the region of Rača, and flows west to the Black Sea, entering it north of the ancient city of *Phasis* (modern Poti). The river carried a sizeable amount of gold. The natives put fleeces on the river bottom where the gold

became entangled in the wool, after which it could be shaken out. Both famous naturalist Strábō (64/63 BC – c. AD 24) and Pliny the Elder (AD 23–79) were familiar with this way of collecting gold from streams. This method is attested from multiple regions in antiquity, including the Tagus river in Spain, the *Padus* (Po) in Italy, the *Hebrus* in Thracia, the *Pactolus* in Asia and the Ganges in India.³⁴ The technique for recovering the gold dust from rivers with sheep's fleece was used until the Middle Ages and even up to modern times. As such it has preserved its role until the present time and is still in living memory.

It was while researching the important Neolithic site of Govrlevo near Skopje, in the northern Vardar river valley³⁵, in 2004 that Miloš Bilbija told us a story; a legend about use of sheep's fleece as part of a peasant tradition practised into the first half of 20th century.



Figure 9: Isar-Marvinci (community of Valandovo). This was an important hillfort settlement with cemeteries dating from the Iron Age to Late Antiquity. The photo depicts traditional pasture surrounding the ruins of a Roman sarcophagus; a symbol of the rich antiquity of the place (Photo M. Guštin).

³⁴ Agricola 1556 (1950), 330-331, note 17 written by translator.

³⁵ Фиданоски 2012.

A few years later Antonio Jakimovski recorded a story then still circulating in rural Northern Macedonia: When a daughter is born, her father slaughters a lamb or a sheep and honours the family by roasting it. The sheep's fleece is sunk into a hidden spot in the river Markova rijeka. When a girl reaches the age of 18-20 and is deemed fit for marriage, the father pulls the fleece from the river bottom and throws it into the fire. All that remains is a small piece that is removed from the ashes and carried to the jeweller in the "čaršija" - town market place. He extracts 2-3 grams of gold from it and makes an earring or ring, the bride's dowry when she gets married.³⁶

³⁶ For proofreading we have to thank to Andrew H. Lamb, Beeston, Nottinghamshire.

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PAEONIAN CULT BRONZES – TOP OF THE IRON AGE TOREUTICS

Iron Age was a period of growth of metallurgy, particularly iron and bronze. The production of iron, as a stronger and more efficient metal, was a much more complex and expensive process, so iron was used mainly for weapons and tools. Bronze on the other hand, in the absence of tin was obtained from native copper with small additions of other metals. Its properties by casting easy to model, and other techniques easy to finalize in various forms were making to be suitable for production of various small objects, mainly jewelry, art and cult objects.

In the Iron Age, as a period of pronounced local cultural development, metallurgy enabled individual communities to stand out with the potential for rapid growth in every sense. However, in order to develop the metallurgical activity, the three basic conditions had to be met, especially for the production of bronze. They had to possess the natural resources of copper, to have the necessary technological knowledge for metallurgy and above all those communities to have achieved the necessary level of cultural development in order to expose the need and creativity for expression in bronze.

On the territory of Macedonia in such a position were the Iron Age communities along the Vardar Valley, especially in the lower Vardar Valley.¹ The connection with the developed Mycenaean world in the late Bronze Age as well as the experiences from the cultural movements during the transition period there created conditions for a high level of cultural development which during the full Iron Age could come to full expression and show the need for a strong bronze production.² On the other hand, the rich copper resources in the Valandovo-Gevgelija region, made, in the VII century BC a large population to concentrate in that area and a series of smaller mining and metallurgical

¹ Vasić R. 1987, 710.; Mitrevski D. 1992.; Mitrevski D. 2013, 250.

² Mitrevski D. 1999.; Mitrevski D. 2008.

settlements to emerge, thus exposing the region as a center of mining and metallurgy of bronze. Remains of such settlements and even more of necropolises only in the vicinity of Gevgelija and Valandovo, which means an area of about 20 kilometers in diameter so far have been registered a dozen. All were in use mainly in the VII-VI century BC, more precisely during the light exploitation of surface copper.³ The best example of this is the mining settlement and the necropolis in Dedeli, village near Valandovo.⁴

Already in the end of VI century, on that basis, communications and trade developed rapidly, so that along the Vardar road grew the first city-craft centers (Idomene, Gortinia, Europe and Atalante). Already in the V century they were noted as pivotal cities in ancient Amfaxitida, guardians from the north of the new Macedonian capital in Pella.

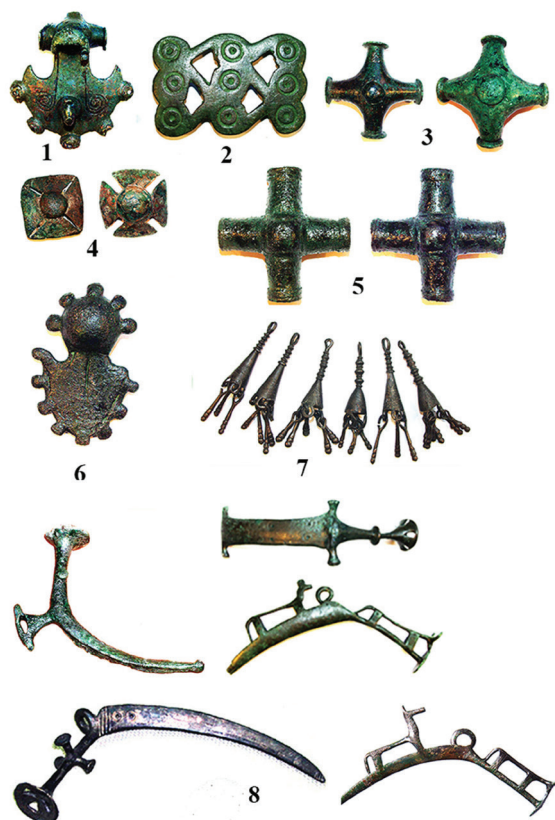


Fig.1 Some forms of bronze jewelry inspired by the Thraco-cimmerian horse equipment

³ Mitrevski D. 1997; Vasić R. 1987, 710.; Mitrevski D. 2013.

⁴ Mitrevski D. 1991.

But let us return to the Iron Age and open the third question and condition for developed metallurgy. Where does such metallurgical knowledge come from in the South Paeonian communities, which means complex casting techniques, primarily empty casting, by melting the wax core, updating or drilling etc. ?

These techniques appeared for the first time, and some of them were not even known for the geometric and archaic bronze production in the Hellenic world. Only such items have been produced by communities with a rich metallurgical tradition and natural resources, such as those in the Koban-Kavkaz and the North Black Sea region. From that region during the VIII-VII century BC are known the movements to Asia Minor and Central Europe of the numerous nomadic communities of the Cimmerians. Historical sources note that in the eastern and northern parts of the Balkans they were in alliance with the Thracians so we know them by one name as Thracian-Cimmerians.⁵ In that sense, it is interesting for us that the Edonians are mentioned, Thracian communities that live together with the southern Paeonians in the area of Migdonia, more precisely in the area between lower part of the river Struma and lower part of the river Vardar.⁶ It is believed that thanks to that Thracian-Paeonian coalition, the cimmerian metallurgical knowledge of the Paeonians spread, more precisely in the region of Lower Vardar, where there was the greatest potential for that.⁷

Several archaeological moments confirm such assumptions. The mining and metallurgical expansion in the Valandovo-Gevgelija region began sometime in the first half of the VII century BC when Thracian-Cimmerian bronze objects, primarily parts of horse equipment, were already widespread in the northern and eastern parts of the Balkans.⁸ From there, certain ideas were probably taken, which appeared a little later in the Vardar Valley, when the Paeonian bronze production was at its peak. A number of objects, documented as horse ornaments and parts of horse equipment in the northern parts of the Balkans, are discovered as women's jewelry in the Valandovo-Gevgelija necropolises. Thus, for example, some cross applications or bell pendants, which in the north were used as decorations on the leather parts of the horse equipment, appear as buttons and pendants in children's and women's graves in the Vardar Valley (Fig. 1 - 1, 2, 3, 4). Also, some front horse ornaments or

⁵ Vasić R. 1987-a.; Bouzek J. 1997, 195.

⁶ Fol A., Spiridonov T. 1983.

⁷ Hamond N. L. G. 1972, 427 f.; Bouzek J. 1997, 112, Fig. 226, 228, 230.; Bouzek J. 2006, 110.

⁸ Vasić R. 1987-a, 559 - 563.; Bouzek J. 1997, 195 - 199.

cross distributors for separating the horse belts, in the Vardar necropolises we find them in women's graves, as indisputable female jewelry (Fig. 1 - 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10). Even the shape of the horse bits was probably the inspiration for modeling similar but extremely unusual objects (so-called boomerang pendants), which are found in individual tombs of the so-called Paeonian priestes (Fig. 1 - 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16).⁹ Obviously, metallurgists from the Lower Vardar region, in the period of their strongest growth only lacked ideas to satisfy their productive power. Numerous outside ideas have simply been taken and modified to create new local forms of jewelry, various decorative or cult objects.



Fig.2 Different forms of Paeonian cult bronzes

Due to the prevalence of these bronze objects in the VII and VI centuries BC, mostly on the territory which will later be known as Macedonian, the general term "Macedonian bronzes" is used for them.¹⁰ However, within that broad family of so-called Macedonian bronzes, for us are the most important and most interesting group of bronzes with a strong cult character. They clearly stand out from the rest in their high aesthetic, cultural and chronological values, as well as in the context of their discovery. They are affirmed in science as "Paeonian cult bronzes", because they are spread by more than 90% in the valley of Vardar with tributaries, more precisely in the historically witnessed

⁹ Mitrevski D. 2007, 563 - 582.

¹⁰ Bouzek J. 1973.; Bouzek J. 1974.; Videski Z., - Temov S. 2003.

territory of the Paeonian tribes, in the Paeonian time or in the VII century BC.¹¹ Only a few specimens have been found outside this territory so far, mainly as tombstones (Radenkovic-Macva, KuciZi-Korca, Amphipolis, etc.) or as gifts in some Greek temples and shrines (Samos, Chios, Ferre, Philia), which testifies to their popularity and contacts with neighboring regions.¹²

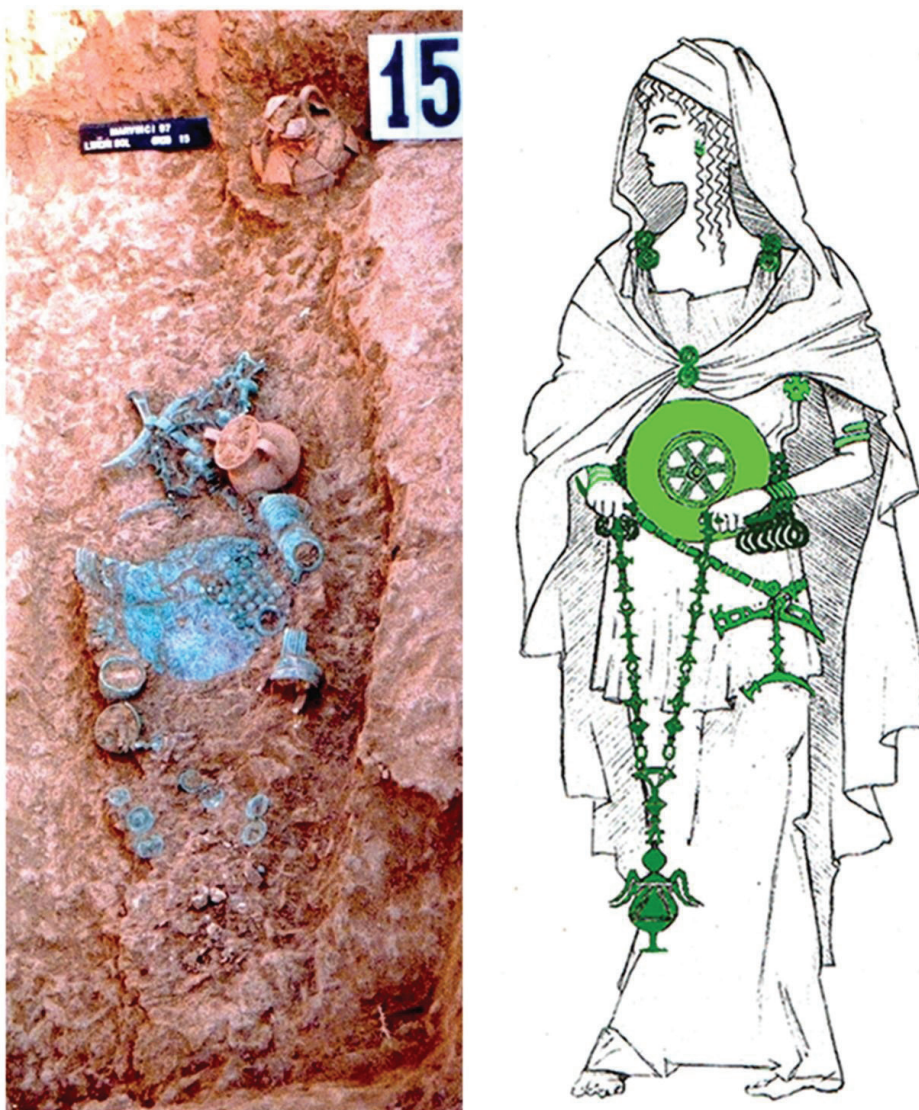


Fig.3 Grave 15 from Marvinci with possible reconstruction by D. Mitrevski

¹¹ Mitrevski D. 1988.; Bouzek J. 2006.

¹² Vasić R. 2003, Fig 3 - 4.; Andrea Zh.1976.; Bouzek J. 1974.; Kilian - Dirlmeier I. 1979.; Kilian K. 1975.; Kilian-Dirlmeier I. 2002, Taf. 63 - 64.

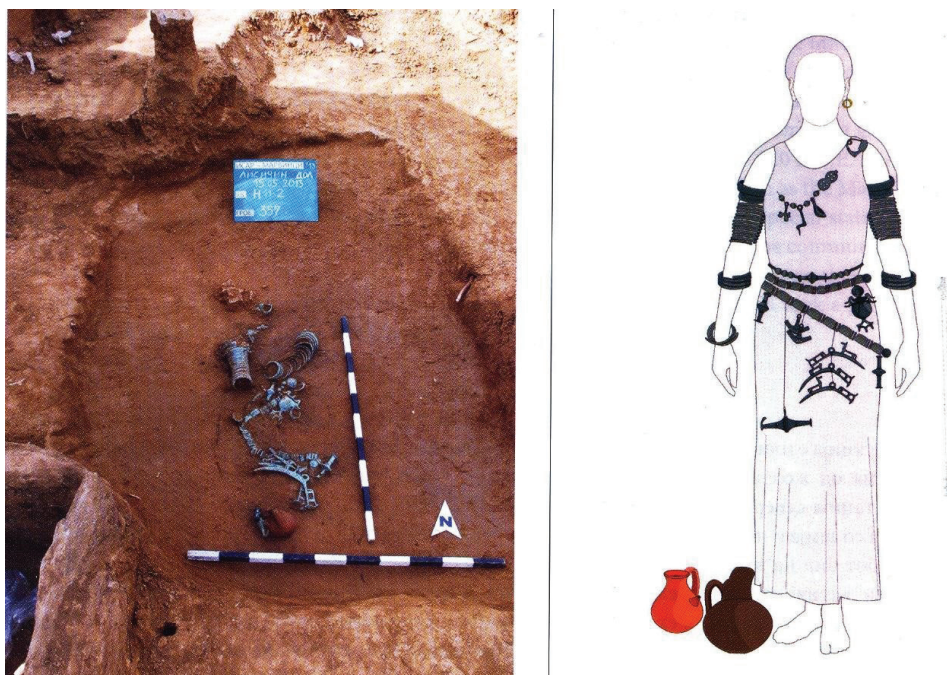


Fig.4 Grave 357 from Lisičin Dol-Marvinci with possible reconstruction by A. Papazovska

These are various types of small bronze plastic in the form of birds, cups, miniature jars, stylized birds, round plates, ball objects, horned objects, various forms of composite pendants, often with bird accessories and the like (Fig. 2). They are all closely related to each other and are revealed in the same context, in separate women's graves. We say special because they stand out from other ordinary funerals. In the Paeonian, still classless communities, all burials, whether male, female or child, are basically the same, standardly equipped, depending on the economic power of the community. Exceptions are individual female funerals that stand out exactly according to their inventory (Fig. 3). In them, in addition to the usual women's jewelry, the mentioned cult objects also appear, due to which they are defined as priestly burials (Fig. 4).¹³ The cult character of certain objects in those burials is no longer disputed, given that so far a dozen burials with such objects in a very talkative, original position have been well documented (Fig. 5). Their very shape and position in the tomb define these objects as cult, appearing in two groups, as cult symbols or as cult implements.¹⁴ According to their iconography, but also according

¹³ Mitrevski D. 2007.; Mitrevski D. 1999.; Papazovska A., - Husenovski B. 2019.

¹⁴ Mitrevski D. 2007, 574.

to the data of the ancient authors about the beliefs of the Paeonians, it is indisputable that it is about the cult of the sun and the burials of priests - guardians of that cult.¹⁵



Fig.5 Grave 12 from Bučinci-Skopje

Cult symbols are considered to be all bronzes that represent any appliques or pendants worn on clothes or hung on body parts. (Fig. 6). They regularly have an attachment ring at the top. They can be pendants in their own right, such as bird figures or their modifications, and they can also appear as com-

¹⁵ Vasileva M. 1994, 21 - 27.; Mitrevski D. 1999, 85.

plex pendants on which smaller pendants have been hung. In any case, they affirmed the cult and illustrated the beliefs of the population, but also the very meaning and role of the deceased, priestess in that cult.

An even stronger expression of the cult of the sun are the so-called instruments of the cult. These are objects that served in the ritual actions of the priestesses, which at the funeral were specially treated and usually laid separately, next to or on the body of the priestess. The most eloquent illustration of this is in tomb 15 of Marvinci, known as “the grave of the Paeonian priestess from Marvinci”. Dominant in it is the large circular bronze plate, which was meticulously folded in a wide ritual belt and placed on the body of the priestess (Figs. 3 and 7-3).¹⁶ In the same burial, another object was placed in the area between the legs, a large cup with a lid, hung on two chain branches (Fig. 7 - 1, 2). The position of those objects in the tomb and the relationship with the skeletal remains speak that they served, probably as tools - instruments in the practice of the cult actions of the priestess (Fig. 7 - 4). In that category, the instruments of the cult, in addition to the mentioned forms of circular plates and cups with lids, can be attributed to the so-called miniature vases and horned objects.



Fig.6 Some pendants as Paeonian cult symbols

The large circular plates have so far been discovered in several specimens, best known through the Marvinci specimen, nor with two other such finds from Chauchitsa (Fig. 7 - 3).¹⁷ They occur in different variants and dimensions,

¹⁶ Mitrevski D. 1999, T - I, T - III - 3.

¹⁷ Mitrevski D. 1999, T - III - 3.; Casson S. 1968, Fig. 59 - 62, p. 155.

with the northern samples, such as the findings from Orizari-Kocani or Radanje-Stip being significantly smaller than the lower Vardar region circular plates.¹⁸ They were decorated with concentric circles and engraved lines, so that they are considered to symbolize the sun itself. The question is whether such plates were carried on a stick, as the ancient authors wrote about the Paeonian sun-worship, or were simply part of a ritual belt, as the Marvinci finding suggests.



Fig.7 Paeonian cult implements from the grave 15 from Marvinci

¹⁸ Kilian K. 1975; Bouzek J. 1974.; Mitrevski D. 1990.

Cups with lids or Pyxis pendants are the most striking among the Paeonian cult bronzes. They come in different sizes and in different variants, depending on the local possibilities and taste, but they were always made according to the same concept, in two parts, with a cup-container, where certain substances were probably kept and a lid with which the contents of the cup were closed. (Fig. 8).¹⁹ They were carried on a leather strap passed through the side holes of the cup itself and on the lid, which in turn was held closed by a larger ball bead. The smallest cups were probably the most popular, and because of their poppy bite shape they are also known as poppy cups (Fig. 8 - 8, 9, 10, 11). Chemical analyzes from the inside of such a cup have determined the presence of morphine, namely that opium-poppy tar was stored in it.²⁰ In all of them, bird protomes or stylized birds were made on the cup itself or on the lid. Their bodies are usually decorated with engraved bundles of parallel lines and embossed concentric circles, which refer to the symbols of the sun, light, freedom.

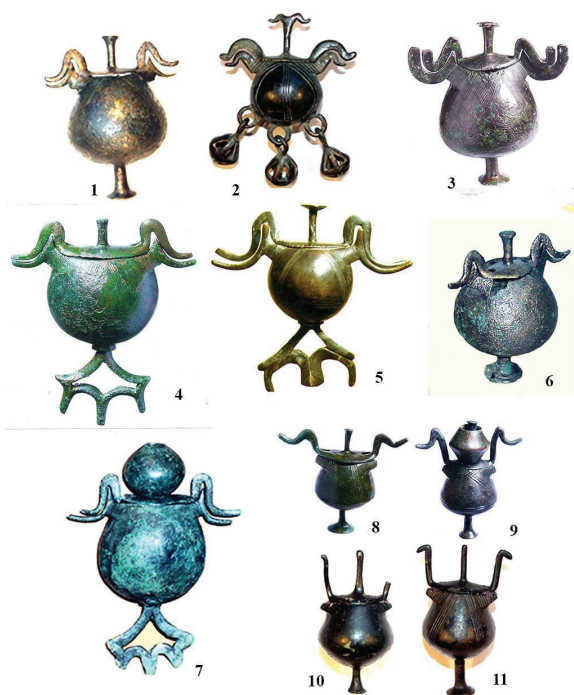


Fig. 8 Different types of pyxis pendants from the Lower Vardar region

¹⁹ Bouzek J. 1973.; Kilian K. 1975, Taf. 34 - 44.; Vasić R. 1974, 230 - 232.

²⁰ The analyzes were made at the Chemical Institute at the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Skopje by Pere Tošev.



Fig. 9 The cut implement with pyxis pendant from the grave 15 from Marvinci

Miniature bronze vessels come in two versions as jug or as bowl, usually with a horizontally extended handle (Fig. 10-1).²¹ Thus, they copy the local ceramic production only in miniature and bronze edition. They were discovered in a different context, but never in a sufficiently readable situation, so it is assumed that they could have been worn as pendants. However, their very form suggests that they probably also served in some of the priestly activities. The situation is similar with several objects in the form of consecutive horns (Fig. 10-2). And for them one can only guess what, as well as in which processes of the priestly activities they served, but the lower part was hollowly cast in the form of a cylindrical sleeve, which indicates that a wooden holder was implanted in it, similar to the tops from the then iron spears.

²¹ Bouzek J. 1974.; Kilian K, 1975.



Fig. 10 Some miniature bronze vessels and horned objects as Paeonian cult implements

The strong production of Paeonian cult bronzes is a result of the rise of metallurgy at that time. It allowed numerous forms to appear with local specifics in performances, as well as with different chemical composition of bronze. However, the central area of production of the Paeonian bronzes was the southern group, more precisely the Lower Vardar region, or the territory of the southern Paeonians (Fig. 11). Besides it, two more regional groups are evident, a northern and a western group. The northern group of Paeonian cult bronzes includes such objects discovered in the Skopje region, in the Middle Vardar and in the valley of Bregalnica (Fig. 12). Opposite of that, the western group includes the bronzes from Pelagonija and Ohrid region (Fig. 13). All groups are characterized by the special popularity of individual forms, which developed their own variants, with pronounced local features.



Fig.11 Different types of cult bronzes from the south paeonian group

The chronological value of the Paeonian cult bronzes should also be noted. Due to the lack of intact situations and a sufficient number of closed archeological units, such objects have long been discovered as accidental finds or pendants from scattered graves, which is why they are usually dated to the vast VII and VI centuries BC. Today it is quite certain that they actually make up the older group of bronzes, within the wider family of the so-called Macedonian bronzes, which entirely belong to the cultural context of the VII century BC. Namely, in about 20 explored necropolises from the Middle Iron Age (VIII-VI century BC) along the valley of Vardar with its tributaries, nearly 1000 graves have been discovered so far. Only a few of them can be dated to the VIII century BC, and they do not contain findings such as the Paeonian cult bronzes. All other burials, or over 95%, date back to the VII and VI centuries BC, when the main use of these necropolises was. The comparative analysis

of the several thousand items in those graves allows us to clearly distinguish two chronological groups, one older, related mainly to the VII century and one younger, from the VI century BC. The Paeonian cult bronzes appear only in the context and with the findings of the older group. Paeonian cult bronzes are closely related to each other and are usually found together in the same grave units. So far, 15 such graves have been explored, in the inventory of which, besides them, there are other forms of ordinary women's jewelry and ceramics. In no case are such findings directly or indirectly related to the findings of the younger group. On the contrary, it contains other forms of jewelry (fibulae, needles, bracelets, etc.), which are characteristic phenomena of the VI century BC. With them, new forms of bronzes appear, such as: bell-shaped pendants, pendants in the shape of a wild pear, elongated drops, grape-shaped pendants etc., which fall into the category of so-called younger or mannerist Macedonian bronzes.²² There, the older Paeonian cult bronzes are gone.



Fig.12 Diferent types of cult bronzes from the north paeonian group

²² Bouzek J. 1974.; Mitrevski D. 2013.

From all this it can be concluded that the Paeonian cult bronzes do not go beyond the VII century BC. They did not exist in the eighth or sixth century, which, among other things, represent chronologically very sensitive objects, a leitmotif of their time.

In conclusion, the Paeonian cult bronzes are the strongest expression of the Paeonian culture in general. In their metallurgical, aesthetic and cultural values, they surpass the level and values of bronze production among other Paleo-Balkan peoples. They radiated cultural influences to their neighbors, to the Thracian, Illyrian or Hellenic communities. Some similar items appear in them, but mainly as pendants in function of ordinary jewelry, while such cult bronzes are not known. The reason for this is probably the direct conditionality of the Paeonian cult bronzes from the Paeonian beliefs. They were the product of Paeonian art and aesthetics that stemmed most directly from Paeonian religion and ritual practices. Therefore, the Paeonian cult bronzes can be placed at the very top of European Iron Age toreutics.



Fig.13 Diferent types of cult bronzes from the west paeonian group

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THE RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE REPRESENTATIONS OF ZEUS, PERUN AND ST. ELIJAH

Abstract: *Considering the diachronic intercultural analysis of the mythological traditional presentation of the God controlling the seasons and the weather phenomena, including the god of thunder/lightning, as a cosmogonic and weather character whose methods in praxis related to the change of the weather and season's conditions were precisely defined in the annual calendar cycle with their content, and by trying to avoid the local ethnocentricity, we cannot discuss from a perspective of a local, national or regional unique, because the representations, attributes and the symbolic interpretations of this deity despite sharing certain similarities that are occasionally identical, they still differ from each other in space and time. The purpose of making parallel interpretation of the representation of Zeus and Perun is to discover the key features of such mythological divinity, their intercultural congeniality in the context of the visual, symbolic and narrative elements, whose impact is still present in the orthodox area through the worship of the figure of St. Elijah.*

Key words: Zeus, Perun, St. Elijah, Old Greek religion, paganism, Slavs, Christianity

The religious transformations in the representations of Zeus, Perun and St. Elijah

Regardless if it is Ishkur of Sumerians or Adad of Akkadian in Babylon,¹ West Semitic god Baal,² Seth in Egypt,³ Zeus in Old Greek, Jupiter in Romans,⁴

¹ Ishkur in the Sumerian religion was a god embodying the power of storms and was related to thunders, hail and flood, depicted with lightning, as a storm god. An Akkadian equivalent to this deity was Adad (also called Addu or Adda), respected as god of fertility rain and mountain springs. Black, J., Green, A. (1992), 110-111.

² Baal is the god of storms in the Semitic, also known as „sky rider“, „Lord of the sky and earth“, responsible to control the soil fertility. Wilkinson, R. N. (2003), 101.

³ Set, in Egyptian mythology, as a god of violence, disorder and confusion was related to any kind of storms and hurricanes, therefore being considered a god of open vicious sea. Wilkinson, R. N. (2003), 197-198.

⁴ In Roman mythology Jupiter had absolute power over life and death, light and weather phenomena. The Romans represented him sitting on an ivory throne in front of an eagle,

Thor in Scandinavia,⁵ Perkunas/⁶Perkons in the Baltic countries,⁷ three main Prussian gods – Potrimppo, Perkuno and Patollo,⁸ or Perun in the Slavic, the representation of god controlling the weather phenomena, sitting on the top of pantheon, depicted with grey hair and beard, occasionally depicted with „flaming chariot“ drawn by one or several white flying fiery horses or winged „steeds“, driving through the sky and ascending into the heaven in high speed; sometimes as a thunder god responsible of thunders and lightning, throwing them driving in his „flaming“ chariot;⁹ or throwing thunderbolt stones that destroyed anything wherever a lightning bolt struck”,¹⁰ presents an integral part of ancient folk mythology. The thunder and lightning as a divine power are embedded in almost every mythology, popular folklore, and even taken over into Christianity in the *Holy Bible*¹¹ and into Islam in the *Quran*.¹²

From a thunder god to a divine charioteer

Zeus is represented in the Old Greek mythology as a sky and earth god, king of the gods and people, sitting in Mount Olympus from where he is sending storms and heavy rain. He is believed to have been considered as god responsible for the seasons and the weather phenomena of which agriculture depends on, and he was related to the agricultural rites being respected as protector of

holding a set of thunderbolts and lightning in his right hand, and a sceptre in the other. Berens, E. M. (2009), 27.

⁵ Thor rides in a cart or chariot pulled by two goats and wields the hammer *Mjölnir*, that created a thunder and returns to him when he threw it. Andrén, A. (2005), 121.

⁶ Ледик Ф. (2017), 50.

⁷ Perkunas/Perkons, was the thunder god in Baltic mythology depicted with the symbols of thunder and water. Perkunas is depicted as angry middle-aged man with a twisted black beard, flaming crown on his head and armed with arrows. In Lithuanian folklore he is represented as a grey-haired old man with a big beard, topped with a flame. Tum nas, V. (2016), 360-362.

⁸ Together regarded as Baltic pagan triad of gods. Depicted together with a heraldic pair of white horses beneath them. Tum nas, V. (2016), 360.

⁹ Малинов, З. (2006), 213

¹⁰ Цепенков, М. К. (1972), 16.

¹¹ Holy Bible Psalm18:14: “He scattered his enemies with his arrows– the lightning bolts that threw them into confusion.”

¹² Surah An-Nur (24:43) - Al-Qur'an al-Kareem: “Do you not see that Allah drives clouds? Then He brings them together, then He makes them into a mass, and you see the rain emerge from within it. And He sends down from the sky, mountains [of clouds] within which is hail, and He strikes with it whom He wills and averts it from whom He wills. The flash of its lightening almost takes away the eyesight.”

soil fertility.¹³ As god of weather phenomena, whenever he shook with *aegis*,¹⁴ he created giant hurricanes, storms and darkness, and upon his command there were thunder and lightning in the sky, pouring heavy rains to irrigate the land, thus making it fertile. Zeus, as a thunder god, was connected with the oak trees that were considered as his sacred trees, where animals were sacrificed, and because they usually grow on mountains it is in their nature to be subject to storms and hurricanes.¹⁵ Zeus, as any Olympian deities, owned a divine horse-drawn chariot,¹⁶ a masterpiece made by Hephaestus,¹⁷ driving it with high speed across the sky and sea and threw thunderbolts and lightning from out of his chariot.

The Slavic people regarded Perun as the highest god of the Slavic pagan pantheon, the only lord of all,¹⁸ the god of sky and thunder and the creator of lightning and fire,¹⁹ thus being considered as protector of the people and soldiers.²⁰ His chief attributes were creation of thunderbolts that were believed to be axes, hammers or stone arrows that were usually thrown in the high hills or mountains where the oak trees grew.²¹ Following the popular beliefs, wherever a thunder bolt struck, it was believed that these places were „plac-

¹³ Срејовиќ, Д., Цермановиќ - Кузмановиќ, А. (1987),157-162.

¹⁴ A divine shield covered with goat skin of Amalthea, manufactured by Hephaestus. Berens, E. M. (2009), 16.

¹⁵ Shaw, P. (1992), 512-513.

¹⁶ Helios is driving a golden chariot drawn by four fire-darting steeds, and his sister Selene who was regarded as the personification of the Moon, drove a silver chariot. Hera's chariot was pulled by group of divine birds that were often flying around her throne. Demeter is depicted sitting in a chariot drawn by winged dragons. Aides was represented sitting in a golden chariot pulled by four black horses. Poseidon's chariot was made of seashells pulled by hippocampus, bronze-hoofed horses with golden mane. Dionysus's chariot was pulled by tigers, lions, wildcats or panthers. Berens, E. M. (2009), 11-109.

¹⁷ Berens, E. M. (2009), 83.

¹⁸ Леже, Л. (2015), 47.

¹⁹ Anellis, I. H. (1984), 2.

²⁰ Dixon-Kennedy, M. (1998), 217.

²¹ L. Leže highlights the witnessing of the Polish Italian Guanine that he published in 1578 in: *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio*. „At this place“, as Guanine says, „the idol of Perun used to rise, right where the monastery of Perun is today, that continued to bear the name of this idol. He, the idol, was venerated by the people of Novgorod. He was depicted as a man holding a firestone in his hand, similar to thunder, because the word *perun* in Russian and Polish means thunder. To honour this idol an eternal fire of oak trees was burned. If by accident, any of the servants responsible to keep the fire burning, extinguishes it, they were all sentenced to death immediately“. Then he added: „Such precisely defined details bring too serious character to the accuracy, but the question is: where could have Guanine taken these from?...“ Леже, Л. (2015), 53.

es where earth joins heaven“,²² which can also be commonly found in the Balkan toponymy, such as: the mountain top Peren near the village Dejlovce, Kumanovo,²³ Perunova Gora in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the mountain Pirin in Bulgaria.²⁴ According to the popular beliefs, Perun was riding a red iron chariot across the sky, harnessed with giant goat, presenting himself as lightning bolts in the spring with the purpose to bring rains that make the soil fertile and to wake the nature after the winter period, thus bringing life and a bountiful harvest.²⁵

St. Elijah is one of the many highly venerated saints due to his importance to the Orthodox Christians, as well as the Jews²⁶ and Muslims.²⁷ The Macedonian Orthodox Church venerates the prophet Saint Elijah as the „one to whom God revealed Himself, the miracle worker, apologist of God’s faith“.²⁸ St. Elijah is represented in the Bible as the lord of classical elements, to whom the water and fire obey,²⁹ and his miracles such as fire and weather phenomena can be found in the Old Testament.³⁰ He is respected among the Christians as a saint of the thunder, thus being respected as the *Thunderer*,³¹ the lord of rain, wind and storms, and his Cult is still highly venerated. St. Elijah’s Day is feasted on 2nd of August,³² i.e. in case of catastrophic drought and storms and according to the popular beliefs he can initiate or stop the rain.³³ St. Elijah was described

²² Dixon-Kennedy, M. (1998), 217. According to Jensens: “Areas of communion between heaven and earth”. Jensens, N. (2012), 4.

²³ Northeast of Kumanovo, in the mountain of Kozjak, 1326 m above sea level. Чаусидис, Н. (1994) 428.

²⁴ Nicolas, J. (2012), 4.

²⁵ Вражиновски, Т. (2002), 19.

²⁶ The prophet Elias, appears in *Israel Bible* as Elijah, ay-li-YA-hu, in: Judges 13:5; I Kings 18:38; I Kings 19:16; I Kings 21:19; II Kings 2:1.

²⁷ The prophet Elias, Ilija or Elijah from the *Old Testimony* appears in the Quran as Ilyas: (37:123-132) “And Ilyas was most surely of the messengers...”

²⁸ Since he was young „his father Savah saw divine angels around the infant swaddling him in fire and feeding him with it. That was a sign for his hot temper and from God given power to him.“ <http://www.povardarskaeparhija.org.mk/pe> approached on July, 2020.

²⁹ Леже, Л. (2015), 60.

³⁰ Old Testimony, *The First Book of Kings*, 18:36-39; 18:41-45; 19:11-12.

³¹ Леже, Л. (2015), 62.

³² Ковачева, Л. (2019), 153.

³³ In case of drought the prayer was cited: „St. Elijah stops the rain with his words, and gives the rain with his words. We pray to You, our Lord, to hear his prayer and to send us rain from the heaven to the earth.“ *Legatio Luitprandi* (priest Leon, publisher Bon, pg. 356): „Decimo tertio kalendas augusti quo die leves Graeci raptionem Eliae prophetae ad coelos ludis scenicis celebrant.“ Леже, Л. (2015), 61.

in the Old Testament as ascending into heaven in a flaming chariot drawn by fiery horses³⁴ and while driving with it, he protected the fields of generous people and burned and destroyed the land of the greedy and obstinate people.³⁵

When comparing the representations and the attributes of these three deities as cosmogonic and weather characters, despite the time span of more than thousands of years of their veneration by the people from the ancient period until today, we can notice the intercultural congeniality with regards to their acknowledgement as thunder gods, who due to their „aerial” character and following the religious trends have combined with each other through the years.³⁶ Zeus, as a thunder god, when throwing the axe consisting of his chief attributes such as thunders and lightning bolts, is equal to the representation of Perun, who just like Zeus also throws the axe³⁷ to cause the thunder. This belief is confirmed by many European archaeologists³⁸ who until recently have considered that the relics of the stones and fossils resembling an arrow, are actually thunders thrown from heaven by the thunder god.³⁹ In particular, the parallel in the context of the symbolic and narrative elements is the connection of Zeus and Perun with the oak trees, which usually grow on mountains, and it is in their nature to be subject to storms and hurricanes. The Slavic god Perun equals Zeus through his chief attributes, thunder and lightning, and with the arrival of the Christianity his powers were transferred to St. Elijah.

The thunder was usually believed to have been considered as a weapon hurled by the thunder god into the „sinful“⁴⁰ or „unrighteous“ people, in particular those who take from the poor,⁴¹ or against evil forces. According to popular beliefs, the person struck by thunder bolt has been considered as a sinful or „sinner“, or could have been expelled from the community. Sometimes the thunder was thrown at an evil entity, and the place where the thunder struck was considered to be a place not suitable for living. As an exception to it is the Slavic mythology where it is believed that a man struck by thunder bolt is being considered as the lucky one, because he is invited to heaven by the god Perun, who is going to forgive him for all of his deadly sins.

³⁴ Old Testament, Second Book of Kings, 2:11-12.

³⁵ Леже, Л. (2015), 62.

³⁶ Чаусидис, Н. (1994), 25

³⁷ Наавио, М. (1964), 58.

³⁸ Jansens, N. (2012), 4.

³⁹ Dixon-Kennedy, M. (1998), 217.

⁴⁰ Gomes, Ch., Gomes, A. (2014), 1799.

⁴¹ Ковачева, Л. (2019), 104.

The earliest form of the thunder god, represented as a “*thunderbird*“, who created thunders and lightning with its beak or wings, is found in archaeological sites dating from Bronze Age at Dodona, Minusinsk in Siberia⁴² and sc. It is quite obvious that ancient people knew that thunder and lightning had a great power beyond their understanding. The analysis of deities, thunder gods and myth forces, that are attributed to the thunder and lightning, play a lead role in understanding the natural weather phenomena and raising the awareness and understanding of the people in ancient period with regards to the safety and danger from such phenomena that occasionally might still have fatal consequences.

From visualisation to rite

When analysing similar and usual elements in mythological representations of these three characters, in particular the parallel in the context of the visual, symbolic and narrative elements, there are certain similarities that cannot be disregarded which in places have a full compliance. An irreplaceable part of the physical appearance of Zeus,⁴³ Perun⁴⁴ and St. Elijah⁴⁵ is the beard⁴⁶ representing the symbol of masculinity, courage and wisdom.⁴⁷ The beard of these three deities implies also to a part of the agricultural rites, one of which is the „Beard“ as a basis for regeneration of the vegetation, especially the process of dying and rebirth of the crops that was practiced by the Old Greeks, the Slavs and in the Christian folk tradition, with regards to the agrarian magic. Because the harvest and the collection of the crops in the silo presents a high point of the agricultural management, the farmer is happier if the harvest is bountiful, and on the other hand a tough year is ahead if the harvest is bad, therefore the folk tradition created for the Cult of protector of the crops.

⁴² Gomes, Ch., Gomes, A. (2014), 1799.

⁴³ Zeus is depicted as a strong and serious, known for his long beard and long twisted hair that falls at his shoulders from his intelligent forehead. Berens, E. M. (2009), 18.

⁴⁴ Perun is depicted as a tall, strong big-beard man. Nicolas, J. (2012), 4. In the Chronicle of Nestor, the Knyaz Vladimir placed at first, next to the other idols on a hill in Kyiv in 980, the idol of Perun that was made of wood with head of silver and beard of gold. Леже, Л. (2015), 52.

⁴⁵ St. Elijah is depicted in frescoes in Orthodox churches as middle-aged man with grey beard and a longer grey hair.

⁴⁶ The Scandinavian god Thor is represented with red beard. Andrén, A. (2005), 121. The Prussian god Perkuno is represented with young red face and black beard. Tum nas, V. (2016), 360.

⁴⁷ Шевалие, J., Гербран, А. (2005), 118.

The first and basic symbolism of the crops to the Old Greeks appears during the feast of the *Greater Eleusinian Mysteries* held from the 15-th⁴⁸ to 21-st day of the month *Boedromion*⁴⁹ of the Attic calendar that lasted 7 days.⁵⁰ Although initially it had a status of an agrarian festival, it was not related to Zeus, but it was celebrated to honour the goddess Demeter⁵¹ and her daughter Persephone, who according to the mythology beliefs „both were holding a vigil over the crops and the deceased, who were buried in the ground like the seeds.”⁵² The magic rites that were practiced during this festival were more of a cathartic than of a sacramental or ethical character. The high point of the main celebration was inside the *Telesterion*⁵³ and started on the last night of the festival comprising torches that burned in the middle of the hall and lit the stage of the „great and wonderful secret of the grain cut“, followed by *hierogamia*, an actual liturgical play.⁵⁴ The play had 3 acts: 1. By hitting the gong the *Hierophant* (priest) calls on Persephone who have appeared out of the underworld and presented herself to the *Mystai*,⁵⁵ 2. The *Hierophant* declares the birth of the goddess who has given birth to a Holy Boy *Brimo*, *Brimos*, and 3. At the end the *Hierophant* holds an ear of grain cut in silence with a sickle. During the mystic play it was presented as an ear of grain observed in silence, thereby giving honour to Demeter, the goddess of fertility. This silent observation symbolized the eternity of the seasons, rebirth of the harvest, death of the ear of grain and its resurrection. The ritual symbolic of this play identifies the child as an ear of grain, and the cutting of the ear

⁴⁸ According to W. Burkert and R. Flacelière, the first day of the feast is the 14-th day of the month *Boedromion*, and according to E. O. James and X. W. Parke, who indicate that even that the official start of the feast is on the 15-th day, the preparations for it started 2 days before i.e. on the 13-th day of the month *Boedromion*. Burkert, W. (1985), 286; Фласелјер, P. (2002), 227; James E. O. (1961), 141. Parke X. W. (1977), 59.

⁴⁹ According to the Julian calendar it corresponds to months August/September. Ковачева, Л. (2013), 345.

⁵⁰ Parke, H. W. (1977), 59.

⁵¹ The destruction and desecration of the temples in Eleusis in 396 AD by Alaric, King of the Goths, although symbolic, presents the end of the paganism at European territory. A small Christian church was build at the place of the ruined shrine to Demeter. Eliade, M. (1991), 49.

⁵² Фласелјер, P. (2002), 226.

⁵³ Ca. VIIIth century BC the mysteries were held in Athens at open sites. When Athens merges with Eleusis (ca. 650-600 BC) shrines begun to build, of which the *Telesterion* was the biggest that could welcome ca. three thousands guests. Фласелјер, P. (2002), 227.

⁵⁴ Фласелјер, P. (2002), 228.

⁵⁵ *Mystai*, initiates who attended the Eleusinian mysteries for the first time. James, E. O. (1961), 141.

of grain represents an association of castration which puts the growth and the progress on hold. The cut of the grain with a sickle represents the force of a new life which grows from where it has been reaped.⁵⁶ The cycle of the mysteries represented a guarantee for eternity: rebirth through ritual death and resurrection.⁵⁷

The role of the grain and the harvest was of great importance to the Slavs. The desire and the care of the farmer, according to the Slavs, for a bountiful harvest created a number of rites, myths and cults, which were based on the regeneration of the vegetation, especially on death and rebirth of the grain. The most significant meaning had the custom „Braiding the Volos's or Perun's beard“. L. Leže highlights the researches of Afanasiev, where it is stated that one of the harvesters had to be a woman. Before the harvest started, she had to take one sheaf and tie it. This sheaf was a sacred one that nobody may touch, because it was believed to protect the harvest from evil.⁵⁸ The last sheaves were not reaped, but tied in a bundle, watered and left down at the field. This sheaf represented the beard⁵⁹ and was dedicated to Volos and Perun.

These rituals which were based on the regeneration of the vegetation, especially on death and rebirth of the grain are still practiced in Macedonia right before the harvest ends. The rite process itself for the harvest starts at new moon,⁶⁰ on Wednesday, which was believed to be considered as a happy and fruitful day, with an inauguration ritual of speaking i.e. blessings for the work. During the harvest of the last field, the harvesters did not reap few sheaves of the best and tallest ears of grain, also known as *beard*, *beard of God* or *sheaf*, after which the rite itself carries the name⁶¹ and is practiced throughout Macedonia at the same principle: by cutting the beard with a sickle, being entangled very skilfully afterwards.⁶² The main role here, too, has the young girl „of the house“, who is collecting the sickles thrown by the

⁵⁶ Burkert, W. (1985), 287-288.

⁵⁷ James, E. O. (1961), 14.

⁵⁸ L. Leže calls it also St. Elijah's beard, St Nikola's beard, or Perun's beard. Леже. Л. (2015), 89.

⁵⁹ According to L. Leže in Kursk and Voronež in Russia, one sheaf is left at the end of the harvest to honour the prophet St. Elijah, that is called „braiding St. Elijah's beard.“ According to him, the Russian farmer expects the storm or rain on 2nd of August, because if there isn't any and if the air is dry, this means that there will be many fires. Леже. Л. (2015), 62.

⁶⁰ Бражиновски, Т., Караџоски, В., Јовановска-Ризоска, С. (2006), 97.

⁶¹ Малинов, З. (2006), 209.

⁶² In Štip, money were left in the beard of God; in Maleševija the decorated beard was left at the field to be grazed by the cattle; In Probištip, near Kriva Palanka, after the beard is reaped and the grain is braided, they are transferred to the silo in silence. Малинов, З. (2006), 209-210.

harvesters at the ground right after the harvest ends. Then she starts to split the beard, of which one part is used to tie the sickles and the other stays at the field to continue to grow. The rite continues by singing a ritual song, during which she makes the traditional rite: binds the beard whereby the sheaf is divided into three strands and forms a braid, putting basil and marigold in it. The remaining grain is used to braid a wreath (imitation of a small beard) decorated with flowers and is left at the field. As of the moment of braiding the beard, she gives an oath of silence. By holding the wreath in her hands, she kneels on the ground, takes a small rock with her mouth and keeps it under her tongue, then passes through the village in silence to the silo where the rock is dropped. The ears of grain transfer the power to the ground through a contact magic intensified by a magical and protective force of the flower and the red strand with a hope of a better soil fertility next year.⁶³

Many authors think that Perun was very well known among the South Slavs, and there are traces of his Cult not only in historic sources, but also in the folklore of the Slavic people today. There are no misunderstandings and disputes among them that the Cult of the pagan Perun is transferred to the Christian saint – the prophet Elijah. According to them, this saint in Slavic folklore has mythological associations and carries in him absolutely all external characteristics, attributes, symbols and functions of the pagan god Perun.⁶⁴ During the dual faith when there is symbiosis of the pagan tree, many pagan deities were transferred according to their similarities or their feast day into the Christian saints, so the representation of Perun equals to that of St. Elijah⁶⁵, therefore the beard association was transferred to St. Elijah. Despite Zeus, Perun and St. Elijah have been represented as thunder deities, whose key features were to control the weather phenomena, their intercultural congeniality in the context of the visual, symbolic and narrative elements has the same intent, which is to make the soil fertile with the rain that brings life and contributes to a bountiful harvest, as a sole precondition for human existence. It is obvious that the grain has the key position of the rite process in Old Greek, Slavic and Macedonian folk tradition. The ears of grain in the last sheaf or wreath symbolize the fertility power of the old grain, which mixed with the seeds for the new crop is going to transfer to the new grain and crops

⁶³ Вражиновски, Т., Караџоски, В., Јовановска-Ризоска, С. (2006), 98 -102.

⁶⁴ Чајкановић, В. (1973), 154.

⁶⁵ Чаусидис, Н. (1994), 25.

through the rite process with the purpose to provide a bountiful harvest, that on the other hand contributes to a greater prosperity of the community next year. The origin of the grain is unknown, nor is it the origin of barley, corn and beans. The grain symbolizes the giving of life and is represented as a gift from gods, as a basic and most important food related to the gift of life.⁶⁶ The symbolism of the ear of grain is apparent in the Christian teaching, when St. John announces the glorification of Jesus after his death: „It is true what I say to you: If the ear of grain falling on the ground does not die, it shall stay alone; but if it dies – it shall bring a bountiful harvest.“ (John 12, 25)⁶⁷

Summary

Despite the fact that Zeus, Perun and St. Elijah are represented as a thunderous deity whose essential characteristics are the management of time and atmospheric phenomena, their intercultural kinship and the contextuality of the visual, symbolic and narrative elements are equated in their intention, which is to fertilize the earth with rain, and to provide it with a rich agricultural yield, as the only precondition of human existence. Widespread homage to St. Elijah in the Balkans shows that religion is not limited by conventional historical, geographical or political boundaries. Various churches illustrate its great importance among the Orthodox faithful on the Balkan Peninsula, including the small monastery church of St. Elijah Gorni, v. Banjani, Skopska Crna Gora, 14th century Macedonia, the medieval church of St. Elijah in Boboshevo, Bulgaria, the monastery of the 13th-century Holy Prophet Elijah in Katsapun, Serbia, and the Pantocrator Monastery dedicated to St. Elijah on Mount Athos in Greece.

⁶⁶ Шевалие, Ј., Гербран, А. (2005), 316-317.

⁶⁷ New Testimony (2006), *Life of John* (12, 25), 130.

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PROJECT STARO BONČE

Abstract: *The Faculty of Philosophy - Skopje is the holder of the Staro Bonče Project, which continuously lasts from 2006 to 2020, i.e. 15 archeological field campaigns. It started in 2006 at the site where the three parade bronze shields of the army of the Macedonian King Demetrius I were found. In 2007, driven by the uniqueness of the tomb on the site Paula Čuka, a campaign was launched for its further research and documentation, and with the discovery of the circular wall of the tomb, which becomes unique in its architectural conception among Macedonian-type tombs, these researches turn into systematic archeology excavations. Within this project, from the hitherto known sites in the area between the villages Bonče and Podmol, within the project Staro Bonče, 13 new sites were discovered and researched, hitherto unknown in the archaeological science. The results of these researches are in support of the stated thesis for the location of the ancient city of Pelagonija, the capital of the Pelagonians in early antiquity, and later the capital of the fourth Macedonian meridian in the area of Staro Bonče.*

Key words: Antique, Ruler's Tomb, Staro Bonče, Pelagonija



Fig. 1 - Staro Bonče, view from from the top Visoka (Photo: V. Lilčić Adams)

The Staro Bonče project explores the area of the same name, which we consider to be the ancient city of Pelagonija. Staro Bonče lies on the north-eastern part of the Pelagonija valley, between the Prilep villages of Bonče and Podmol. So far, 20 archeological sites have been discovered, which date back to the Archaic period, antiquity and the Middle Ages. (Fig. 1)



Fig. 2a - Coins of Macedonian kings

The project explores several ancient buildings, a large number of tombs from the archaic and early antique period 6-3 century BC. e., which are the most numerous, then Roman, late antique and medieval tombs. A large repertoire of movable archaeological material, ceramic vessels and figurines, bronze shields, spears, bronze statuettes, over 150 silver and bronze coins, silver and bronze fibulae, bracelets, earrings, rings, etc. were found. (Fig. 2) A variety of archaeological material that greatly helps us to complete the picture of life and population of this area.



Fig. 2b - Ceramic pots



Fig. 2c - Terracota figurinest



Fig. 2d - Metal objects

Within the project, the NI Museum and Institute Prilep is a partner, and several archaeologists participated in it, as well as students from the Institute

of History of Art and Archeology and the Institute of History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje. The results of these researches are presented at several scientific symposia¹ and lectures², at four annual exhibitions at the Archaeological Museum in Skopje from 2013 to 2016, and they are also published.³

The most representative is the facility located at the site Pavla Čuka, where most of the archaeological excavations are concentrated. It is a ruling tomb which is one of the most beautiful early antique buildings on our territory and beyond. We started the excavations in 2007 on the only visible part, the entrance to the vaulted dromos, covered with the erosive sediment.

With the beginning of the excavations, several stone blocks were discovered, identical in processing and shape to the blocks from the vaulted dromos. Further research revealed that these blocks were in fact part of a monumental wall, which surrounded the tomb in the form of a ring. After this fascinating discovery, the protogenic unique architectural conception came to light, after which the archeological excavations of the building became systematic.

In subsequent research we were able to discover the entire length of the circular wall that completely surrounds the other elements of the tomb, the vaulted corridor-dromos, the atrium and the chamber. Some of the missing blocks were blown up by the locals in the past, and some of the dismantled stone blocks (numbered 11 dislocated blocks) were used as a fence on the adjacent agricultural plot just a few meters north of the tomb.

¹ XX Symposium of MAND, Kičevo 2008; The royal tomb of the village Bonče, XXI Symposium of MAND, Strumica 2010; Archaeological Complex Staro Bonče, XXII Symposium of MAND, Dojran 2012; Early Ancient Necropolis Gramagje- Staro Bonče, "Clash of Cultures, Going south..."Piran 2013, "Macedonian tomb from Staro Bonče".

² Lectures on research and results obtained within the Staro Bonče project were held for archaeology students at Faculty of Art in Ljubljana 2017, University of Primorska 2017, Faculty of Philosophy Sarajevo 2018, and Faculty of Philosophy Zagreb 2019.

³ Jakimovski A., Macedonian Royal Tomb at Staro Bonče, Macedonian Heritage No. 38 - 39, Skopje 2011.; Jakimovski A., Das königliche makedonische Grab in der Nähe von Bonče, Folia archaeologica Balkanica II, Skopje 2012.; Jakimovski A., Das königliche Grab aus Staro Bonče - In: Guštin M., David W. (eds.), The Clash of Cultures? The Celts and the Macedonian World. Schriften des kelten - römer-museums manching 9, Manching 2014, 69 - 77 (in print).; Lilchikj Adams V., Jakimovski A., Visoka and Staro Bonče, Skopje 2015.; Лилчиќ Адамс В., Јакимовски А., Висока и Старо Бонче, Скопје 2016.; Jakimovski A., Antique Cult Buildings from Staro Bonče, Kumanovo 2017, 131 - 136.; Jakimovski A., Temelkoski D., Complex of the Archaeological Sites of Staro Bonče, Folia archaeologica Balkanica IV, Skopje 2018, 205 - 256.; Јакимовски А., Темелкоски Д., Археолошки истражувања на локалитетот Павла Чука, Археолошки информатор 3, Прилеп 2019, 63 - 74.

A few meters east of the entrance to the tumulus, a number of monolithic stone blocks were registered. Only two rows of stone blocks remain of this type in situ. It is this only preserved wall that suggests that it is an object with an elongated rectangular shape, i. e. that it is a Heroon.

Part of the access corridor to the inside of the tomb was also discovered. It was carved into a rock and in the form of a slightly sloping ramp descends to the entrance to the tumulus, i.e. to the beginning of the arched corridor-dromos.



Fig. 3 - The eastern part of the perimetral wall (Photo: A. Jakimovski)

The dromos was constructed of monumental rectangular stone blocks, with lengths of 2 to 3 meters, and up to about 0.60 meters in width and height. It is very solidly preserved, only a few blocks are missing (Fig. 4). The length of the dromos is 11 meters, while the height of its southern end (its beginning) is 3 m, and at the northern end in front of the entrance to the atrium it is 3.20 meters high. The approach, i.e. the entrance from the open corridor to the vaulted dormitory was closed (blocked) with stone blocks, identical in shape and construction to those of the outer circular wall and the dromos itself. In fact, the closed part of the tomb begins from that place.

The chamber and atrium of the tomb were constructed of smaller standardized limestone blocks. This type of stone is rare in the wider area, so

it is assumed that at that time it was considered a more valuable building material. the blocks were very precisely cut, measuring 0.50 m in height and between 0.60 and 0.90 m long. The chamber and the atrium were separated by a double door, from which the marble threshold with noticeable openings for iron connecting rods was revealed. There is an almost identical marble block threshold at the entrance of the arched dromos in the atrium. At the bottom of the chamber are recorded adjoint blocks attached to the walls of the chamber, placed in the shape of the Cyrillic letter G. According to the positioning, they probably served as wedges where the grave gifts were placed. The largest preserved height of the chamber walls is 2 meters. (Fig. 5). Unfortunately, the excavation of the inside of the tomb did not reveal any moving findings. no architectural elements have been discovered that such a monumental building must have possessed. in fact, in most analogous examples of this type of tombs the presence of decorative plastic has been registered.



Fig. 4 - Dromos (Photo: A. Jakimovski)



Fig. 5 - Chamber of the tomb
(Photo: A. Jakimovski)

During the excavations, 10 graves were discovered among the scattered remains of the building (Heroon). Six burials are of the cyst type of rough stone slabs, and four are free burials in the rocky terrain. The graves are without exception small in size, which indicates that it is a burial of children. Due to the negative impact of the chemical properties of the earth, the osteological

material in them is very rare. Their dating is based on the findings of coins, one of the Julian II Apostate found in 2009, minted between 361-363⁴, and the second coin found during research in 2019, belongs to Theodosius I 379-395. According to these findings, the tombs are dated to the second half of the IV century BC.⁵ Dismantled and probably robbed. from the second half of the 4th century, the monumental building grew into a cult place where burials took place.⁶ Excavations in 2019 on the western part of the dromos of the tomb revealed burials with tombstones from the Middle Ages, which according to analogies with identical objects are dated to the late X and the first quarter of the XI century.⁷ In 2020, we confirmed the burials from the Middle Ages, which means that we can conclude that this tomb as a cult space existed at the beginning of the XI century. As the representative tomb of the Pavla Čuka site was broken into and looted in the distant past, no movable finds were found inside it. It is therefore difficult to determine a precise chronological determination.

In the absence of relevant moving findings, we will rely primarily on establishing analogous comparisons with similar tombs in the relationship between architectural concepts and construction style. So far, about 70 tombs of "Macedonian type" have been discovered in Asia Minor and the Balkans, to which the tomb of Pavla Čuka belongs (Fig. 6).⁸



Fig. 6 - Tomb of the site Pavla Čuka (Photo: A. Jakimovski)

⁴ Sutherland J. W. E., 1981, 423, No. 228.

⁵ Јаќимовски А., Темелкоски Д., 2019, 71.

⁶ Jakimovski A., 2017, 129 - 135.

⁷ Јаќимовски А., Темелкоски Д., 2019, 63 - 75.

⁸ D'Angelo B., 2010, 57 - 68.

Two tombs of this type have been discovered on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia so far. One is in the ancient city of Lychnidos⁹, and the other is the tomb of the locality Pavla Čuka, as a segment of the complex of sites Staro Bonče which most probably constituted the ancient city of Pelagonija.¹⁰ The tomb is located in an area that was inhabited by an indigenous population of the Pelagonians and is the northernmost recorded tomb of "Macedonian type".

The development of this type of tombs begins in the second half of the IV century BC when the so-called tombs began to be built. "Macedonian type" of tombs, which as a perpetual home of the aristocracy were especially decorated.¹¹ The facades of these tombs are shaped in Ionic and Doric styles, and the inner walls were richly decorated with frescoes with plant motifs, lit by battles and hunting, car races and so on.¹² Probably the last quarter of the IV century BC. arched tombs appear.¹³ The end of the construction of this type of tombs is around the middle of the II century BC and this was obviously related to the weakening of the Macedonian aristocracy and the fall of Macedonia under Roman rule.

However, it is the appearance of the vault as an architectural element, its origin and dating, that causes controversy and disagreement in scientific circles. According to some researchers, the vault of the "Macedonian type" tombs actually has its own protogenic development in Macedonia.¹⁴ But according to other researchers, Macedonian military architects who followed King Alexander III on his campaign saw the vault as an architectural solution in the East. According to this theory, the vaulted tombs in this area were probably built after the death of Alexander III, after his military architects returned and transferred the skill of building the vault.¹⁵ This chronological connection is used by most researchers to determine the most famous tomb of this type, the so-called Philip's Tomb in Aigai¹⁶, as the tomb in which Philip III Arrhi-

⁹ Bitrakova V., 1985, 136.; Bitrakova Grozdanova V., Kuzman P., 1998, 3 - 16.; Kuzman P., 2009, <http://www.mav.mk/article.php?lang=en&article=18>.

¹⁰ Лилчиќ В., Кебаќоски Д., 2006, 22 - 28.; Lilchikj Adams V., - Jakimovski A., 2015, 34 - 41.; Jakimovski A., 2011, 38 - 39.; Jakimovski A., 2012, 165 - 180.; Jakimovski A., 2017, 131 - 136.

¹¹ Miller S. G., 1982, 153.

¹² Miller S. G., 1982, 153 - 171.

¹³ Miller S. G., 1993, 1 - 4.

¹⁴ Hammond N. G. L., 1978, 331 - 350.; Fredricksmeier, E. A., 1981, 330 - 334.; Andronicos M., 1987, 1 - 16.

¹⁵ Tomlinson R. A., 1977, 473 - 479.; Boyd T. D., 1978, 83 - 100.

¹⁶ Andronicos M., 1976, 123 - 130.; Andronicos M., 1977, 40 - 72.; Andronicos M., 1980, 168 - 178.; Andronicos M., 1987, 1 - 16.

daeus is buried. In support of this hypothesis is the analysis of S. Rotrof for the findings of ceramics in the tomb, which are dated according to the same movable material recorded in a closed context in Athens, which is at the end of the IV century BC.¹⁷ However, even decades after the discovery of this royal tomb, scientific debates are still being held about its dating and affiliation.¹⁸



Fig. 7 - Tomb of the site Pavla Ćuka (Photo: O. Petrov)

We find analogies of the tomb of Pavla Ćuka in several famous tombs. The closest among them are the relations with the tombs of Amphipolis¹⁹ and the tomb of Pydna²⁰. The discovered heroon brings her closer to the so-called Philip's Tomb. The comparison with the previously mentioned tombs, which according to the architecture are closest to ours, but also with the other tombs of "Macedonian type", we put the dating of the tomb from Staro Bonĉe in the last quarter of the IV century BC.²¹ This dating, made in 2007 for the tomb of

¹⁷ Rotroff S. I., 1997; Gill W. J. D., 2008, 335 - 358, With several examples of dating according to the found material.

¹⁸ Chilidis K., 2008, 75 - 103; Only the part from page 75 - 86 with the cited literature on the problem of vaulted tombs.

¹⁹ Lazaridis D. I., 1997, 65 - 74, - Of the four tombs of the Macedonian type discovered in Amphipolis, the so-called Macedonian Tomb 1 has an identical arrangement of blocks from the vaulted dromos, but is twice smaller than the ridge in Pavla Ćuka.

²⁰ Miller S. G., 1993, 1 - 4; The tomb is dated to the last third of IV BC. This tomb known as "Heuzey's Tomb" has an identically built dromos with the same dimensions, and the difference is that this tomb has two atria and a chamber.

²¹ Jakimovski A., 2009, <http://www.mav.mk/article.php?lang=en&article=20>.

Staro Bonče, corresponds to the newly discovered tomb of Amphipolis in 2012, also dated to the last quarter of the 4th century. The tomb of Amphipolis is the largest tomb of Macedonian type ever discovered and together with the tomb of Staro Bonče are the only ones that have a round wall (Fig 7).

This dating is supported by the fact that exactly in this time period is the greatest prosperity and power of the ancient Pelagonians, and the same is confirmed by the material findings discovered so far. In the periods before and after, we notice a certain economic and political stagnation of this ethnicity.

Regarding the question of identification of the deceased who was buried in the tomb of Pavla Čuka, for now we can only assume that it is a Pelagonian basileus, unknown to us. Considering its dating to the last quarter of the 4th century BC, it probably belonged to one of the direct heirs of the two Pelagonian basileus whose names are linked in the three inscriptions found in Athens, dating to 365/4, 363/2²² and 350 BC.²³ In particular, the second of these inscriptions reads the name of the basileus Menelaus of Pelagonija, to whom the city-state of Athens pays tribute for its alliance. In any case, the name of the ruler who was buried in the tomb of Pavla Čuka will remain a mystery for now.

According to the recorded sites so far in the period from 2006 to 2020, it is possible to make a preliminary picture of the archeological complex Staro Bonče, which of course has huge potential. It should be noted that the past 16 archeological campaigns were with very limited resources, and the duration of the archeological excavations from 15 to 30 working days, so with further research we hope, the picture will be supplemented which would provide even more specific information to solve the puzzle, hidden for centuries in this area, ie probably the name of the city, the supposed capital of the fourth Macedonian meridian - Pelagonija. According to the recorded sites, the research of some of them, the analysis of the found movable and immovable archeological material, we can locate an early antique city that existed from the 5th century BC. until the end of the IV century BC. in the area of Staro Bonče, limited by the large number of necropolises we are exploring. Later a hiatus occurs in the area of Staro Bonče, ie we have rare findings from the middle of the III century to the II century BC. In contrast, in the area of today's village Podmol, according to current knowledge, they tell us about

²² Papazoglu F., 1957, 199 - 200.; Mikulčić I., 1966, 72.; Лилчиќ В., Кебакоски Д., 2006, 22 - 28.

²³ Mikulčić I., 1966, 73.

the existence of a settlement that has existed since the II century BC. until the end of antiquity. So far no major research has been done in the village of Podmo, but according to random findings and several probes we can safely locate the settlement in the northern part of Podmol.

The character of the described sites determines the chronological framework of the existence of the wider area, starting somewhere at the end of the Iron Age VII century BC. followed by a strong intensification of life, mainly presented through the necropolises where burial took place in the late archaic period and in early antiquity. This is the period when in this northeastern part of the Pelagonija valley a powerful principality of the Pelagonians develops.

The large number of necropolises discovered so far, described above and several buildings, among which certainly stands out the monumental tomb of Macedonian type on the site Pavla Čuka, unique in this area, are remarkable findings that make a very probable assumption for the location of the ancient city of Pelagonija, the main city of the Pelagonians in early antiquity, and later the capital of the fourth Macedonian meridian in the area of Staro Bonče.

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T. LIVII, AB URBE CONDITA XXXI.28.5 (*ANGUSTIAS QUAE AD PELAGONIAM SUNT MITTTIT*); XXXI.33.2-4 (*FAUCIBUS AD PELAGONIAM*); XXXI.34.6 (*QUOD IN FAUCIBUS PELAGONIAE ERAT*)

Abstract Search for the mountain straits of Pelagonia, mentioned by Titus Livius in his XXXI book, to which the Macedonian king Philip V sent his son Perseus in 199, to prevent the Dardanians from entering Pelagonia from the north.

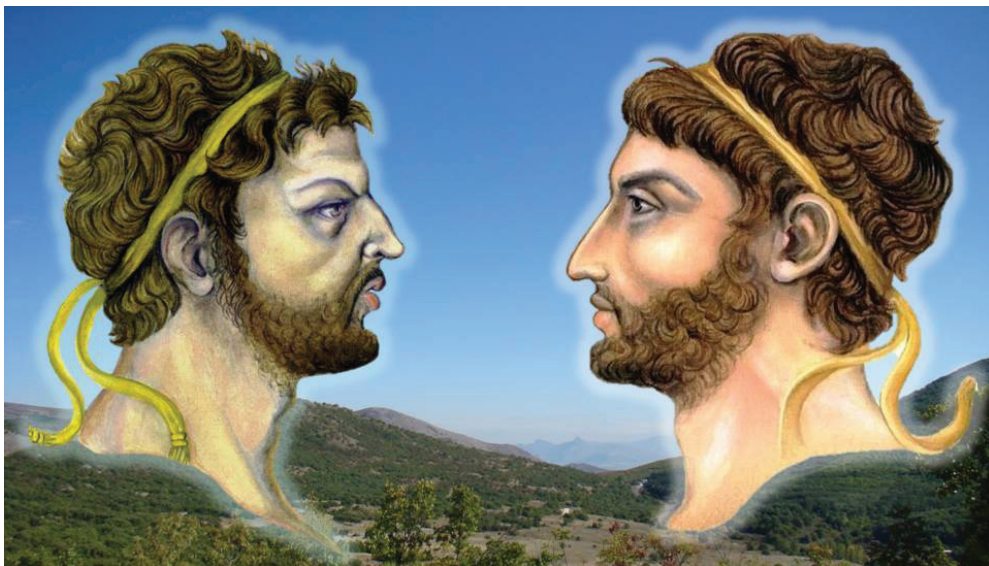


Fig 1 Strait Bararas, Philip V (right) and Perseus (left)

In the research of the Pelagonia plateau, in the last decade of the 20th century, and the first two decades of the 21st century, I paid attention to the access, road corridors, on the north side, and the straits - the mountain passes (Fig 2). An additional provocation in the research was the information of Titus Livy. Livy mentions the straits of Pelagonia in three places, in the context of the military maneuvers in the Second Macedonian-Roman War (200-197), between the Roman Republic and the Macedonian King Philip V. Philip V at one point

sent a military contingent under the command of his son, the young prince Perseus and several experienced officers, in the northern part of Pelagonia, to prevent the Roman allies - the Dardanians, from entering Pelagonia (Fig. 1). During the following years, after the publication of the knowledge about the problem of the Pelagonian straits, in the magazine *Macedonian Heritage* from 1997,¹ much more knowledge and data emerged. In addition, during 2020, we discovered, researched and documented, hitherto unknown fortifications, at the villages of Gabrovnik (Gorni Sokolec) and Oraov Dol (Gjonoec).

The year 2020 started, when, in January, we found out about these two archeological sites. They were not known from any professional or broader literature. Unexpectedly, we received the appreciated support of Mrs. Julie Bubev from Sydney, who was joined by Messrs. Pete Radev from Melbourne, Zhivan Rendevski from Melbourne, Aleksandar Paskov from Switzerland and Goran Treneski from Skopje. With their material and financial support we started the "Pelagonian Straits" Project. We are researching in the field in accordance with the Permit from the Office for Protection of Cultural Heritage,² from June 20 to December 31, 2020.³ We expanded the research to some key archeological sites, along the valleys and plains that led to the roads that were penetrated by enemy groups from the north to Pelagonia.⁴

Let us briefly look at the data on the straits that led to Pelagonia, left to us by Livius.

T. Livii, Ab Urbe Condita XXXI.28.5 (angustias quae ad Pelagoniam sunt mittit)

Filium Persea, puerum admodum, datis ex amicorum numero qui aetatem eius regerent, cum patre copiarum ad obsidendas angustias quae ad Pelagoniam sunt mittit.

¹ Lilcik (Adams) V, 1997, 30-51.

² Special thanks to the colleagues from the Office for Protection of Cultural Heritage, and to the director Mr. Aco Kostov, for the understanding and support of the realization of the Project

³ Special heartfelt thanks to Mrs. J. Bubev and the gentlemen Pete Radev, Zhivan Rendevski, Aleksandar Paskov and Goran Treneski, who found the opportunity, exactly in this particularly difficult year, when the insidious deadly virus Covid19 attacked humanity all over the globe, to support the archaeological research project "Straits of Pelagonia 2020".

⁴ I regret that the scope of this paper does not allow me to publish here all the data we came across during 2020. However, they will be published in detail in the forthcoming study *A Civilization of Ancient Macedonia, from the Early Macedonian period to the beginning of the Middle Macedonian Period (7-2 century BC)*, hopefully by the end of 2021 or during 2022.

- ♦ And he sent away his son Perseus, still a child, with part of the troops, after he had assigned some from the number of his friends to guide (control) his age, with a part of the troops to surround the gorge in Pelagonia leads.

Liv. XXXI.33.2-4 (faucibus ad Pelagoniam)

Philipus impigre terra marique parabat bellum. Navales copias Demetriadem in Thessaliam contrahebat; Attalum Romanumque classem principio veris ab Aegina ratus moturos, navibus maritimae quae oraepraefecit Heraclidem, quem et ante praefecerat; ipse terrestres copias comparabat, magna se duo auxilia Romanis detraxisse credens, ex una parte Aetolos, ex altera Dardanos, faucibus ad Pelagoniam a filio Perseo interclusis.

- ♦ Philip accelerate prepared for war on the land and on the sea. He gathered the navy troops in Demetrias and Thessalia, hoping that Attalus and the Roman fleet will travel to Aegina in the beginning of the spring, and he announced Heracleides for the guide of the ships, who had already been announced for principal. Himself prepared the army on the land, believing that he successes to twitch from the Romans two important supports, the Aetolians from one side, and the Dardanians from the other, because the gorges towards Pelagonia was closed by his son Perseus.

Liv. XXXI.34.6 (quod in faucibus Pelagoniae erat)

Itaque revocato filio praesidioque quod in faucibus Pelagoniae erat, et iis copiis suas auget, Pleurato Dardanisque iter in Macedoniam patefecit.

- ♦ Because of that, after he had recalled his son, who was protecting the gorges Pelagonia, he called him to enlarge his troops with them, and to open the road into Macedonia to Pleuratus and to the Dardanians.

Let us now consider the basic archaeological findings of the fortresses that controlled the seven northern Pelagonian straits, so that we can estimate which straits Livius's sentences referred to.

I. Buchin Strait

From ancient times, the river Erigon / Crna Reka flowed through the strait near the village Buchin. An ancient road led along the river, which connected the regions of Kichevo, Demir Hisar and Pelagonia. Based on his control, the ancient city of Alcomena grew up on this place. It consists of a dominant

acropolis on the hill Kale, and a lower town on Buchinski Rid, just above the southwestern outskirts of the village. This city was explored in the field and documented by I. Mikulcic and V. Lilcic Adams.⁵

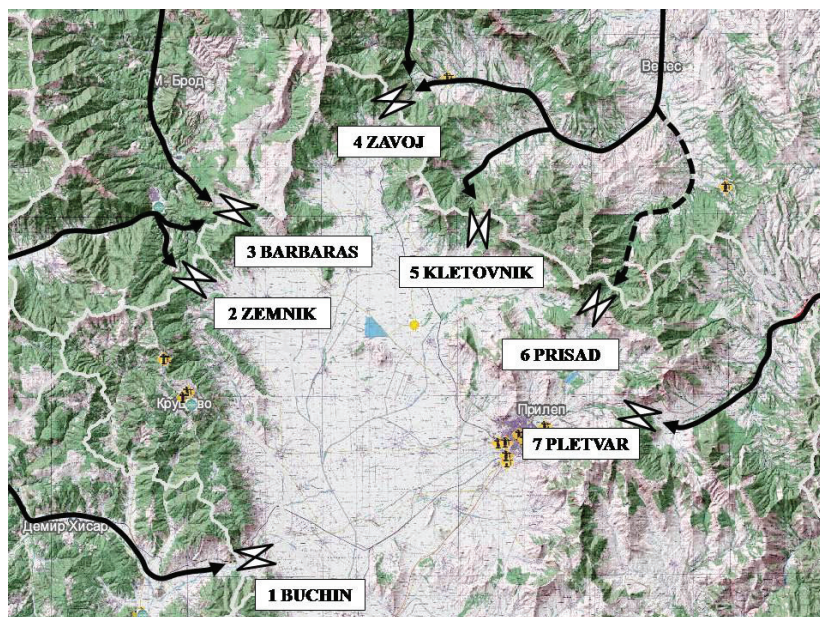


Fig 2 Northern Pelagonian Straits

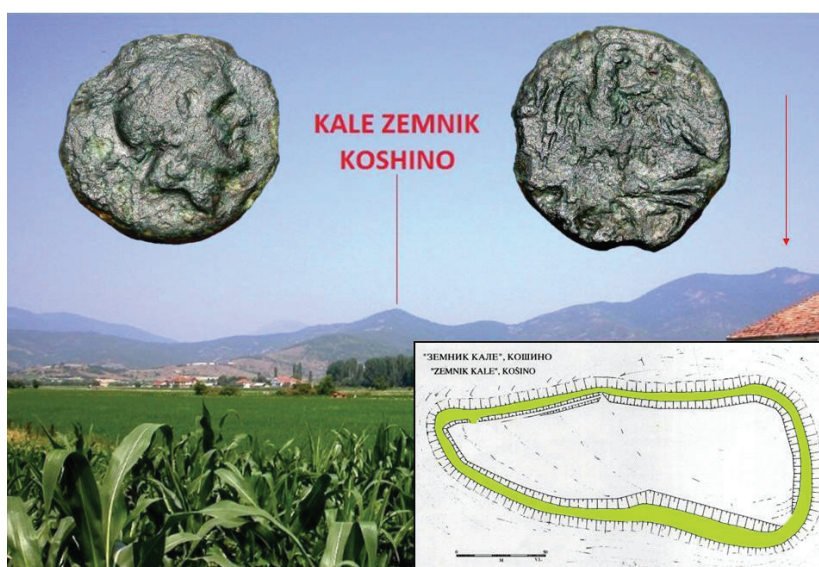


Fig 3 Kale Zemnik, Koshino village

⁵ Mikulčić I., 1966, 68-69; Микулчиќ И., 1999, 72-75; Mikulcic I., 2002, 327-329; Лилчиќ (Адамс) В., 2009, 148-157.

II. Strait Preslop Zemnik (Fig 3)

At the locality Kale Zemnik, in the area of the village Koshino, which is located on the mountain range, between the Pelagonian village Koshino, and the villages Drenovo and Slansko, in the municipality of Makedonski Brod, in 1997, with Professor Dr. K. Adzиеvski from the Institute of History at the Faculty of Philosophy, we researched and documented the remains of a strong ancient fortress (large 200x60 / 70 m, at 1069 m, area 1 ha).⁶ A bronze coin of King Perseus and two late antique bronze coins from the 4th century AD originate from the site.

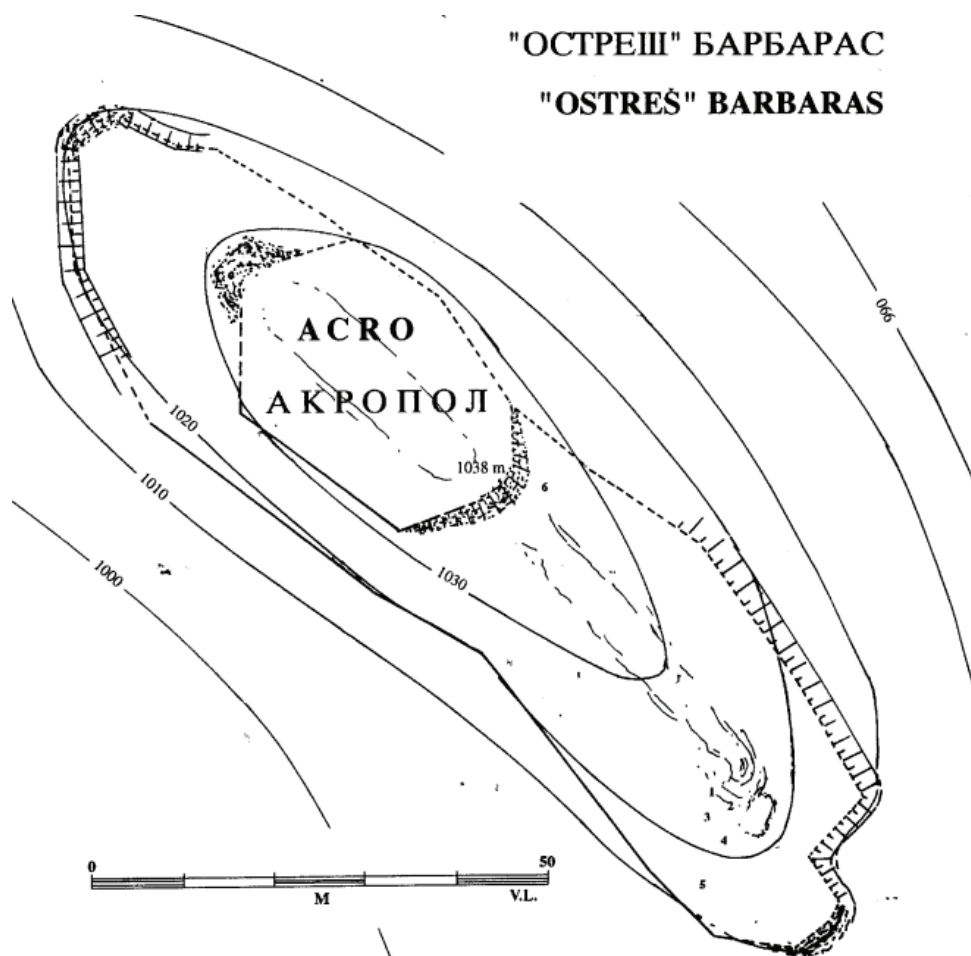


Fig 4 Ostrec, Barbaras

⁶ Lilcik (Adams) V, 1997, 50.



Fig 5 Ostrec, Barbaras, bronze coin of Antigonus Gonatas, Philip V and Perseus

III. The Barbaras Strait

1. Ostrec castellum, village of Barbaras (Fig 4)

The Barbaras Strait is the north northwestern gate of Pelagonia through which today passes the asphalt road Prilep - Makedonski Brod. Through it, in Pelagonia, the ancient roads led from Kichevo and Skopje, along the valley of the river Treska. These ancient road corridors were controlled by several roadside fortresses. The Barbaras crossing itself was controlled by the Ostrec

hill fortress. I discovered, researched and published it in 1997. It is a typical antigonid military-strategic castle, large 120x30 m, area 0.26 ha, elevation 1038 m. At the very top I discovered bronze coins of Kings Philip V and Perseus.⁷ In later years, a large number of coins of these kings were discovered on the site, representing military money from their salaries (Fig 5).⁸ These findings further confirm the military-strategic function of the Ostrec Fortress, for the defense of the Barbaras Strait.

With the research of the wider area around Barbaras, I discovered, researched and documented five more ancient fortifications and a tower.

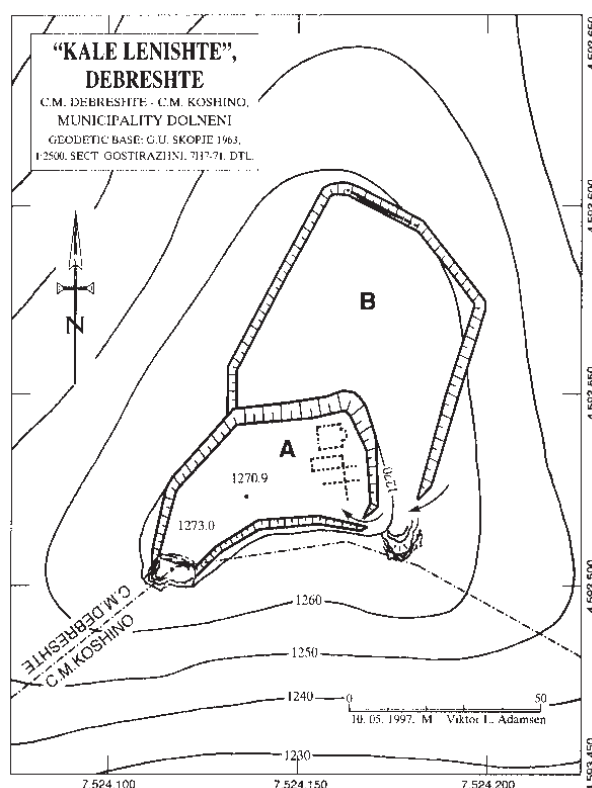


Fig 6 Kale Lenishte, Debreshte,

2. Kale Lenishte castellum, above the village of Debreshte (Fig 6)

On the dominant peak Kale Lenishte, above the village Debreshte, and southwest above the Barbaras pass, at the elevation of 1274 meters, there is a strong and dominant ancient and medieval fortress, large 115x55 meters, on

⁷ Lilcik (Adams) V, 1997, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48.

⁸ Lilcik (Adams) V, 2000.

an area of 0.36 ha. The findings indicate its maintenance in early antiquity, late antiquity (4-6 centuries AD) and the Middle Ages (10-14 centuries AD).⁹

3. Chavule castellum, village of Koshino

Southwest of the village of Debreshte, on the locality of Chavule, on a hill 762 m high, in 2005, I documented a small fortification with an approximately elliptical shape and contour of an internal, central object.

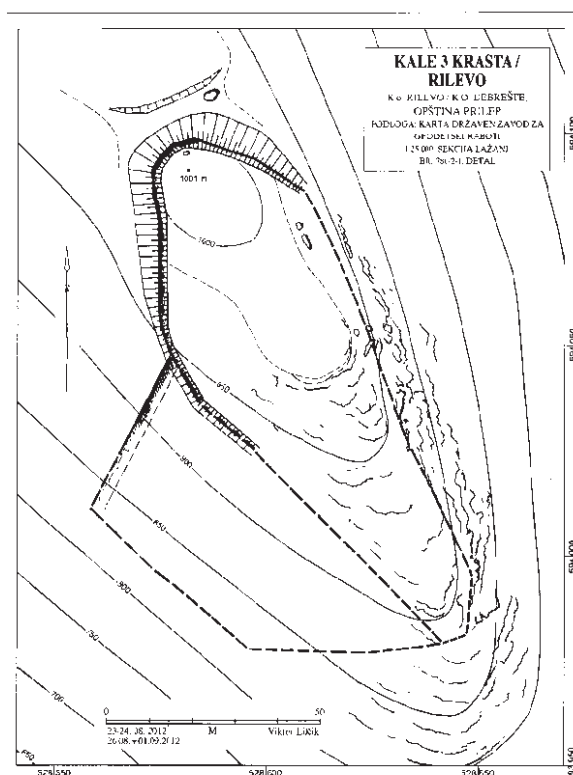


Fig 7 Kale Krasta, Debreshte / Rilevo

4. Kale Krasta castellum , on the border between the villages Debreshte / Rilevo

On the rocky ridge Krasta, which descends slightly, from the peak Gorna Peshtera 1235 m - three-way border of Debreshte, Krapa, Rilevo, to the southeast, at the elevation of 1001 m, in 2012, I discovered a completely unknown ancient castle. With an elongated shape that follows the direction of the ridge, large

⁹ Lilcik (Adams) V, 1997, 50, plan on p. 47.

135x45 meters with a lower, fortified southwestern terrace (Fig 7). The castle has a strongly fortified north forehead and a defensive trench (fossa) below it. The finds date it to early antiquity (bronze handle of a massive cauldron) and to late antiquity (coins, bronze belt buckle Suchidava type). The castle is located 4.5 km southeast of the castle Ostrec, and from its dominant position you can see all the surrounding castles, especially Ostrec, Karadzovo Kale and Treskavec as well as the town of Keramia on the sites Markovi Kuli and Varosh.

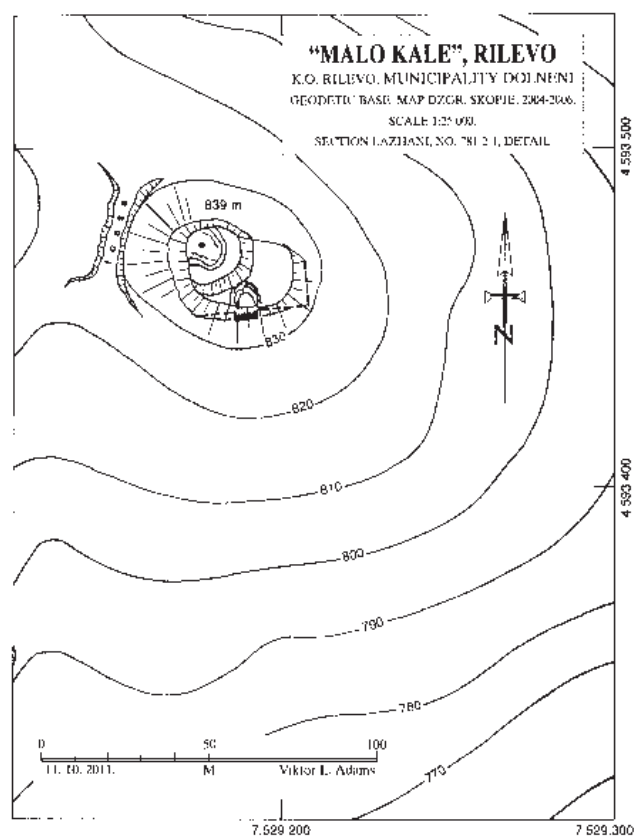


Fig 8 Malo Kale, Rilevo

5. The fortress Malo Kale village Rilevo (Fig 8)

The small fortification of the locality Malo Kale, Rilevo, I discovered, researched and documented in 2012. It is a small flat plateau at the lower end of the Krasta range (40x30 m) with a specially fortified acropolis, and a dug defensive trench under the northwest forehead. On the southern slope we noticed surface remains of a open settlement.

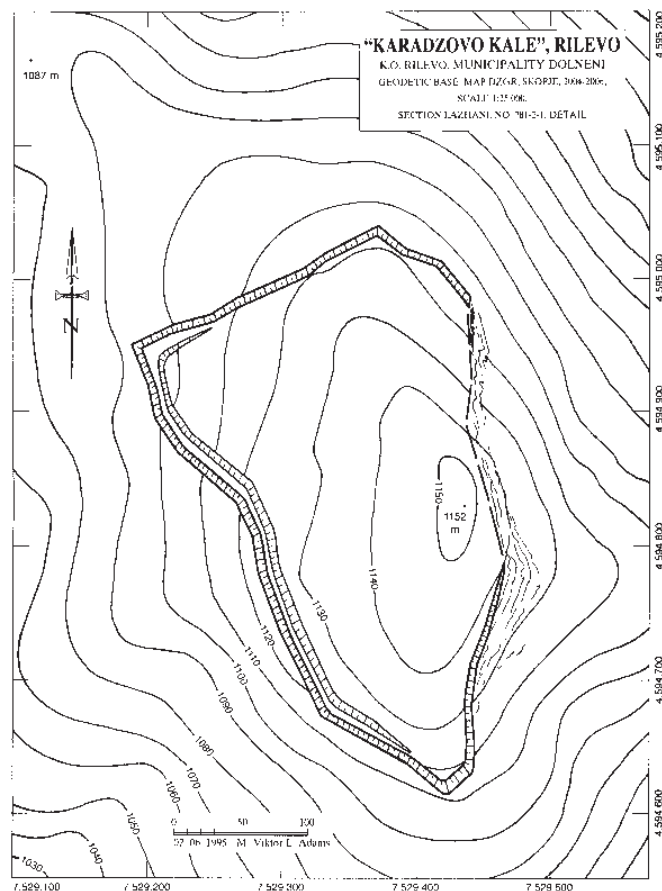


Fig 9 Karadzovo Kale, Rilevo,

6. Fortress Karadzovo Kale is located 1.8 km northwest of the village of Rilevo.

It is a dominant hill (elevation 1152 m), which rises east of the mentioned mountain range Krasta and the top Gorna Peshtera, which hide it from the views of the Barbaras pass. At the top is a large fortified area, 420x248 meters (6.6 ha) (Fig 9). The defensive drywall closes an approximately elongated, triangular surface, with a slight slope to the southwest. The wall was constructed with roughly broken, large stone slabs lined with flat faces. On the east side you can see the remains of the wall along the rocky edge, while on the west side the wall is extremely massive, visible as a dominant embankment up to about 3 meters high with an auxiliary terrace - wall, up to 8 meters wide. The southwest wall merges with the northwest wall alignment at right angles, forming a powerful wedge-shaped western forehead. No specific definite

findings have been found for the dating of this fortress, except for a few small, amorphous ceramic fragments. The preliminary impression is that this is a military-strategic base for the defense of the Barbaras crossing.

7. Kula Derven (Terven), village Rilevo

On the south side, above the mountain pass Preslop (elevation 1175 m), 1.3 km northwest of Karadzovo Kale, at elevation 1233 m, are the remains of Kula Terven. That small but dominant contour of an object - a tower that protected the Preslop crossing.

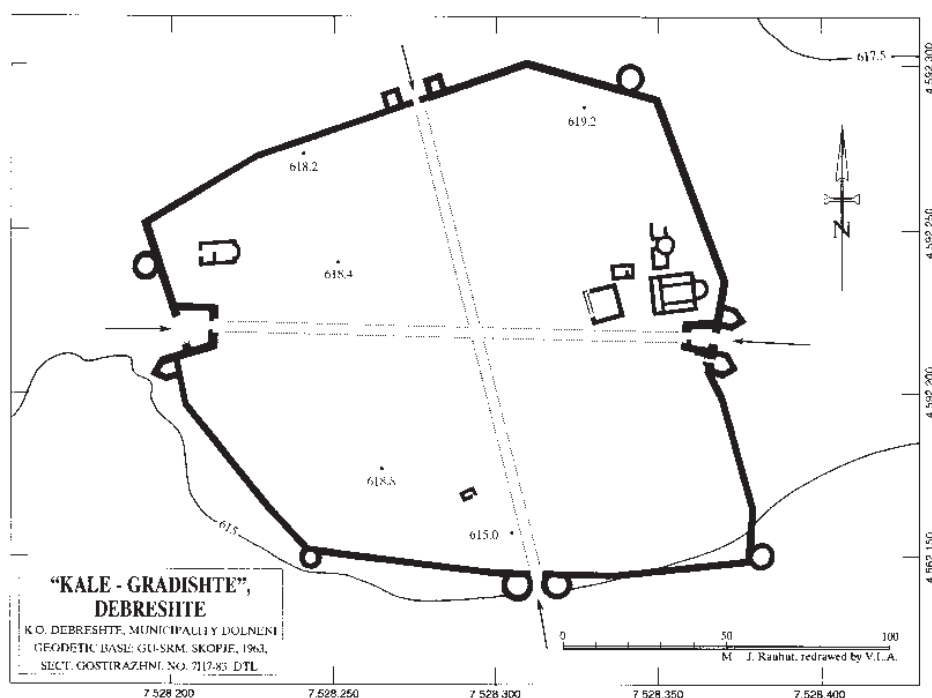


Fig 10 Gradishte/Kale, Debreshte

8. Military-strategic base Kale / Gradishte village Debreshte (Fig 10)

At 1.7 km southeast of the center of the village Debreshte, on a flat area, southwest of the highway Prilep - Makedonski Brod, are the remains of the military-strategic base Kale / Gradiste, village Debreshte. The site has long been researched by the Institute of Old Slavic Culture in Prilep.¹⁰ A strong fortification was discovered, with an approximately rectangular shape with

¹⁰ Babić B., 1965, 62-64; Бабич Б., Hensel W., Rauhutowa J., 1976, 251-264; Бабич Б., 1978, 205-216.

two inward-facing gates (east and west) defended by three early byzantine pentagonal towers, and two normal gates (north and south), with a perimeter wall, which is preserved. Six circular towers and two rectangular ones were also discovered. The fortification discovered in this way, Jadwiga Rauhut, experienced as an early Byzantine city.¹¹ I. Mikulcic locates the ancient town of Pissaeum on the site Gradishte / Kale near Debreshte,¹² mentioned by Polybius (V. 108. 1: King Philip after the conclusion of peace, returned by sea to Macedonia, where he found that Scerdilaïdas, on the identical pretence of moneys still due to him which he had used to seize treacherously the ships at Leucas, had now pillaged a town in Pelagonia called Pissaeum, had got into his hands by menaces or by promises several cities of the Dassaretæ, namely Antipatreia, Chrysondyon, and Gertus, and had made extensive inroads on the neighbouring parts of Macedonia.).

At Gradishte Debreshte, cultural horizons from the Neolithic to the Middle 14th century AD have been discovered. B. Babic briefly pointed out the remains of a settlement, from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC: the houses had rectangular rooms built with stone foundations, upgraded with sun-dried bricks. Based on several Roman Republican silver coins, he concluded that these dwellings had been demolished and set on fire around 148 BC.¹³

Excavations from 1988/89 uncovered an earthen embankment of reddish clay soil, which was in fact a remnant of the fortification around the residential complex in the 3rd century BC.¹⁴ I guess this residential horizon on Gradiste is actually remnants of an early ancient Macedonian military camp. Perhaps formed in the 4th century BC. I guess this was the camp where the Macedonian prince Perseus stationed his army, in 199 BC. From this camp, smaller military units were sent to the surrounding hills to raise and maintain the dominant guard castles, such as Ostrec, Kale Lenishte, Zemnik Kale and others. In support of this idea, stands grave no. 9, to an officer, in which were found: iron helmet iron sword - mahaira, two longer knives, one shorter knife and two iron spears.¹⁵

¹¹ Rauchut J., 1980, quoted according to: Mikulcic I., 2002, 350.

¹² Микулчиќ И., 1999, 93-95.

¹³ Бабиќ Б., 1996, 294.

¹⁴ Атанасоски Б., 2016, 30, fn. 100, 101.

¹⁵ Koletyn T., 1972, 85, T. XXX. Unfortunately, this important material, as well as most of the movable archeological findings from Gradiste, Debreshte, were not published.

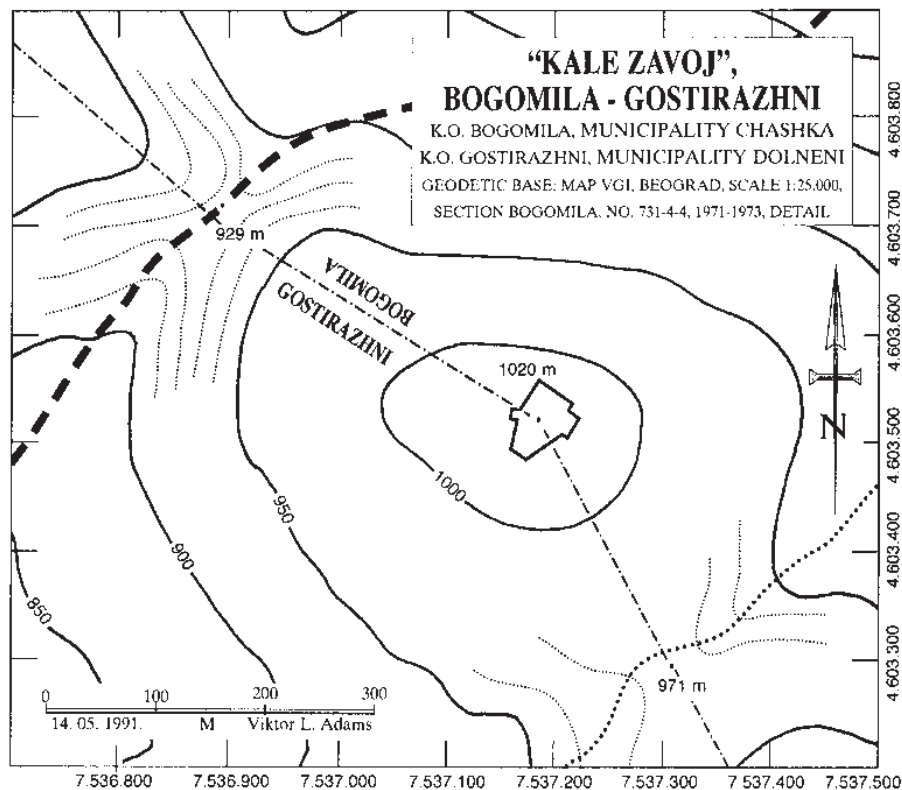


Fig 11 Kale Zavoj, Bogomila / Gostirazhni

IV. The Zavoj Strait

The mountain pass Zavoj (elevation 929 m) between the villages Gostirazhni and Bogomila, was protected by the fortress Kale, on the dominant hill (elevation 1020.4 m) south of the pass. At the top are the remains of a small fortified position, contours of a defensive drywall, with an approximately pentagonal plan, large 60x50 m (0.22 ha) (Fig 11).¹⁶ Research in the following years uncovered a bronze coin of King Perseus, as well as a cultural horizon from early antiquity that stretches beyond fortification, especially on the southwest side.

V. The Strait of Kletovnik (Fig 12)

The main road from the Veles region along the valley of the river Babuna, to Pelagonia and Prilep passed through the mountain pass Kletovnik.¹⁷ Archaeological research (reconnaissance and documentation) at the Kletovnik

¹⁶ Лилчиќ В., Спасеска К., 1993, 240.

¹⁷ Лилчиќ В., Спасеска К., 1993, 228; Лилчиќ В., 1997, 40.

crossing have uncovered bronze coins of the Macedonian kings Alexander III of Macedon, Philip V and Perseus. The pass itself is an approximately flat area about 150 meters long, 30/40 meters wide. On the southeast part there is a contour of a building (large about 12x12 m), but there is no special fortification. Two fortifications were recorded on the mountain ridge southwest of Kletovnik.



Fig 12 Kletovnik Strait

1. Kale, village of Brailovo / Desovo

The higher fortress, on the site Kale, village Brailovo (elevation 1132 m), has an older cultural horizon. However, the late antique or early Byzantine fortress is dominant on the field.¹⁸

2. Kale - Petochna Voda, Brailovo / Desovo

On the same ridge, 1.7 km south of the upper fortress, there is a significant ancient fortified settlement. It has a small acropolis with an approximately elliptical plateau (90x60 m) and a southern suburb (about 195x100 m). According to the surface ceramic fragments, it is obvious that the existence dates back to

¹⁸ Лилчиќ В., Спасеска К., 1993, 228-231.

around the 3rd century BC. until about the 4th century AD. Near the settlement, to the south, on the hill, are the remains of a rather devastated necropolis.

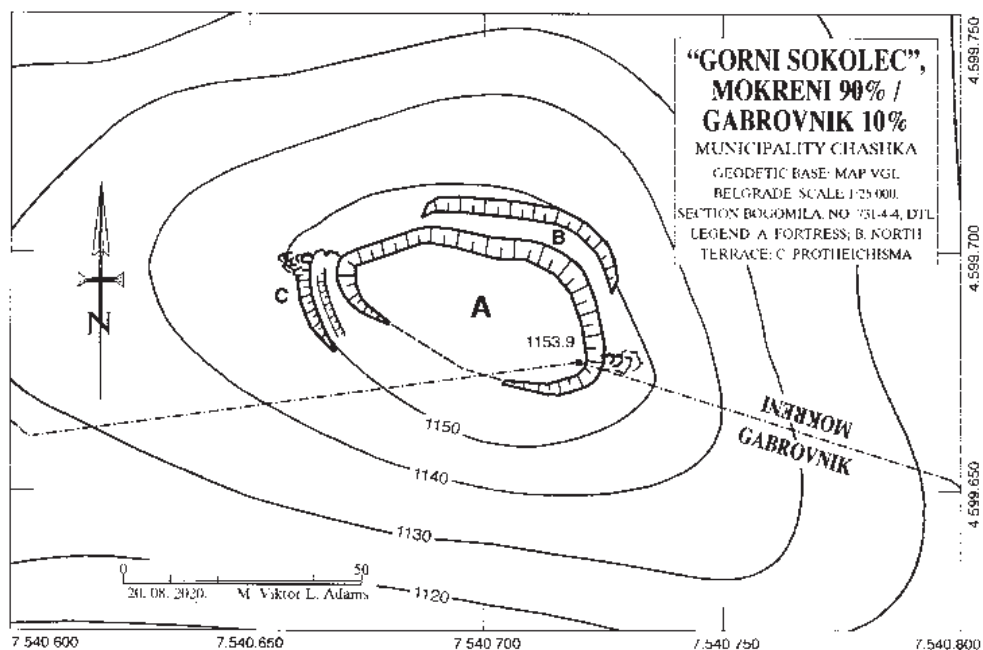


Fig 13 Gorni Sokolec, Mokreni / Gabrovnik

3. Gorni Sokolec, Mokreni / Gabrovnik (Fig 13)

On the dominant high hill Gorni Sokolec (elevation 1153.9 m), 1.8 km north-west of the village church of Gabrovnik, we researched and documented the remains of a small mountain castle specula. At the very top are the remains of a fortification 57x30 meters high. Under the northern defensive wall, a fortified residential terrace stretches in parallel, and in front of the western forehead, a striking protoichisma (front wall) was formed.

We discovered a bronze coin of Amphipolis, a silver Republican denar, bronze coins of Constantine, a coin from the 4th century AD, a Byzantine schyphate, a silver coin of Volkashin from the 14th century and a bronze buckle Suchidava type from the 6th century AD. From the castle to the south you can see the Kletovnik pass and the Treskavec peak. To the northeast is the castle Markovo Kale, Teovo.

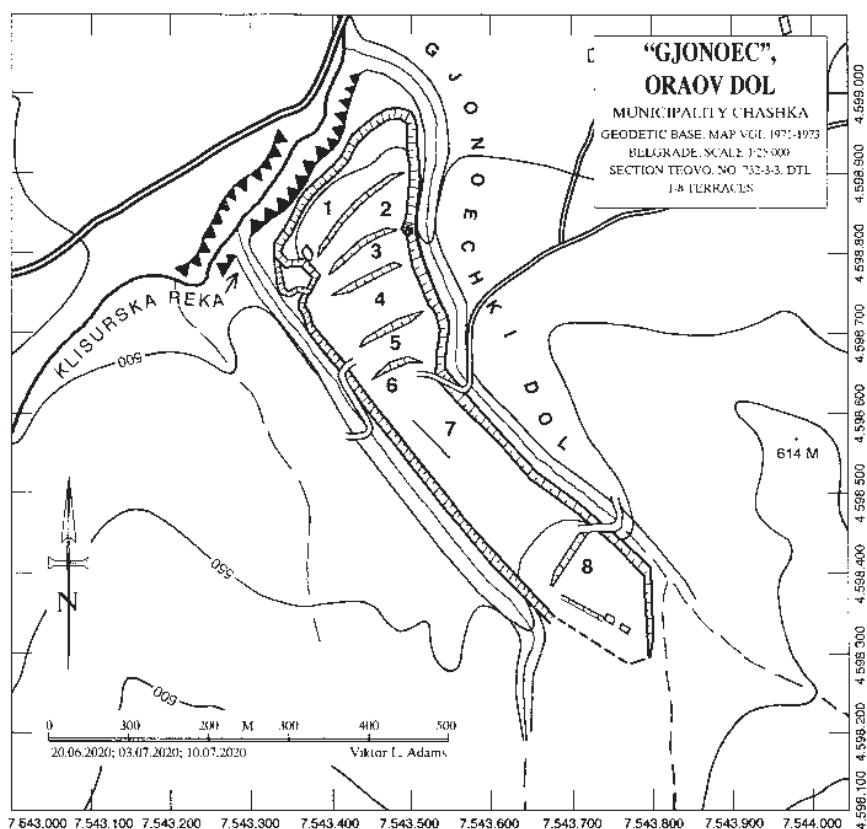


Fig 14 Gjonoec, Oraov Dol

4. Gjonoec, Oraov Dol (Figs 14, 15)

In 2019 we researched the necropolis from the Middle Macedonian Period (2nd century BC) on the banks of the Gabrovnicka River. The necropolis is about one kilometer long and is located west of the large plain on the stretches Milevski Nivi - Ramnishte, northwest of Oraov Dol. A large number of Macedonian and Roman soldiers were buried in this necropolis, who probably died in a battle that took place on the Ramnishte. We discovered coins of the Macedonian kings Philip V and Perseus, coins of Gaius Tamius Publius, the Roman quaestor of Macedonia (148-146) as well as other findings, among which attention is drawn to a part of a bronze handle of a military cauldron.

In 2020, we researched and documented the large ancient Macedonian military camp on the site of Gjonoec, Oraov Dol. It is located 1.5 km west of the village church on Oraov Dol. Macedonian military strategists used the long plateau between GjonoECKI Dol and the southern parallel valley, which flows into the Klisurska River. The terrain is slightly sloping from south-east

to north-west, filled with at least 7 large terraces. The space, measuring about 760x270 meters, was fortified with a defensive wall of broken, lined stones. The defensive wall was probably walled with sun-dried bricks. Surface reconnaissance revealed several bronze coins, such as those of Perseus, Thessalonica, Pella, Amphipolis, Gaius Tamius Publilius (148-146), then part - a palmette of a military cauldron, but also coins from the Roman imperial period, Sesterius of Antonius Pius (138-161) and Maximinus II (309-313). A silver earring and a bronze ring with an image of an eagle were discovered. The findings are concentrated slightly more on the last three northwest terraces. The surface is filled with a significant sediment of clay soil which indicates a residential mudbrick architecture. Coins from the 2nd century BC. e. have a mole, crumbly patina. Three glued coins were discovered. They apparently got stuck under the influence of a strong fire. All this indicates the burning of the military camp. The coin of Gaius Tamius Publilius probably dates this fire to 148 BC.



Fig 15 Necropolis along Gabrovnicka river, Gjonoec, Oraov Dol, archaeological finds

VI. The Prisad Strait

The last two straits, which led to access roads to Pelagonia, like the Buchin Strait, probably do not fit into the *faucibus / angustias Pelagoniae* of Titus Livius. But let's look at them briefly.

On the mountain pass Prisad, it leads today, an important road from Azot / municipality Chaska through the villages Izvor, Vladilovci, Smilovci, Pomonovo, Stepanci, and on the pass Derven Prisad (elevation 1094 m) passes the mountain Babuna and enters Pelagonia. The fact that no fortifications were built on the hills around the pass, probably says that the main road from Veles to Pelagonia in antiquity led to the Kletovnik Strait.

We researched and documented three fortifications that probably controlled this road from the pass to Prilep / Varosh: Gradishte, village Prisad, Chave, village Oreovec and Baba, Prilep.

VII. The Pletvar Strait

The Pletvar mountain pass (elevation 999.3 m) divides the Dren mountain to the south and the southern slopes of the Babuna mountain, below the Kozjak peak. The road that connected Pelagonia to the east through the valley of Vardar with the cities on the Aegean coast always passed through it. This is confirmed by the ancient temples (Chaska, village Pletvar cadastral plot 56; Selishte village Belovodica cadastral plot 903 / necropolis with temple), and roadside settlements (Podela and Sadovi, village Belovodica), and especially the two fortifications: Dolno Kale, Pletvar and Gorno Kale, Pletvar.

Concluding remarks

The example of the archaeological search and identification of Titus Livius *faucibus / angustias Pelagoniae* in the field shows how much time and effort it takes to get the initial picture of the situation.¹⁹ For the past 34 years, I have occasionally worked in this area. Today I can say that this is the latest, fairly stable picture of the northern Pelagonian Straits.

Based on the roadside settlements, necropolises and especially the ancient fortifications, it is clear today that the two main straits to which the Titus Livy segment refers are Barbaras and Kletovnik.

¹⁹ The first fortification (Buchinski Rid, Buchin) within the problem of the Pelagonian Straits, I visited in the research team of Professor Dr. Ivan Mikulcic on September 10, 1976.

In this paper there was no space to consider the access road corridors to Pelagonia, along the valleys of the rivers Babuna and Treska. But I will only mention that the Macedonian kings Philip V and Perseus, especially controlled Babuna, since the strong military base Kale, Stari Grad, and of course with the fortresses Gradiste, Omorani and Markovo Kale, Teovo. In addition, Cassander formed a military-strategic castle on the site of Gradiste Beli Polani, Nikodin, which the Antigonids continued to maintain. His function was to protect the road leading to the town of Audarist in Gradishte, Drenovo. The same thing happened in the valley of Treska where we recorded the remains of antigonid military castles on the sites: Gradiste village Podvis, Kicevo and Devini Kuli, village Devich.²⁰

Resume

Describing in detail the military tactics between the Roman consul Publius Sulpicius Galba and the Macedonian king Philip V, from 199 BC, Titus Livius mentions in three places straits (*angustias / faucibus*) that led to / in Pelagonia. It has been suggested in the literature that there is only one strait (*pluralia tantum*). However, after many years of field research at the seven northern entrances to the Pleagonia, where we found that as many as six of them were controlled by antigonid castles, I am convinced today that Titus Livius decisively expressed himself in the plural, referring to the two main northern straits Barbaras and Kletovnik.

Abbreviations

MAA – Macedonia Acta Archaeologica, journal of the Archaeological association of the SR Macedonia

AP – Arheološki Pregled

²⁰ Lilchikj Adams V., Treneski G., Ilievski A., 2021, 1-13. https://www.academia.edu/44928801/Two_Ancient_Macedonian_castles_in_the_Valley_of_Treska_river?fbclid=IwAR10FZN_14toDmuz-TdWMG68734xBfbsSJ0XgFsukxsdZVfYQXdprIXJfhE

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LATE ANTIQUITY PLAGUES AND DEMOGRAPHICS REVISED: EXAMPLES OF LATE ANTIQUITY CITIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Introduction.

Ancient and medieval demography is the study of human demography in Europe and the Mediterranean during antiquity and medieval times. It estimates and seeks to explain the number of people who were alive during the period, population trends, life expectancy, family structure, and related issues. The science of ancient and medieval demography relies on various lines of evidence, such as administrative records, wills and other types of records, archaeological field data, economic data, and written histories. Because the data are often incomplete and/or ambiguous, there can be significant disagreement among demographers.

Late Antiquity saw various indicators of Roman civilization beginning to decline, including urbanization, seaborne commerce, and total population. During the period from 150 to 400 CE, with the intermittent appearance of plague, the population of the Roman Empire ranged from a high of 70 to a low of 50 million, followed by a fairly good recovery if not to the previous highs of the Early Empire. Serious gradual depopulation began in the West only in the 5th century and in the East due to the appearance of bubonic plague in 541 after 250 years of economic growth and after the troubles which afflicted the empire from the 250s to 270s. Proximate causes of the population decrease include the Antonine Plague (165–180), the Plague of Cyprian (250 to c. 260), and the Crisis of the Third Century. European population probably reached a minimum during the extreme weather events of 535–536 and the ensuing Plague of Justinian (541–542). Some have connected this demographic transition to the Migration Period Pessimism, when a decrease in global temperatures impaired agricultural yields.

Throughout history, humans have been faced with disastrous catastrophes which must be endured in order to survive. One of the most incomprehensible disasters for humanity has been the plague. This term in Greek can refer to any kind of sickness; in Latin, the terms are *plaga* and *pestis*. The word 'plague', in defining a lethal epidemic, was coined by the physician Galen (l. 130-210 CE) who lived through the Antonine Plague (165 - c. 180/190 CE) but the disease was recorded long before in relating the affliction of the Plague of Athens (429-426 BCE) which killed many of the city's inhabitants, including the statesman Pericles (l. 495-429 BCE). This epidemic, and some of the others that followed, may or may not have been actual plague as it was later defined; ancient writers tended to use the term plague for any widespread outbreak of pestilence. Plagues certainly may have existed prior to the Athenian outbreak - and almost certainly did - but most studies of the epidemic begin with Athens as it is the first recorded by an eyewitness and survivor, the historian Thucydides (l. 460/455 - 399/398 BCE). Plagues are routinely named either for the person who reported them, the monarch at the time of the outbreak, the region afflicted, or by an epithet as in the case of the Black Death.

The major recorded plagues of the ancient and medieval world are: Plague of Athens, Antonine Plague, Plague of Cyprian, Plague of Justinian, Roman Plague, Near East Plagues, Black Death.

Epidemics and pandemics continued into the modern era and, among the deadliest, were the 1918-1919 CE Spanish Flu epidemic and the HIV/AIDS epidemic (1981-present) though there were many others. At the time of this writing, the Covid-19/coronavirus is proving itself the latest addition to the list of most lethal pandemics in world history.

The cause of the plague was unknown until the XIX century CE when the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* was isolated and identified in 1894 CE. Prior to that time, plague was thought to be supernatural in origin, a punishment from the gods or God, and/or the result of a population's sin. The actual cause was *Yersinia pestis* which was carried in the fleas of rodents, most often rats, which transmitted the bacterium to humans through bites. Other animals could catch the plague by eating rats - or other rodents - which were infected and this would lead to an epizootic outbreak which then spread to human beings. People die of the plague because of the toxic nature of *Yersinia pestis* which compromises one's immune system while, at the same time, multiplying in the body. Since the compromised immune system can no longer fight against the toxins, the person dies.

Plague of Athens (429-426 BCE)

The Plague of Athens (death toll: 75,000-100,000)¹ arrived through the port of Piraeus, probably in 430 BCE, and erupted across the city in 429 BCE. Thucydides writes:

“It is said to have broken out previously in many other places, in the region of Lemnos and elsewhere, but there was no previous record of so great a pestilence and destruction of human life. The doctors were unable to cope, since they were treating the disease for the first time and in ignorance; indeed, the more they came into contact with sufferers, the more liable they were to lose their own lives.” (III.81; Grant, 77)

Athens had been engaged in the Second Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE) against Sparta, and the general and statesman Pericles had recently ordered a retreat behind Athens' walls. The close quarters of the now-inflated population meant that, once the plague entered the city, there was no room for quarantine of the sick; the disease therefore spread quickly.

The symptoms included a fever, sneezing, sore throat, extremely bad breath, violent coughing, chest pains, insomnia, and convulsions. Many people were in good health when the plague struck but succumbed within ten days after the first symptom of the fever. This fever persisted throughout at such a degree that people could not tolerate clothing and were constantly in need of water which they could not hold down. Those who tried to help died so quickly that others began abandoning the ill and looking after their own interests. Thucydides describes a complete breakdown of law and abandonment of religious practices. The plague killed many of the most prominent citizens, Pericles among them, and affected the outcome of the war. With so many dead, and the city significantly weakened, Athens struggled to maintain the war effort and eventually lost to Sparta.

Although many disastrous epidemics probably occurred between the Athenian and Justinianic plagues, few sources detailing these plagues have survived. Unfortunately, the accounts which do exist, are meager; and because of this, the microbial origins of the described plagues cannot be diagnosed. These sources frequently copy the literary style of Thucydides; however, they do not generally adhere to his belief regarding the noninvolvement of the gods.

¹ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, II, 52. The city of Athens was overcrowded because Pericles had arranged for the rural population to enter the city before the Spartan siege. There is unfortunately no demographic evidence to determine the mortality rate of the Athenian plague.

Antonine Plague (165 - c. 180/190 CE)

The Antonine Plague (death toll: 5 million)² devastated the Roman Empire under the co-rule of Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180 CE) and Lucius Verus (r. 161-169 CE) and is so-called after Aurelius' family name, Antoninus. It first appeared in the Roman army during the siege of the city of Seleucia in the winter of 165-166 CE and was spread by these troops returning to Rome or as they were stationed elsewhere.³

Symptoms, as described by Galen, began with fever and included diarrhea, outbreaks on the skin, pharyngitis (the inability to swallow) accompanying a sore and swollen throat, unbearable thirst, coughing, and vomiting. Those who caught the disease either died or recovered within two weeks. The plague is thought by modern scholars to have originated in China and spread westward along the Silk Road as the cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia were important trade links with direct access to Chinese suppliers. People of the time, however, interpreted the epidemic as a punishment for sin with various stories circulating assigning blame.

The Antonine Plague has routinely been cited as the beginning of the destabilization of the Roman Empire. Whether one accepts this claim, it cannot be argued that the plague completely changed the dynamics of Roman society. The army was weakened by the immense loss of troops and new recruits from among Germanic tribes did not have the same level of loyalty. Gladiators died as easily as anyone else and there were fewer games, resulting in public unrest which, coupled with the peoples' abandonment of traditional religious practices in favor of Christianity, broke social cohesion. Farmers were unable to produce crops, artisans were no longer alive to make crafts, and so many people died that the economy came close to failing.

Plague of Justinian (541-542 CE & onwards c. 750 CE)

Although the dates of the Plague of Justinian (death toll: 50 million) are routinely given as 541-542 CE, considered the worst phase, the epidemic continued

² Based on demographic studies, the average mortality rate during the Antonine plague was probably only 7-10% and possibly 13-15% in cities and armies; R.J. and M.L. Littman, „Galen and the Antonine Plague,” *American Journal of Philology* 94 (1973) 254-55.

³ There are two major sources for information about the Antonine plague. Galen listed some of the symptoms of the pestilence in *On the Natural Faculties*; however, since he did not go with Marcus Aurelius on campaign, he possibly did not see the disease first hand. Other plague information is included in the *Letters of Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, who was a tutor of Marcus Aurelius.

long afterwards, finally vanishing c. 750 CE. It is the first fully documented case of the plague, as caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*, in the world.

After the third century, there is not another well-documented plague until the Justinianic plague in the mid-sixth century. This plague originated in 541-2 either in Ethiopia, moving through Egypt, or in the Central Asian steppes, where it then traveled along the caravan trading routes. From one of these two locations, the pestilence quickly spread throughout the Roman world and beyond. Like the Black Death which followed it in 1348, the Justinianic plague generally followed trading routes providing an „exchange of infections as well as of goods,” and therefore, was especially brutal to coastal cities.⁴ The movement of troops during the campaigns of Justinian provided another source for the plague expansion.⁵ These two factors, trade and military movement, spread the disease from Asia Minor to Africa and Italy, and also to Western Europe.

Although many writers documented this period, there are three main sources for the Justinianic plague: John of Ephesus, Evagrius Scholasticus, and especially Procopius.⁶ John of Ephesus wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* during this period, while travelling around the empire. This work unfortunately survives only in fragments. Evagrius, a lawyer and honorary prefect living in the city of Antioch, wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* covering the years 431-594 at the end of the sixth century. He is the most personal of the accounts, having contracted the disease himself in 542 while still young. Although he eventually recovered, later recurrences of the plague would deprive him of his first wife, several children, a grandchild, and many servants of the family.⁷ Another source for the Justinianic plague is the *Historia* of Agathias. A lawyer and poet, he continued the history of Procopius. His account of the Justinianic plague is of its second appearance in Constantinople in 558. A further account is the *Chronicle* of John Malalas; however, this work may have copied Procopius.

Although all of these sources give scholars important information about the plague, the *History of the Wars*, published in 550 by Procopius, gives the most systematic account of the symptoms and immediate consequences of the disease. Raised in Caesarea, Procopius became the legal secretary of the general Belisarius, and traveled with him throughout Justinian's reconquest

⁴ W. H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Oxford, 1977) 125.

⁵ Donald M. Nicol, „Justinian I and his successors, A.D. 527-610” in Philip Whitting, ed., *Byzantium: An Introduction* (New York, 1971) 28.

⁶ Other sources include the writings of Gregory of Tours, Marcellinus Comes, Michael the Syrian, Zachariah of Mytilene, Philostorgius and the *Vie de S. Symeon*.

⁷ Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, 29.

campaigns in Italy, the Balkans, and in Africa. In 542, he witnessed the plague in Constantinople.

People first experienced fever and fatigue before swellings of buboes broke out around their ears, in their armpits and groin. Procopius reports people becoming delusional before falling into comas and dying within a week of contracting the infection. The cause of the plague, according to Procopius, was Justinian I's misguided reign which God was now punishing him and his people for. Justinian I did fall ill but recovered while many others did not. Described in detail by Procopius, John of Ephesus, and Evagrius, the Justinianic epidemic is our earliest clearly documented case of the bubonic plague.⁸ Each of these authors clearly makes reference to the formation of buboes, the tell-tale sign of bubonic plague, on the skin of victims. Thucydides, however, does not mention this symptom. The cause of the Athenian plague of 430 B.C. has not been diagnosed, but many diseases including bubonic plague have been ruled out as possibilities.⁹

From the description provided by Procopius, it is known that in the spring of 542, the bubonic plague reached Constantinople. Modern scholars are uncertain as to its exact origins, which may have been the plague reservoir of the modern central African countries of Kenya, Uganda, and Zaire. Still others believe the plague originated in the central Asian steppes and spread along the trade routes with the Far East, as did the Black Death of 1348.¹⁰ The sources contemporary with the plague also disagree over where the disease began. Procopius claimed the plague originated in Egypt near Pelusium; yet Evagrius stated that the plague began in Axum (modern day Ethiopia and eastern Sudan).¹¹ Evagrius' thesis may have stemmed from a traditional prejudice of the time that diseases came from warm areas.¹² At any rate, it

⁸ Plague symptoms are described in Procopius, *Wars* 11, 22-23; Evagrius, IV, 29; John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* frags. 11, E-H.

⁹ See J. C. F. Poole and J. Holladay, "Thucydides and the Plague of Athens" *Classical Quarterly* 29 (1979) 282-300; also Alexander D. Langmuir, et al., "The Thucydides Syndrome," *New England Journal of Medicine* 313 (1985) 1027-30.

¹⁰ Bubonic plague is endemic to the central Asian steppes and to central Africa. Barker asserts the Justinianic plague spread from Asia because this is where the Black Death of 1348 originated; pp. 191-2. P. Allen agrees with this thesis, since Justinian did not steal silkworm eggs from the China until 552, p. 19. For information on the silkworm incident, see Procopius, *Wars* (Gothic War) IV, 17.

¹¹ Procopius, *Wars*, 11, 22, 6; Evagrius, IV, 29.

¹² Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice, and History* (New York, 1960) 145. Ethiopia, which was situated at the southern edge of the ancient known world, was the warmest place known to the Greeks

certainly emerged in Egypt in 541; and following its sojourn in Constantinople, it spread throughout the empire along trade and military routes, always moving from the coastal cities to the interior provinces.¹³ The plague then surfaced in Italy in 543, and reached Syria and Palestine in the same year.¹⁴ From there, the contagion migrated to Persia, where it infected the Persian army and King Khusro himself, causing them to retreat east of the Tigris to the plague-free highlands of Luristan.¹⁵ Gregory of Tours related how St. Gall saved the people of Clermont-Ferrand in Gaul from the disease in 543, and there is some speculation that the plague may have spread to Ireland by 544.¹⁶ Moreover, like the Black Death, the Justinianic plague was recurrent, with the bacteria remaining endemic in the population for 250-300 years.¹⁷ Agathias, writing of a second outbreak in the capital in 558, related that since the first epidemic, the plague had never completely abated, rather it simply moved from one place to another.¹⁸

Although the emperor Justinian contracted the disease himself, he nevertheless attempted to minimize the disaster.¹⁹ Following the outbreak within Constantinople, Justinian commanded Theodore and the palace guard to dispose of the corpses.²⁰ By this time all gravesites were beyond capacity, and

and Romans. Thucydides also claimed the Athenian plague originated in Ethiopia.

¹³ Procopius, *Wars*, 11, 22. Modern scholars who support the Asian plague origin thesis believe trade brought the disease to Egypt.

¹⁴ Marcellinus comes, *Chronicon*, sub anno 543. Syria and Palestine were included in Oriens, a diocese established by Diocletian. It was the easternmost part of the Roman Empire.

¹⁵ Procopius, *Wars* 11, 24, 8-12.

¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* IV, 5; P. Allen, 15, on this speculation. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, III, 27, recorded the devastation of Britain and Ireland by the plague in 664.

¹⁷ The eighth-century date is contested because Byzantine writing experienced a 'dark age' following the reign of Justinian. Despite this, the plague remained endemic at least until the end of the seventh century, and took roughly two-and-a-half centuries to burn itself out; the Black Death in Europe remained endemic for roughly the same amount of time; P. Allen, „The 'Justinianic' Plague," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 14, citing among others the works of Agapius, Bede, Theophanes, Theophylact, and the *Vita* of John the Almsgiver by Leontius of Neapolis, which record the various outbreaks of the plagues.

¹⁸ Agathias, *Historia*, V, 10, 1-7.

¹⁹ Procopius, *Wars*, 11, 23, 20. Justinian would eventually recover from the plague. Incidentally, at this time Belisarius, the general under whom Procopius served, was ousted from power, for reportedly engaging in treasonous activities during the dark days of Justinian's illness. After this incident, we hear little of and from Procopius, indicating that his fortunes very likely took a downward turn with Belisarius' fall from imperial grace.

²⁰ Theodore served as one of the *referendarii*, or legal secretaries, who handled and dispatched all of the emperor's correspondence; Procopius, *Wars*, 11, 23.

the living resorted to throwing the bodies of victims out into the streets or piling them along the seashore to rot.²¹ Theodore responded to this problem by having huge pits dug across the Golden Horn in Sycæ (Galata) and then hiring men to collect the dead. Although these pits reportedly held 70,000 corpses each, they soon overflowed.²² Bodies were then placed inside the towers in the walls, causing a stench which pervaded the entire city.²³

Feeling the chaos in the cities where more and more refugees were gathering, Justinian also tried to regulate with increasing legal measures (Novella LXXXVIII) the increasingly massive issuance and payment of rent to newcomers. Moreover, he tried (as Zeno did before) to establish regulations for the height of houses (not more than 100 feet) and the distance between them (not less than 12 feet - Novella LXIII).

Malalas reports that Justinian also intervened in the diet of the population. Namely, the lifespan at that time was extremely short. There was a huge mortality in children.²⁴ The average life expectancy for men was 35-44 years, and for women 25-34. Aware of health problems, he paid great attention to the infrastructure in the settlements themselves by building or renovating a number of fountains, poles, drainage canals, water supply systems, thermal complexes, aqueducts etc. However, the demographic crisis and the lack of human resources to serve the fortresses in the border areas and within the vast territories of the Empire, as well as the inability to respond to the megalomaniacal ambitions of the ruler became more and more self-evident as well as their consequences.

The plague left a severe impact on urban life. Although the urban poor were the first to suffer from the devastating effects, the pestilence soon spread to the wealthier districts. As if the threat of disease was not a problem enough, bread became scarce, and some of the sick may actually have died of starvation, rather than disease.²⁵ Many houses became tombs, as whole families died from the plague without anyone from the outside world even knowing. Streets were deserted, and all trades were abandoned.²⁶ Inflation

²¹ John of Ephesus, fragment II, E.

²² John of Ephesus, fragment II, G.

²³ Procopius, *Wars*, II, 23.

²⁴ Манева, Е. Некропола од крајот на антиката од Хераклеја Линкестис, *Maced. Acta Archaeol.* 10 (1985-1986), Skopje 1989, 161-181.

²⁵ J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian* (New York, 1996) 163, does not list his sources for this theory; however, the grain for the city of Constantinople came from Egypt, and the harvest may have been interrupted when the plague struck there in 541.

²⁶ John of Ephesus, frgs. II, E and G; Procopius, *Wars*, II, 23.

soared. In 544, Justinian's legislation of price controls was partly successful, but the scarcity of food persisted, especially in the capital.²⁷ As the taxation base shrank dramatically, financial pressure on the cities also increased. In an effort to economize, civic governments curtailed salaries for teachers and physicians and slashed the budgets for public entertainment.²⁸

The plague was also attributed to the shrinkage of two particular groups in the empire, namely the army and the monastic houses. Even without the shortage of manpower caused by the plague, recruits for the army had become increasingly more difficult to find, with the result that the empire was mostly served by barbarian mercenaries.²⁹ The campaigns for expansion and reunification of the west with the eastern Roman empire served as a conduit for sacrificing immense numbers of soldiers.³⁰ In Justinian's final years, there were virtually no men either to volunteer or to be impressed into the service. Fortunately for the Romans, the plague had also attacked and weakened the Persian empire. In most other areas of the empire however, they were not so fortunate. In Italy, the Ostrogoths resumed the war, and new revolts broke out in the previously subdued African provinces. There were also renewed threats from the eastern barbarian tribes. Remnants of the Asiatic Avars, whom Chagan Baian had reunited, approached the imperial frontiers for recognition, and the Kotrigur Khan attacked the Balkan territories.³¹

Another group greatly affected by the plague included the monasteries. In the area of Constantinople, records list over eighty monasteries before 542; however, after the plague, most of these seem to disappear.³² There is no doubt that the plague contributed to this decline. Highly infectious contagious diseases like the bubonic plague thrive in close-knit populations. Much like John of Ephesus' description of unmanned ships washing ashore, it was not uncommon for an entire monastery to be wiped out by the plague during the Black Death.

²⁷ *Novellae*, 122.

²⁸ Procopius, *Secret History*, XXVI

²⁹ Philostorgius, XI, 7, wrote about the destruction of the military caused by the plague. Conscription was employed during the fourth century in the Roman Empire. Because of 'draft-dodging' practices by large landowners, however, the draft was impractical. Justinian had a volunteer army, composed mostly of groups of barbarian tribes.

³⁰ Procopius, *Secret History*, XVIII. „So while he (Justinian) was emperor, the whole earth ran red with the blood of nearly all the Romans and the barbarians. Such were the results of the wars throughout the whole Empire during this time.”

³¹ John W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison, 1966) 275.

³² Evans, *Age*, 164.

Although there were these setbacks in the growth of the clergy, the Byzantine empire moved into closer alliance with the church in the crises of the sixth century. Surrounded by disasters, the religiosity of the people increased, and the church financially benefited from private resources which would have previously supported civic projects. Although building activity continued in the empire, indicating that some level of prosperity persisted, the types of construction changed. There was a marked shift from civic construction to the building of churches and monasteries by the middle of the century (as shown in the examples from our territory).³⁵ The public sector wealth which paid for civic construction relied upon tax revenues, which had been greatly depleted by the plague. In comparison, the church could receive funding from private donors, individuals whose purse strings were loosened by their brush with death.

Where do the towns from late antiquity in the Roman provinces on the territory of the R. of Macedonia stand in this regard?

Their development and transformation are archaeologically followed through (re)modifications of public and private buildings, but also through their restoration at the end of the 5th and early 6th centuries. The mass of newly built or renovated early Christian churches in this period can be taken as an indicator of demographic processes. Speaking of major administrative centers and their specific development in Late Antiquity, especially through the numerous churches (cathedral, baptismal, *extra muros*, or roadside), we will try to give an overview and projection of how much biohazards and great plagues affected the local population.

During the period of late 3rd - late 4th century, the role of an important administrative, business, religious and cultural centre, which *Scupi* had had as a Roman colony, was strengthened by acquiring the status of a metropolis of the newly established province Dardania. It is the period when the civil basilica, the horreum and the so-called urban villa in the central city area were built, while the large thermal complex in the central city zone and the younger phase of the domus under the S/E branch of the Late Antiquity rampart were restored, upgraded, or adapted.

Even in the centuries after, the city continued his growth and development. The discovered buildings imply permanent constructive activities with varying

³⁵ Evans, *Age*, 165; cf. J. W. H. G. Liebeschuetz „The End of the Ancient City” (1992), 5-6, in John Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London, 1992); cf. Russell (1968) who stated the plague ended a period of prosperity

intensity and quality in the late 5th and almost throughout the 6th century. This conclusion is confirmed by the Christian basilica with a baptisterium, the Christian basilica with an atrium, the younger phase of the city bath and the building with an apse in the central city zone, the so-called building west of the rampart, the building with a portico in the sector of the S/E rampart, but also by the numerous archaeological finds (coins, pottery, objects made of metal, glass, stone, etc.).

The archaeological proofs for the intensive constructive activities in Scupi during the first half of the 6th century are contradictory to some of the data listed in the historic sources. Namely, the Marcellini Comitibus Chronicon notes that the Scupi metropolis was almost completely destroyed in the catastrophic earthquake that hit the Dardania province in 518. Also, Scupi is not mentioned as one of the cities with newly constructed or restored fortifications during Justinian's construction offensive. These data and the low level of research of the Scupi site in the previous period contributed to the conclusion that urban life in Scupi ceased after the 518 earthquake, and that the city continued to exist as a modest rural settlement. The 6th century construction activities mentioned above increasingly deny the validity of these claims. They imply that the results of the earthquake were not as fatal, and that the life in the city was normalised soon after the earthquake, while the urban life continued almost throughout the 6th century in somewhat altered form, even in times of plague. The Christian sacral buildings gained a dominant position in the city. The existence of a younger phase of the city baths supports the motives to improve the hygienic and communal conditions in the newly created living conditions burdened with fear of infectious diseases. This claim is supported by the entry in the Hieroclis Synecdemus, dated around 527, where Scupi is still being mentioned with its status of a provincial metropolis.³⁴ This chronologic development and resolution of the event in Scupi is confirmed by the coins' depot in the central city area, which ends with a coin of Emperor Mauricius Tiberius from 583/4, which represents terminus post quem non for the end of the development path and the organized urban life in Scupi.³⁵ This is a confirmation that the processes and the time for definite demise of the city are identical and synchronous with the similar events in the remaining

³⁴ Hier. Synekd. 655, 8;

³⁵ M. Ončevska Todorovska, Coin treasure from Skupi, *Macedonian Heritage* 23, Skopje 2004, 28-42;

larger Macedonian cities in the Late Antiquity - *Stobi*, *Heraclea*, *Lychnidus* and *Bargala*.³⁶

Most of the excavated buildings and fortifications at *Stobi*, the capital of Macedonia Secunda, belong to the Late Antiquity, and were erected between the 4th and 6th century. A new inner fortification wall was built on the eastern side in the early 5th century, thus shortening the city's territory. Some of the existing houses were renovated and more large residences were built with many rooms organized around the central inner courtyard with fountains and pools, lavishly decorated with mosaics and rich architectural marbles: the House of Parthenius, the Theodosian palace, the House of Peristeria, the so called Casino, as well as two public baths and the city fountain. The buildings were divided by streets, some of them paved and colonnaded. Christianity largely shaped the urban layout of the city. The Early Episcopal basilica was built in the late 4th, renovated by bishop Eusthatios in the early 5th century. In the late 5th century a new, larger Episcopal basilica was built on an artificial terrace, 4.5 meters above the Early church. Three more basilicas are known from the second half of the 5th century within the city walls (North basilica, Civil basilica, Central (Synagogue) basilica and three outside the fortification: the Cemetery basilica, Basilica Extra Muros and Basilica in the village of Palikura, 2km southeast of Stobi. The earthquake in the early 6th century caused damages to the buildings. Major repairs and rebuilding is recorded on the public and residential buildings as well as on the fortification. The incursions of the Slavs and Avars and other tribes from the north during the second half of the 6th century devastated the cities throughout the Balkans. Besides the earthquakes and barbaric incursions, the bubonic plague during Justinian reign which caused depopulation as well as climate changes were reasons for decline in the second half of the 6th century and abandonment of the city in the first decades of the 7th century. The city was probably struck by another earthquake shortly before or after it was abandoned.

Bargala, another town from Macedonia Secunda, also became an episcopal see. Its urban transformation can be seen through the reconstruction and renovation of the two main city Christian basilicas, both expanded and renovated in the 6th century.

³⁶ M. Hadži Maneva, Numizmatički svedoštva za krajot na VI i VII vek, *Maced. Acta Archaeol.* 18, Skopje, 2008, 383-389, The terminus post quem for three depots in Stobi and two collective finds in Heraclea are the coins of Mauritius from 583/4. The Bargala depot ends with a coin from 584/5, while the Lychnidos depot received deposits in 586/87.

Heraclea Lyncestis, another important episcopal centre in Macedonia Prima, flourished in the period of late antiquity. A small and a Great basilica, the bishop's residence, and a funerary basilica and the necropolis are some of the remains of this period. Three naves in the Great Basilica are covered with mosaics of very rich floral and figurative iconography; these well preserved mosaics are often regarded as fine examples of the early Christian art period. The city was sacked by Ostrogoth/Visigoth forces, commanded by Theodoric the Great in 472 CE and, despite a large gift to him from the city's bishop, it was sacked again in 479 CE. It was restored in the late 5th and early 6th century. When the earthquake struck in 518 CE, the inhabitants of Heraclea gradually abandoned the city.

Lychnidos had similar faith. After reaching its ecclesiastical and administrative peak, during the period of late antiquity, adorned with vast number of early Christian churches and episcopal residencies, most of which had two main phases of construction, the second dated in the late 5th – early 6th century, Lychnidos was last mentioned on the occasion of its destruction. According to the historical sources, in the earthquake that occurred on 29th and 30th May 526 CE, several thousand people from Lychnidos were killed.

Final considerations.

The Justinianic plague, apart from its devastating immediate impact, is generally viewed as undermining the late Roman empire, politically and economically, creating conditions ripe for disaster.³⁷ Coupled with the other disasters of the reign of Justinian, the plague may have reduced the population of the Mediterranean world by the year 600 to no more than 60 percent of its count a century earlier. Such a massive mortality rate would naturally lead to social and economic ruin. Also, the depopulation of the urban centers might have created a structural imbalance in favor of the desert Arabs.

The main problem with this thesis is the lack of firm demographic evidence for the late Roman empire. Before plague mortality can be determined, modern scholars need an estimate of the overall population of the empire for this period. Unfortunately, this information has not been effectively determined. There are also other problems in calculating definitive population data. Although any kind of epidemic disease has severe effects on a previously unexposed population, the recurrences of that disease would not be as devastating.³⁸ Also,

³⁷ Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600-1025* (Berkeley, 1996) 66.

³⁸ W. H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Oxford, 1977) 127

the „dark age” of Byzantine literature which follows the reign of Justinian fails to firmly document these recurrences of the plague. The many other natural catastrophes during this period constitute another problem when trying to determine plague mortality. Even if it could be determined that 300,000 people perished in Constantinople during the spring of 542, there would still be a question whether these individuals died from the plague or in the massive earthquake which also occurred at this time. The sources to discover this type of information unfortunately do not exist.

Because scholars have been unable to determine the overall population, they have attempted to conclude the mortality rates in well-documented cities, such as Constantinople. The population of Constantinople, however, has also not been determined conclusively. Data used by modern scholars is generally based on the literary descriptions of the plague, which are very likely colored by exaggeration. John of Ephesus stated that people died at a rate of 5,000 to 16,000 a day, and that men at the city gates stopped counting the existing corpses at 230,000 when they realized the bodies were innumerable. Procopius claimed that 10,000 people died a day, and that the plague lasted for four months in Constantinople. Based on these figures, it is possible that one-third to one-half of Constantinople perished. Although this conclusion seems high, John of Ephesus, who was travelling during the first outbreak of the plague, noted that the deaths in Constantinople exceeded those in other cities. Urban mortality rates are inconclusive in most of the other large cities of the empire, such as on our territory. Some cities became practically deserted from the plague, while others, especially those which were not trade centers, were less affected.

Faced with these difficulties, and in light of the need for additional demographic data, scholars have postulated an overall mortality rate for the empire of about one-third of the population, which, not surprisingly, happens to be a figure comparable to the toll probably taken by the Black Death.³⁹ Comparisons with the demographic patterns following the Black Death have also led some modern scholars to postulate that the plague might not have caused permanent damage to the Roman Empire.⁴⁰ This theory, however, is based on invalid comparisons, which assume similarities based on the fact that both plagues were bubonic in nature. Although the evidence for the plague being devastating to the empire stems from vague and unquantifiable literary accounts, the evidence to the contrary is not conclusive.

³⁹ For information on the mortality rate of the Black Death, see Ziegler, 232.

⁴⁰ Evans, *Age*, 164; also Whittow, 66.

For example, after the Black Death, the marriage rate increased sharply, and resulted in prolific unions. Agathias observed, however, that young men suffered the most from the plague. If this observation was true, combined with his statement that the plague recurred at fifteen year intervals, this clearly would have caused disastrous demographic consequences. One scholar has pointed out that the Egyptian papyri give no indication of either economic crisis or even a population decline during the plague. Although this is troubling, John of Ephesus did state that Alexandria was not affected like the city of Constantinople.⁴¹ Also, the sources do not indicate that the plague struck Egypt again after 541. Another objection is that despite literary sources recounting tales of bodies overflowing graveyards, nowhere has any archaeologist working in the Near East discovered a plague pit.⁴² It seems probable, however, that further archaeological investigations will counter this objection.

These questions do not deny the existence of the plague, but simply challenge whether it had enduring catastrophic effects on the empire. The Black Death in medieval Europe has been described as having a „purgative rather than toxic” effect on what had previously been an over-populated society facing Malthusian checks. Following the Black Death, a lower people-to-land ratio was produced, causing wage inflation. In 544, Justinian issued a law which vetoed pay increases for artisans, laborers, and sailors, in an effort to control wage inflation.⁴³ Although higher grain prices dampened real wages immediately after the plague, the population decrease clearly benefited the lower economic classes. It is important to remember, however, that this comparison can only stretch to an extent; in contrast with fourteenth-century Europe, there is no hard evidence that the late Roman empire was overpopulated. Although it is clear that the plague did devastate the empire, at least temporarily, it is necessary to remember that the Roman Empire in 600 was still a powerful state, facing favorable political conditions, and supported by a prosperous economy.

⁴¹ John of Ephesus, fragment II, G.

⁴² Until November of 1996, there had been no discovery of a plague pit in Athens, despite near continuous archaeological fieldwork within the city for the past two centuries. Historians did not expect to find one, since the Greeks usually cremated their dead. One should recall though that one of Thucydides' points of contention during the plague was that his fellow citizens were not following proper burial customs. DNA testing on the corpses is expected to take place sometime in 1997 to attempt to ascertain the cause for the Athenian plague. See Constance Holden, „Athenian Plague Probe,” *Science* 274 (22 Nov 1996) 1307.

⁴³ *Novellae* 122.

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EARLY CHRISTIAN MOSAICS FROM BARGALA

Introduction

The ancient city of Bargala is located along the upper course of the river Bregalnica, near the city of Shtip. In ancient times, this city was set on the so called "Diagonal road" leading from Heraclea Lyncestis to Serdica. The name of the city is mentioned only a few times in the historic sources. The oldest mention of the city is a Latin inscription of the year 371-2, which was discovered at the place called Hanče in the vicinity of Bargala¹. This inscription indicates that the ancient city of Bargala, at that time, was under the administrative governance of the province Dacia Mediterranea. The next mentioning of the city is in the acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held in Chalcedon in 451, where the Bishop Dardanius of Bargala also participated as one of the nine representatives of the Macedonian provinces², and the Synecdemos of Hierocles from 527-8 is the last literary source where Bargala is mentioned within the province of Macedonia Secunda³.

Starting from the historiographical data and the information provided by the older researchers who acknowledged the existence of archaeological remains in the vicinity of the villages of Goren Kozjak and Krupište⁴, archaeologist Blaga Aleksova initiated the first excavations in this area and discovered the city of Bargala in 1966⁵. Archaeological excavations continued in the following years, and by the end of 1971, the remains of the northern defensive

¹ B. Aleksova and C. Mango, Bargala: A preliminary report, *DOP* 25 (1971), 265-266.

² Д. Зајковски, *Христијанството во Македонија од 313 до 700 година: векови на консолидација, етиблирање и дефинирање*, Скопје 2013, 64-65.

³ B. Aleksova and C. Mango, op. cit., 266.

⁴ Ст. Михајлов, Козјак и Брегалнишката епископија, *Известия на Българският археологически институт* 15 (1946), 12-23; Н. Вулић, *Антички споменици наше земље*, *Споменик САН* 98 (1948), 254; И. Венедиков, *Баргала, Раскопки и проучвания*, София 1948, 84-85; Р. Грујић, *Археолошке и историске белешке из Македоније*, *Старинар* 3-4 (1955), 213.

⁵ Б. Алексова, *Баргала - Брегалница во светлината на новите археолошки истражувања*, *ГИНИ* 3 (1967), 5-82.

wall, the main entrance gate, the Episcopal Basilica, the Water Cistern, parts of the Episcopal Residence, and the Extra Muros basilica were discovered⁶. The archaeological excavations continued in 1994 and in the following decades all the above-mentioned buildings were fully excavated and examined. The understanding of the urbanization in Bargala was enriched with the new discoveries of the Bathing complex, rectangular square in front of the Episcopal Basilica, the northern city gate and other buildings with economic character like glass workshop, winery and horreum, which were discovered alongside the north fortification wall of the city⁷. The last building discovered in Bargala in 2007-8, is the Early Christian basilica located in the center of the city (fig.1)⁸.



Fig.1 Aerial view of the archaeological site Bargala. Photo by M. Tutkovski

The archaeological excavations in Bargala, so far have revealed mosaic floors in three Early Christian churches: The Episcopal Basilica, the Central Basilica and the Extra Muros Basilica. Unfortunately, previous researchers have paid little attention to the mosaic decoration in these buildings and for

⁶ В. Aleksova and С. Mango, *Bargala*, 265-281; Б. Алексова, Баргала и средниот тек на Брегалница, ГИНИ XXVII-3 (1983), 93-105; Б. Алексова, Епископијата на Брегалница: Прв словенски црковен и културно-просветен центар во Македонија, Прилеп 1989, 41-69.

⁷ Т. Нацев, Доцноантичкиот град Баргала, Штип 2008, 41-140; И. Атанасова и Т. Нацев, Нови сознанија за стопанско-економскиот дел во Баргала, МAA 21 (2019), 399-414.

⁸ Т. Нацев и Ј. Фрков, Археолошко, архитектонско истражување и реконструкција на градска ранохристијанска базилика во градот Баргала, МН 34-35 (2009), 157-172.

most of them, they provided insufficient descriptive, technical and photo documentation. In this paper the Early Christian mosaics from Bargala will be published together with the necessary descriptions and illustrations that will allow further researchers to examine and re-examine these mosaics.

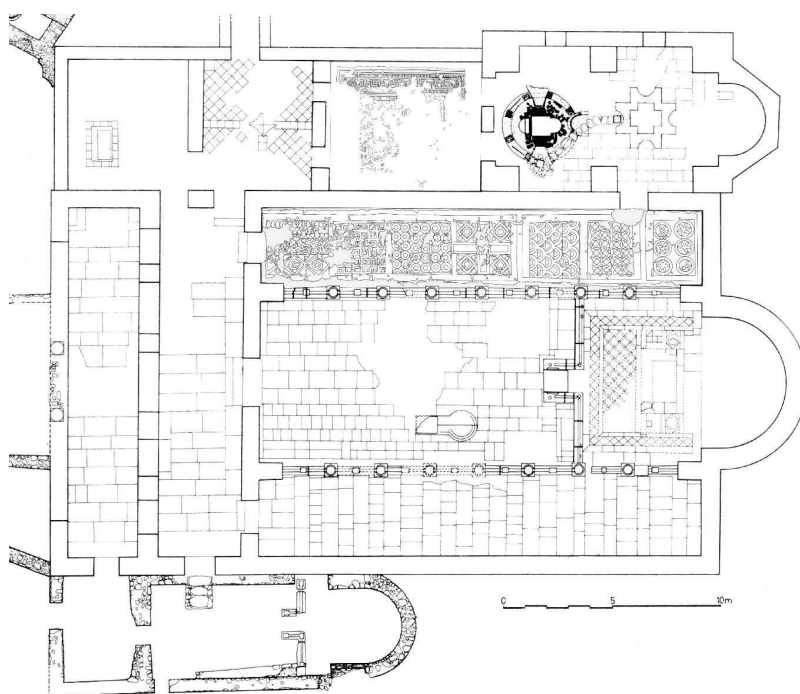


Fig.2 Ground plan of the Episcopal basilica. Drawing by M. Milojević with corrections and additions (on mosaics) by M. Tutkovski.

The Episcopal basilica

The Episcopal Basilica of Bargala is built on a raised plateau which has a dominant position in the northwestern part of the city. The basilica has three aisles with a semicircular apse on the east side, a narthex and an open exonarthex constructed as a triumphal arch (fig.2). One of the capitals that belonged to the triumphal arch from the entrance in the church, bears the inscription “Christ, help Thy slave, the bishop Hermias” that is probably the name of the founder of the church⁹. Shortly after the construction of the basilica, four rooms were added on the north side, which extend along the entire length of the building. The baptistery which looks like a separate chapel

⁹ B. Aleksova and C. Mango, *op. cit.*, 268-269.

with a longitudinal base and an apse on the east side, has two construction phases which correspond with two baptismal fonts that were discovered during the excavations¹⁰. The rectangular room located west of the baptistery, most probably had a function of catechumenium, while the other rooms served as vestibulum and perhaps a diaconicon¹¹. Most of the rooms of the Episcopal Basilica have floors made of stone slabs (exonarthex, narthex, nave, south aisle and the baptistery), and only in three we see mosaic decoration made in different techniques. Aside from that, the researchers point out that a large number of multicolored glass and gilded tesserae have been found in the presbytery, exonarthex and south annex of the church, indicating the existence of wall mosaics in the basilica¹².

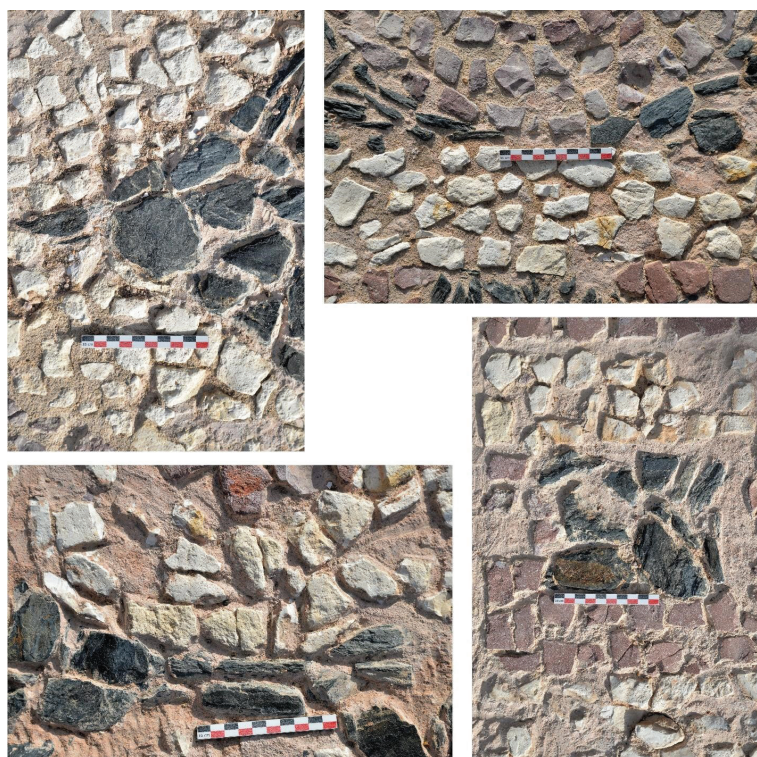


Fig.3 Mosaic in the north aisle - details. Photo by M. Tutkovski

¹⁰ Ibid., 270-271, Б. Алексова, Епископијата на Брегалница, 47-53, В. Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae: The cult of the martyrs in Macedonia from the 4th to the 9th centuries*, Skopje 1997, 163-164.

¹¹ В. Aleksova and С. Mango, op. cit., 271.

¹² В. Aleksova and С. Mango, op. cit., 270, 272; З. Белдедовски, Епископската базилика во Баргала: Истражувања 1999 г., МАН 16 (2005), 264, 267.

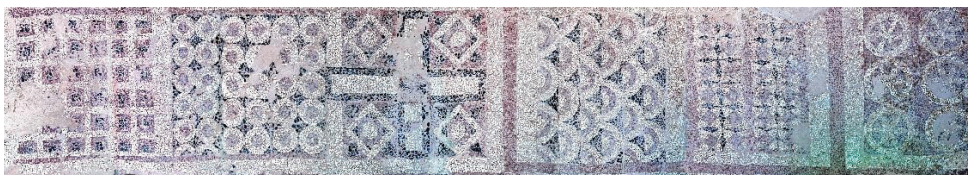


Fig.4 Mosaic decoration in the north aisle. Photos by M. Tutkovski

Mosaic in the north aisle of the basilica is made in very rare technique that is called *chip mosaic*¹⁵, meaning that the mosaic is made of partially processed, or crushed stones with irregular shapes and sizes. Stone chips in the north aisle have dimensions that vary from 3-10 cm and they are all made of local stones with only three colors (fig.3). The decorative arrangement consists of seven rectangular panels (fig.4), filled with simple geometric motifs such as: rosettes, intersecting circles, fish scales, concentric circles and squares, egg-shaped ornaments and rhombuses, as well as a monumental representation of a cross that is placed in the central mosaic panel (fig.5).



Fig.5 Central mosaic panel in the north aisle. Photo by M. Tutkovski

¹⁵ K.M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge University Press 1999, 18-20.

The appearance of this mosaic is very rustic and clumsy and indicates to a work done by a local mosaicists or masons who had more articulate craftsmanship than artistic qualities and affinities.



Fig.6 Mosaic in the catechumenium. Photo by M. Tutkovski

The mosaic in the catechumenium is made in *opus tessellatum* with tesserae from 1.5 to 2.2. cm, and in the central part of the mosaic, smaller tesserae up to 1 cm were used. The entire surface of the catechumenium was covered with mosaic, but unfortunately only small parts have been preserved in the northern part of the room (fig.6). The study of the preserved parts allows a partial reconstruction of the bordures of the original mosaic arrangement. The rectangular surface was framed with wide bordure consisting of two

wavy strips framing a row of meander formed with connected swastikas with depiction of simple rosettes in the corners. The central composition of the mosaic was divided into two rectangular panels, which were probably filled with zoomorphic and/or floral compositions and motifs, placed on a neutral white background (fig.7).

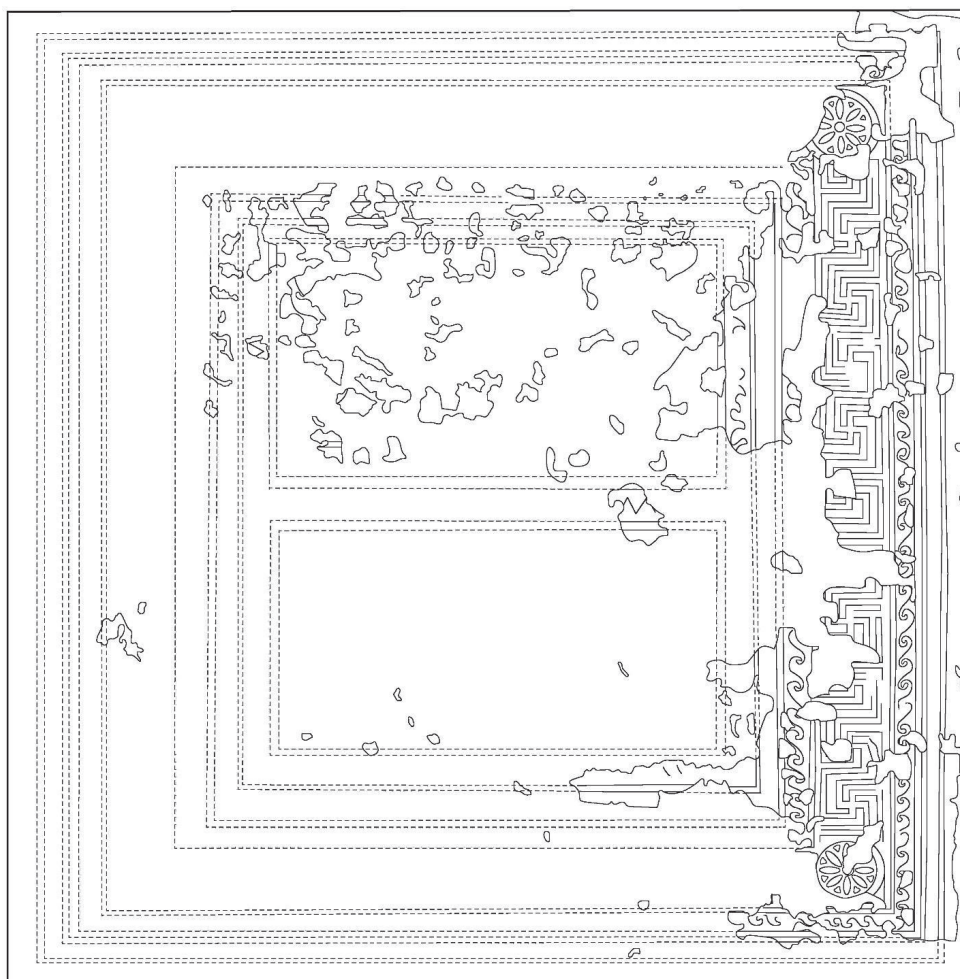


Fig.7 Mosaic decoration in the catechumenium with partial reconstruction of the design. Drawing by M. Tutkovski

Unlike the unusual technique of the mosaic in the north aisle, the mosaic in the catechumenium is made in a regular *opus tessellatum* with properly cut tesserae in at least 8 colors (fig.8). This mosaic has a well-organized design and the decorative motifs are made with relatively precise drawings and harmonious shapes which indicates to a work performed by experienced mosaicists.



Fig.8 Mosaic in the catechumenium - detail. Photo by M. Tutkovski

The Mosaics in the presbytery are made in *opus sectile*, where the original mosaic was made of two types of stone – white marble and gray slate, and the same tiles were re-used to make the second phase mosaic (fig.9)¹⁴.



Fig.9 Remains of two phases of *opus sectile* decoration in the presbyterium. According to Б. Алексова, *Епископскијата на Брегалница*, fig. on page 321

¹⁴ B. Aleksova and C. Mango, op. cit., 296-270, Б. Алексова, *Епископскијата на Брегалница*, 46-47.

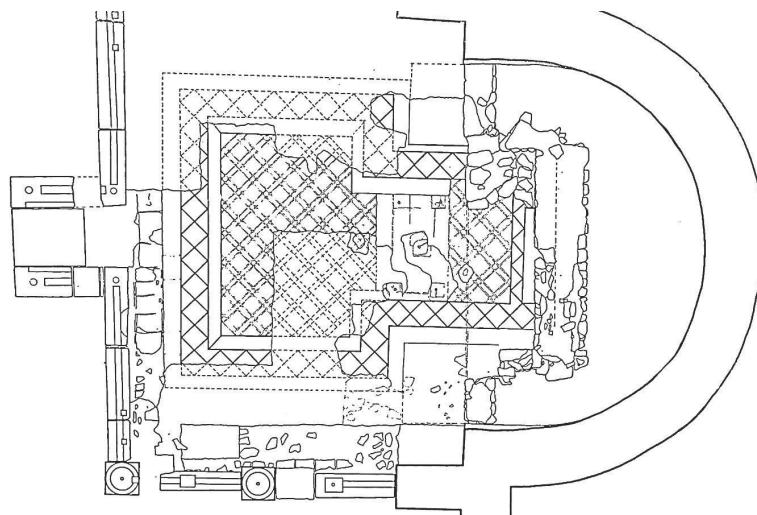


Fig.10 Presbyterium - mosaic decoration from the 1st phase. According to B. Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae*, fig. 43

The mosaic from the first phase has a “T” shape with simple design that is made of square, triangular and rectangular tiles in white and gray color (fig.10). The bordure is filled with rows of marble rhombuses complemented with triangular slates, and is framed with strips of rectangular marble slabs. The central surface is decorated with grid of rhombuses, framed by smaller rectangular tiles.

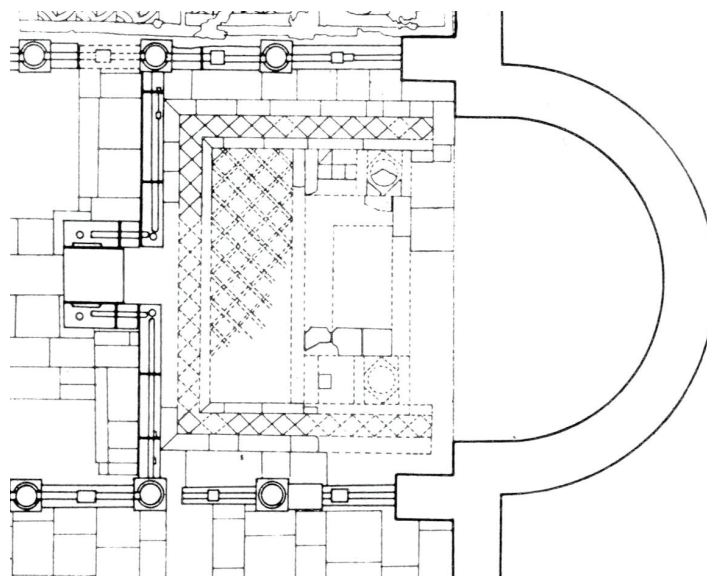


Fig.11 Presbyterium - mosaic decoration from the 2nd phase. According to Б. Алексова, *Епископјата на Брегалница*, fig. 24

The mosaic from the second phase has a “II” shape which is positioned around the altar table. The design is framed with a bordure that is identical to the bordure of the first phase - rows of rhombuses (fig.11). The western half of the mosaic is filled with the same decorative pattern that was used in the first phase (rhombuses grid), and only small parts of the chessboard and an inscribed circle in a rectangular field are preserved from the decoration around the altar table.



Fig.12 The Central basilica and the surrounding buildings. Photo by M. Tutkovski

Dating of the building and its mosaics

The Episcopal basilica has a several construction phases which are not precisely defined. Previous researches have pointed out two¹⁵, three¹⁶ or four¹⁷ building phases that took place from the second half of the 4th until the 6th century. Apart from the inconsistencies in the proposed dating, the original building most probably was built at the end of the 4th century, and the building that is visible today belongs to the second construction phase which can

¹⁵ B. Aleksova and C. Mango, op. cit., 273; D. Peirano, Some Observations about the Form and Settings of the Basilica of Bargala, *MHR* 3 (2012), 76-77.

¹⁶ Б. Алексова, *Епископскиот храм на Брегалница*, 55-57; З. Белдедовски, *Епископската базилика*, 15-17; Т. Нацев, *Доцноантичкиот град Баргала*, 80-82; Т. Нацев, *Ранохристијанска архитектура во источниите области на Република Македонија*, Штип 2019, 120-121.

¹⁷ Б. Алексова, *Баргала и средниот тек на Брегалница*, ГИНИ XXVII-3 (1983), 101-103.

be dated to the second half of the 5th century¹⁸. During that period, the floor level of the church was raised up, followed by creation of the mosaic floors in the north aisle, the catechumenium and the presbytery. Sometime later, the presbytery was remodeled, when the mosaic from the second phase was laid. Based on the existing knowledge and the scarce archaeological data discovered in the Episcopal Basilica, the creation of the mosaics can be placed in a wide time frame from the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century. According to the various styles, techniques and materials of the mosaic decoration in the Episcopal basilica we can conclude that they are all created by different mosaic ateliers or mosaicists with diverse qualities and skills in mosaic production.



Fig.13 Location of the mosaic in the nave of the Central basilica.

Photo by M. Tutkovski

The Central basilica

The last Early Christian basilica in Bargala was discovered in the central part of the city during the archaeological campaigns in 2008-9¹⁹ (fig.1). The

¹⁸ See above: foot.15, 16 and 17.

¹⁹ Т. Нацев и Ј. Фрков, *op. cit.*, 157; Т. Нацев, *Ранохристијанска архитектура*, 123. The researchers named this building “Early Christian city basilica”, but in this paper the building is renamed in Central basilica in order to avoid further confusions with the other Early

researchers so far, have defined three construction phases that did not made significant changes on the buildings' shape and size. The architectural basis of the basilica in the first two phases is identical, and it is comprised of three aisles with a semicircular apse on the east and a trapezoidal narthex on the west side (fig.12). During the second construction phase, the floor level in the basilica was raised up for around 0.8 meters, and the main entrance in the church was displaced from the west into the north wall of the narthex. Chancel screen was constructed in the central aisle and the floors in the presbyterium and the side aisles were covered with ceramic tiles, while the narthex was paved with gray stone slabs. *Opus tessellatum* mosaic was laid in the church nave, in front of the entrance in the presbyterium (fig.13) and according to the several mosaic fragments and tesserae found in other parts of the nave, the researchers suggest that the entire surface of the nave used to be decorated with mosaic. In the third construction phase of the basilica, the narthex was enlarged and additional annex with rectangular shape was added to its north side. Immediately afterwards a stone benches were erected alongside the walls in the side aisles, the narthex and its north annex²⁰.



Fig.14 Mosaic fragment from the nave of the church. Photo by M. Tutkovski

Christian basilicas that are discovered in the city of Bargala (the Episcopal basilica and the Extra muros basilica).

²⁰ Т. Нацев и Ј. Фрков, op. cit., 157-172; Т. Нацев, Ранохристијанска архитектура, 123-126. Archaeological excavations of the buildings and rooms that are located on the north and west side of the church are not concluded, and therefore it's impossible to determine their function and possible connection with the basilica.



Fig.15 Mosaic fragment from the nave of the church - detail. Photo by M. Tutkovski

The mosaic in the nave is made in *opus tessellatum* with a dominant use of a glass tesserae in various colors (yellowish, light and dark green, light and dark blue and black), and aside of these, there are gilded tesserae made of transparent glass. The use of stone tesserae is limited only to white and gray color (fig.14, 15). According to the preserved fragments of this mosaic, a partial reconstruction of the displayed ornament can be performed, which had a circular shape filled with geometric and stylized floral motifs that create a lavishly decorated rosette. The mosaic decoration is consisted of concentric circles, semicircles and squares, complemented with stylized floral motifs. All elements of the composition have a correct rhythmic arrangement around the four axes of symmetry of the circular mosaic (fig.16). The motifs have regular shapes that are made with relatively precise drawings, and are filled with bright and intense colors that give an impressive look to the mosaic that was placed in front of the entrance in the presbyterium of the church.

Dating of the building and its mosaic

The archaeological findings from the Central basilica are not fully processed and analyzed, but according to the architectural features of the building, the researchers proposed that the original church was erected in the late 4th century, and the second phase took place in the late 5th century. During the second phase, the basilica was reconstructed and subsequently all the floors were paved with ceramic tiles or stone slabs, while the area in

front of the presbyterium of the church was decorated with floor mosaic in *opus tessellatum*. The last constructive interventions in the basilica took place in the mid-6th century²¹, but the chancel screen and the mosaic in the nave remained intact and in use until the demolition of the building in the late 6th or early 7th century.

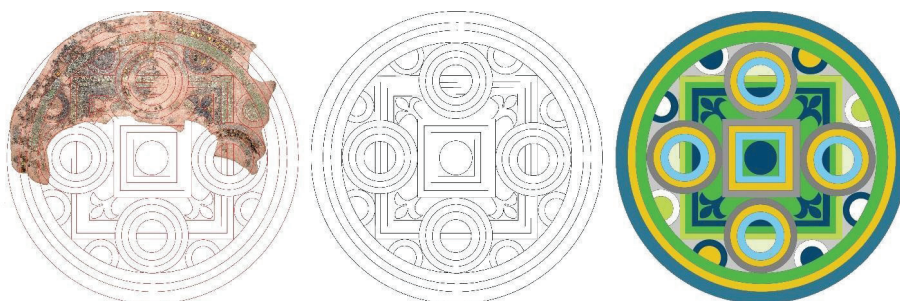


Fig.16 Mosaic in the nave of the church with reconstruction of the design. Photo and drawings by M. Tutkovski.



Fig.17 Location of the Extra muros basilica. Photo by M. Tutkovski

²¹ Т. Нацев и Ј. Фрков, op. cit., 171.

The Extra muros basilica

The Extra muros basilica was discovered in the area north of the main entrance of Bargala (fig.17) during the archaeological excavations in 1984²² and 2007²³. The basilica has a typical architectural conception consisted of three aisles with a semicircular apse on the east and an open narthex on the west side. The investigations so far have defined two construction phases of the basilica, whereby it was concluded that the narthex was built during the second phase, and at the same time, the floor levels of the building have been raised to a higher level from around 0.8 to 1.2 meters. During the second phase, the floors in the side aisles and in the narthex were paved with ceramic tiles and the nave of the church was decorated in *opus sectile* (fig.18)²⁴.

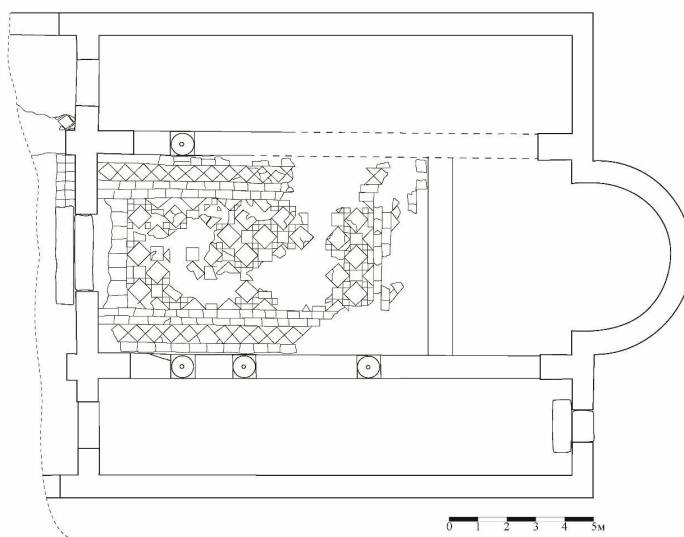


Fig.18 Ground plan of the Extra muros basilica. Drawing by M. Tutkovski, according to Z. Beldedovski, *Basilica Extra muros*, Pl.1.

The *opus sectile* mosaic occupied the entire surface of the nave (fig.19). The central area is decorated with simple geometrical design, that is the so-called “diamond grid” consisted of rhomboid, square and triangular tiles. This area is surrounded by a bordure that has a “Π” shape made of rows of rhombuses and triangles flanked with rectangular tiles.

²² Б. Алексова, *Епископијата на Брегалница*, 44.

²³ Z. Beldedovski, *Basilica Extra muros from Bargala*, МН 34-35 (2009), 193-194.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 196-202.



Fig.19 *Opus sectile* decoration in the nave of the church. According to Т. Нацев, *Доцноантичкиот ѓрад Баргала*, fig.110

Dating of the building and the mosaic

The archaeological excavations so far have not revealed any datable finds that can provide accurate chronology of this building and its constructing phases, but the researchers believe that the Extra muros basilica was in function in the period between the end of the 4th and the end of the 6th century²⁵. The mosaic decoration in the nave of the church was created during the second construction phase, which possibly dates from the second half of the 5th century.

Final considerations

The mosaic floors in the Early Christian basilicas of Bargala are dated in the period from the second half of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century, and they are all associated with the great reconstruction of the buildings, which probably occurred after some type of a natural disaster. The mosaic decoration in the three churches show that the ecclesiastical dignitaries of Bargala desired their temples to look like those of the highly developed urban centers, such as Stobi, Serdica, Heraclea Lyncestis and others, but the limited financial and other resources of the Bargala bishopric were not sufficient for expensive and lavish church decoration. The mosaic floors discovered

²⁵ B. Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae*, 166; Т. Нацев, *Ранохристијанска архитектура*, 123.

in these churches are made by local mosaicists and craftsmen with artistic and craft qualities that lag far behind their contemporaries from the more developed cities.

The Bargala mosaics do not stand out with their artistic-aesthetic qualities, but nevertheless, two of them are especially important according to the unique technique and the used materials. Namely, the mosaic from the north aisle of the Episcopal Basilica is made of stone chips, produced by rough breaking of larger stones and represents a distant reminiscence of the mosaic technique from the 3rd century BC, when the mosaicists abandoned the pebble mosaic technique and by breaking and cutting the stones, started to produce mosaic tesserae which gradually led to creation of the new technique – *opus tessellatum*.

The mosaic from the Central basilica is also a unique example of a floor mosaic made almost entirely of glass tesserae. Having in mind that workshop for glass production existed in Bargala in that period, this is quite reasonable and logical, but yet, glass and gilded tesserae are most commonly used for wall mosaics and their use on floors is very limited and rare in the Balkan region.

Although the Bargala mosaics do not belong to the group of highest artistic achievements from the late antique era, their study is extremely important for a better understanding of the cultural, artistic and socio-economic development of the city and its connection with other late antique cities in the region.

Abbreviations:

DOP - Dumbarton Oaks Papers

ГИНИ - Гласник на институтот за национална историја

МАА - Macedonia acta archaeologica

МН - Macedonian Heritage/Македонско наследство

MHR - Macedonian Historical Review

САН - Српска академија наука

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THE “TRUE IMAGE” IN MONUMENTAL PAINTING ON THE BALKANS

The spread of Christianity saw the development of palladia for the new religion that were highly worshipped as special relics. The most well-known among these are the *acheiropoietai eikones*, which according to legend were not made by human hands.¹ Precursors to these Christian “true images” can be found in the antique tradition, namely in the numerous images of gods, so-called *diipetes*, that Zeus and other deities had thrown down to earth from the heavens. In contrast to the antique *diipetes*, which were statues, in the Christian context these were predominantly images that, according to legend, were created by God himself during his earthly mission in the presence of humans. God’s divine power was supposed to have carried into these images, so that they were subsequently able to perform various miracles which included being able to replicate themselves miraculously without any human intervention. Such images contributed to the spread of the new religion but also the establishment of an artistic genre which had become the subject of controversy during the first centuries of Christianity. Copies created by artists as well as further production of religious images seemed justified, since Christ himself was the first one to create his own likeness and leave it behind as a memento or a reminder of himself.

In Byzantine society a special place was accorded to the images of Christ’s face that were “not made by human hands” and which appeared in different parts of the empire in the course of the 4th to 6th centuries. Among the oldest *acheiropoietai* images of Christ are the Image of Camuliana and the Mandylion

¹ The earliest mentions of an *achieropoieton* in a Christian context is found in the Gospel of Mark and in the second epistle to the Corinthians. In the latter (2 Cor. 5:1), Paul explains that as a replacement for the transitory, “earthly house” (body) the human soul in Heaven is offered a corresponding eternal House of God not made by human hands.

of Edessa. The Image of Camuliana was a highly revered Constantinopolitan relic before it disappeared during the Iconoclast period.² The Mandyllion, which emerged in Edessa in the 6th century, survived the destruction of Iconoclasm and gained renown as the most venerated image of the Orthodox world.

As is known, according to legend, the Mandyllion was created for the king Abgar of Edessa, who at the time was terminally ill and sent a messenger named Ananias to Jerusalem to bid the prophet Jesus to come to Edessa and heal the king and to escape the persecution of the Jews. Jesus answered in a letter that he had to remain in Jerusalem in order to complete his earthly mission; but after his Ascension he would send one of his apostles to King Abgar. Christ's letter became a well-known relic in that city and a protective function over the city was attributed to it.³ Its renown declined only in the 6th century through the appearance of the "miraculously generated image of Christ".

In the extended version of the legend, King Abgar sent a talented painter to Jerusalem to execute a likeness of Christ from life. However, since the artist was unable to capture the venerable human face of the Lord, Jesus took a cloth and pressed it to his wetted face. The resulting image was credited with various miracles already on the way to King Abgar. This is how the Keramion bearing Christ's likeness miraculously came to be in Hieropolis, when Abgar's messenger was forced to hide the image on the return trip to Edessa in a brickwork to save it from robbers. The king of Edessa held this image in highest respect, and it provided him with immediate relief from his ailment; he completely recovered with the arrival of the apostle Thaddeus and his baptism. Abgar replaced the old pagan *apotropaion* above the city gate with the Mandyllion, as a phylactery, where it was immured together with a burning oil lamp during the reign of his infidel grandson and fell into oblivion. It remained hidden there until the Persian siege of Edessa in 544, when the bishop Eulalios uncovered it following a dream. The holiness of the image was demonstrated by the imprint that it left on the adjacent brick and by the still-burning lamp. The rediscovery of the holy image saved Edessa from

² On the Image of Camuliana, see: Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 40-69, 123-134, 3-27; Hamilton & Brooks, *Syriac*, 320 sq.; Runciman, *Remarks*, 245; Kitzinger, *Cult*, 97, 99 sq., 111, 114, 124; Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 66 sqq., 552 sq.; Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 23-25 (with older literature); Rist, *Kamuliana*, 135-155.

³ On the legend of King Abgar's correspondence with Christ, see: Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 102-105, 163-182; Mirković, *Prelude*, 9 sqq.; Karaulashvili, *Date*, 85 sqq.; Meščerskaja, *Legenda*, 14-68; Drijvers, *Abgarsage*, 389-395; Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 26-28; Emmenegger, *Der Abgarbrief*, 121-134.

the siege, and from then on, the Mandyllion was believed to have a protective power over the city.⁴

It is in part thanks to Arab rule in Edessa that the image was not destroyed during the “dark ages” of Byzantine history. Taking advantage of the short-lived success of their army, the Byzantines received the image from the Arabs, exactly on the 400th anniversary of its discovery in the city gate. But the Arabs raised the price for the venerable Christian relic so high that the Byzantines had to relinquish a part of the conquered area, release 200 Muslim captives and pay 12,000 pieces of silver to obtain it. Thus, in 944, with much rejoicing and pomp, the image was carried to Constantinople where it was kept in highest regard in the treasury of the Pharos church.⁵ It remained there until the period of Latin rule in Constantinople when it, along with countless other Byzantine relics, was taken to Western Europe where it later disappeared.⁶

The cult of the “true image” of Christ had spread from Byzantium to other regions subject to its cultural and religious influence; it arrived in Georgia and Armenia even before the period of Iconoclasm and among the Slavs following its translation to Constantinople in 944. It came to enjoy tremendous esteem in Russia.⁷ The popularity of the image among Orthodox Christians is evidenced by the numerous copies made by artists in various media.

⁴ On the legend of the Acheiropoietos of Edessa see, among others: Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 102-149, 158-248, 29-156; Katanskij, *Skazanija*, 484-499; Meščerskaja, *Legenda*, 69-87; Meščerskaja, *Literaturach*, 97-107; Kitzinger, *Cult*, 103 sqq.; Runciman, *Remarks*, 238 sqq.; Cameron, *History*, 80-94; Cameron, *Mandyllion*, 33 sqq.; Drijvers, *Image*, passim; Wischmeyer, *Logos*, 61-77; Trilling, *Image*, 109 sqq.; Mirković, *Prelude*, passim; Grabar, *Nerukotvorenyj*, passim; Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, 26, 30 sqq.; Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 235 sqq.; Spas *Nerukotvornyj*, 12 sqq.; Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 28-34 (with further bibliography); Illert, *Doctrina Addai*, passim; Nikolotti, *Dal_Mandyllion*, 9 sqq.; Karaulashvili, *King Abgar*, 173-190; Bruns, *Die Geschichte*, 105-120; Palmer, *Edessan Images*, 222-276; Dietz, *Abgars Christusbild*, 393-447; Ramelli, *Σινδών*, 499-535.

⁵ On the acquisition and translation of the image to Constantinople, see: Yahya ibn Sa'īd (Kratchkovsky & Vasiliev, 730-732; Kawerau, 23-26); *Regesten*, 78-79/Nr. 641; *Porphyrogenetos*, *Narratio* (PG 113, 444 D-454 A); *Synaxarium* (Delehayé, 893-901); Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 149-169, 73-85; Dobschütz, *Kammerherr*, 166 sqq.; Patlagean, *Entrée*, 21 sqq.; Runciman, *Remarks*, 248 sq; Runciman, *Emperor*, 229 sq.; *Kresten - Müller*, *Samtherrschaft*, 38 sqq.; Kolia-Dermizake, *Βυζαντινός*, 275-285; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 296-303; Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 42-44; Nikolotti, *Dal_Mandyllion*, 57-70.

⁶ Durand et al., *Trésor*, 70-71; 115/Fig. 4; Riant, *Exuviae*, I, CXXXXI; *Ibid.*, II, 135 sqq.; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 185-196; Runciman, *Remarks*, 251 sq.; Belting, *Reaktion*, 36-37; Gould, *Sequences*, 315-341; Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 50-51; Durand, *L'image d'Abgar*, 336-359.

⁷ On the “true image” among the Slavs, see: Prolović, *Slawische Überlieferung*, 287-335.



1. Mateič, a Scene of the Abgar Legend, 1348-1352 © Vlado Kiprijanovski

In contrast to manuscript illumination and icon painting, the Legend of Abgar seems not to be depicted very often in monumental painting. Today only one representation is known, and that is on the Balkans in the former monastery Mateič (**Fig. 1**), a foundation of the Serbian king Dušan which was decorated between 1348 and 1352.⁸ As the basis for their illustration of the Abgar legend, the talented, trained artists who painted Mateič used the old Serbian version in which Saint Luke appears as Abgar's envoy to Christ sent to create his likeness.⁹ Here the legend was placed within the cycle of the Apostles and specifically in the section that illustrates the works of the apostle Luke.

⁸ On the dating of the paintings in Mateič, see: Dimitrova, Ktitorska, 181-190; Dimitrova, Matejče, 262-267. For the Abgar cycle, see: Okunev, Mateič, 105, Abb. 3, 5, Schema I and II/84, II/61; Petković, Avgarova, 11-19; Tatić-Djurić, Abagar, 259; Djurić, Fresken, 101 ff., 275 f. (Fn. 83); Walter, Abgar, 221-231; Dimitrova, Matejče, 177-179; Prolović, Mandylion, 264-273; Prolović, Slawische Überlieferung, 298, Taf. 15/Abb. 9.

⁹ This version is an interpolation of the legend according to the apocryphal collection of the Bulgarian priest Jeremiah from the second half of the 10th century. The oldest copies

Yet the order of the three scenes of the Abgar cycle in Mateič is disputed in previous research.¹⁰ According to the schematic principles of Byzantine painting, the first scene must be the one on the east side of the pillar, followed by those on the south and west side. The first two scenes in Mateič illustrate the third chapter of the legend, which describes Luke's arrival in Jerusalem and the creation of the "true image". The west side of the pillar in Mateič contains only the final scene, namely the presentation of the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ to the sick king. It is impossible to exclude that further scenes of this cycle were depicted on the now-destroyed wall segments.

Interestingly, in Mateič the evangelist Luke is portrayed as painting the Mother of God within the Apostles cycle. In this way, the participation of Luke in creating the "true image" of God is justified and further emphasises the role of the evangelist as the first Christian painter to be inspired by holy wisdom. Thus, his works, which according to the legend were also produced partially through miracle, served as models for other artists.

Most churches of the Byzantine cultural sphere, and thus also the Balkans, only contain depictions of the Mandyllion occasionally joined by the Keramion. Through the skilled arrangement of these images, the artists symbolically rendered the legend and its power. Because the original was hardly ever visible, painters often represented the image according to their own interpretation. They often did not pay attention to the fact that the legend only speaks of Christ's face and portrayed his head and neck or even bust. It was important only to present Christ's face in a circular nimbus, a ruler's sun-like wreath of light that denoted his power, endlessness and the heavenly origin of the Logos. Through this, the revelation of the heavenly world in the material one was visualized and made completely perceptible to man.

Some depictions of the Mandyllion have a nearly square format that show only the round nimbus with the head of Christ inscribed in it. In monu-

of this version of the legend are found in the Serbian compilation of the priest Dragolj from the end of the 13th century (Belgrad, National Library, Rs 632). Another similar variation also from a Serbian liturgical compilation from 1472 (Sofia, BAN, Nr. 41) is also of importance to the cycle of frescos in Mateič; see: Prolović, Mandyllion, 265-266. On the compilation of the priest Jeremiah and the versions of the legend resulting from it, see: Prolović, Slawische Überlieferung, 287-288.

¹⁰ While Okunev, Mateič, 105, is of the opinion that the scene on the east side of the pillar comes first, Petković, Avgarova, 14 ff., and Tatić-Djurić, Abagar, 259, support the reverse order. With the exception of Vladimir R. Petković and especially Mirjana Tatić-Djurić, who view the legend as part of the Apostles cycle, no other authors deal with this important question.

mental painting the Mandylion mostly appears as a long flat rectangle that corresponds to the shape of the wall segment in a church usually reserved for this image. The image of the stretched-out cloth was common during the middle Byzantine period. Following the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins, the depiction with the cloth hanging became more prevalent. The Mandylion often hangs merely with its ends thrown over a hook on each side. Yet in most works, the cloth is held by knots over hooks in the form of a snake or a half-palmette. Occasionally the Hands of God hold the cloth as a symbol of His creative power.¹¹

Parallel to the Mandylion, its imprint on the Keramion is also represented in Byzantine art. This image is most often found in monumental painting. As the legend explains that this is an exact and “miraculous copy” of the Mandylion, the iconography of Christ on the Keramion reflects all the characteristics of the original. This mirror image of the Mandylion can be compared with a stamp or a photograph. This same relationship exists, in turn, between the Mandylion and the actual face of Christ, as does this with its prototype, God the Father.

In Christian practice images have a deeply apotropaic meaning and the *acheiropoietos* image is an especially important *apotropaion*. For this reason, the “true image” is often also accompanied by donor inscriptions or the name of the painter. Such an example can be found on the Balkans in the Mother of God church in Studenica monastery. The donor inscription that corresponds to the paintings executed in 1208/9 was placed in a ring along the base of the dome and around the Mandylion image. It names the donor of the church, Stefan Nemanja and his sons, who sponsored the painted decoration. The painter left his now damaged signature in Greek script just below the “true image”, exactly under the image that he produced based on the model of the “image made by God”. This fact corresponds with Byzantine image theory, according to which artists were merely the agents whose hand was guided by divine wisdom in their work.¹²

The protective character of the “true image” is expressed through its use and placement. As an *apotropaion*, it was very often displayed above the

¹¹ On the iconography of the Mandylion, see: Prolović, Mandylion, 93-101; Nikoletti, Dal Mandylion, 136-144; Karaulashvili, Abgar Legend, 167 sqq.

¹² The inscription was first published in Radojčić, Majstori, 7-8, and Mandić, Otkrivanje, 40. A commentary on the inscription is given in: Djurić, La peinture, 155 (n. 42); Djurić, Fresken, 42, 247 (n. 29); Studenica I, 64; Studenica II, 160; Kalopissi-Verti, Painters, 141.

entrance to a church or a monastic complex, or as in the case of Edessa, on a city gate. Due to its protective power, the Mandyllion was also placed in churches on structurally stressed architectural elements, such as at the base of a dome or a triumphal arch.¹³

As is evidenced by a lost Georgian example from Tsromi (7th c.), the “true image” was also depicted in the wall decoration of churches even before the Iconoclast controversy. Since Georgia was untouched by Iconoclasm, the preserved image in Telovani (8th/9th c.) serves as confirmation that there the Mandyllion was present in wall painting also during the Iconoclast controversy in Byzantium. Extant Byzantine monuments provide no evidence that the “true image” of Christ itself, let alone the legend surrounding it before and after its translation, were part of a church’s visual programme. Yet as other examples show, Byzantine artists reacted quickly to social events and integrated these into their image programmes. Thus, we should be able to expect that the image gained footing in monumental painting immediately after the victory of the Iconodules and even more strongly after the translation of the image to the Byzantine capital in 944. There is evidence for the second part of this hypothesis: the well-known triptych from Sinai dated to the mid-10th century. We should also recall that the apotropaic character of the Mandyllion was underscored by its location and, resonating with its legendary discovery in Edessa, was often placed over the church entrance, as for example, in the Church of St Sophia in Ohrid (**Fig. 2**).¹⁴ This earliest extant image of the Mandyllion in Byzantine monumental painting of the Balkans dates from the middle of the 11th century and was executed according to mature Constantinopolitan iconographic tendencies. It is symbolically placed on the east wall of the narthex above the image of Christ Pantokrator, exactly above the entrance to the naos. This is a direct reference to the “true image” and its godly prototype. The divine origin of Christ and this image is emphasised by the archangels located on the adjacent groin vault; the one standing exactly above the Mandyllion would appear to be protecting the image.

The same location is occupied by the Mandyllion in Kato Lefkara (second half of the 12th century) and by the Keramion in Lagoudera (1192) on Cyprus,

¹³ On the Mandyllion in the iconographic programme of Byzantine churches, see: Gerstel, *Mandyllion*, 76-87; Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 202 sqq.

¹⁴ On this representation of the Mandyllion, see: Prolović, *Mandyllion*, 204-205; Prolović, *Slawische Überlieferung*, 296, Taf. 12/Abb. 4; Lidov, *The Shroud*, Taf. 35/Fig. 13; Lidov, *Holy Face*, 201, 203, 205 (Fig. 15).

where this placement of *acheiropoieta* is quite common¹⁵; and the Keramion is also seen here in the church Hagios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi in Kastoria (1160s or 1170s).¹⁶ The practice of placing the “true image” above the entrance to the main body of the church spread from the Constantinopolitan workshops to other parts of the empire and the rest of the Orthodox world. Examples of such *acheiropoieta* can be found in Bačkovo (1170s or 1180s), Studenica (on the tympanum above the entrance to the St Symeon chapel erected by King Radoslav, ca. 1235), Sopoćani (in the Chapel of St Stephen, between 1263 and 1268) and Gradac (around 1275).¹⁷



2. Ohrid, St. Sophia, Mandylion above the Church Entrance, around 1050
© Vlado Kiprijanovski

¹⁵ See: Prolović, *Mandylion*, 206-207.

¹⁶ Pelekanidis. & Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, 52; Malmquist, *Byzantine*, 25 f./51, 35; Prolović, *Mandylion*, 205

¹⁷ See: Prolović, *Mandylion*, 209, 212-213.



3. Djurdjevi stupovi, Chapel of King Dragutin, Keramion, above the Entrance,
1282/83 © Jadranka Prolović

In the southeast chapel of the St Sophia church in Mistra (third quarter of the 14th c.) the image of the Mandylion is surrounded by Holy Warriors, who stand guard by the door.¹⁸ The placement of the *acheiropoieoi* in the chapel of the entrance tower (Dragutin chapel, 1282/3) of the St George monastery near Novi Pazar (also called Djurdjevi Stupovi) is especially interesting (Fig. 3). Here, the

¹⁸ Prolović, *Mandylion*, 209.

Mandyllion is located on the triumphal arch above the main apsis of the chapel, and symbolically obliquely across from it, its impression on the Keramion can be seen directly above the entrance in the north wall. The depiction of both *acheiropoietai* in the chapel of the entrance tower to this fortified monastery consciously recalls the gate of Edessa, where the “true image” on the cloth was hidden and the “true replica” was produced on brick. Just like the “true image” in Edessa in former times, its copies in the Dragutin Chapel can be thought of as a protective shield not only for the house of Nemanja but also for the chapel and the entire monastery. Placing the “true image” above the entrance to a monastery is a custom not only seen in the entrance chapel of Djurdjevi Stupovi, even though this is the only still extant medieval example. Its reproduction in post-Byzantine times, for example above the entrance gates to the Athos monasteries Lavra, Esphigmenou and Chilandar, speak to the diffusion of this custom that stemmed from the medieval period.¹⁹



4. Poganovo, Keramion on the Holy Trapeza as the Eucharistic Sacrifice, 1495
© Miodrag Marković

¹⁹ See: Prolović, Mandyllion, 213-215.

One of the earliest locations for the “true image” within the image programme of Byzantine churches is in the main apsis, where its heavenly origin as the “true light” – which as the “son of justice” comes from the east – is emphasised. This placement of the *acheiropoietos* is seen already in the Georgian church Telovani (8th/9th c.).²⁰ But this iconography must have further developed symbolically after the Iconoclast controversy and especially after the translation of the image to Constantinople in connection with new explanations of the “true image”. The theological discussions concerning the liturgy which took place in the 11th and especially 12th centuries also contributed to this iconography. As a result, the Mandyllion was increasingly placed in the main apsis among the depictions of the Holy Fathers as well as in the prothesis and diakonikon. The image was now presented as an active bearer of the liturgy and an offering. Following the interpretation of the Church Fathers and the *Akoluthia* concerning the Mandyllion, the image represents the bloodless sacrifice that is fulfilled in the Holy Eucharist.²¹ It is a response to the Iconoclasts who had neglected the human nature of Christ and saw the components of communion as the sole legitimate likeness of Christ.²² During the celebration of the translation of the Mandyllion from Edessa to Constantinople, it was therefore brought to the altar of Hagia Sophia, where it stayed during the liturgy.²³ In Edessa, the Mandyllion had also stood on a pedestal behind the *trapeza* in the sanctuary during the liturgy for the Celebration of Orthodoxy.²⁴ The depiction of the Mandyllion in the main apsis stands in a particular relationship to the real but also the painted liturgy and to further scenes that are usually represented in the eastern part of the church.

An unusual solution is found in the fresco painting of the Archangel Michael church in the cemetery of the Bulgarian locality Rila. The fragmentary representation of an unknown Byzantine donor is in all appearances to be

²⁰ See: Khirtladze, *Canonizing*, 72; Skhirtladze, *Telovani*, 103; Karaulashvili, *Abgar Legend*, 176-184, Fig. 3.

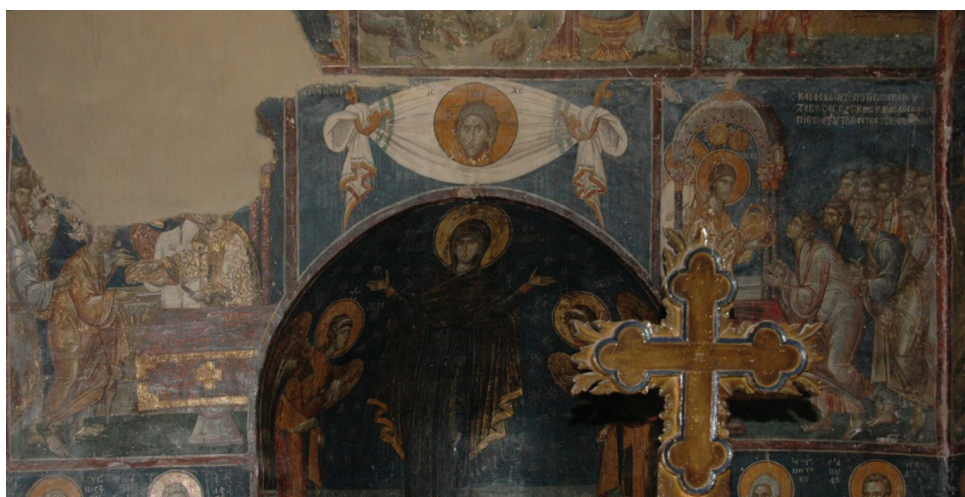
²¹ See: Theodoros Stud., *Antirrheticus I*, 10 (PG 99, 340 A); Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum XIII*, 261 E.

²² See: Theodoros Stud., *Antirrheticus I*, 10 (PG 99, 340 A); Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum XIII*, 261 E-264 C; Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus I*, 8-9, 19-20, 39, 41, 45. II, 2 (PG 100, 216 A-217 C, 232 A-248 B, 297 A, 301 C, 313 A, 332 B). See additionally: Koch, *Theologie*, 38 ff. On definitions of iconicity in regard to the question of images and the communion controversy, see: Michalski, *Bild*, 458 f.; also Vogt, *Der Streit*, 135 ff.

²³ Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 158, 82**-83**.

²⁴ Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 146, 110**-114**; Sterlingova, *O značenii*, 127 f.

dated to the end of the 12th century.²⁵ Here, the unfurled Mandylion, flanked by Peter and Paul, is located above the window in the sanctuary. The apostles appear to function as eyewitnesses to the authenticity and the apostolic origin of this image. This Mandylion captures the depiction of Christ Emmanuel, one of the *hypostaseis* of the All-Powerful that was also visible during the “miraculous” changes in the Edessan relic at certain times of day. The “true image” stands above the zone of frontally arranged Holy Fathers. In this way, the “true image” is directly incorporated into the liturgy and represents the Eucharistic sacrifice. It is an echo of the theological controversies of the late 12th century, with the result that in the liturgy the figure of the infant Christ should be accepted as the symbol of the sacrificed Christ, because the child is the humblest human form that God took on when he appeared to man.²⁶



5. Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Mandylion above the Altar Apsis, around 1320 © Miodrag Marković

In some liturgical representations of the 12th and 13th centuries, the Mandylion is explicitly incorporated into the liturgical action, even though not represented as Christ Emmanuel like in Rila. Thus, in Hagios Nikolaos tes Rodhias near Arta (1204-1220) and in the Hagios Nikolaos church in Exarchos

²⁵ The frescoes were discovered by Ljuben Praškov and initially dated to the end of the 12th or early 13th century (Praškov, Novootkriti, 3-7; Praškov, Novi otkritija, 3-8). He later supported a date at the end of the 11th or early 12th century (Praškov, Novootkrytye, 100-113). Finally, he has reached a date in the middle of the 12th century (Praškov, Rospisi, 36-45). Biserka Penkova dates these fresco paintings to the 12th century (Penkova, Patapij, 9-12). On the date of the Mandylion in this church, see also Petkova, Svetijat, 28 ff.; Prolović, Mandylion, 217-218.

²⁶ Prolović, Resava, 375-376 (with further bibliography).

(third quarter of the 13th c.) the “true image” appears between the bowing Holy Fathers in the middle of the apsis below the biforium windows. The biforium is integrated into the composition in an interesting way: it appears as a baldachin above the altar table and the Mandylion.²⁷ In the provincial painting of the Saint Sozontos church in Geraki (shortly after 1262), the Mandylion is similarly located in the middle of the depiction of the liturgy and above the Holy Table, but here it is placed above the biforium windows of the sanctuary and seems visually, in alignment with its heavenly nature, to be a source of light, a sun of the world that shines through the windows into the altar space.²⁸ This same arrangement is seen in the church dedicated to St Nikolaos in Karpia (last quarter of the 13th c.).²⁹

A particularly interesting representation of the Mandylion in a sanctuary is found in the monastery church of Poganovo (1495). In this domed church the Mandylion and Keramion are not located between the pendentives, as is typical for this architectural form. Rather, the Keramion is integrated into the rendering of the Communion of the Apostles where it appears on the Holy Trapeza as the Eucharistic sacrifice (**Fig. 4**).³⁰ As the example of the church of St Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki (around 1320) demonstrates, Byzantine artists had already placed the “true image” in the middle of the Communion of the Apostles, where in this example it appears between the Communion with Bread and the Communion with Wine (**Fig. 5**).³¹

Parallel to its placement in the sanctuary, an iconology also developed in which the “true images” were located in the diakonikon and prothesis. This arrangement also conveys a profound message that is connected with the liturgy and the Eucharist as well as the function of both pastophoria during the liturgy. Since the birth and death of Christ are commemorated in the prothesis, it symbolically represents the cave in which Christ was born and buried. The

²⁷ For Arta, see the drawing in Miljković-Peppek, Veljusa, 171/ drawing 5. See further also: Fundić, Ag. Nikolaos tes Rhodias, 88-89, 90, 96-97, 99 (Fig. 11); Konstantinidou, *To áγιο μανδήλιο*, 36; Konstantinidou, *To áγιο*, 483-484 (Sh. 1), 486-487 (Fig. 6); Gerstel, Eucharistic, 215; Gerstel, Beholding, 75; Prolović, Mandylion, 218-219.

²⁸ See: Moutsopoulos/ Dimitrokallis, Geraki, 186, Abb. 292; Giaouri, Geráki, 87 f. Abb. 4; Konstantinidou, *To áγιο*, 483-484; Gerstel, Eucharistic, 215 f.; Gerstel, Beholding, 75, Abb. 88; Prolović, Mandylion, 219.

²⁹ See: Konstantinidou, *To áγιο*, 483, 486-487 (Fig. 5).

³⁰ Živković, Poganovo, 17.

³¹ Tsitouridou, *O zwgrafikós*, Abb. 11-19; Xyngopoulos, *Oí τοιχογραφίες*, Taf. 3 f./Abb. 5, 7; Gerstel, Eucharistic, 68, 207; Gerstel, Beholding, 72 f., Abb. 53.

use of the space also reflects this connection; in the prothesis, during the *proskomedia*, the Holy Gifts are prepared by the priests and deacons in silent prayer. The image is thus symbolically incorporated into the preparation of the Holy Gifts; it is sacrifice and sacrificer at the same time.

The earliest known example of this placement of the Mandyllion in the prothesis is found in the Cappadocian church Sakli Kilise (1070) in Göreme.³² An interesting example has also been preserved in the prothesis of the church of Hagios Nikoloas in the town Hagios Nikolaos near Monemvasia (second half of the 13th c.); here both the Mandyllion and the Keramion can be seen above the prothesis niche.³³ In Sopoćani (between 1263 and 1268) both “true images” were placed in equally symbolic positions connected with function of the prothesis, although they are in fact in the naos of the church,³⁴ located on the east wall of the north choir next to the Apostles and above the entrance to the prothesis. Because the Mandyllion was created directly from Christ, it was given the higher position above the niche, closer to Heaven, while the now fragmentary Keramion can be seen just below it in the tympanum above the entrance. This arrangement illuminates the apostolic origin of these images and makes manifest the legend of its immurement and discovery in the city gate of Edessa.

The Mandyllion again appears in the diakonikon where it is part of a Deesis composition, or rather an abbreviated version of the Last Judgement.³⁵ A similar concept can be found surrounding the depiction of the Mandyllion in the diakonikon of the Peribleptos Church in Mistra (third quarter of the 14th c.)³⁶; here it stands in direct connection to Christus Anapeson as an illustration of the liturgy for Holy Saturday, alluding to the sacrifice of Christ, whereby the Mandyllion continues its salvific works through the liturgy until the Last Judgement. A unique iconographic solution is found in the church Sveti Nikola in the village of Ljuboten near Skopje (shortly before 1345).³⁷ Among other unusual iconographic solutions, here the image of the Keramion carried by two angels was placed above the niche of the diakonikon; the angels serve to

³² Prolović, Mandyllion, 223.

³³ On the church and the dating of the paintings, see Drandakis, “Agioς Nikólaos, 40 f., 44 et passim. See also: Konstantinidou, *To áγιο*, 483, 485/Fig. 3.

³⁴ Djurić, Sopoćani (1963), 128; Živković, Sopoćani, 18; Prolović, Mandyllion, 223-224.

³⁵ Djurić, Sopoćani (1963), 135; Djurić, Sopoćani (1991), 153, Abb. 112; Živković, Sopoćani, 29; Prolović, Mandyllion, 226.

³⁶ See: Dufrenne, Mistra, Pl. 29/79; Prolović, Mandyllion, 227-228.

³⁷ On the fresco decoration in Ljuboten, see: Djurić, Fresken, 87, 270 f. (Fn. 68); Djordjević, Vlastela, 99, 145 f.; Radujko, Prvo slikarstvo Ljubotena, 171-106; Prolović, Mandyllion, 226-227.

confirm the heavenly origin of this miraculous replica (**Fig. 6**). As in Sopoćani, in Ljuboten this representation corresponds to an invocation in the liturgy, even though the usual *Deesis* is not seen here. Directly below the *Keramion*, the image of the Mother of God with wide open eyes and hands raised in an *orans* gesture points to the worship conducted by the deacons, also depicted in this space, during the liturgy. The placement of the *Mandylion* and *Keramion* in the *diakonikon* is also a reference to the location where they were housed in the *Pharos* church in Constantinople.



6. Ljuboten, *Keramion* above the Niche of the *Diaconikon*, 1345
© Miodrag Marković

Another arrangement is found in the Mother of God church known as *Episkopi* on the *Mani* (early 13th c.), where the *Mandylion* and *Keramion* are depicted on the pillars before the sanctuary.³⁸ While the placement of the *Keramion* is a reminder of the *Edessan* service in which the “true image” is carried from the *diakonikon* to the altar, the position of the *Mandylion* symbolizes the *Great Entrance* when the *Holy Gifts* are carried from the *prothesis* to the

³⁸ See: Drandakis, *Μέσσα Μάνη* (1964), 65-112, bes. 81, 83-91, Abb. 54, 65 f.; Drandakis, *Μέσσα Μάνη* (1995), 156, 167 (Abb. 20), 178 f. (30-31), 183 ff. (Abb. 36, 38, 62), 491 f., Pl. 37-38; Raff, *Keramion*, 143-161; Konstantinidou, *Το άγιο*, 488, 491/Fig. 11; Prolović, *Mandylion*, 228-230.

altar. Through this placement the apotropaic character of the “true image” just as once in the city gate of Edessa, is also emphasized. The juxtaposition of both images demonstrates the power of the *acheiropoietos*, which is confirmed through the creation of the Keramion.

In the church of Hagios Demetrios in Krokees (Lakedaimonia, Peloponnes, 1286) the *acheiropoietos* on cloth and brick are reproduced on the masonry iconostasis directly above the entrance to the sanctuary. The Mandyllion is located on the side facing the naos, while the Keramion appears opposite it on the side facing the altar.³⁹ Thus, the image and its likeness are connected by the wall, explicitly and overtly pointing to the invisible power of the rays of God and reflecting the creation of the “true image” and its likeness: both of the *acheiropoietos* in Jerusalem and the Keramion above the gate in Edessa. Like in Edessa, both images proclaim their apotropaic power as guardian over the entrance to the bema.

One of the likely earliest iconographic solutions, the representation of the Mandyllion on the triumphal arch exactly above the apsis conch, also reveals the connection of this image with the sanctuary. Yet it is still an open question as to what extent the older research can be trusted in this regard and whether this arrangement can be understood as pre-iconoclastic. Nevertheless, an example from the church of the Syrian monastery Dair Mār Mūsā al-Habaschi⁴⁰ indicates that this iconography must have been widespread already in the 11th century. This type of iconology is most often encountered in churches without a dome, as is shown by examples in Kastoria (Hagios Nikoloas tou Kasnitzi, 1170s or 1180s), Athos (Protaton, last decade of the 13th c.), the Euthymios chapel (1303) of the St Demetrios church and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (around 1320) in Thessaloniki, in Berroia (Soterias, 1315), on the Mani (for example, Hagios Nikolaos in Platsa, 1343/44), the Taxiarchis church in Desphina (1332), Mali Grad on Lake Prespa (1368/69), Berende (beginning of the 14th c.) and several churches on Crete, Cyprus and in Serbia. Yet the Mandyllion can be found in this location also in domed churches where, for whatever reason, the pendentives and spaces between them received a different programme, such as in Bela Crkva (= White Church) in Karan (1340-1342) and in Pološko (1343-1345).⁴¹

In several churches, the image of Christ stands in connection with the Πλατυτέρα τῶν οὐρανῶν - a full- or half-figure depiction of the Panagia Orans,

³⁹ See: Drandakis, Κροκεές, 210-213; Prolović, Mandyllion, 193.

⁴⁰ See: Westphalen, Byzantinisierung, 394.

⁴¹ For all the examples listed here, see: Prolović, Mandyllion, 252-264 (with further bibliography).

who praying with hands held up acts as an intercessor for man. This figure appears mostly in the apsis conch directly below the Mandylion as visible proof of the divine Incarnation that happened through Maria. This image of the Mother of God was seen as the creation of the divine miracle and was also often labelled as Παναγία Ἀχειροπότητος; occasionally the figure is also designated as Blacherni(o)tissa, Hagioritissa and Episkepsis and represented with Christ Emmanuel in a medallion before her chest. This version corresponds to a legendary variant of the famous icon of the Mother of God *orans* in the Blachernae church in Constantinople. As Michael Psellos (born 1018) records, the icon of Maria Orans was visited by the Holy Ghost (*episkepsis* = care, shelter) on a weekly basis, mostly Friday, which left the sign of the Logos on her chest.⁴²

But in late Byzantine churches this titulus was often associated with the depiction of the Mother of God *orans* without the Christ Child in a medallion before her chest.⁴³ This development is indicated already in some models from Byzantine churches dedicated to the Mother of God *Acheiropoietos* both in Constantinople and other parts of the Byzantine empire. Some of these also contained the widely famous *acheiropoietos* images of the Mother of God; one such example was the image of Diospolis (also known as Lydda).⁴⁴ A well-known icon of the Mother of God seems also to have been venerated in the church dedicated to the “true image” of the Mother of God in Hyrtakion near Kyzikos (Asia Minor), which in the 14th century was an imperial pilgrimage site.⁴⁵ Also the monastery dedicated to the *acheiropoietos* image of the Mother of God in Kosinitza near Kabala had such an icon. More information is known about the much venerated *acheiropoietos* icon of the Mother of God from the

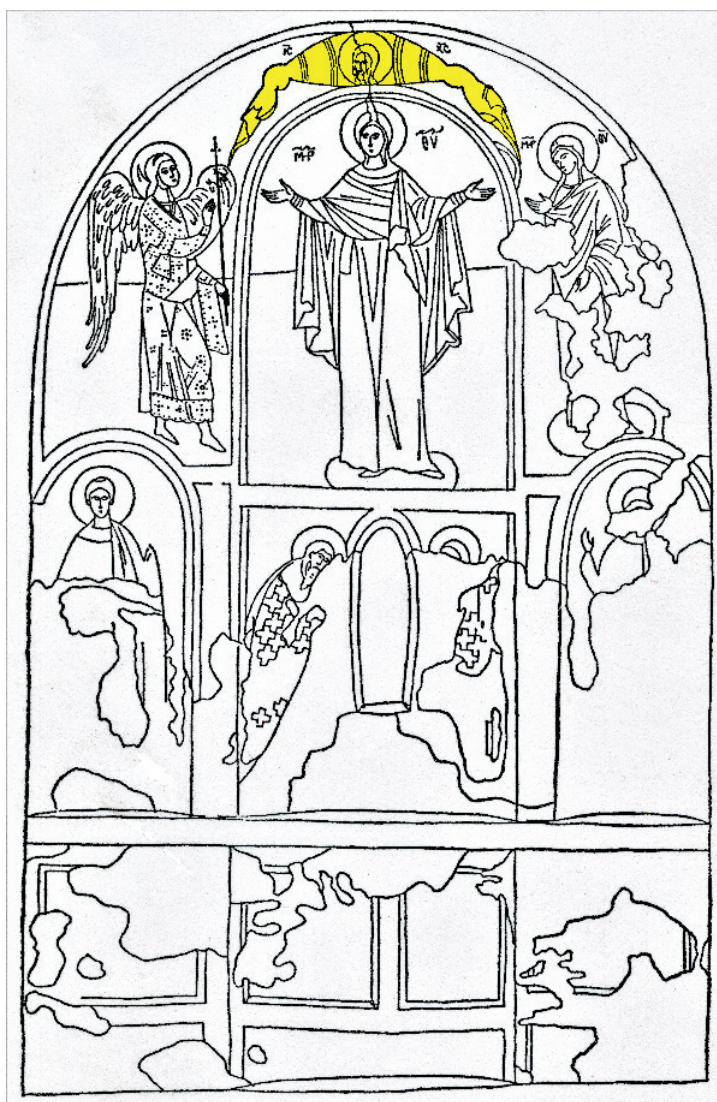
⁴² See: Papadopoulos, Palais, 25-37; Tatić-Djurić, Vladimirska, 38 f. For examples labelled “Episkepsis” and “Blacherni(o)tissa” on seals, see Hunger, Heimsuchung, 39 f. et passim; Zacos, Byzantine, Pl. 53/ Nr. 522. The Mother of God *orans* designated as “Hagiosoritissa” can be seen on a coin in the Numismatic Cabinet in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Longuet, Münzen, 52/ Nr. 307, T. V/ 307).

⁴³ Yet the Mother of God *orans* without the medaillon is an earlier iconographic type. As Patriarch Photios states in a homily, such an image was found in the apse of the Mother of God church of Pharos-Nea Ekklesia in Constantinople (880) [see Photios, Homilie X, 6 (Laourdas, 102); Mango, The Art, 186]. In this and other earlier examples, Maria was not given the epithet *acheiropoietos*.

⁴⁴ According to written accounts, the church of Lydda was built in honour of the Mother of God by the apostles Peter and John. Since the Mother of God was not present at the consecration, her image with the Child was projected onto a column of the church by a divine and invisible power (*energeia*); see Johannes Damask., Ep. ad Theophilum, 4 (PG 95, 352 A).

⁴⁵ See: Makris, Τα χωριά, 167-172; Janin, Les églises, 203 ff.; Soteriou, Κεμήλια, 26, Pl. 8. On the icon from Kyzikos and other *acheiropoietos* images cf. Dobschütz, Christusbilder, 84 ff., 150*ff.

Abramites monastery in Constantinople.⁴⁶ A well-known example is also the church of the *Panagia Acheiropoietos* in Thessaloniki, which according to written sources also possessed a “true image” of the Mother of God.⁴⁷ Also the increased representation of this type of Mother of God icon in the churches of Macedonia during the 14th century should be seen in connection with this icon.



7. Ohrid, South Chapel of the Peribleptos Church, Mandylion as Part of the Annunciation, 1364-1365 © after: Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 142

⁴⁶ See: Gregorios, *De S. Basilio Iuniore*, 669 E.

⁴⁷ For all these acheiropoietoi icons of the Mother of God, see Prolović, *Mandylion*, 236-241.

The image of the Mother of God *orans* bearing the epithet *acheiropoietos* can be found in the sanctuary of the church Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki (**Fig. 5**), in the church of St George in Pološko, in the church Bogorodica Zahumska (also called Zaum, 1361) on Lake Ohrid and in the church Hagios Nikolaos tou Kyritze in Kastoria (1370-1385).⁴⁸ In the church Mali Sveti Vračī (Hagioi Anargyroi) in Ohrid (around 1340), the image of Maria of the type “life-giving source” is even labelled with *acheiropoietos*.⁴⁹ In the chapel of St Stephen in Sopoćani, the Mandyliion is placed above the entrance directly across from the depiction of the Mother of God *acheiropoietos*, located on the east wall in the apsidiole.⁵⁰ Connected by the central axis of the chapel, like in other churches listed here, they symbolically represent a bridge between man and God; they are cause and result of all other images.

Through the placement of the Mandyliion on the triumphal arch it is brought closely in connection with the Annunciation of Christ. This combination of images reflects the teachings of the Church Fathers, according to which images stand in especial correspondence to the Incarnation of the Logos and represent the objectively appropriate medium to communicate this central truth of faith.⁵¹ The church Hagios Nikoloas tou Kasnitzi in Kastoria contains the earliest preserved example of this placement in the Balkans.⁵² As a consequence of iconographic changes at the turn of the 14th century in which the scene is organized next to each other without a separating line, the Mandyliion appears increasingly integrated into the Annunciation scene itself. This is the case in the chapel of Hagios Euthymios in the St Demetrios church in Thessaloniki, in the Saviour church by Berroia, in the church Taxiarches Metropoleos (1359/60) in Kastoria and the south chapel (1364/65) of the Peribleptos church in Ohrid (**Fig. 7**).⁵³

⁴⁸ For all these examples, see Prolović, Mandyliion, 235-236 (with further bibliography).

⁴⁹ Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 50. About the cult of the Mother of God Zoodochos Pege, see Starodubcev, Kult Bogorodice, 101-119.

⁵⁰ Djurić, Sopoćani (1963), 135.

⁵¹ See: Nikephoros, Adv. Epiphaniid 4 (Pitra IV, 301); Lange, Bild und Wort, 216.

⁵² Pelekanidis. & Chatzidakis, Kastoria, 52; Malmquist, Byzantine, 24-26/7, 35; Gerstel, Eucharistic, 30, 206.

⁵³ On all churches mentioned here, see Prolović, Mandyliion, 241-242 (also here comprehensive older literature). On the Euthymios chapel, see also: Tsigaridas, Οι τοιχογραφίες, 20 (Fig. 3), 29 (Fig. 6), 78/79, 89, 181/182, 184 (Fig. 124), 272. On the Saviour church in Berroia, see Pelekanidis, Καλλιέργης, Abb. 5; Gerstel, Beholding, 68. Pl. V. On the church in Kastoria, see Pelekanidis, Καστοριά, 119, 122a. On the south chapel of the Peribleptos church, see Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 142.



8. Poganovo, Mandylion in the Middle of the Pentecost, 1495
© Miodrag Marković

The “true image” depicted on the triumphal arch is also brought into connection with Pentecost. Such a rendition of the Mandylion is found in the middle of the Pentecost image in the church of the monastery Poganovo (1495, **Fig. 8**).⁵⁴ Yet more often the placement of the Mandylion on the triumphal arch has a direct connection with the Ascension of Christ. Two interesting instances are found in the St George church in Pološko (1343-1345) and in the St Demetrios church in Ohrid, (around 1380) where the “true image” was integrated into the Ascension scene (**Fig. 9**).⁵⁵ It is located between the apostles and is held with knots onto trees. The surrounding plants imbue the “true image” with an additional symbolism: Like the eternal phoenix, it is a symbol of the eternal and unending regeneration of paradise. In theological terms, a connection with the Resurrection is expressed here. Such a location for the image also places it symbolically in the context those things that Christ left behind for man after the end of his earthly mission as a replacement for his ascended body. This relic relativizes his death on the cross and emphasises his eternal life both in Heaven and among man.

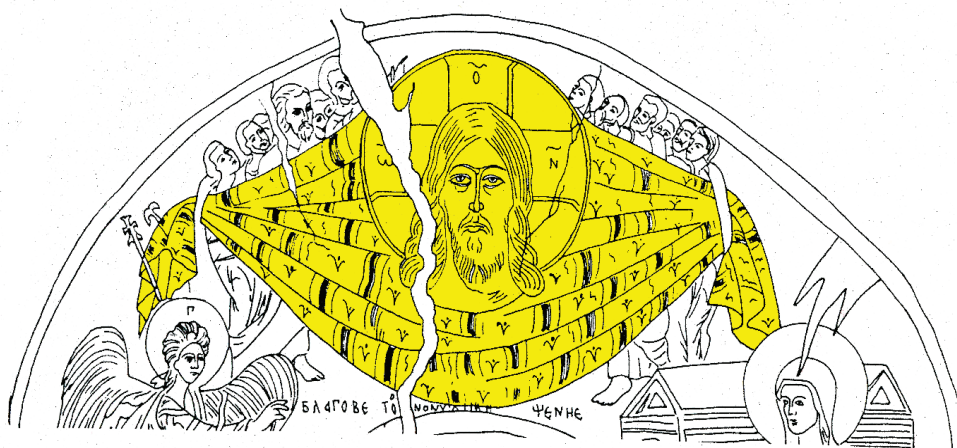
The same idea is at the core of a further representation of the “true image” within the scene of the Ascension of Christ in the Anastasis church in Borje (1389/90), a Serbian foundation now in modern Albania. Here, the Mother of God holds the Mandylion in her hands.⁵⁶ In other instances (like in the chapel

⁵⁴ Živković, Poganovo, 18.

⁵⁵ On the depiction in Pološko, see: Prolović, Mandylion, 242; Popova, Acheiropietos Images, 157-164.

⁵⁶ Prolović, Mandylion und Veronica, 578, Taf. 45/Fig. 7.

of the Peribleptos church in Ohrid and in Berende) the Mandylion was mostly placed directly below the Ascension scene. The relationship of the Mandylion to Christ's Ascension was well understood by the painters of the 15th century, who, in order to convey as much as possible on the scant surface of small churches, increasingly often integrated the Mandylion into the scene of the Ascension. In this configuration, three *apotheseoses* of God (The Ancient of Days, the Son and the Holy Ghost on the prepared throne) appear on the ceiling as a reference to the Second Coming of Christ.⁵⁷ In the subsequent development of this iconography, angels even come to hold the "true image". It is not uncommon for the Mother of God to hold the Mandylion in her hands, like in Borje, as is evidenced in post-Byzantine churches in Greece, Bulgaria, North Macedonia and Serbia.



9. Vraneštica, St Elias Church, 16th c. © after: Mašnić, Prilozi, 102, Abb. 17.

As the representation of King Abgar with the Mandylion in the former Syrian church Deir al-Surian in Egypt (beginning of the 10th c.) shows,⁵⁸ it was common to depict the Mandylion in the upper zones of the church still when the Mandylion was kept in Edessa. The placement of the "true image" between the pendentives of a domed church must have been established in monumental painting only in the 11th century. At this time innovations namely in the iconology and iconography of Byzantine art come about, which on the

⁵⁷ This iconography is implemented especially within the Ohrid painting school. See Subotić, *Ohridska*, 38 (Abb. 15), 56 (Abb. 32), 75f. (Abb. 48, 52), 100ff. (Abb. 78), 109 (Abb. 84).

⁵⁸ See: Innemée & Rompay, *Deir al-Surian*; 2.1/13-16, Fig. 6, 7, 8; Mandylion – Bisanzio a Genova, 84; Karaulashvili, *King Abgar*, 176, 182.

one hand, respond to architectural developments meaning that space for images was created between pendentives, and on the other hand, stand in connection with the theoretical engagement of Byzantine theologians and the resulting programmatic innovations. As the iconographic programme of the St Sophia church in Kiev shows, the Evangelists replace heavenly beings on the pendentives⁵⁹ where they, like Atlases of antiquity, carry the Word of Christ. At the same time, the image of Christ had to be placed in this zone as a counterpart to the Word. The integration of the Mandylion and the Keramion between the Evangelists is naturally supported by ideological discussions that were conducted following the translation of the image to Constantinople. They stand in connection with the increased veneration of images in Byzantine society and the meaning of images, which were seen as equivalent to the Gospels. According to the interpretation of the Holy Fathers, word and image are equally ranked media of communication, and Christendom is based on both. The Word of God is transmitted through the works of the Evangelists, while through both *acheiropoieta* God's image is presented as a confirmation of his creative power. In this respect, a parallel development can be noticed in manuscripts in which the legend of the Image of Edessa is added to the Gospels.⁶⁰

The supposition that both "true images" received their place between the pendentives in the 11th century unfortunately cannot be confirmed by other examples except those from the 12th century. Remaining evidence from the middle of the 12th century, however, clearly shows that the process of iconological inclusion of the *acheiropoietai* images between the pendentives was already complete. In sacral art of the late Byzantine period, both Constantinopolitan relics appear almost without exception in this location in domed churches; the Mandylion had its usual place between the eastern pendentives, while the Keramion was opposite it between the western pendentives. This arrangement both expresses their meaning to believers in a symbolic way and retells the legend surrounding their creation and miraculous replication. Through the connection with other images, the entirety of Christian dogma is further visually presented.

⁵⁹ Popova – Sarab'janov, Saint Sophia, 31 (Fig. 13), 38.

⁶⁰ See: Prolović, Mandylion, 109-121.



10. Ohrid, St Demetrios Church, Mandylion Integrated into the Ascension Scene, around 1380 © Miodrag Marković

The earliest extant examples are found in the church Spasa Preobraženija in Mirož monastery near Pskov, a foundation of the archbishop of Novgorod, Nifont, that was decorated by Byzantine painters in the 1130s or 1140s (at any rate before 1156).⁶¹ A further, now lost example was once in the *katholikon* of the monastery Djurdjevi Stupovi, a foundation of the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja built in 1170/71 and decorated with frescoes around 1175. Nevertheless, available photographs document that here only the Keramion between the western pendentives remained before World War I.⁶² From this, one can conclude with considerable certainty that the Mandylion was located between the eastern pendentives. Other early instances of this arrangement are found in the Balkans from the 13th century: in the Mother of God church in Studenica (1208/9), in the Apostles church in Peć (around 1260), in Bojana (1259) and in the church Bogorodica Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/95, **Fig. 11**). From the 14th century there is evidence of these representations in: Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (around 1308), Žiča (1311-1313), the King's church in Studenica (1314), Gračanica (1321), Sv. Nikita in Banjani near Skopje (around 1324) and further

⁶¹ Smirnova, Smotrja, 66; Lidov, *The Shroud*, Taf. 31/Fig. 3.

⁶² Okunev, Stolpy, 235, Abb. 2; Milošević & Nešković, *Tours*, 34, Abb. 20; Čanak & Bošković, *Arhitektura*, Abb. 34-36.

still in Hilandar (1318-1320), the Apostles church in Thessaloniki (1312-1315), Stara Pavlica, the Demetrios church (around 1322-1324) as well as the Mother of God church (around 1335) in Peć, the chapel in Hrelja tower in Rila monastery (1334/35), Kučevište (1331), Sv. Spas in Prizren (before 1348), Dečani (before 1350, **Fig. 10**). Zemen (around 1360) the chapel of St. Nikolaos in the monastery of Johannes Prodromos near Serres (1358-1364), Jošanica (around 1400) and Velučé (end of the 14th c.).⁶³



11. Pološko, Mandylion Integrated into the Ascension Scene, 1343-1345
©Vlado Kiprijanovski

It is not entirely a coincidence that the *acheiropoiatoi* images were placed on the arches that carry the dome since they explain a deep dogmatic significance. In these images the God Man himself is present with his power, and accordingly they are to be seen in the upper zone of the church symbolising heaven. Their heavenly origin was often emphasised through the presence of angels, largely placed on the northern and southern spaces between the pendentives, or through representations of God the Father and Christ Emmanuel in their immediate proximity. Sometimes, as a witness to the Incarnation, the ancestors of Christ also appear near the *archeipoiatoi* images.

⁶³ For all examples mentioned here, see: Prolović, Mandylion, 252-264 (also earlier literature mentioned here). See also: Penkova, Bojanskata, Fig. 6; Vojvodić, in: Žiča, 230, 232, 486, 488; Marković, Sveti Nikita, 106-107, 114-116.



12. Dečani, Mandylion and Keramion between the Pendentives in the Dome, before 1350 © Branislav Strugar

Because this was the image of God who took on human form through the Incarnation, it was placed between the dome and the cubic body of the church, a space that symbolically connects heaven and earth. This placement is also justified by the fact that this image remained on earth as an intermediary between God and man to continue the work of Christ. Various miracles record the “authenticity and power” of this image and were regarded as the continuation of that which the God Man effected on earth. Even the miracles surrounding the creation of the image replicate the Incarnation of God. Its power is also demonstrated by its miraculous impression on the Keramion. The Mandylion is on the east side, since the “the true light of the world – Christ as the son of justice” (Mal 3:20) comes from the East. Seen symbolically, the Mandylion shines from the east onto the Keramion in the west. The Mandylion shone in exactly the same way between the bricks in Hieropolis and Emesa as well as over the gate of Edessa, where it left its miraculous image on the Keramion.

This is the context for the unusual iconology in Nova Pavlica (before 1389), where the Mandylion is in the east and its three replicas on brick are found between the pendentives to the north, west and south.⁶⁴ It seems as if the words of John of Damascus are illustrated here: exactly as the Gospels were composed as a sermon for the entire world, so did Christ without script, as the Logos-turned-man, appear reproduced for man on the four sides of the world.⁶⁵



13. Ohrid, Peribleptos Church, Mandylion between the Pendentives, 1294-1295 © Vlado Kiprijanovski



14. Chilandar, Katholikon, Keramion between the Pendentives, around 1318-1320 © William Taylor Hostetter, Jr

⁶⁴ For the drawing of this representation, see Živković, Pavlica, 10-11.

⁶⁵ I would like to express my thanks to Sarah Johnson Teetor for the English translation of this article.

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“IUSTITIA SUBJECTIVA” OR “CRIMINA IMAGINATIVA” IN THE FRESCO ENSEMBLES OF “MACEDONIA BYZANTINA”

By definition, **Justice** refers to just behaviour or treatment, in other words - concern for just actions towards establishing peace and genuine respect for people¹. The concept of justice is based on numerous fields, as well as many differing viewpoints and perspectives including the concepts of moral correctness based on ethics, rationality, law, religion, equity and fairness. Often, the general discussion of justice is divided into the realm of social justice as found in philosophy, theology and religion, and procedural justice as found in the study and application of the common law². However, the concept of justice has been a different set of rules and regulations in different cultures and civilizations. If we look at the Bible, or to be more specific, the New Testament, we will find a very interesting perspective of what justice has looked like at the beginning of our era in Jewish territory under Roman government³. In that regard, all four Gospels give substantial evidence of juridical actions and activities in the time of their creation, which, approximately, concurs with the second half of the 1st century AD⁴. Since the starring character of the New Testament is Jesus, who, has been accused by the Jewish religious authorities and sentenced to death by the Roman governor, in this paper we will be focusing on the “justice” done in the triple trial which preceded Jesus’ execution⁵.

¹ D. Rubinstein, *The Concept of Justice in Sociology*, Theory and Society, Vol. 17/4, New York 1988, pp. 527-550.

² A. D Amato, *On the Connection Between Law And Justice*, Davis Law Review, Vol. 26, Evanston, 1992/93, p. 18.

³ A. Lewin, *The Archaeology of Ancient Judea and Palestine*, Los Angeles 2005, p. 33.

⁴ P. Perkins, *The Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles: Telling the Christian Story*, in: (J. Barton Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to biblical interpretation*, Cambridge 1998, p. 241; A. Lincoln, *Gospel according to St. John*, London 2005, p. 18; M. Reddish, *An Introduction to the Gospels*, Nashville, pp. 108, 144.

⁵ The paper refers to the trials before the high priests Annas and Caiaphas, as well as the one before the Roman governor Pontius Pilate.

If one follows the information in the Four Gospels⁶, one becomes aware that Jewish high priests in the course of Jesus' public ministry were Annas and Caiaphas. The first of them to judge the Rabin was Annas, son of Seth, appointed by the Roman legate Quirinius as the first high priest of the newly formed Roman province of Judea in 6 AD⁷. Since the examination before Annas was unproductive, he sent Jesus away to Caiaphas, the ruling high priest at the time of Jesus' ministry - in the period 18-36 AD⁸. Caiaphas, who was a son in law of Annas and thus under his strong influence, charged Jesus with blasphemy and sent him to Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor, for sentencing. As a high priest and chief religious authority in the land, Caiaphas had many important responsibilities, including controlling the Temple treasury, managing the Temple personnel, performing religious rituals and serving as president of the Sanhedrin - the Jewish council and court⁹. Seeing Jesus as a threat to the existing religious order, Caiaphas sent the "culprit" to Pilate to have the death sentence carried out. Christian accounts of the trial before Pilate suggest either that he played no direct role in the decision to execute Jesus and put the entire blame on Caiaphas (*Gospel according to Peter*)¹⁰ or that he ordered the crucifixion with some reluctance (*Mark: 15, 10-15*) or with a serious hesitation (*Luke: 23, 13-24; John: 19, 4-16*). In the end, the crucifixion of Jesus as a form of execution established that he was condemned as a violator of Roman and not of Jewish law. Both judges of the Rabin, Caiaphas and Pilate were dismissed from office by Syrian governor Vitellius in 36 AD according to Jewish historian Josephus¹¹. In 1990, Israeli archeologists discovered an ossuary in a tomb, located 3 km. south of Jerusalem¹². According to the written name on the receptacle, they have assumed that they might have found the bones of Caiaphas, the high priest. If so, archeology has discovered the physical remnants of a sole person that was mentioned in the Holy Scripture.

⁶ Gospel according to Mathew: 26, 57-66, 27, 13-26; Gospel according to Mark: 14, 55-64, 15, 1-15; Gospel according to Luke: 22, 54-71; Gospel according to John: 18, 13-14, 28-40, 19, 1-16. Citation is according to Holy Bible. King James Version, Nashville, 1972.

⁷ M. Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, London 2007, p. 12.

⁸ H. C. Bond, *Caiaphas: Friend of Rome and Judge of Jesus*, Louisville 2004, p. 86.

⁹ G. A. Barton, *On the Trial of Jesus Before the Sanhedrin*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 41 (3, 4), Atlanta 1992, pp. 205-211.

¹⁰ P. Foster, *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Editing and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston 2010, pp. 212-229.

¹¹ L. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, Berkeley 1998, pp. 132-162.

¹² Z. Greenhut, *Burial Cave of the Caiaphas Family*, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Washington DC, Vol. 18, 1992; J. H. Charlesworth, *Jesus and Archaeology*, Grand Rapids 2006, pp. 323-329.



Fig. 1 Saint George in Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before Annas*

If I was an attorney at law, I would have been interested in issues which are related to the legal side of Christ's conviction; first of all, why he was taken for interrogation to Annas' residence, when at that time, he was no longer occupying the position of high priest, which was given to Caiaphas by the Roman governor in the year of 18 AD; second of all, why did Caiaphas accuse Jesus of blasphemy with a gesture of tearing his robes when the Rabin proclaimed himself as a son of Man and not of God (*Mathew: 26, 63-64*); third of all, why did Pontius Pilate hesitate to sentence Jesus to death when Caiaphas (*John: 11, 49-52*) has already predicted the fatal outcome of his mission, and, last, but not least, why did Pilate, although reproached by the high priests, wrote a title which read *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews* and put it on the cross. Fortunately, my competencies belong to a totally different field of expertise, which is less aggressive than law and much more visually attractive, as well. Therefore, the trials of Jesus by Annas, Caiaphas and Pilate, illustrated within the Passion cycle in a number of Byzantine churches in the territory of Macedonia will be displayed in this paper through the most representative examples of their picturesque iconography.



Fig. 2 Saint George in Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before Caiaphas*

If we take into account only those from the 14th century and apply the chronological method of iconographic evolution, the “mini cycle” of the Trials in the church dedicated to **Saint George in the village of Staro Nagoričino**¹⁵ would be the earliest one. This example discloses three genuine components of its painterly depiction. The first one, although not exclusive, is the mismatch of the titles, as well as the arrangement of the depicted compositions whereat, the trial before Caiaphas, highly recognizable by the gesture of the high priest tearing his robe, is signed as the Trial before Annas (**Fig. 1**), and the

¹⁵ R. Hamann-Mac Lean und Horst Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11 bis zum frühen 14 Jahrhundert*, Giessen 1976, pp. 34-36; P. Miljkovic-Peppek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij*, Skopje 1967, pp. 23-24, 56-62, 190-197; B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, Beograd 1993, pp. 71-138; Idem, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin*, Beograd 1999, pp. 55-56, 65-68 et passim; S. Korunovski, E. Dimitrova, *Macedonia L' arte medievale dal IX al XV secolo*, Milano 2006, pp. 161-168; E. Dimitrova, S. Korunovski, S. Grandakovska, *Srednovjekovna Makedonija. Kultura i umetnost*, Makedonija. Mileniumski kulturno-istoriski fakti, Skopje 2013, pp. 1689-1699; E. Dimitrova, G. Velkov, *Seven Medieval Churches in the Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje 2014, pp. 82-101.

other one which, is depicted as the first of the trials, bears the title of Trial before Caiaphas (**Fig. 2**)¹⁴. The second one is the depiction of the Trial before King Herod (described only in *Luke: 23, 8-11*)¹⁵, a composition which visually emulates the conventional iconography of the second trial before the high priest and the one before Pilate¹⁶, contrary to the dramatic atmosphere of the first trial visualized through the enhanced motion of the characters, as well as the accentuated volume of the architectural scenery (**Fig. 3**). The third genuine iconographic component is the scene in which the Roman governor sends Jesus away to the Jews (inspired by *John, 19, 5*), a spectacle exclusive for the Byzantine iconography, much more prominent in the western painting and well known under the title *Ecce Homo*¹⁷.

The arrangement of the Juridical saga of Christ in Staro Nagoričino is as follows: the first scene is the Trial before Caiaphas in which the dignified figure of the High priest is seated in front of a large group of Jews showing their resentment towards Jesus, comprised by an elaborated architectural backdrop – obviously the edifice of the Sanhedrin (as described in *Mathew: 26, 57 - 59*, and *Mark: 14, 53 - 55*). The second composition is the Trial before Annas in which a similar group of people stands behind the Jewish priest who tears his robe, all of them depicted in front of a building associative to a private palace or a residence (as described in *Luke: 22, 54*)¹⁸. The third composition, the Trial before Pilate, is visually divided in two parts, the left one shows the Roman Governor, accompanied by his military entourage and seated in front of a scenery characteristic of his official court room, raising his hand in a gesture of addressing Jesus, while in the right portion of the picture, the calmly depicted Rabin is accompanied by the demanding Jews. According to the visual disposition of the painterly elements, this scene might be depicting the conversation of Pilate and Jesus described in the *Gospel according to John* (18, 37), referring to the crucial question of the Roman governor whether Jesus is the King of the Jews. The fourth composition is the Trial

¹⁴ B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, p. 76; Idem, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin*, p. 132.

¹⁵ B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, p. 76.

¹⁶ S. Radojčić, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka*, Uzori i dela starih srpskih umetnika, Beograd 1975, pp. 223-224.

¹⁷ On this subject see: G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art: the passion of Jesus Christ*, London 1972.

¹⁸ Contrary to the order of events described in the *Gospel according to John: 18, 13- 14*, where one can clearly see that Jesus was first taken to Annas and only than to Caiaphas.



Fig. 3 Saint George in Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before King Herod*

before King Herod, which follows the Denials of Peter¹⁹, while the closing spectacle of the Trials mini-cycle in Staro Nagoričino is the one showing Pilate sending Jesus away to the enraged Jews. As an addendum to these expressive vistas, one more composition was included in the Passion story – Joseph of Arimathea asks Pilate for the body of Christ (*Mathew: 27, 57-58, Mark: 15, 43-45, Luke: 23, 59-52, John: 19, 38*). Hence, judging from the composite of the depicted scenes, it looks that the painters have canvassed all four Gospels to create a visual story impressive by its outlook, dramatic by its components and picturesque by its inventive iconography.

In regard to the painterly features of the scenes depicting the Trials in Staro Nagoričino, one can see that the compositions showing juridical procedures before Annas and Pilate are represented with an accentuated dynamics in the exposition of the characters, as well as an enhanced energetic charge of the mise-en-scène. On the other hand, the trials before Caiaphas and Herod are toned down and represented with a milder atmosphere and highly controlled

¹⁹ B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, p. 76.

motions of the depicted protagonists. This is, most probably, due to the severity of situations described in the Holy Scripture which determined Jesus' destiny leading to the Crucifixion: the routine inquisition by the Jewish king and the unproductive examination of the old priest contrary to the dramatic exposure of repulsion by the president of the Sanhedrin, as well as



Fig. 4 Saint George in Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before Pilate*

the theatric demonstration of innocence by the Roman governor. Hence, the conventionally arranged scene in which Herod is accompanied with a group of soldiers and positioned opposite to Jesus who is escorted by the gathered Jews manifests entirely different painterly expression in comparison to the vigorous atmosphere in the Trial before Pilate, electrified by the dynamic motion of the governor, as well as the kinetic energy of the demanding Jewish witnesses (Fig. 4). Similarly, although both crowded with multitude of figures, the scene showing the Trial before Caiaphas resembles a common juridical event with a seated judge and standing attendants, while the composition visualizing the Trial before Annas blasts with a great amplitude of emotional charge through the anxious gesture of the high priest who tears his robes as a token of repulsion. Although encompassed by the same mini-cycle of depicted events, the scenes of Jesus' trials in Staro Nagoričino disclose the painters' sense for

visual gradation of the intensity of Biblical events in the transposition of the Gospels stories into the sensual medium of the fresco painting.



Fig. 5 Saint George at Pološko, *Trial before the High Priests, Denial of Peter*



Fig. 6 Saint George at Pološko, *Pilate washing his hands*



Fig. 7 Saint George at Pološko, *Pilate's wife dispatching the servant*

One of the most representative depictions of Christ's passion prior to the crucifixion is certainly the illustration of the trials in the fresco arrangement of the church dedicated to **Saint George at the village of Pološko**²⁰, an ensemble well known for its inventively articulated and highly unconventional iconographic spectacles. In Pološko, the depiction of the Trials has been conceived in two elaborated scenes²¹, first of which shows Christ who has been brought to Annas and Caiaphas in a neatly arranged composition with Annas seated

²⁰ V. J. Đurić, *Pološko. Hilendarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja VIII, Beograd 1975, pp. 327-342; C. Grozdanov - D. Kjornakov, *Istorijski portreti u Pološkom I*, Zograf 14, Beograd 1982, pp. 60-66; Eidem, *Istorijski portreti u Pološkom II*, Zograf 15, Beograd 1984, pp. 85-93; Eidem, *Istorijski portreti u Pološkom III*, Zograf 18, Beograd 1987, pp. 37-42; I. M. Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, Beograd 1994, pp. 147-150; S. Korunovski - E. Dimitrova, *Macedonia L' arte medievale dal IX al XV secolo*, pp. 177-181; D. Kjornakov, *Pološki manastir*, Skopje 2006; E. Dimitrova, *The Portal to Heaven, Reaching the Gates of Immortality*, Niš & Byzantium Symposium, The Collection of scientific works V, Niš 2007, pp. 370-371; E. Dimitrova, S. Korunovski, S. Grandakovska, *Srednovekovna Makedonija. Kultura i umetnost*, pp. 1712-1717.

²¹ I. M. Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 149.

on a bench, while Caiaphas stands and tears his robes with a dramatic gesture of repulsion (Fig. 5). The two high priests, Jesus and the soldier are the main protagonists of this scene and therefore their figures are located in the front prospect of the vista; in the second plan of the view, however, a real drama is going on with Peter the apostle and his struggle to convince everybody that he is not one of Jesus' disciples. Both compositions are framed with a mutual arch that serves as architectural scenery connecting the trials executed by the Jews with the inquisition of the Roman soldiers about the followers of the rebellious Rabin. The Trial before Pilate²², on the other hand, displays a highly inventive iconographic conception which unites the three different episodes described in the Gospel according to Mathew (27, 19 – 24): the Roman governor washing his hands as an expression of his innocence in the legal matter of Jesus' actions (Fig. 6), his wife telling her dream of Jesus' innocence and dispatching the servant to her husband (Fig. 7) and Pilate receiving his wife's message, whereat all three consecutive events are skillfully interconnected through the flow of painterly components.

Since the composition showing the Trial before Pilate unites three different moments of the Biblical story, it is quite obvious that the painters have put a great effort to create a spectacle coherent by its iconographic components, as well as consistent by the spatial and temporal references of the depicted events. In that sense, the symmetric level of the spatial qualities of the vista is acquired by the location of the three actors in front of the luxuriously conceived portico, while the episode of the dialogue of the governor's wife with the servant at the entrance of their home is located behind the procurator's throne²³. Without disturbing the symmetrical *mise-en-scène* of the composition, the image of the young servant participates in the picture of the trial that goes on in the front prospect of the scene. Appearing in the narrow inter-space between the two plans of the composition, he simultaneously separates the figural components of the spectacle from the architectural ensemble in the backdrop of the scene. The energetic motion of Jesus depicted in the left portion of the picture, in front of the group of Roman soldiers and Jews, the figure of Pilate's servant as his spatial counterpart, the fluent kinetic movements of the messenger who brings the word to the governor, as well as the central position

²² S. Radojčić, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka*, p. 225-226.

²³ E. Dimitrova, *The Staging of the passion Scenes: A Stylistic Essay. Six Paradigms from 14th Century Fresco Painting*, Zograf 31, Beograd 2006-2007, p. 118.

of Pilate's image that unites the dynamics of all the actors in the scene - are the main painterly qualities of this composition as one of the most representative depictions of this subject in Byzantine painterly tradition of the 14th century. The decision of the iconographer of the frescoes in Pološko to articulate the Trial before Pilate in such an elaborated manner, while combining the two trials before the Jewish priests in one composition, could be, at least vaguely, credited to the notion that Jesus' legal procedure was overshadowed by the upcoming Passover (*Mathew: 27, 15; John: 18, 39*). In that regard, it seems that the High priests quickly condemned the Rabin, but the death sentence could be only passed by the Roman official authority.

At the end of the 14th century, the elaborated iconography of the trials has been included in the arrangement of the Passion cycle in the painted decoration of the church of **Saint Demetrius at Marko's monastery**²⁴. As the rest of the fresco ensemble in this temple, the depiction of the scenes referring to the "legal" phase of the Passion events is permeated with the dark veil of simplicity of the forms, minimum attention to decorative details and ravaging brutality of the depicted spectacle. Comprised of nine compositions and illustrated as a visual story inspired by the verses found in the Gospel according to John, the trial saga from King Marko's temple acts as a mini cycle dedicated to the suffering of Jesus in the course of the juridical stage of his earthly mission²⁵. In accordance to the basic *mise-en-scène* of the depicted spectacles in the painting of Marko's monastery, the trials before the high priests are composed with a minimum of iconographic elements²⁶. The trial before the Roman governor, however, is divided into seven dynamic episodes,

²⁴ N. Nošpal-Nikuljska, *Za ktitorskata kompozicija i natpisot vo Markoviot manastir - selo Sušica, Skopsko*, Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija XV, Skopje 1971, pp. 225-235; V. J. Đurić, *Markov manastir - Ohrid*, Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 8, Novi Sad 1972, pp. 131-160; Z. Gavrilović, *The Portrait of King Marko at Markov Manastir (1376-1381)*, Byzantinische Forschungen XVI, Amsterdam 1991, pp. 415-428; I. M. Đorđević, *Predstava kralja Marka na južnoj fasadi crkve Svetog Dimitrija u Markovom manastiru*, Kralot Marko vo istorijata i vo tradicijata, Prilep 1997, pp. 299-307; S. Korunovski - E. Dimitrova, *Macedonia L'arte medievale dal IX al XV secolo*, pp. 201-206; E. Dimitrova, *Za mizanscenot i za kulisite. Sceni od likovnata dramatopeja na makedonskoto srednovekovno slikarstvo*, Makedonsko nasledstvo 29, Skopje 2006, pp. 22-26; Eadem, *The Portal to Heaven, Reaching the Gates of Immortality*, pp. 378-379; E. Dimitrova, S. Korunovski, S. Grandakovska, *Srednovekovna Makedonija*, pp. 1744-1754; M. Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, Beograd 2019; D. Mitrevski, V. Lilčić Adams, E. Maneva, E. Dimitrova, *Skopje. Eight Millennia of Life, Culture, Creativity*, Skopje 2020, pp. 526-540; E. Dimitrova, *The Church of Saint Demetrius (Marko's monastery) at Sušica*, Skopje 2020.

²⁵ M. Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, pp. 277-281.

²⁶ E. Dimitrova, S. Korunovski, S. Grandakovska, *Srednovekovna Makedonija*, p. 1750.

spatially situated above the images of the Virgin and the Dead Christ from the Lamentation, or in this variant, better to say from the composition, most properly entitled Man of Sorrows²⁷. Pilate's conversation with Jesus, Pilate's conversation with the Jews, Second Pilate's conversation with Jesus, the scene named "Judge him according to your law", Jesus and Pilate at the place called Gabbatha, the Flagellation and Pilate washing his hands²⁸ – are the constituents of this carefully articulated iconographic arrangement which accentuates the trial at the Roman governor as the most decisive for the future faith of the "problematic" Rabin (Figs. 8, 9). The representation of the "convict" in a frame associative to a window situated beneath a basilica-like edifice as an allusion to the *praetorium* where the trial before Pilate has been actually taken place²⁹ is a one of a kind invention of the painters with no painterly analogies in the 14th century Byzantine frescoes. Hence, the scenes depicting the two dialogues between Jesus and the Roman governor (*John*: 18, 33-38; 19, 10), although deprived of elaborated architectural backdrop, most certainly emanate the spatial dimension of the alleged historical environment.



Fig. 8 Saint Demetrius at Sušica, *Trial before Pilate*

Four of the compositions of the mini-trial cycle in Marko's monastery are situated in exterior: the Conversation of Pilate with the Jews (*John*:18, 38) and "Judge him according to your law" (*John*: 18, 31) are pictured in front of

²⁷ Brilliant scholarly exposition by Marka Tomić, cf. M. Tomić Đurić, *The Man of Sorrows and the Lamenting Virgin: The Example of Markov Manastir*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 49, Beograd 2012, pp. 303-331; M. Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, pp. 379-381.

²⁸ M. Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, pp. 274-281.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 277.

a neutral background formulated as a slightly decorated flat wall, while the dialogue between the Rabin and the Roman authority at Gabbatha (*John: 19, 13*) is placed on a sloppy hill as an association of a dramatic outdoor event; the Flagellation (mentioned in *Mathew: 27, 26; Mark: 15, 15; John: 19, 1*) in front of the walls of Jerusalem is an exclusive example of this motif which is very rarely inserted into the visual story of the trials, while the scene of Pilate washing his hands (*Mathew: 27, 24*) is a dynamic composite of the temperament group of Jews, the calm image of Jesus, the seated figure of the Governor and the two servants, one of whom is whispering the message of Pilate's wife to the Roman officer (*Mathew: 27, 19*). However, the chronologically arranged actions of Pilate related to his juridical engagement with Jesus' public activity are preceded by the Trials before Annas (**Fig. 10**) and Caiaphas as opening compositions of the mini cycle, depicting the stages of the legal procedure of the Rabin's case. Similarly to Staro Nagoričino³⁰, as well as to a couple of other monuments³¹, the first of the two depicted scenes represents the Trial before Annas, while the gesture of the high priest is highly recognizable as the one tearing the robe, characteristic of Caiaphas' demeanor in the Gospel according to Mathew (26, 65)³². In that regard, standing vigorously, the angry priest in the first scene, passionately discloses his animosity toward Jesus, contrary to "his colleague" in the second scene who reproaches the Rabin with less accentuated repulsion. Visualizing the refined theological notion of the Gospel according to John which points to the death sentence involuntarily passed to Jesus by the Roman governor³³, apparently extorted by the Jewish high priests, the trials depicted in Marko's monastery, supplemented with elements taken over from the Gospel of Mathew and spiced with detailed visual anatomy of the Passion tale, are the most representative example of how well familiar the painters have been with the theologically subtle and critically profound evangelical testimony³⁴.

³⁰ B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, p. 76; Idem, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin*, p. 132.

³¹ As in Gračanica cf. B. Živković, *Gračanica. Crteži freska*, Beograd 1989, V, 1; and in Chilandar monastery, cf. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos. Les peintures*, Paris 1927, pl. 71.1.

³² The Gospel according to Mathew identifies the High priest as Caiaphas (26, 57), Mark does not mention him by name, yet mentions that he is the person in charge of the High Jewish council (14, 55), while only John points to the two trials – before Annas and before Caiaphas (18, 24)

³³ Gospel according to John: 18, 29-39, 19, 1-16.

³⁴ M. Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira*, pp. 274-281.



Fig. 9 Saint Demetrius at Sušica, *Pilate and Christ at Gabbatha, Flagellation*

The painterly execution of the Trial scenes in Marko's monastery is very specific and differs drastically from the one applied to compositions devoted to the same subjects in the fresco ensembles mentioned so far. Hence, not only the number of pictures diverges from the standard set of three to five compositions, but their visual configuration and aesthetic dimension, as well. In that regard, the city wall, which, in a form of a basic architectural backdrop, closes the second prospect of all scenes, was utilized as a continuous façade that gives the spectacles a sense of consecutiveness of the depicted events. The representation of Jesus framed by a window-like perforation certainly adds drama to the compositions and, moreover, gives an impression of isolation to the figure of the condemned Rabin. This further enhances the tense atmosphere of the represented events, deprived of any additional components that would have ennobled the vistas with anything but tragic ambience of a preconditioned expectance. The sole exception is the scene depicting the Trial before Pilate, i.e. Pilate washing his hands – a spectacle enlivened with the energetic charge of the protagonists whose theatrical motion empowers the visual aspects of the scene with a high dosage of synchronized dynamicity. Following the fundamental painterly pattern of the zogographs, who in Marko's monastery created an optical oratory of ultimate suffering, the pictures of the Trials in the church of Saint Demetrius reflect the high resonance of passionate agony of Biblical stories, as well as the real historic disaster³⁵.

³⁵ E. Dimitrova, *The Church of Saint Demetrius (King Marko's monastery) at Sušica*, pp. 45-47.



Fig. 10 Saint Demetrius at Sušica, *Trial before Annas*

The occupation of a judge, a barrister, a lawyer or a jurist is definitely not a relaxing one. It requires investigation, preparing legal documentation, interpretation of laws and regulations, presiding over hearings, determination if the information supports the charge, claim or dispute, analyzing the facts and conclusions, making decisions, giving legal instructions³⁶, etc. All these components should lead to the ultimate goal of the legal system - which is the administration of justice. Whether all of these principles have or have not been applied during the trials of Jesus, we are in no position to find out. Judging from the information given by the Gospels, we are more inclined to doubt the fairness of Annas' and Caiapha's tribunal, as well as Pilate's court, although, according to John the Evangelist, the latter has, at least, investigated the case³⁷. Religious feelings aside, I would like to quote a sentence of Jesus, brilliantly played by William Dafoe in the highly controversial motion picture **The Last temptation of Christ**³⁸, who, before the start of the trials, says: "If I was a woodcutter, I'd cut; If I was a fire, I'd burn; But I'm a heart and I love; That's the only thing I can do and I will suffer for it". And that, to me, is the ultimate personal justice, no doubt about it.

³⁶ S. Waddams, *Introduction to the Study of Law*, Toronto 2010, p.128; Lord Burnett of Maldon, Sir Ernest Ryder (Eds.), *Guide to Judicial Conduct*, London 2019, pp. 6-18.

³⁷ Gospel according to John: 18, 33-39, 19, 4-8.

³⁸ Universal Pictures, Martin Scorsese Director, Barabara de Fina Producer, Release date: 1988.

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THE PAINTING STUDIO OF JOHN THEORIANOS AND THE IMAGES OF THE MONKS AND HYMNOGRAPHERS IN ST. SOPHIA – OHRID

Abstract: *This paper is an attempt to further increase existing knowledge about the painting program of the narthex floor of the Cathedral Church St Sophia in Ohrid, a work created by one of the most significant painting studios of the middle of the 14th century in the territory of present-day Macedonia. Under commission of Archbishop Nicholas, John Theorianos, the coordinator and the most advanced painter of the above-mentioned work shop, and his collaborators carried out the fresco arrangement of this holy space between 1346 and 1350, and he left his signature¹ on an angel's sword in the scene of David's repentance. In this regard and in absence of inscriptions, this paper aims to identify in particular one monk and four hymnographers, depicted on the northern part of the eastern wall of this sacred space. For that purpose, examples from both byzantine miniature and monumental painting will be explicated, analysing the peculiar iconographic features of the respective saints, as well as the pattern of arrangements and the mutual interrelation between them in several churches. Moreover, the paper shall seek to elucidate their correlation with the depiction of John Damascene poetry related to the composition of Koimesis, which is fragmentally preserved in the blind dome above the narthex.*

The artistic production in Ohrid during the first half of the 14th century is distinguished by the work of fresco painters who follow diverse stylistic movements. On the one hand, there are artists who remained attached to the traditional perception, and on the other, representatives of progressive and innovative artistic solutions. Among the bearers of modern ideas John Theorianos occupies a pioneering position. Being educated after the classicist works, that the leading workshops in Ohrid created during their blossom, he

¹ Theorianos' signature was first detected by Vojislav J. Đurić, who also gave the first exact dating of these frescoes - cf. Đurić, Sveta Sofija u Ohridu, X. The role of John Theorianos in the painting of St Sophia, as well as the work of this master and his collaborators in Ohrid and the neighbouring regions of Macedonia cf. Đurić, Sveta Sofija u Ohridu, X-XI; Đurić, Markov Monastir – Ohrid, 151–154; Đurić, Vizantijske freske, 68–69; Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 53–54, 79–80, 100–101; Grozdanov, Sveta Sofija, 16–33. Korunovski/Dimitrova, 181–186 (Dimitrova); Radujko, Prvo slikarstvo Ljubotena, 183–188; Radujko, Autorski rukopis, 155–184.

brought freshness and vividness in the artistic production in the period, in contrast to most of the fresco painters of the fourth and fifth decade of the 14th century, who went under the academism of Paleological art. The collaboration between the prominent master Theorianos and the influential Archbishop Nicholas resulted in Ohrid's artistic bloom in the middle of the 14th century.²



Fig. 1. Ohrid, St Sophia, View to north of the narthex

² Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 47.

Besides the fresco decoration on the second floor of the narthex in St. Sophia, the great master John Theoriaons and his collaborators, executed the painterly arrangements in the following churches as well: Mali Sveti Vrači (Anargiroi) in Ohrid, St. Nicholas in Ljuboten, and the Holy Mother of God in Matejče.³ In this regard, the great opus of Theorianos' atelier has still not been researched to the full extent and certain aspects deserve further observation. One among them represents the depictions of the monks and hymnographers on the second floor of the narthex in St Sophia in Ohrid, which were directly exposed to the eyes of the clergy and the believers from the now walled entrance of the exonarthex.⁴

On the second floor of the narthex in the Cathedral Church of St Sophia John Theorianos and his associates painted a composition of the Dormition of the Mother of God in a blind dome and the Ecumenical Councils on the vault, as well as the scene of David's repentance and the Vision of Peter of Alexandria on the north and south tympanums, respectively (Fig. 1). Standing figures of distinguished monks are presented in the lower zone, while the southern part of the eastern wall contains a composition of the Deisis and figures of Patriarch Ioannicius, Archbishop Nicholas, St Nicholas and St Clement of Ohrid in monastic garment.⁵

It is immediately apparent that the fresco program of the narthex of St Sophia includes numerous monastic depictions. The row of saintly figures on the northern part of the eastern wall of this holy space begins with two half-length figures of monks whose naming inscriptions have fortunately survived (Fig. 2). The first in the row is Athanasius the Athonite, the founder of monastic life and the monastery of the Great Lavra on Athos. He is accompanied by the dark-skinned St Moses of Ethiopia, known as a monk who managed to transform from a sinner and a murderer into a believer and a saint. He is presented in close proximity to St. Macarios of Egypt on the

³ Đurić, Markov manastir – Ohrid, 151-154; Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 53; Radujko, Dradnjaski manastirić, 35; Dimitrova, Manastir Matejče, Skopje 2002, 246.

⁴ The most comprehensive source about the narthex floor of St Sophia represents Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo od XIV vek by Cvetan Grozdanov. The author offers a layout, drawings of the frescoes, descriptions and identifies most of the saintly figures. However, a part of them still remains unknown. – cf. Grozdanov, Ohridsko 67-80. Regarding the holy poets, Svetlana Tomeković only mentions the following hymnographers: St Cosmas the Hymnographer, St Joseph the Hymnographer, St Theodore the Studite as well as St John Damascene, but does not distinguish them precisely. – cf. Tomeković, Les Saints ermites, 264.

⁵ Grozdanov, Ohridsko, 65.

northern wall below the scene of David's repentance, who is known as his spiritual father.⁶ Next to the depiction of Moses of Ethiopia, who should be understood as a personification of the process of overcoming the passions and temptations of life, and ascending to holiness, stands a monk whose image is well-preserved but whose name inscription unfortunately is not. He is also painted as a half-length figure, frontally, and holds in his left hand an open scroll that displays a well-legible text. His gaze is directed towards the holy poets on his left, as if this saintly figure himself is surprised, that he has not aroused the interest of the scholars so far and has not been discerned by his name. He is an old man with gray hair and a white beard of medium length shaped in strands, dressed in the common monastic cloak and tunic. A high forehead, expressive cheekbones, and a slightly more prominent nose, are the physiognomic features of this holy figure.



Fig. 2. Ohrid, St Sophia, St Athanasius the Athonite, St Moses of Ethiopia, St John Climacus (?)

Considering the recognizable iconographic characteristics of this saint, it can be suggested that St John Climacus is painted here. This holy monk is known as the author of the work *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, which became popular monastic literature and a practical guide to holy monks for their spiritual upliftment and transformation.⁷ The way he is presented, the firm line of the drawing, the refinedly modeled face, the bright ocher tones of the complexion, the soft pink cheeks and the greenish blue shadows reveal Theorianos' artistic style.

⁶ Gabra, Bemerkungen, 117, 118.

⁷ The work of John Climacus cf. Bogdanović, Jovan Lestvičnik; Sveti Jovan Lestvičnik, Lestvica.

Though of a later date, the Hermeneia of Dionysios of Fournia gives a rather scanty description of the figure of John Climacus: as an old man with a long beard;⁸ while in the Hermeneia of the Zografski Family he is similarly noted as an elder with a large beard.⁹ Painters generally adhered to the prescribed iconographic type, but differences in his appearance are often encountered, so his beard is usually of medium length, while the length of his hair varies. The oldest surviving depiction of this distinguished monk is found in a 9th-century *Sacra Parallela* manuscript (Paris MS. Gr. 932, fol. 146^r),¹⁰ where he is portrayed as an elderly person with a cowl and gray hair and a short round beard. Another template was used by a miniature painter in the Sinai codex gr. 417, fol. 13^r from the middle of the 10th century from the St. Katherine monastery, in which Climacus exhibits thick bangs on his forehead and round beard of medium length.¹¹ However, it seems that the iconography of this saint was formed in the 11th century. This assessment is based on his likenesses in the mosaics of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis (middle of the 11th century) and Nea Moni on Chios (1042-1056), where this saintly figure is pictured with gray hair that connects with his side burns into a pointed semi-long beard.¹² Along with occasional variations of the hairstyle, this figure of the saint with a pointed beard is also evidenced in later works, which is exemplified in the portrait created by John Theorianos in St Sophia. The representation of John Climacus from the 13th century is also traceable in Serbian wall painting. Thus, in a 16th-century portrait in the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica, which resembles the one painted during the time of Saint Sava of Serbia (1208/09), this eminent monk is portrayed with a similar physiognomy as the figure in St Sophia: a pointed beard adorns his chin, which in this case falls in strands onto his chest.¹³ Slightly more rounded in the face, less ascetic, and with an extremely wavy semi-long beard is the Climacus image in Protaton (last decade of the 13th century).¹⁴ The depiction of Climacus in St. Sophia in Ohrid complies with that in Gračanica (1321) to a certain extent, as well, although his hair is somewhat denser there, Lesnovo (naos, 1342-43) where his beard is divided

⁸ Medić, *Slikarski priručnici*, Vol. III, 419.

⁹ Medić, *Slikarski priručnici*, Vol. II, 549.

¹⁰ Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 245-246, 712.

¹¹ Weitzmann/Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine*, 28-31, Pl. Ib, XXXV/Fig. 32.

¹² Stikas, *Ἁγίου Λουκά*, 136, Pin. 28; Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, Vol. I, 78, 168-169; *ibid.* Vol. II, Pl. 237b.

¹³ Živković, *Najstarije*, 247; Babić et al, *Studenica*, 77/Fig. 63.

¹⁴ Chadjiplotis, *Macedonian School*, 217/No 33-34, Fig. 33-34.

into two long strands, and in Dečani (1348), even though he is portrayed there as a middle-aged man with light brown hair.¹⁵ His image in Treskavec monastery (1334-1343) also displays similar physiognomic characteristics, whereby V-shaped cheeks, a slender face as well as dense disheveled hair accentuate even more his austere appearance.¹⁶ Yet, the greatest resemblance in the physiognomy and iconography of this figure of St Sophia in Ohrid exists with the figure of St John Climacus in the Church of the Mother of God in Matejče (1348-1352), where, along with his portrayal, there is an inscription with his name in Old Serbian, which confirms his identity.¹⁷ He is depicted as an old man with gray hair, a nicely shaped straight beard of medium length, and a face that has prominent cheekbones and a protruding forehead (Fig. 3). Unlike the monk in St Sophia, in Matejče John Climacus carries a closed scroll with both hands. The exceptional iconographic and stylistic similarity of this saintly figure in St Sophia in Ohrid with its portrayal in Matejče can be further explained with the fact that John Theorianos and his collaborators, as aforementioned, carried out the fresco decoration in this magnificent church, between 1348-1352, as well.¹⁸ The proposal to identify this monk in St Sophia as St John Climacus is based not only on the great iconographic resemblance to the figure in Matejče, but also on the similar location where this renowned monk is presented in both churches. In Matejče, St. John Climacus is displayed on the north wall of the narthex, and as in St. Sophia, in close vicinity to the famous hermites and below the composition of the ecumenical council.¹⁹ Unfortunately due to the great damage to the fresco in Matejče, the council below which Climacus is portrayed cannot be exactly determined.²⁰ However, in St Sophia, the scene of the Sixth Ecumenical Council²¹ is clearly discernable above his portrayal and can be also used in support of his identification. This council, also called the Third Council of Constantinople, was held in 680, and it officially condemned the monothelistic teaching about the nature of Christ. During his life, John Climacus advocated the idea of the duality of Christ's nature, and his significant

¹⁵ Photos of these frescoes have not been published. The drawing at Gračanica cf. Živković (B), Gračanica, 81. The description of the depictions in all of the churches mentioned cf. Todić, Gračanica, 88, 109, 170; Dečani, 40 (No 26); Gabelić, Lesnovo, 127-128.

¹⁶ Smolčić Makuljević, Treskavac, 184, Fig. 41.

¹⁷ Dimitrova, Manastir Matejče, Fig. 88.

¹⁸ Dimitrova, Manastir Matejče, 246, Dimitrova, *Dimensio Sacra*, 186.

¹⁹ Dimitrova, Manastir Matejče, 223, crtež VI.

²⁰ Dimitrova, Manastir Matejče, 202, crtež VI.

²¹ More about this scene in Grozdanov, *Ohridsko*, 72.

work *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* was written at a time when there was intense discussion on this topic that preceded the Sixth Council. Thus, his placement directly below the fresco of the Sixth Council on the north side of the vault of the narthex in St Sophia can be related to his fight against monothelitism. Namely, as a fervent supporter of dyothelitism, Climacus was a contemporary to the emergence of the discussion about the doctrine of one will, even though this council was held twenty years after his death.²²



Fig. 3. Matejče, St John Climacus

What is more, the location where St John Climacus is presented in close proximity to the famous anchorites in both St. Sophia in Ohrid, as well as

²² The question of the sixth council cf. Zecher, *Symbolic of Death*, 185.

Matejče, can undoubtedly be related to the data in his hagiography, which suggests that this esteemed monk, after the death of his monastic role model, retreated to the desert near Thebes, where he spent forty years as a hermit until his death.²³

John Climacus' saintly figure is accompanied mainly by quotations related to his work, which are written on a scroll that he usually holds in his hands, just like he does in St Sophia. Thus, in the Hermeneia Dionysios' of Phourna (1724-1732) the following inscription is proposed: Ascend to virtues like on staircases, exalting your mind by acting and reasoning!²⁴ The same text, with a small variation, provides the Hermeneia of the pope Danilo (1647) and the one of the Zografski family (1728).²⁵ However, in practice painters often used other inscriptions, which is the case in the narthex of St Sophia. This illustrious saint carries a parchment here, that bears the following inscription:

Εἰ τῆς ἄνω βούλοιο τυχεῖν π(ατ)ρίδος
 ὄλον σεαυτ(ὸν) ἀλ<λ>οτρί<ω>σον βίου
 θνήξων πρὸ θανῆς ἀσμένως θλίψεις δέχου

The above transcription, a German translation and detailed analysis of this epigram can be found in Andreas Rhoby's book on Byzantine epigrams on frescoes.²⁶ In translation, the text is as follow:

If you want to get to the highest place,
 completely renounce (alienate) yourself from life!
 Dedicated to death, joyfully accept the difficulties before death!

Andreas Rhoby gives an explanation that there is a mismatch between image and text in some cases in Byzantine art.²⁷ Rhoby believes that this happens if the artist misplaced the verse, or if the epigram was chosen at a time when it was not yet determined what the painting would really look like, or if the epigram was originally created or selected for another theme.²⁸ This change also occurs if the content on the scroll is generalized and if it can be related to several authors. For example, the topic of praise for ascetic life is a topic that

²³ Zecher, *Symbolic of Death*, 181/n. 654.

²⁴ Medić, *Slikarski priručnici*, Vol. III, 419.

²⁵ Medić, *Slikarski priručnici*, Vol. II, 340-341, 549.

²⁶ Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigrane*, 104/N° 25.

²⁷ Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigrane*, 68.

²⁸ Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigrane*, 68.

can be connected to several saints.²⁹ Thus the text written on the scroll of St John Climacus in Studenica also appears on the scroll of St Sava of Jerusalem in the narthex of the Serbian Patriarchy of Peć.³⁰

What is more, this paper suggests that the text of the scroll, displayed by the supposed John Climacus in St Sophia does not deviate from Climacus' opinion and recommendations for the monks that he offers in his work *The Ladder of Devine Ascent*. According to the epigram on the scroll, only by renouncing life i.e. alienate oneself from life, can one experience a transformation that opens the way to the kingdom of heaven. The text is composed in such a way that it teaches, inspires, and acts instructively, and if a connection is established between the epigram and the presented holy monks on the second floor of the narthex, it can be understood, i.e. freely interpreted as a message addressed to members of the monastic community. The content of his scroll might indicate a subtly planned iconographic program of the narthex where the theme of spiritual upliftment of monks is also included. In this regard, one of the illustrativest examples that demonstrates this is the depiction of John Climacus in Vaticanus Rossianus manuscrypt 251, fol. 13^r (11-12th century), where he is portrayed indoctrinating a group of monks in the arts of ascetism.³¹ Moreover, his depiction in this miniature exhibits similar iconographic traits with the supposed figure in St. Sophia.

Along with the representation of John Climacus, John Theorianos and his collaborators portayed the figures of five holy hymnographers on the same northern half of the eastern wall of the St Sophia narthex (Fig. 4). In the absence of inscriptions with their names, as well as the irretrievably eroded texts written on the scrolls held by the saints in their left hands, they have not been identified so far. The only exception is the figure on the far right end of this row, which was distinguishable as St Theodor the Studite, the famous abbot of Stoudios Monastery. He is presented in a recognizable priestly attire, richly embellished with embroidery and pearls.³² The holy hymnographers are clad in monastic tunics and cloaks in complementary colours of blue, brown and yellow. Except for the second, the three other poets wear an oriental head-wrap that falls onto their shoulders. The head-wraps of the three poets are light gray, while the veil of the poet second in the row is brown. The

²⁹ Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigrame*, 53.

³⁰ Živković, *Najstarije*, 247/n 1493.

³¹ Cf. Martin, *The Heavenly Ladder*, 112, 134, Pl. LXXXIV, Fig. 232. Fol. 13r.

³² Cf. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko*, 78.

oriental head-covers are tied in distinctive fashion and fall onto their chests and shoulders forming different folds. The depiction of the holy poets also differs in poses: the second and the fourth present themselves with a high, raised right arm. In this, rather compact group of saints, the figure portrayed in the middle stands out immediately, because of his different gesture. Only his right hand is bent at the elbow, turning his palm towards his chest. The holy poet presented on the left is discreetly turned towards him and directs the beholder's glance even more towards the central figure. Considering the iconographic features of this saintly figure, it can be suggested that this is a depiction of St John Damascene, a famous poet, theologian, hymnographer, esteemed representative of the Mar Sabas monastery in Palestine and one of the greatest authors of canons dedicated to the Virgin.³³ His face attracts the beholder's attention with its well-preserved physiognomy; he is dark-skinned, with expressive cheekbones, a slightly hooked nose, elongated almond-shaped eyes, and a semi-long white beard, that descends in gentle waves towards his chest (Fig. 5). His respectable central position among the poets could be determined from the data in his hagiography, i.e. from his function at the court of the Caliph of Damascus, which was almost equal to the Caliph himself, before becoming a monk.³⁴

The identification of this saintly figure of John Damascene is also supported by the depiction of his poetry, related to the composition of the Koimesis, which is situated on the blind dome above the narthex. In a fragment of the fresco of the first verse of the third song of the Damascene's canon, this prominent holy poet is portrayed with a raised hand indicating a musical tempo to the girls singing and playing instruments.³⁵ The fragmentarily preserved scene

³³ St John Damascene, along with his foster brother, St Cosmas, was one of the leading authors of canon, a type of Byzantine liturgical poem, which flourished in the monastery of St Saba. Moreover, the prominent role, which St John Damascene has in the history in byzantine liturgy is by and large due to his work on compiling the Octoechos as well, an editorial task, which he shared with St Joseph the Hymnographer. His writings cf. Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 206/n. 221. Damascene's works are published in PG 94-96. English translations cf. Chase, *Writings*; Anderson, *Devine Images*.

³⁴ Mushagalusa, *John Damascene*, 120.

³⁵ Grozdanov, *Ohridsko*, 65-68. The *Oktoechos*, Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria, San Salvatore, gr. 51 is a byzantine musical manuscript from the end of the 12th century, which also exemplifies the prominence given to John Damascene. In the illumination to the seventh mode one can notice that he is singled out from the other hymnographers and steps out as the most eminent poet and composer among them, having the leading role in the scene. Moreover, in this way are emphasized both his authorship and his active participation in

was identified by comparing it to an almost identical scene in the church of the Mother of God Ljeviška in Prizren (1310-1313).³⁶ Damascene's portrait on the blind dome in St. Sophia's narthex is smaller in size and quite well preserved and is almost identical to the one in Matejče, which is however here part of the composition of the Tree of Jesse (Fig. 6).³⁷ There is a clear resemblance to his presumed depiction in the row of standing figures on the east wall. Both figures not only share similar physiognomic features, but also wear the same light gray turban and light brown monastic cloak. However, the beard on the portrait in the blind dome has a noticeable wavy strand in the middle, a detail that can only be guessed at the depiction of the saints in the row of hymnographs.



Fig. 4. Ohrid, St Sophia, Five Hymnographers, east wall, second floor of the narthex

Our first visual encounter with John Damascene is in the famous *Sacra Parallela* manuscript (Paris gr. 923). As the author of this text, he was presented in it several times, with or without a cowl and with a beard of various lengths.³⁸ In the *Menologion* of Basil II (c. 1000) he is painted with St Cosmas

performing the *Oktoechos*, likewise the depiction on the blind dome in the narthex in St Sophia. *Oktoechos* cf. Carr, *Illuminated Musical*, 41-52. Fig. 7

³⁶ Grozdanov, *Ohridsko*, 67-68.

³⁷ Dimitrova, *Manastir Matejče*, 207, Pl. VII, 20.

³⁸ Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 32, 246, Pl. II-III/Fig. 2-7, CLIII/Fig. 713.

of Maiuma and once again without the distinctive middle-eastern turban on his head.³⁹ In Nerezi (1164) the master of the canon is frescoed with a cowl, a beard of medium length and a characteristic gesture of a raised right hand.⁴⁰ In later examples, the iconography of John Damascene as an old man with a split beard of medium length and a turban on his head became established.⁴¹ Thus, the depictions in Lagoudera (1192), Sopoćani (1263-1268), the King's Church in Studenica (1314), the Church of Christ at Chora in Constantinople (until 1321) and the Church of Christ the Savior in Veria (Berroia) (1315) seem to follow the standard textual tradition.⁴² John Damascene is rarely presented with a short beard as in his portrait in Lesnovo.⁴³ The colour of his turban varies and can be white, light or dark gray. Variations in the posture of Damascene's right hand are also common: in Nerezi and Manastir (Mariovo, 1271) his hand is raised, in the King's Church in Studenica, it is at chest height, as it is in his portrait in St Sophia.⁴⁴ In Lagoudera, Veria and St Nikita (after 1321) he holds the scroll with both hands, while in Staro Nagoričino (1316-1317 / 1318) he gives a blessing with his right hand.⁴⁵ In Sopoćani, he is presented with writing utensils and a scroll in his left hand, while his right hand, which is bent at the elbow and held at the height of his chest, is in blessing position.⁴⁶ In this regard, the depiction of John Damascene in St Sophia bears the most similarities with his representation in the King's Church in Studenica, Staro Nagoričino and especially in St Nikita, where he exhibits an almost identical physiognomy: prominent facial features and a dark complexion, emaciated

³⁹ El Menologio, fol. 213. The question of the dating of Menologion cf. Der Nersessian, Remarks, 104-125 (between 976 and 989); Ševčenko (N. P.), On Pantoleon, 241-249; Ševčenko (I.), Ideology, XII/p. 248 (after 1001, before 1016); Cutler, Psalter of Basil II, 9-19 (ca. 1001-1005); Popova et al., Vizantijskaja miniatjura, 145-206 (prva četvrtina 11. veka); Zaharova, Los ocho artistas, 131-134 (first quartre of the 11th c.).

⁴⁰ From east to west on the north wall are represented: St Cosmas the Hymnographer, St John Damascene, St Theodor the Studite, St Theophanes Graptos, and St Joseph the Hymnographer. It was Gordana Babić, who first identify the hymnographers at Nerezi on the north wall – cf. Babić, Les moines-poètes, 205-217, Fig. 8; Sinkević, Nerezi, 61, fig. LVII.

⁴¹ Medić, Slikarski priručnici, Vol. II, 366-367, 552; *ibid.* Vol. III, 426-427.

⁴² Tomeković, Les Saints ermites, 363, Fig. 49, 50; Babić, Kraljeva crkva, 166, Fig. 113; Winfield, Lagoudhera, 72, 218, Pl. 31; Milanović, Sveti pesnici, Fig. 11; Underwood, Kariye Djami, Vol. I, 217, 219-220; *ibid.* Vol. II, Fig. 224; Underwood, Notes, 279-280, Fig. 13.

⁴³ Tomeković, Les Saints ermites, 363, Fig. 51.

⁴⁴ Kostovska, Manastir (Mariovo), 79, Fig. 12.

⁴⁵ Marković, Saint Nikita, 162, Fig. 61; Miljković-Peppek, Deloto, 56; Todić, Staro Nagoričino, 117, Fig. 31.

⁴⁶ Živković (B), Sopoćani, 28.

cheekbones, an elongated nose and a semi-long wavy white beard that falls onto his chest.



Fig. 5. Detail, St John Damascene (?), East Wall Fig. 6. Detail, John Damascene, blind dome.

There are grounds to identify another hymnographer in the row, the one who stands slightly turned towards the figure recognized as St John Damascene. The entire figure of this saint is rendered in gracile and rhythmical movements, and seems to affiliate to the festive atmosphere of the canon illustration pictured on the blind dome. Considering the fact that he is presented directly next to John Damascene, this hymnographer can be identified as St Cosmas of Maiuma. According to hagiographic tradition, John Damascene and Cosmas of Maiuma were relatives and collaborators, so they are often shown together, as in the Menologion of Basil II. In fact, the saintly figure of Cosmas in this miniature is dressed in the same brown monastic cloak and yellow tunic, conforming to his suggested depiction in St. Sophia in Ohrid. What is more, in monumental painting, the representations of the leading authors of the canon are not autonomous, rather, they are frescoed opposite each other, for example in Bačkovo (late 11th-early 12th century), where they flank the scene of the Dormition, but also in St Nikita in Banjani near Skopje and the King's church in Studenica.⁴⁷ Moreover, in Lagoudera, they accompany the

⁴⁷ cf. Bakalova, Bačkovskata kostnica, 84/Fig. 61, 85/Fig. 64; Bakalova, The Ossuary, 69/Fig. 53, Marković, Saint Nikita, 62; Babić, Kraljeva crkva, 166, 168/Fig. 115.

Mandyliion, and at Bojana (first half of the 12th c.), as part of the first layer of paintings, they flank the scene of Crucifixion.⁴⁸ In the early thirteenth church of Panagia Amasgou, at Monagri (1190-1200), these holy hymnographers are painted under the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin.⁴⁹ Furthermore, they are depicted next to each other in Nerezi, Sopoćani and Staro Nagoričino.⁵⁰ Their combined portrayal can be explained by the fact that St John Damascene and St Cosmas of Maiuma are represented together in liturgy as well. Their two canons are sung at Orthros on the morning of the Koimesis feast on 15th August and were performed alternately, not one after another. For instance, an ode of the Cosmas' canon is followed by an ode from John's canon, and so on.⁵¹

The two remaining saints – the one standing between Theodore the Studite and the supposed John Damascene as well as the one standing at the far left as first in this row – are hard to identify for the time being. However, the arrangement of the hymnographers in the church of St Panteleimon in Nerezi might be helpful here, that is, one of the most significant representatives of fresco painting in the Byzantine cultural sphere.⁵² Painted on the north arm of the cross, on the north wall of the naos, the holy poets in Nerezi appear in the same way as in St Sophia: as a compact five-member group in a row. Their counterparts can be found in hermit monks portrayed in the southern part in the same space.⁵³ Thus, in Nerezi, St Euthymius, the famous spiritual role model of St Sava of Jerusalem, appears as a counterpart to Theodore the Studite, renowned as an abbot of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople.⁵⁴ This iconological concept was also applied in the St Sophia narthex, except that in St. Sophia St Theodore the Studite visually corresponds to St Sava of Jerusalem, who is painted on the opposing wall. A parallel relation of these monastic figures exists, in the narthex of Mileševa (1222-1228) as well as in Žica, where they are represented in the Tower respectively the cell of St Sava

⁴⁸ Bakalova, Boianskata crkva, 13-14; In the Narthex of Lagoudera there is another depiction of Cosmas of Maiuma, which dates back to the 14th century. The two depictions cf. WINFIELD, Lagoudera, 220, 331-332, Fig. 190, 302.

⁴⁹ Boyd, Monagri, 314, fig. 46.

⁵⁰ Milanović, Sveti pesnici, 165-186; Sinkević, Nerezi, 61, 180/Fig. 68-69; Todić, Staro Nagoričino, 87, 104, 117-118, Fig. 31.

⁵¹ cf. SHEVCHENKO (N. P.), Giovanni di Damasco, 322.

⁵² Dimitrova, Nerezi, 7.

⁵³ Sinkević, Nerezi, 61, 146/ Fig. LI, 148/Fig. LVII.

⁵⁴ Sinkević, Nerezi, 62.

(1223-1227) on the south wall east and west of the bifora.⁵⁵ In this regard, the analogy between the St Sophia narthex and Nerezi can also be seen through the saintly figure of Theodore the Studite. In fact, his inclusion in the set of the holy hymnographers in both churches goes back to the Byzantine tradition of the Comnenian period, thus in St Sophia it clearly emulates the example from Nerezi, where his oldest depiction among the group of holy poets is attested.⁵⁶ This iconological solution can be further explained with the fact that under the guidance of Theodore the Studite the Stoudios Monastery continued to foster the Palestinian tradition of church poetry, which St John Damascene and St Cosmas of Maiuma brought there.⁵⁷ Taking this in consideration, it would not be crossing the line to carefully suggest, that on the north side of the east wall of the St Sophia narthex, the same standard group of holy poets is represented by analogy with Nerezi, starting from right to left: St Joseph the Hymnographer, St Cosmas of Maiuma, St John Damascene, St. Theophanes Graptos and St Theodore the Studite.

In St Sophia, on an opposing wall as a counterpart to the supposed figure of St John Damascene is depicted the young prince and monk Joasaph, who is represented with a richly decorated crown on his head and an open book in his hands. This relation is very symbolic and supports the assumption that the central figure of the eastern wall of this holy space is John Damascene himself. The Indian prince-monk Joasaph, the son of the pagan emperor Avenir, and his spiritual role model Barlaam are the main characters of the literary work which, according to Byzantine tradition, was attributed to John Damascene.⁵⁸ This version of the novel of Eastern origin, adapted to Christianity, was very popular in the Byzantine monastic circles, encouraging their spiritual re-examination, and it was translated into Old Serbian language very early.⁵⁹ This story found a reflection in Byzantine art, first appearing in miniature painting in which the whole novel was illustrated,⁶⁰ and from

⁵⁵ Tomeković, *Les Saints ermites*, 59; Milanovic, *O Svetosavskoj redakciji*, 282; Vojvodic, in: *Manastir Žiča*, 78, 326-327/ Fig. 229-230; Babić, *Les chapelles annexes*, 146; Đuric, *Sveti Sava*, 251-252; Živković (B), *Žiča*, 12; Đorđević, *Sava Jerusalimski*, 181; Gligorijević-Maksimović, *Sava Osvečeni u Žiči*, 369.

⁵⁶ Sinkević, *Nerezi*, 62, 148/ Fig. LVII.

⁵⁷ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 229-234.

⁵⁸ The authorship of this work has not yet been determined – cf. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph*, 596.

⁵⁹ This text was partially published by Novaković. *Varlaam I Joasaf*, 1-121

⁶⁰ The illuminated manuscripts of the novel cf. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*; Debryne, *Barlaam et Joasaph*; Toumpouri, *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 149-168; Toumpouri,

the 12th century in fresco painting as well, where only Barlaam and Joasaph are usually shown side by side. One of the oldest such examples is evidenced in the church of St Nicholas tis Stegis in Kakopetria (beginning of the 12th c.), while the oldest example in the Serbian legacy is found in the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica.⁶¹

The complex iconographic program of the St Sophia narthex can be analyzed from several aspects. The positioning of the holy poets in St Sophia on the east wall may indicate an ideological connection with the theme pictured on the blind dome above the narthex, on which Damascene's second canon dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God is illustrated. The depiction of this theme testifies that this area was designated completely for the celebration of the Mother of God, and the holy poets painted on the east wall join this celebration with the verses of their poetry, which were presumably written on their scrolls.⁶²

The space of the second floor of the narthex can also be seen in the light of its sophisticated design and confrontation of characters and their connection which is exemplified by the relationship between St John Damascene and St Joasaph, as well as between St Theodore the Studite and St Sava of Jerusalem as counterparts. Moreover, the iconographic solution and program of the frescoes in this holy space can also be analyzed as a reflection of the historical currents and turbulences of the 14th century, as well as the novelties and changes related to liturgical practice.

There is a conceptual connection between the scenes of David's repentance, the Vision of St Peter of Alexandria, the depiction of the Ecumenical councils, and the row of holy monks in the zone of standing figures. Accordingly, the penetrating gaze of the angel in David's repentance as he draws his sword from its scabbard ready for execution, the scene of the Vision of Peter of Alexandria, and all seven Ecumenical councils from the vault can also be interpreted as instilling fear of God's punishment and emphasize church authority.

L'illustration, 386-416.

⁶¹ In the Church of St Nicolas tis Stegis in Kakopetria is to be found another depiction of the same saints as part of the younger fresco decoration from 13-14 century - cf. Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 62, 66; Tomeković, *Les Saints ermites*, 290, Figs. 23, 55, 98; Vuković, *Barlaam and Joasaph*, 98. For Studenica cf. Kashanin et al, *Manastir Studenica*, 154, Fig. 146-147; Babic et al, *Studenica*, 72, 74-75/ Fig. 58-59. The other examples are in the following churches, Protaton, Virgin Peribleptos in Ochrid, St George - Omorphoekklesia (1295--1317), Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson (mid. 14th c.), Church Manastir in Mariovo and Prophitis Elias in Thessalonike (1360-80) - cf. Gerstel, *Civic and Monastic Influences*, 232.

⁶² Milanović, *Sveti pesnici*, 178/n. 27.

On the other hand, by attaching importance to the holy poets, the lyrical tone is emphasized and gives a special tone to this sacred space. As the modern Greek philosopher Christos Yannaras has said: "The apophatic attitude leads Christian theology to use the language of poetry and images for the interpretation of dogmas much more than the language of conventional logic and schematic concepts."⁶³ This statement coincides with the conception of inner decoration of the narthex and clearly exemplifies it. What is more, the inclusion of St John Damascene in the iconography of the canon illustration scene in the narthex of St Sophia is not an iconographic novelty. However, the depiction of holy poets – as group of coordinated and synchronized movements reminiscent of their participation in the liturgy – is perhaps the most representative example of the fact that John Theorianos and his collaborators, by accepting a new sensibility of beauty, volume, rhythm and harmoniously coordinated movements of the figures, contributed to establishing a closer and more direct connection between the painted program and worship, and in comparison went a step beyond the contemporaries of that time.

⁶³ Mushagalusa, John of Damascus, 151.

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CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF ICONS IN THE DIRECTION OF ARTISTIC AND AESTHETIC PRESENTATION

Abstract *The study refers to the restoration procedures performed in previous periods, which significantly influenced the artistic and aesthetic impression in one of the most exquisite icon paintings in our country, the icons from the Icon Gallery in the Museum of N. Macedonia.*

Treated with different conservation-restoration styles during the last four decades, considering the principles of restoration, modern restoration practice basically faces re-conservation as an inevitable process, including an examination of the old conservation material' condition, which lies alongside with the possibility of future representation of these exhibits or as a challenge for rebranding the artistic and aesthetic form.

Key words: icons, museum, restoration, principles, aesthetic presentation

INTRODUCTION

With the founding of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (1920) and its collection of valuables from the past, an initiative was launched to establish a museum as a special space for the collection of icons. In 1921 so called the Museum of Southern Serbia¹ included medieval art of Macedonia and an especially vigorous program of collecting liturgical objects, frescoes, icons and manuscripts, developed with the founding in 1932 of the Ecclesiastical Museum in Skopje, housed in the church of St. Mina². Most of these exponents were transferred in the new Museum of Macedonia established in 1988, together with the largest number of icons deposited during the period between 1956 and 1975, when the Republic Institute for Preservation of Cultural Monuments was documenting the cultural heritage from various inactive churches and monasteries from the territory of Macedonia. Temporarily entrusted to the museum for purpose of study and presentation are the icons from the Art Gal-

¹ М. Јовановић, Музеологија и заштита споменике култура, Филозофски факултет, РЛАН, Београд, 1994, 64.

² С. Радојчић, Старине црквеног музеја у Скопљу, Скопље, 1941.

lery in Skopje, the Museum and Gallery in Kavadarci and the Museum in Prilep. More over the collection was enriched by purchases from private owners³.

With a new concept, the presentation of this collection was updated and displayed in the Icon Gallery opened in 2001 and represents the national exclusive cultural heritage value. The exhibited icons are the core of the museum collection and are selected for their historical, artistic values, iconographic features or their local characteristics, belonging from the early 14 century to the early 20 century, and may generally be described as post Byzantine and Late Medieval works of art. The collection numbers more than four hundred (400) icons from different parts of our territory and the collection expose in the Gallery is formed with only 126 icons. Most of the icons from the gallery expose are in good shape, but among them and mostly from the museum depot (apx.300) appear with the variety of restorations. During the last decades the icons have undergone intensive conservation treatments, but the solid data sheet started to be notifying from 1993 in the National Conservation Centre-Skopje, which unfortunately left a rather large number of icons treated in the period of 1957-1975 as well as during the 80s without any documentation about precise conservation processes⁴. In a series of conservation-restoration processes the accumulation of the various applied styles of restoration and conservation remnants visibly affected their final appearance.

Protection and implementation

Preventive preservation (according to the principle of Caesar Brandi) is based mainly on their historical value, with respect on iconographic achievements from the past, according to which the icons of the Gallery were selected for futher protective treatments that dealt with their current, damaged condition. Prevention was often carried out urgently due to the risky situation and the high degree of damage in which the icons were found during the inspection of abandoned, destroyed churches on the territory of our country, carried out as part of collective actions of institutional inspection.

Therefore, it must be emphasized that many icons (meaning icons collected from different regions brought in the laboratories of the former Republic Insti-

³ V. Popovska-Korobar, *Icons from the Museum of Macedonia*, Skopje, 2004, 7-9.

⁴ The former Republic Institution for the Protection of Cultural Monuments-Skopje, now called the National Conservation Centre-Skopje, changed its location several times, but since 1993, with the establishment of the Archive (INDOC) centre as a separate sector, it has launched arranging a pile of photo and descriptive documentation.

tution for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Skopje) after their conservation treatment were deposited or kept in the Museum of Macedonia, where they become part of the gallery collection. The justification for their preventive conservation at the moment of risk or damage has often in the past led to the application of radical decisions in the direction of preserving iconography.

From the present aspect, such conservation and preventive actions move in two directions, which will be essential in terms of their artistic and aesthetic presentation or their future rebranding:

-The *first*, placing a “clean cut” between the damaged and stable surface, the moment of *moving away from the damaged condition as much as possible*, within the framework of performing preventive protection by saturating the principles of protection; or *marking* the area of previous damage and those repaired.

- *Second* - the moment when the icon becomes part of the national register which acquires the right to exceptional cultural goods by changing its function from church to museum, which brings the icon as *a future museum exhibit closer to its aesthetic form for public presentation*.

Knowing the fact that each past day can accumulate some newfound value, we are aware of the lost traces, sometimes fatal in maintaining the value of continuity with the past (lack of documentation of previous interventions or photo documentation of the earlier condition). Several followed examples of icons speak of a treatment that signifies three characteristic currents: *Elimination, Refill and Alteration* as actions performed in areas of damage that significantly affect the final appearance on their artistic and aesthetic presentation.

1. ELIMINATION (Edging - damage limiter) **Types of edging and their neutral tone**

The presentation of the authentic remaining iconography by introducing a border line for its strict separation from the damaged ones emphasizes the “*edge*” as an important preventive, but also aesthetic element in the presentation of the iconography. Edges are, according to their composition (plaster, animal glue) a traditional material for replacing the original substrate. They are placed obliquely like edges, connecting the iconography with the adjacent found layer (usually a wooden surface) in the places of damaged gaps, thus justifying their protective role.

(a). On the example of the icon Virgin with Child from the village of Banjani, Skopje, from the 14th century, removing the over-painting from a recent period was performed as a decision to "shave" any remaining fragment of the former original substrate from the area of large damaged lacuna in the lower zone (by presenting a clean wooden surface) and thus emphasize an even more drastic contrast between iconography as a value and its irretrievably lost parts (**Fig.1-a**). The end of this conservation intervention finishes with the establishment of a *concrete boundary between two opposing forms-the form of "damage" and the form of "value"*, which formally define the contour (**Fig.1-b**), and which in the period (80s) were valued as pure correctness in the conservation intervention!



Fig. 1- Edging (a)-Virgin with Child from the village of Banjani, Skopje from the 14th century; (b)-Virgin with Child, 16th century, unknown origin

Performances of thin or wide edges, as well as playful delimiters were according to the conservator's performance and his subjective assessment, which allows us to conclude that the conservators paid more attention to their correction line rather than the final outlook for a complete representation of the iconography they treated!

(b). Toning as part of the issue of restoration in the area of retouching took place in different tones, depending on the surrounding area in which it was placed and the period of conservation practice in which it was performed. According to the principle of retouching: .. each inauthentic part is presented in a lighter tone than the original ..! reduces the retouching of the edges to the most common neutral tone - light gray, light ocher or a lighter brown tone along their length in continuity. Most often, due to the oblique connection of iconographic parts with a wooden surface in the area of damage, the edges are tinted with a tone close to brown wood, so that the edges, especially the wider ones, grow into a restoration problem, which led to additional dilemma regarding their tonality in retouching, that, in extreme cases ended in the style of the familiar sight of dirty water, so called in Italian- *acqua sporca* (Fig. 2-a,b).

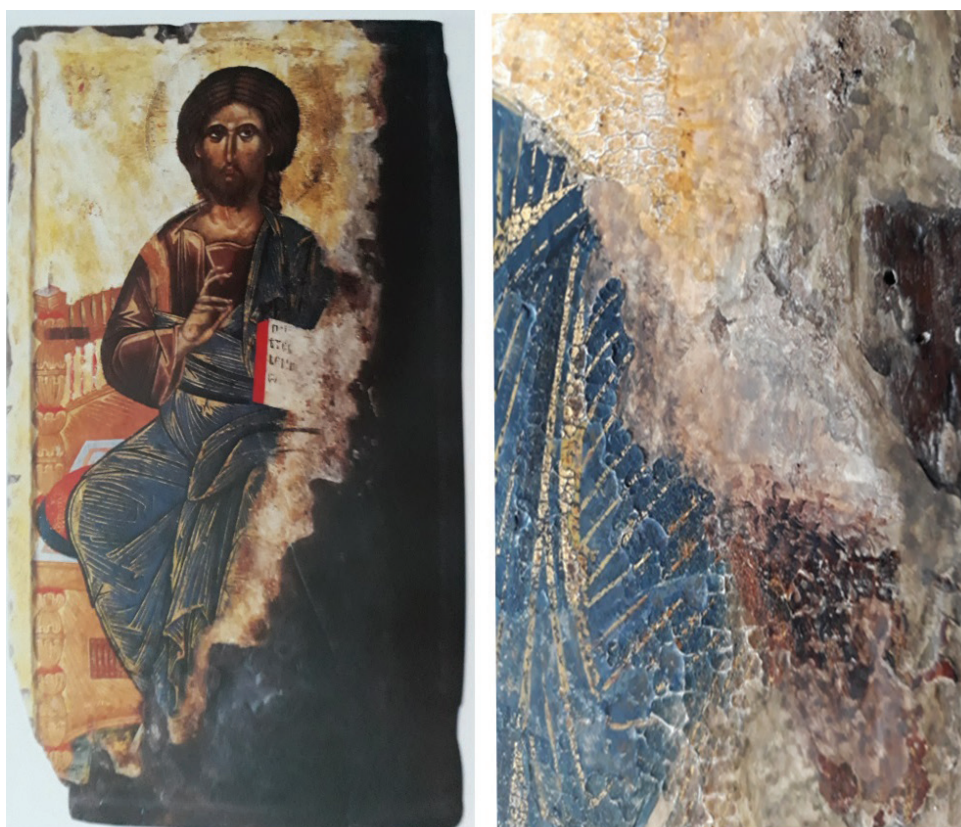


Fig.2 - (a)-Jesus Christ Savior, 16 th century, church St. Demetrius, Bitola, (b)-Edging

Edges justify their participation on the basis of prevention, but on the other hand their appearance can significantly repel and devalue the entire artistic and aesthetic presentation, which diminishes their aesthetic reputation.

2. REFILL Restoration, types of retouching

The second principle according to Cesare Brandi says that restoration must aim to establish the potential unity of a work of art, as long as it is possible without creating an artistic or historical forgery and without erasing the passage of time⁵.

In certain examples of icons, in periods of restoration processes, the restoration left traces in their aesthetic representation or, conditionally speaking, changed their appearance. These actions were taken with the thought of improving their aesthetic impression, which translated into the restoration process meant total covering of the damaged parties, repairing them with a restoration primal layer. *In this way, the damage was "built" to a level closer to the value, in order not to emphasize the drastic differences between the high value and its damage.*

The approach to covering the damage by refilling with the conservation layer announces the large restoration parties, performed in a various style of retouching. The tendency to completely cover the damaged parts, especially those worm-like from the wooden surfaces, developed into a *manner* for covering all other damaged lacunae, thus the restoration raised into a tendency to apply retouching, which finally emphasized even more the iconographic discontinuity.

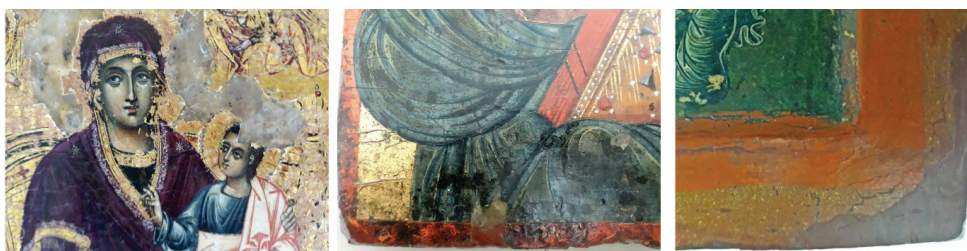


Fig.3 - Examples of icons with wax treatment:(a)-The Akathistos of the Holy Virgin, late 18 th or early 19 th century,church St. Demetrius, Bitola;(b)- St. Mathew,17th century, church St. Demetrius, Bitola; (c)- The Lamentation, 16th century, church St. John the Forerunner, Slepče monastery, Demir Hisar

(a). Wax treatment - The dipping of the wooden icon supports from the backside in the wax mixture was in vogue in the late 60s, but as a procedure

⁵ C. Brandi (*Second principle*), *Teoria del restauro*, (1977,2000), Torino, Teorija restauracije, Publikum, Beograd, 2007, 39.

left a significant mark in the “conservation memory”. Namely, the wax is a material proven in its peculiarities for durability in conditions of significant moisture and has traditionally been used for the consolidation of the wooden supports by filling the woodworm surface and the worm channels⁶. However, the term “filling” was used widely, and the wax (or wax-resin mixture) also served to fill the damages on the front side of the iconography area, which allows us to say that the wax was used by the conservators as a “magic wand” material for any type of damage to any system layer of the icon (Fig.3-a,b,c).

Nevertheless, the penetration of wax into the depth of the wormhole pores or into damaged cavities is not compatible with the traditional substrate (gypsum, animal glue), moreover, wax removal treatment becomes a problem or risk upon the original, if ever performed, meaning that each subsequent aesthetic presentation is forced to stand on a restrictive platform.



Fig.4 - Restoration with neutral tone: (a)- Deesis with apostles - Tchin, 14 th century, unknown church in Ohrid; (b)-Mother of God Triheirousa with prophets and high priest 1626, Lesnovo monastery, Probištip;(c)-The Descent to hell, 18 th century, unknown origin

(b). Neutral tone (ocher, brown, gray) - The restorations performed on the icons (Fig.4-a,b,c,d) with a primary layer retouched in a neutral tone, from a preservation point of view represents the return / reconstruction of

⁶ A. Popovska, *Konzervatorsko-restavratski metodi i tretmani na Ohridskata zbirka ikoni*, Centar za duhovno i kulturno nasledstvo, Calamus, Skopje, 2018, 174-176.

the systemic layer that was missing in the area of damage / fallout⁷. From an aesthetic point of view, this monochrome background suggests an attempt for the potential unity. However, in the aesthetic presentation the neutral tone, despite its tendency to grow into a secondary or “background” of the original iconography that appears as “positive” and should be expressed, extremely highlights the discontinuity of the damaged iconography turning its neutrality into a peculiar impression. In the period between the late 80s and 90s, the ocher tone was strongly practiced, but the light brown or faded ocher tone did not lag behind.

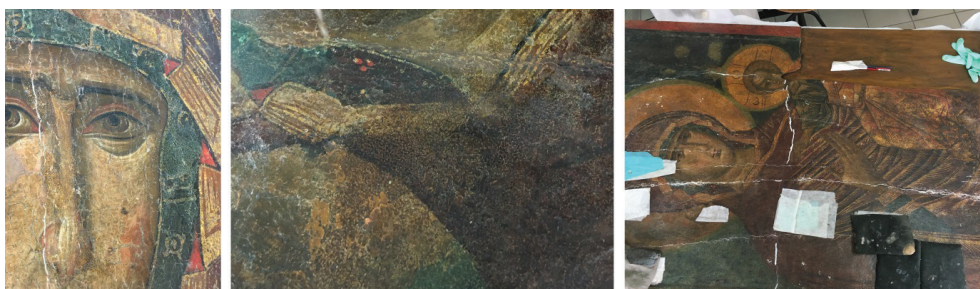


Fig.5 - Details of imitative pointillistic retouch from the icon Virgin with Child, 1342-1347 church St. Arh. Michael, Lesnovo monastery, Probištip

(c). **Imitative pointillistic retouche** - On the icon Virgin with child, 14th century, (Fig.5) we recognize restored parties by the principle of imitative retouch (dots) along with the original monochrome parties from the iconography connected into one whole, achieving a material entity. This synergy was justified at the time it was performed, as it aimed to completely prevent the contamination of the remaining “healthy” material, even at the cost of amputation / thinning of the wooden support at the rear, due to the high percentage of wooden rot. The imitative retouching performed pointillistically represents reconstruction of an imaginary past! performed by a restorer in a certain period in the present in which the seemingly out dated appearance of the iconography is presented by applying a faded colour of the retouch, which mostly corresponds to the old original⁸.

In the current affairs⁹ about the condition of the conservation material as a consolidating force, we have concluded that although thinned, the wooden

⁷ AIC, *Code of Ethics for Conservators*, (2012) about the compensation of the loss.

⁸ D. Dumas, *Reconstructing the Image: A Discussion on the Effectiveness of Restoration Methods for Painted Surfaces. Theory and Practice at the Benaki Museum Conservation Department. Mouseio Benaki Journal*, 10, 2010, 88.

⁹ The realization of the Project for conservation -restoration of the gallery icons from the Museum of Macedonia started in 2019-2020 (conservators: Ph.D L.Kovačovska, Ph.D

support still “works” and under the pressure of tangential forces during its contraction and expansion, cracks are reflected on the conservation primal layer, causing it to sag even more. The appearance of horizontal cracks also marked by the strength of the conservation surface itself, further will lead to the process of their networking or the appearance of cracks based on their age! So, any future conservation treatment, in this case, would be more concerned about rehabilitating the old conservation material rather than the original one and therefore new research, as a basic precursor to any future conservation intervention, must take into account the strength of the internal consolidation inside the original tissue. Anyway, the drastic decision to cut the wooden support and place the rest on the panel plate, in the new research creates frustration with the ways in which “damage” was treated in the past.

(d). **Tratteggio retouch** - The Rigatino retouch¹⁰, or in our country the retouch performed in monochrome lines, was especially practiced above the “island” lacunae of lesser extent, but also on the larger damages of the gilded areas (**Fig.6-a,b**). First, the nearest tone was applied, which best corresponds to the tone / tones of the surrounding area, and lines with a lighter tone are drawn on it. This performance solution is very reminiscent to the iconographic style built firstly by the primary tone, so-called -proplasm¹¹ that is further upgraded with lighter tones, or is near to the similar examples of more modern classical painting by using sub-painting and over-painting.

Gilding with new gold leaves in the area of damaged gilding was not practiced, in order to eliminate the possibility of falsifying the original¹², and these playful lines best enabled conservators to capture the surrounding surface, usually found with minor damage or residual old varnish and patina. Thus, in the final aesthetic appearance, seemingly calm, these “playful spots” can be noticed up close. But sometimes, depending on the performance of the retouches in the stripes (*selezione e astrazione cromatica*) the final effect ended unhappily in the retouched places in the area of iconography, giving it a “blur effect” from afar¹³ (**Fig.6-c**).

A.Popovska, A. Atanasov; historians of art: M-g.T.Trajković, Ph.D prof.B.Dimitrova and biochemist:S.Mamučevska-Miljković).

¹⁰ David A. Scott, *Art: Authenticity and Restoration*, (Introduction), UCLA-Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2016, 27.

¹¹ M. Medić, *Stari slikarski priručnici II*, Beograd, 2002, 115.

¹² S. Carvalho, *The concept of “original” in Conservation Theory - Fake? The Art of Deception*, *Conservation and Restoration Studies*, (2), 2010, 124-135.

¹³ La Guide Pratiche, *Conservazione 19, Integrazione cromatica, tratteggio ad astrazione cromatica e a selezione cromatica*, <http://vecchiosito.dsa.unige.it/sla/marsc/pubblicazioni/>



Fig.6 - (a)-*Virgin with Child*, 16th century, unknown origin;(b)-detail of the retouch on the gilded area; (c) - Detail of the retouch on the face of the Virgin

(e). **Art povero** image - In some examples of restoration, due to the lack of analogies, we can reveal the level of the performer himself, even portray the period in which the interventions were performed, which in some cases leads to a lower level of performance up to the poor *Art povero* representative aesthetic style (Fig.7).



Fig.7- *Virgin with Child*,16-17 th century, church St.Arh.Michael, vil. Oreoc, Makedonski Brod;(b,c)- Details of reconstruction

3. ALTERATION

Changing the style of restoration in order to change the aesthetic impression with regard to the second principle of C. Brandi about preserving the entity, we must note that this principle does not mention the material. According to Brandi's theory, if necessary, part of the material can be sacrificed because of its historicity, nevertheless the aesthetic aspect has an advantage¹⁴.

In our practice, there has been controversy over the presentation of icons in terms of their function. There were three special directions: the *first* - icons that have been preserved - restored and returned to the original churches and their religious function, the *second* - icons that were discarded from iconostasis structures due to damaged condition, but because of their historical value were deposited in the museum depot; and the *third* - the most favorable, quickly became museum exhibits and regularly received conservation treatment. *The second category most often referred to icons with iconography in fragments, preserved and used exclusively for scientific purposes.* In this regard, we appreciate if we point out some current changes that have occurred in the last three decades, which significantly change the principles of restoration, in addition to the final appearance of the iconography.

Taught from previous performances and their final impact on the aesthetic appearance of the entire iconography, the last two decades have been influenced by the principle: preserve, not restore¹⁵! The tendency towards minimalist interventions, i.e. keeping the form of conservation, and not restoration, led to the removal of old restoration parts made on the principle of neutral tone, which brought the aesthetic presentation of the same icons in a new form for their final appearance. The elimination of old restoration lacunae and the introduction of pure conservation led to changes in the appearance of the iconography (**Fig. 8-a,b**) from a full restoration refill to fragmentary remains of the original or the appearance of an old damaged icon. This re-make of the already made status of retouching enabled the "release" of ready-made or the finished product to be seen as it is or what is left of it, without any additions or "forged surfaces", referring to previous restorations¹⁶.

¹⁴ J. Manuel Mimoso, A. Chaban, *A theoretical approach to the restoration of azulejos by re-firing*, *Conservar Património*, nb.23, 2016, 55-61.

¹⁵ D. Vokić, *Konzervirati ili restaurirati: od dva suprotstavljena koncepta do jedinstvenog*, *Kolo: časopis Matice hrvatske XI/I*, 369-373.

¹⁶ David A. Scott, *Art: Authenticity, Restoration, Forgery*, (The Australian Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Material (AICCM 2014) defines restoration as "all actions taken



Fig.8 - Virgin with child, 16-17 th century, church Presentation of the Holly Virgin, Kumanovo, Karpenski monastery:(a) -Restoration during 90s; (b) -Removal of the old restoration made this last decade;(c)-Virtual attempt of removing the reconstructive parts of the icon from the museum depot St. Demetrius, 16th century, Struga;d)-The icon with the reconstructive parts

Their nowadays presentation after this change, which somewhat resembles to the fashion of the “ripped- torn image” embody a paradox between reintegration and disintegration in relation to the iconographic entity.

Minimalism has continued to be practiced as a principle while retaining the form of minimal interventions in preventive conservation, that is, with as little as possible to keep conservation within the limits of conservation. Comparing the new aesthetic appearance of the icon of the Virgin with Child with the icon of St. Demetrius from Struga, (**Fig.8-b,d**) we allow once more to go back to the time when this icon was valued only according to its historical value, categorized as highly damaged and placed in the rank of icons for scientific purposes.

With the new currents in the last two decades regarding the artistic and aesthetic presentation and their changes, we can now rightly conclude that some icons that were previously removed and stored in the museum depot due to the unsatisfactory high degree of damage (due to the aesthetic impression of integrity/entity)! Now, according to the principle of minimal interventions, these discarded icons become equal to those displayed in the gallery within their historical value, along with the remaining original area of their iconog-

to modify the existing materials and structure of cultural material to represent a known earlier state. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historical value of an object and is based on respect for remaining original material and clear evidence of the earlier state.”) 2016, 9.

raphy (**Fig.8-c**), so the possibility of fairly included in the shortlist of icons that will experience the light in the gallery, is getting bigger.

In a certain sense, the new revaluation will surely qualify them, finally in the narrowest sense (internal-museum), as icons with the possibility of displaying them in public, and not only for scientific purposes.

CONCLUSION

In Brandi's time, the work of art was considered a phenomenon that could preserve the complex relationships in which it appeared, in which it was accepted or rejected, but most importantly, as Brandi believed under the influence of Bergson's philosophy is that the art-product is maintained in force by an intuition that is common to the producer and the user and that is able to outlive the context of creation and its original use. Therefore, in his opinion, the term history primarily refers to the history of the context in which the image of the world is an inevitable way of understanding reality. Both, earlier and modern. And that is why he insists that we must preserve the witnesses of the past (the traces) that rise above the craft product at the time of its creation, and that in the case of art, it is their ability to directly show us all the contexts in which the work originated and lived. In addition, Brandi reduces this aesthetic principle, which in practical terms is not at all complicated for professionals, to the exact discovery of exactly those artistic canons that acted and act as paradigms, to all historical objects that are not artistic, but have passed into the status of historical testimony, so that for modernity they act with their intangible ability to testify to something that is no longer available, to be pillars of memory¹⁷.

Just as art museums have a justification for their actions in a particular aesthetic, so historical museums find a justification for their production practices as "irrefutable evidence of the past" - or in this case sacred museum objects in their national ideologies. But previous conservation-restoration interventions should also be considered as the fruits of the former prevailing work procedures, and any future revision should at least respect Brandi! That is, modern conservation must give a complete picture of the icon as a multiple witness of time, or all the times in which it lived. Even today, as in Brandi's time, it is not only the face of the restored work that is imposed on

¹⁷ According to the D.Bulatović, Ph.D from the Center for Museology and Heritology, University of Belgrade, Serbia, Faculty of Philosophy.

the observer, but accumulated huge resources of multimedia communication that can “discover” icons and show all phases of work and all historical layers. Also, today it is possible to imagine that the safely preserved icon still receives “retrospectives” of material that will not endanger the historical material in any way, but can contribute to the impression of the whole and create conditions for the reconstruction of historical aesthetic experiences, since historical works are experienced differently in different periods, legitimately and according to the history of taste, and today's understanding of artistic value requires us to make all these old meanings available.

From the given examples of selective icons that have undergone restorations or restorative changes, exclusively for their aesthetic presentation, we can conclude that the *Retouche* acted significantly in their representative appearance. The domain of “retouch” as a field of painting was used by conservators in various styles, following the popular or current painting thinking that influenced the periods in which they were performed. Thus, the aesthetic form of the restoration is slowly shifting from high heels to elegant ones! Illustratively, from a very protected approach to harm, today we can more comfortably consider other possibilities of aesthetic presentation of these iconographic works.

The period in which these conservation affairs were performed today may also speak about the level of their performance, compared to the way the damage was treated then and now. On the other hand, these comparisons are a chronological historical fact in changing the principles of aesthetic presentation and their interpretation in realization. The moment when the artwork or “in situ” state through conservation treatment turns into a stable-consolidated artifact illuminates every decision of the conservators from the past.

In doing so, the re-established entity sometimes led to a closed door for any future rebranding of the aesthetic form. The application of radical decisions together with the strong power of conservation material has called into question their original appearance, especially in the context of lost traces of the past, executed in a basket of collateral damage during previous conservation interventions. Therefore, the profile of the performer-conservator should be built as an intuitive tool that connects the past and the future into the present based on accurate scientific research and results, which would eliminate any subjective analysis in declaring about the conservation material,

applied method, treatment, etc. available only during the period in which the interventions are performed.

Let it not happen: "The eye sees only what the mind is ready to comprehend" (Fig.9), we must look at time as permanence (Henri-Louis Bergson)¹⁸ because any conservation intervention in the future will be an obstacle or a bridge to the source toward the original, and according to the principle of restoration¹⁹ where each value capsule should maintain its time passage - free, the conservation performed in the past at some future moment acquires the right of chief adjutant, in this case to the original.



Fig.9- "Baptism of Christ" painted on fish bone, mid 19th century, unknown origin, (15x28x6cm) as an exhibit not represented on both sides

¹⁸ H. Bergson (1859-1941) one of the most famous and influential French philosophers of the late 19th century-early 20th century (<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bergson/>).

¹⁹ For restoration to be a legitimate operation, it cannot presume that time is reversible or that history can be abolished (C. Brandi, 1977, 75).

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PERSPECTIVE-ARCHITECTURE-ILLUSION IN THE SCENOGRAPHY OF THE RENAISSANCE AND THE BAROQUE THEATRE

During the history, painting, architecture and theatre had been in a long relationship. The rebirth of interest in the classic times, which was typical for the Renaissance, bore heavily upon all of them. Although mystery plays were still given, in the 15th century Masaccio and Mantegna were discovering the perspective effects in their paintings and scholars were studying Vitruvius' few pages on the Roman and the Greek theatre. Plautus, Terence and Seneca were revived. Popes and nobles gave plays on platforms in courtyards and later in palaces. The discovery of perspective served not only the painters, but also the theater stage design. From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, scenery and playhouses grew larger and more elaborate until they achieved the distinction as separate objects and institutions.

It was in the Renaissance that for the first time the sense of space and form was expressed in the stage settings. We are not sure whether Laurana's panel was painted for a special performance. (**illus. 1**) Often, canvases from famous painters were used just to adorn the stage. Thus, in the castle of the Gonzagas in Mantua two comedies of Plautus, *The Brothers* and *The Cartaginian*, had as parts of the same setting Andrea Mantegna's cycle of nine paintings, "The Triumph of Caesar".¹ (**illus. 2**) These paintings, adorning the long side walls, were seen through arches placed in front of them to deepen the perspective. The new technique of perspective became more effective when the stage was moved from the long side of the hall to the narrow one. This erased the last vestiges of the medieval multiple set. The new stage was narrow but quite deep, which was of vital importance since it made perspective more convincing. The greatest artists were eager to show their mastery in this new field. (**illus. 3**)

¹ G. Altman, R. Freud, K. Macgowan, W. Melnitz, *Theater*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1953, part 3.

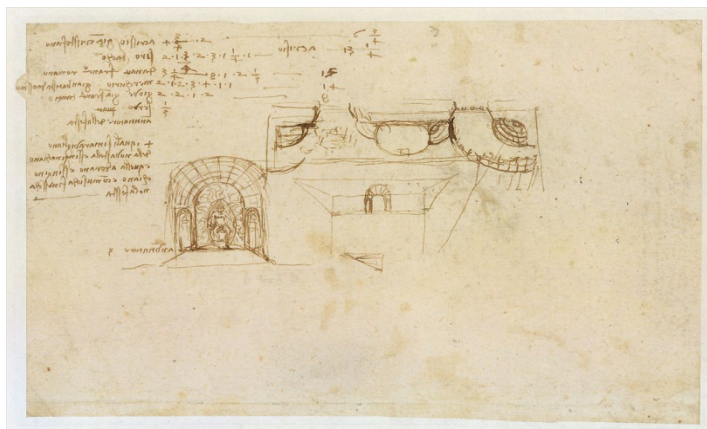


1. Luciano Laurana, *The ideal city*, c. 1470, oil on wooden table, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino



2. Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar*, scene 6, 1485-95, tempera on canvas, Royal Collection, Hampton Court

Renaissance paintings invite the viewer to look into habitable spaces where religious and mythological events occur and where life is chronicled through the observation of detail. In this period artists were aware of the power of observation and believed in the verity of what is seen by the eye. Albrecht Dürer agreed with the Greek philosopher Aristotle that “sight is the noblest faculty of man.” Leonardo da Vinci stated that observation is the common mother of “all Sciences and the Arts.” Renaissance artists devised pictorial systems like perspective to imitate what they observed. It has been said that in the northern European art (Netherlands) the room is fixed and the viewer’s eye is invited to wander about the room or space, while in the southern art (Italian), it is the artist’s viewpoint that is fixed, and it guides the viewer to the important event.



3. Leonardo da Vinci, *An architectural allegory and design for a stage set*, c. 1496, pen and ink, MET

Linear one-point perspective is based on a mathematical system with a fixed viewpoint; Alberti was one of the artists who developed its underlying geometry. His starting point was, also in the Aristotelian tradition, the treatment of the eye as the chief of the sensory organs.² Alberti describes the picture plane as an open window: “I first draw a rectangle of right angles, where I am to paint, which I treat just like an open window through which I might look”.³ This system guides the viewer’s eye through the picture plane to the focal point, or **vanishing point**.⁴ The new understanding of a perspectival image remained directly related to the notion of classical optics as a science of the transmission of light rays. The pyramid of vision, the notion on which the Renaissance idea of the image as a window on the world was based, was inherited from the euclidean notion of the visual cone. The eye was believed to project its visual rays onto the object, with perception occurring as a dynamic action of the beholder upon the world.⁵

In treatises on perspective as the art of drawing, starting with Alberti's *Della Pictura*, binocular vision was reduced to a fixed point that was the apex of the cone of vision.⁶ The necessity of stereoscopic vision to perceive depth,

² Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, Penguin Classics, 2004 (III ed.), p.11 from the Introduction.

³ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁴ A. Pérez-Gómez and L. Pelletier, “Architectural Representation beyond Perspectivism”, in *Perspecta*, Vol. 27, (1992), pp. 21-39 Published by: The MIT Press on behalf of *Perspecta*, 23-24. According to the authors Alberti’s central point (*punto centrico*) of the perspective construction is often wrongly associated with the “vanishing” point projected at infinity.

⁵ Alberti, *Op. cit.*, Book I, parts 5, 6 and 7, fig. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*

however, required the introduction of a second element that would determine the foreshortening. There was no systematization in fifteenth-century perspective treatises. In Alberti's method of perspective, this new element became an abstract screen (known today as the picture plane) intersecting the visual rays at a given distance. Foreshortening, however, remained the result of intuition.

Even though fifteenth-century painters were experimenting with methods of linear perspective, the geometrization of pictorial depth was not yet systematized and did not immediately influence the process of architectural creation. In the beginning it was still impossible for the Renaissance architect to conceive that his creation could be represented with a two-dimensional diaphanous section of the pyramid of vision. As architect, painter and sculptor, Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), to whom we attribute the earliest example of linear perspective, worked mostly from models in his architectural practice. This transition between *perspectivus naturalis* and *perspectivus artificialis* constituted a first step toward a greater rationalization of the visual image and the detachment from medieval tradition.⁷ During the Renaissance, architecture came to be understood as a liberal art, and architectural ideas were thereby increasingly conceived as geometrical *lineamenti*, as bidimensional, orthogonal projections. A gradual and complex transition from the classical theory of vision to a new mathematical and geometrical rationalization of the image was taking place.

During the Renaissance and Baroque era most architects designed stage sets as well as buildings. The main difference between two activities was in their approach towards. As stage designers they showed freedom and fantasy, freed from real weight, stability and solid. The modern architect's distinction of plan, elevation and perspective rendering may have been invented in ancient Greece, since these are called by Greek names in the oldest extant description of architectural drawing. Architectural drawing was not again to dominate stage scenery until renaissance Italy accepted the text of Vitruvius as the *Ten Commandments of architecture*. Shortly before Christ the Roman engineer Vitruvius defined today's main types of architectural drawing in older Greek terms. Perspective rendering shows "a façade with the sides withdrawing into

⁷ *Ibid.*

the background, the lines all meeting in the center of a circle".⁸ Since Vitruvius calls this a *scenografia*, and elsewhere mentions lost Greek treatises on perspective scenery, the Greeks must have had an unsystematic intuition of a single vanishing point when they painted palace façades on the tent (*skene*) or wood and canvas.

The invention of mathematical perspective introduced a method of drawing that indicates dimensions in depth with measurable accuracy and is thus ideal for suggesting immensity on a theatre stage. In northern Italy Daniele Barbaro, Palladio's friend and patron, was very careful to emphasize that perspective was not an architectural idea in the Vitruvian sense. Its use was mainly recommended for painters and stage-set designers. Barbaro believed that *scio-graphia* (the third Vitruvian idea), translated as "perspective", resulted from a misreading in the original text of the word *scenographia*, whose application was important only in the building of stage-sets. Indeed, the frontal perspective used in scenography was concerned with the surface of the picture plane and did not involve the three-dimensionality of "lived" space, which explains its restriction to painting and theater. It is in such media that perspective fulfilled its symbolic function as a means to disclose an ontological depth.⁹

The unified spatial setting of early Renaissance painting became an important step in the evolution of the humanist theatre. But, actually sixteenth century Renaissance artists initiated a development of the modern stage. The ideal setting of the High Renaissance was constructed on a centralized, single-point perspective scheme, a measured recession of modular pavement and articulated palace facades. Moving the *frons scenae* to the front of the stage, they created the proscenium arch, which, in the analogy to the picture frame, delimits the view and provides an explicit separation of the stage and auditorium. The establishment of this absolute barrier made possible the complete illusion and hence autonomy of the stage world.

In Italian Renaissance theater, however, the introduction of perspective provokes a major breakthrough in the backdrop, undergoing an initial pictorial

⁸ J. Scholz (ed.), *Baroque and Romantic Stage Design*, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York 1962, p.v, from the Introduction.

⁹ A. Pérez-Gómez and L. Pelletier, *op. cit.*, 28. Barbaro argues that *scenographia*, which is "related to the use of perspective," is the design of stages for the three dramatic genres (Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, Book V, ch. 6). Appropriate types of buildings must be shown diminishing in size and receding to the horizon. He does not agree with "those that wish to understand perspective (*perspettiva*) as one of the ideas that generate architectural design (*dispositione*)", ascribing to it the definition Vitruvius had given to *scio-graphia*.

change followed by an architectonic one. In the process, the theatrical space loses the imaginary boundary that once defined and separated it from reality. In sixteenth-century Italian theater, the world that the perspective opens in front of the spectators is connected to the same one that they have left behind them. The scene becomes the center for interplay between reality and fiction that fuses the space, occupied by the spectators, with that of the actors. The horizontal structure of theatrical stage, cloistered by the scenery, intersects the vertical articulation of the perspective lines, leading the spectators beyond the backdrop toward a part of their real world. We could say that modern theater, or Renaissance theater, began once this backdrop was broken down and opened up, instituting a more intense interplay between theater and life, actors and their spectators, virtual settings and actual places, illusion and truth.¹⁰ Behind the proscenium every care is taken to expand the dimensions of the scene, creating a fusion of the relief profundity, architectonic mass and pictorial vertigo.

Sebastiano Serlio's (1475-1554) authority helped to establish perspective as part of the architect's training ever since. By thinking of architecture as an optical art (unlike Vitruvius and Alberti) he pointed the way toward Borromini's and Bernini's triumphs of illusion. But the theatre of his day did not yet allow the freedom of stage effects that came later. The liberation of stage design began when (according to Daniele Barbaro in 1569) the Mantuan court painter and architect, Pompeo Pedemonte, succeeded in painting backdrops in such plausible perspective that the audience could not tell where the constructed building of the forestage met their continuation in the painted backdrop.¹¹ The final step toward the modern theatre came in 1619 when Duke of Parma built the first stage equipped with machinery for shifting scenes by rolling up backdrops and sliding flats sideways into the wings.¹² This kind of changeable scenery traced the way to the baroque theater sets.

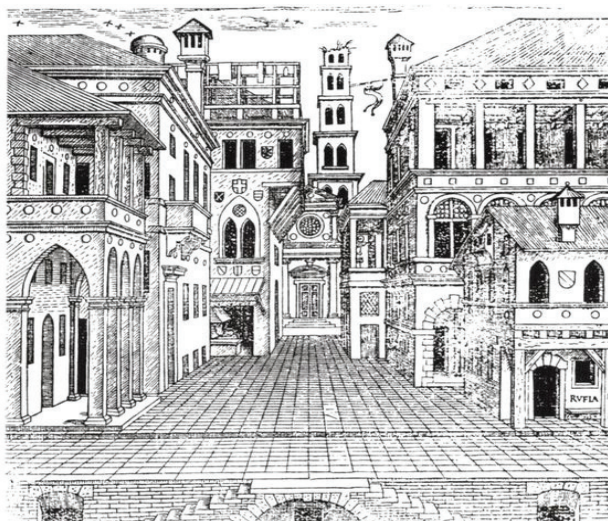
Vitruvius found his interpreter in Serlio, who in his famous *Trattato su l'architettura scenica* (1545) illustrated three standard settings for three basic

¹⁰ F. Finotti, „Perspective and Stage Design, Fiction and Reality in the Italian Renaissance Theater of the Fifteenth Century“, *Renaissance Drama*, New Series, Vol. 36/37, Italy in the Drama of Europe (2010), pp.21-42, 27, 29, The University of Chicago Press for Northwestern University, Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41917452> Accessed: 26-04-2020 18:23 UTC

¹¹ J. Scholz (ed.), *op. cit.*, vii-viii, from the Introduction.

¹² *Ibid.*, viii.

types of plays, already mentioned by the Roman architect.¹³ The so called “comic scene” represents a public square surrounded with various kinds of houses suitable for ordinary citizens. (**illus. 4**)¹⁴ Smaller houses should be placed in the front, and bigger ones behind, so the audience can see other buildings above. This makes the scene be well filled, and in combination with perspective foreshortening creates an illusion of an urban space.¹⁵ Houses for tragedies should be palaces and big buildings for important personages like Dukes, Princes and Kings, or stately houses. (**illus. 5**) They must look like they are built of luxurious materials, like marble. Above the roofs should be placed chimneys, towers, pyramids, obelisks, made from thin board, cut out round, and well colored. Finally, following Vitruvius’ instructions, the image of satiric scene should represent nature and natural effects, containing trees, roots, herbs, hills and flowers, as usual environment of the satyrs.



4. Sebastiano Serlio, *Scena comica*, Il secondo libro della architettura (prospettiva, scenografia), Paris 1545, bilingual edition

¹³ Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book V, vi. 9.

¹⁴ G. Altman, R. Freud, K. Macgowan, W. Melnitz, *op. cit.*, figs. 91-93; A. M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History*, Twenty-five centuries of stage history in more than 300 basic documents and other primary material, General Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto 1952, 73-78.

¹⁵ P. Womak, “The Comical Scene: Perspective and Civility on the Renaissance Stage”, in *Representations*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (Winter 2008), pp. 32-56, University of California Press, 40-41. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rep.2008.101.1.32>



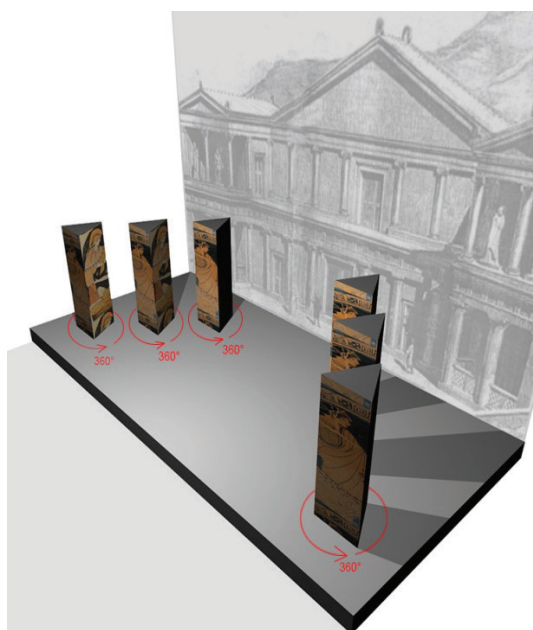
5. Sebastiano Serlio, *Scena tragica*, Il secondo libro della architettura (prospettiva, scenografia), 1545, Paris, bilingual edition

Serlio carried his ideas in Venice in 1527, and, even before their publication, the settings for the comic and tragic scene were probably serving as references for Venetian painters. According to their personal styles, there are fundamental differences regarding their perspective approach and the construction of the space in a theatrical sense.¹⁶ Differences between Veronese and Tintoretto on this issue, are very significant. There are differences in compositional structure, spatial depth, figure distribution and interaction, tone and palette should be considered in the larger context. Veronese's pictures show spatial continuity between foreground and background frustrated by the low horizon, the break in pavement levels, and the deliberate avoidance of pronounced orthogonal, while his figures with dramatic gestures are set on a narrow foreground stage. Elements of Palladio's aesthetic are parallel in the spatial structures of Veronese's most ambitious and monumental compositions, his famous feasts. In contrary, Tintoretto achieved the total spatial unity that was the desired effect of the theatrical setting, with figures freely moving in and out of a spatial continuum.

As next step in the constructing the theatre scene space, Italians developed angular flats, or "wings" like two sides of *periaktos* spread out to 120 degrees

¹⁶ D. Rosand, 220.

angle and arranged these in nests of three or more. During the seventeenth century *periaktoi* were reduced to simple-oblong flats that could be drawn off stage to expose new flats and change the scene. (illus. 6) In fact, the establishing of the modern theatre was followed by researching the past and looking for the future in the same time. Serlio was occupied with various problems of the real stage of his time and traced the way for many similar treatises, whose aim was to confirm the way of theater construction, or to answer the possibilities of perspective solutions, of changing the scenery, lightening and others. As dynamic art, theater performance was real challenge for painters and architects, who were looking for new fresh ideas.

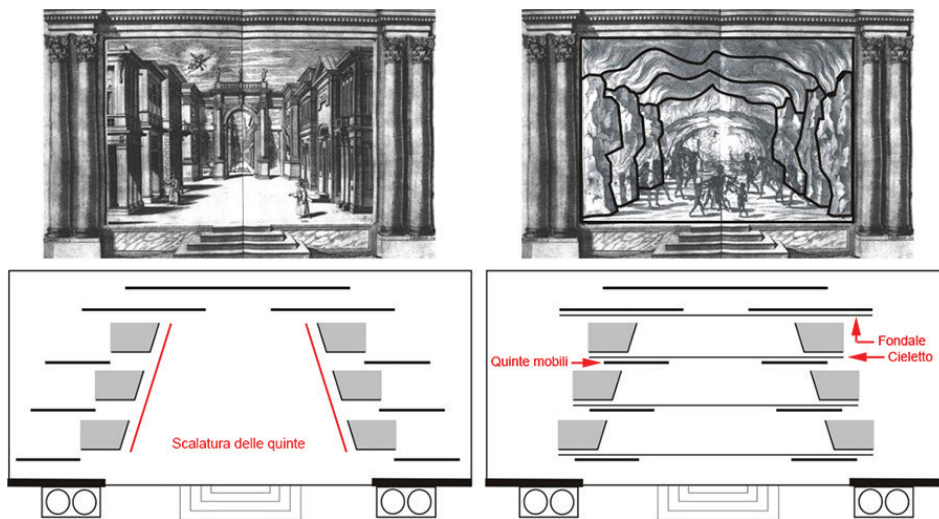


6. 3D reconstruction of the *periaktoi*

As Baltasare Peruzzi's pupil, Sebastiano Serlio inherited material concerning architectural theory from his teacher. In 1545 he published in Paris the second book of his *Regole generali di architettura* (*General principles of architecture*). This volume, dealing with perspective painting, contains detailed instructions with regard to the construction of a stage and auditorium. It was the first Renaissance work on architecture to devote a section to the theatre. Serlio was also the first to employ the term "scenography," and to make extensive use of the scenic space and lighting to give the impression of depth. The performance space was level with the eye-level of the person seated in the chair of honor. However, after the performance space, there was

a sharp incline in the stage floor, called raking. This added to the visual effect of creating a centralized perspective. It made everything upstage look like it was farther away than it really was because it was getting smaller.

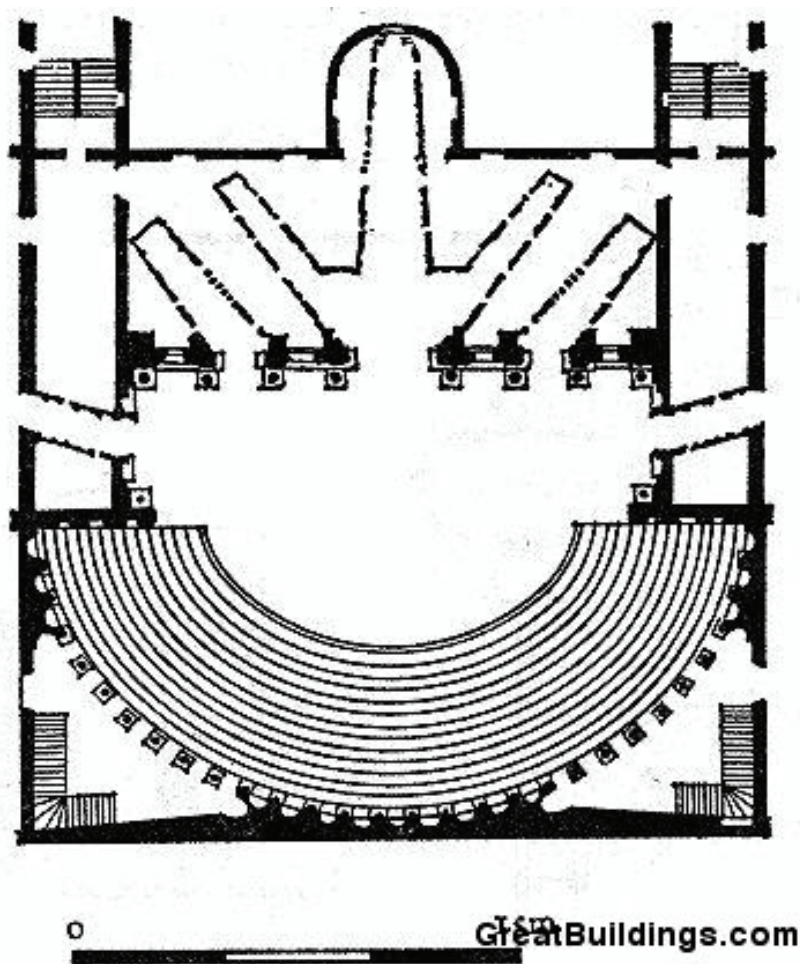
Serlio is thinking in terms of a typical Renaissance theater to be erected in a great banqueting hall or in a courtyard of an Italian prince. He had built such a theater in a courtyard at Vicenza in the 1530's. In true Vitruvian style he raised his playhouse on a circular plan. One half of a circle was designated for the stage, the other half was given to the auditorium. The stage platform consisted of two sections: the front part, at eye level, was the horizontal acting area-behind this was the rear stage, sloping a ninth part of its depth and bearing two- faced angle-wings, upon which an illusionistic perspective setting was painted.¹⁷ The scene was closed by a back shutter or screen, two feet distant from the rear wall, for convenient traffic behind the scenes. The vanishing point of Serlio's setting was located beyond the back wall. If the use of these two things was not enough to create the image of distance, Serlio also used a series of wings to further draw the eye into the illusion. Usually, three sets of wings were used. Each pair was set in farther than the last. (illus. 7) These began at the point on the stage where the actors did not perform. These wings, consisted of wooden frames that were covered with canvas, not only added to the central perspective idea, they also allowed areas for the scenery and machines used for the spectacle in the intermezzi to be hidden.



7. Diagrams of scene changing from 1634

¹⁷ A. M. Nagler, *op. cit.*, 73-74.

Also following Vitruvius's instructions on classic architecture, Andrea Palladio in 1580 started the erection of Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, as a kind of reproduction of a Roman Playhouse. (illus. 8) But the wooden building has pretty much different space concept from the ancient model. Palladio projected step auditorium with semielliptical shape for providing a good sight on the perspective view. The rectangular stage is limited with *scenae frons*, one architectonic façade, rich with classic ornaments. That is a visible remain from the ancient Roman stage. Vincenzo Scamozzi finished the theatre in 1584 adding diminishing perspectives of streets behind the three archways at the back of the stage and the two at the sides.¹⁸ (illus. 9)



8. Andrea Palladio, Plan of the Teatro Olimpico, 1584, Vicenza

¹⁸ A. Nicoll, *op. cit.* 90-91; L. U. Padoan, „Gli spettacoli urbani e utopia“, in *Architettura e utopia*, Exh. cat., Venezia 1980, pp. 144-167, 152-154.



9. Vincenzo Scamozzi, Stage of the Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza

The theatre performance is an art of the moment. The only way we can be informed about the look of the scenery is some kind of a record from the event. It can be a drawing, a picture or written testimony which contents describing of the stage design. In 1513, the first performance of Cardinal Bernardo Bibbiena's comedy, *La Calandria*, took place at the court of the Duke of Urbino. Baldassare Castiglione, autor of the *Corteggiano*, was one of the directors of the production, for which Girolamo Genga (1476-1551) designed the perspective scenery. In a letter to his friend, Lodovico Canossa, Castiglione made a description of Genga's work:

“The stage represented a very beautiful city, with streets, palaces, churches, and towers. The streets looked as if they were real, and everything was done in relief, and done even more striking through the art of painting and well-conceived perspective. Among other things, there was an octagonal temple in low relief, so well finished that it seems hardly possible ...”¹⁹

This part of Castiglione's letter clearly describes the wonder of perspective scenery. The same comedy was set up in Rome, in 1514, when Baldassare

¹⁹ A. M. Nagler, 71.

Peruzzi (1481-1537), who was also engaged with the projecting the building of the church of St Peter, designed the scenery, which Vasari regarded as truly epochal:

“It is wonderful how, in the narrow space, he depicted his streets, palaces and curious temples, loggias and cornices, all make them appear to be what they represent. He also arranged the lights inside for the perspective, and all the other necessary things. These comedies, in my opinion, when performed with all their accessories, surpass all other spectacular displays in magnificence.”²⁰

As a court architect at Lorenzo de Medici's service, Sebastiano da San Gallo (1482-1551) was a creator of several stage designs, working also for his successor Duke Cossimo I. For his wedding in 1539, Sebastiano surpassed himself in a scene representing Pisa, for the comedy play for that occasion. It would be impossible to assemble a greater variety of windows, doors, facades of palaces, streets and receding distances, all in perspective.²¹

The Baroque was the supreme age of illusion. The dual nature of baroque perspective is evident in anamorphic works, whose perspective both revealed the truth of reality and reflected man's power to modify it; that is, it was a kind of magic. Even though perspective became increasingly integrated with architecture, perspectival systematization remained restricted to the creation of an illusion, qualitatively distinct from the constructed reality of the world. Perspective marked the moment of an epiphany, the revelation of meaning and the God-given geometric order of the world. For a brief time, illusion was the locus of ritual. The revelation of order occurred at the precarious moment when the vanishing point and the position of the observer met. While the theories of perspective had always associated the point of convergence of parallel lines with the apex of the cone of vision projected on the horizon line, Gerard Desargues was apparently the first one in the history of perspective to postulate a point at infinity.²² He maintained that all lines converged toward a point at an infinite distance. Thus any system of parallel lines, or

²⁰ C. Ricci, “The „Art of Scenography“, in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Mar., 1928), pp. 231-257, 234, CAA Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3050731> Accessed: 26-04-2020 18:54 UTC; Also see J. Berzal de Dios „Conjuring the Concept of Rome: Alterity and Synecdoche in Peruzzi's Design for La Calandaria“, in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Spring 2014), pp. 25-50. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24247471> Accessed: 26-04-2020 18:56 UTC

²¹ A. Nagler, 72.

²² A. Pérez-Gómez and L. Pelletier, 32.

any specific geometrical figure, could be conceived as a variation of a single universal system of concurrent lines.

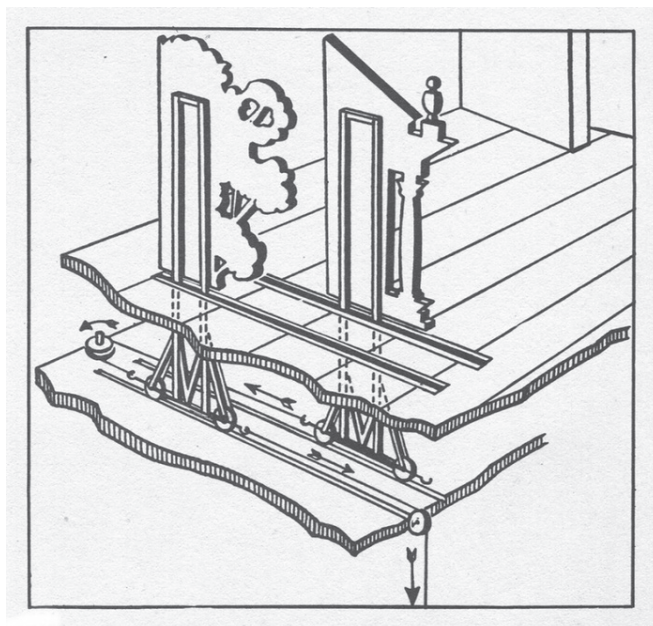
Theatre evolved in the Baroque era and became a multimedia experience, starting with the actual architectural space. During that period theatre became an institution and many new buildings were erected all over biggest cultural centers in Europe for different kind of performances, like drama plays, ballet or opera spectacles. Painting and architecture were unified on the stage like never before, maximizing the illusion to the audience.²³ In fact, much of the technology used in current commercial plays was invented and developed during this era. The stage could change from a romantic garden to the interior of a palace in a matter of seconds. The entire space became a framed selected area that only allows the users to see a specific action, hiding all the machinery and technology – mostly ropes and pulleys. This technology affected the content of the narrated or performed pieces, practicing at its best the Deus ex Machina solution. Gods were finally able to come down – literally – from the heavens and rescue the hero in the most extreme and dangerous, even absurd situations. The term *Theatrum Mundi* – the world is a stage – was also created. The social and political realm in the real world is manipulated in exactly the same way the actor and the machines are presenting.

The splendor of the baroque stage design own much to the excellent artist Giacomo Torelli (1608 –1678), architect, engineer and the first professional stage designer. In the period of flourishing of the opera scene in Italy, especially in Venice, he used a new method of changing scenery by mounting flat wings on the “charriots”. There were wheeled vehicles in the basement of the wings, so that they can move through slots in the stage floor and carry the wings off and on stage.²⁴ (illus. 10) His work in stage design, particularly his designs of machinery for creating spectacular scenery changes and other special effects, was extensively engraved and hence survives as the most complete record of mid-seventeenth-century set design.²⁵ The architecturally painted background is no longer one cloth but two, the second seen through openings in the first.

²³ M. Apollonio, *Storia dell' teatro italiano*, vol. II, G. C. Sansoni editore, Firenze 1981, 30-34.

²⁴ See P. Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Acta Universitatis Upsialensis, Figura, Nova Series, 2), Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961.

²⁵ Torelli's drawings survived and were reproduced in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* under “Machines du Théâtre” in 1772. Torelli is also thought to have been the anonymous author of a severe critique of Vigarani's theatre at the Tuileries: *Reflessioni sopra la fabrica del nuovo teatro*.

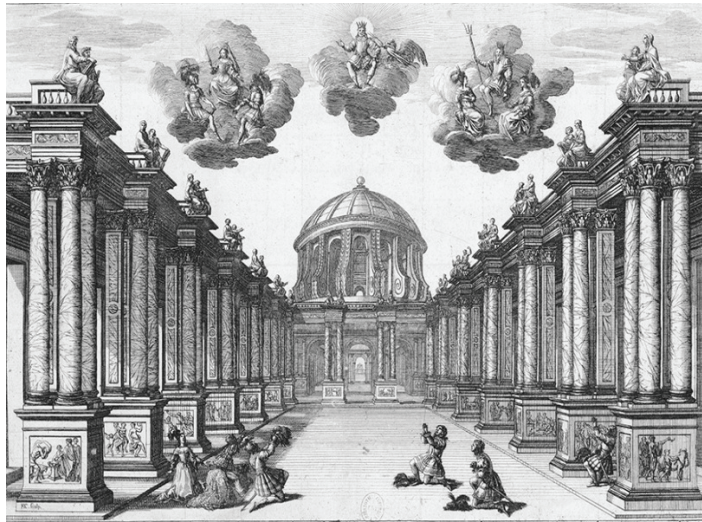


10. Giacomo Torelli, Sistem of “charriots” for scene changing, XVII century

Torelli brought the one-point-perspective set to its apogee with designs that revealed in a use of perspective that drew the eye to the horizon and beyond, made theatre stages seemed to extend to infinity.²⁶ He is not gathering the perspective lines in one central spot of the *scenografia*, but he led them further as parallel lines. Despite this apparent obsession with the infinite, however, Torelli also brought ‘closed’ space to the stage. Interior scenes became more common and were often quite shallow. His innovations in stage machinery made possible not only stage flats to be changed, but also the borders of the sky. This allowed an interchange between interior and exterior sets, and Torelli would often alternate between open and enclosed sets to create a new sense of rhythm in the visual aspect of opera. (illus. 11) His experimentation with different types of stage space were not limited to the contrast between interior and exterior either. Torelli would often delimit the foreground of an exterior set with a structure such as a hill or a fountain, allowing the audience only glimpses of the background perspective. Filippo Juvara followed Torelli in the use of this “unit set” with permanent arches on the sides and toward the back, and the backdrop that was changed to indicate new locale.²⁷ (illus. 12)

²⁶ M. Apollonio, 36.

²⁷ G. Altman, R. Freud, K. Macgowan, W. Melnitz, *op. cit.*, fig. 121.



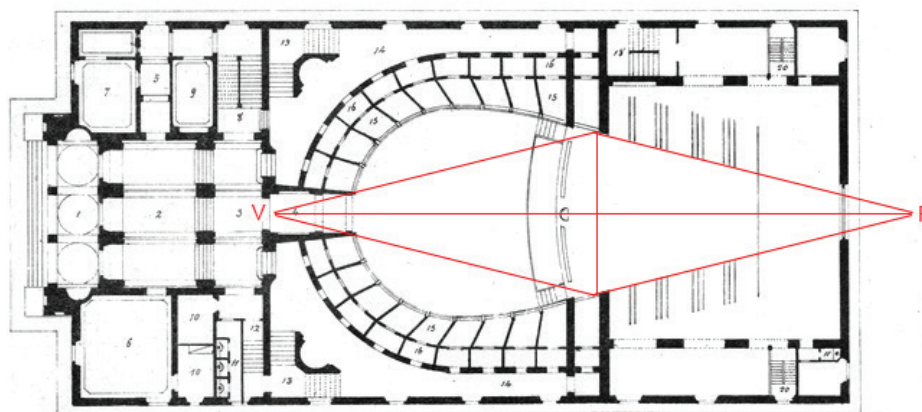
11. Giacomo Torelli, Engraving with representation of the stage design



12. Filippo Juvarra, Scenografia based on Villa Madama, drawing, c. 1720, Villa Madama, Museo Civico d'Arte antica, Torino

But before the scenic designer could make full use of movable scenery, he had to solve a few special problems of perspective, as well as for avoiding the static symmetry of flats. Some suggestions for solving these problems were

published in 1700 in the second part of the Jesuit Andrea Pozzo's book on perspective for theatre and church decorators.²⁸ (illus. 13)



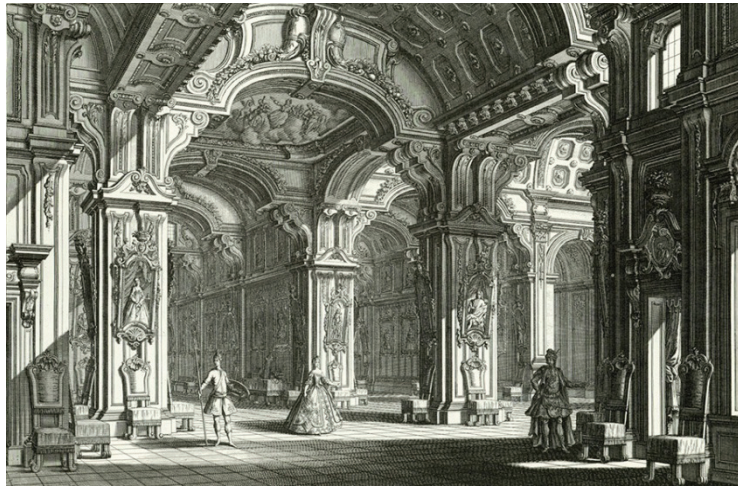
13. Andrea Pozzo, Privileged point of view toward the scene, from *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*, 1693

Architects seemed ready to accept the notion that there was no distinction between a stage set constructed following the method *per angolo* of Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena, one where there was no longer a privileged point of view, and the permanent tectonic reality of their craft.²⁹ (illus. 14) The famous stage designer found shortcuts to drawing architecture by painting buildings as seen at about a forty-five degree angle. These restless flights of architecture running diagonally offstage toward undetermined distances revolutionized and dominated scenic design for most of the eighteenth century. Then the symmetry of flats did not look static if the backdrop showed two walls of a room rushing away into a corner, or else the angle of a building charging towards the audience.³⁰ One movement could lead into the other through an X of colonnades that teased the eye with intricate depths. The stage design finally used the baroque painting point of view. (illus. 15)

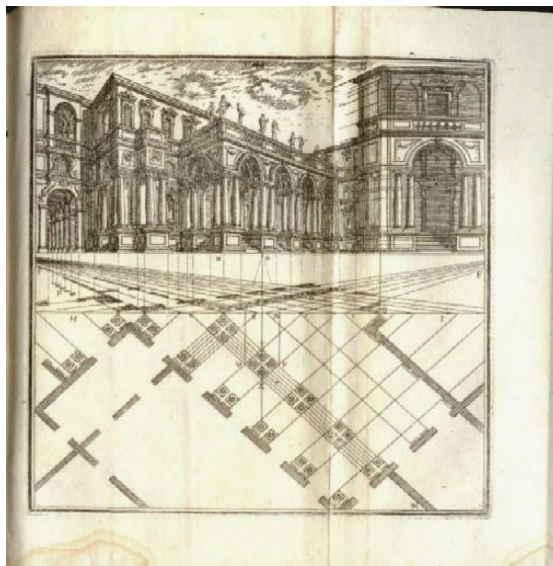
²⁸ See A. Horn, „Andrea Pozzo and the Jesuit ‘Theatre’ of the Seventeenth Century“, in *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, vol.6 (June 2019), Brill, pp. 213-248.

²⁹ *Architectural and Perspective Designs by Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, his principal theatrical engineer and architect, designer of these scenes*, with an Introduction by A. Hyatt Mayor, Curator of Prints, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dover Publications, Inc., New York 1964, vi.

³⁰ B. Forment, „Trimming Scenic Invention: Oblique Perspective as Poetics of Discipline“, in *Music in Art XXXIV/ 1-2* (2009), pp. 31-43, 36-37. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41818580>



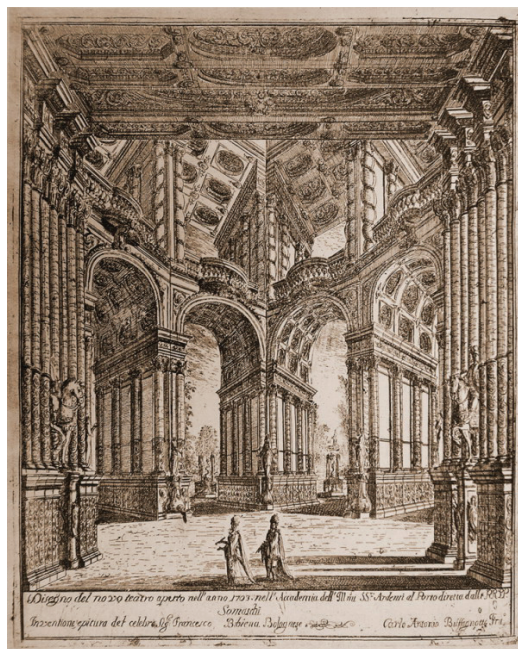
14. Ferdinando Galli da Bibiena, Scena d'angolo (An angle scene)



15. Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, Architectural setting with perspective diagram and actual plan of the stage, from *Raccolte da Ferdinando Galli Bibiena...*, Bologna, 1725

Francesco Galli Bibiena's drawings from the late seventeenth century production show that the painted flats and backings are no longer parallel to the footlights. Two diagonal walls meet toward the rear of the stage, and through the great arch at the right the audience can see a backdrop that is also hang at an angle. Sometimes he used a kind of divergent perspective, with walls leading backward and away from a common point.³¹ (illus. 16)

³¹ M. Apollonio, 43-47.



16. Francesco Galli Bibiena, Engraving with presentation of the Stage design with a divergent perspective from 1703

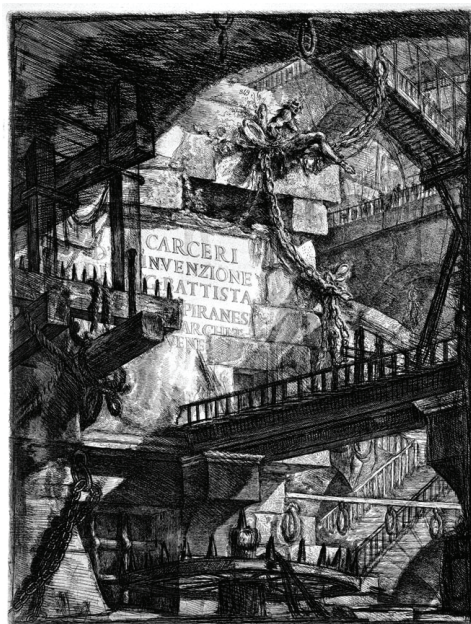
Still, while the members of famous Bibiena family invaded the court theatres in Austria and Germany, native artists turned their hands to stage design. Italians or their pupils dominated the theaters all over Europe, especially France and Spain.³² „Italian style“ theatre dominated throughout Europe till the late nineteenth century, especially the influence of the Italian opera scenery. In France and England the influence of Italian opera was to be immense, not only in the direct instigation to musical-dramatic composition, but in its effect upon methods of staging.³³ Without working on a single example of a stage design, the Venetian architect and printmaker Giambattista Piranesi made a strong influence in this field with his lyrical interpretation of the architecture. He showed a strong and free feeling of space, constructing very brave perspective solutions, as a triumph of pure fantasy, especially with his album of etchings *I Carceri (Prisons)*.³⁴ (illus.17) Piranesi's architectural visions anticipated from the Renaissance classicism moving in the same time towards the Romanticism of the 19th Century. Artists were deeply interested

³² *Ibid.* 46.

³³ S. Cheney, *The Theatre, Three Thousand years of Drama, Acting and Stagecraft*, Toronto 1952 (8), 217-218.

³⁴ R. S. Johnson, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi 1720-1778*, Exh. cat., Chicago 1986, 1-21.

in his work, his ideas of space and its relationship to perception. One of many was the stage designer Giuseppe Valeriani, active also in Russia in the middle of Settecento.³⁵



17. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Prisoners on a Projecting Platform, Plate from *Le Carceri d'Invenzione*, etching, ca.1745 - ca.1750

During the history of the theatre there were eras when story and poetry weighed heaviest, others when spectacle and trick-effects alone satisfied, and still others when a vigorous show of virtuoso acting was the *clou* of the stage art. Nevertheless, seeing the performance as a whole, perspective dominated over the visual segment of the show for almost three centuries. Actually, in the eighteenth century artists, scientists, and philosophers started losing their interest in perspective. The process of geometrization that had started with the inception of modern science was arrested by the focus on empirical knowledge spurred by Newton's work and the identification of inherent limitations in euclidean geometry. But the century of Enlightenment was no more focused only on the grandiose architectonic scenes of the aristocratic theatre. The stage design depends on the fantasies and the ideals of the audience. Democratization of the theatre as an institution reflected its

³⁵ М. С. Коноплева, *Театральный живописец Джузеппе Валериани*, Ленинград 1948, 6-7.

repertory, now more concentrated on everyday life or on comedy (politics).³⁶ Under the influence of Netherland painting, Italian, even more Venetian stage designers like Canaletto, Belotto and Guardi, turned their carrier on painting city landscapes- *vedutas*, using their experience in the perspective and stage crafting. Il Settecento manifested the last real collaboration between the artists specialized as *prospettici-scenografi* and *quadraturisti*, on the perspective solutions of the theater stage.³⁷ While the Canaletto's taste was tracing the way to the modern landscape, the activity of scenographers will gradually decline on the artisane's level. Finally, as the most important reason for changing the course of the perspective addicted stage design were the new tendencies and interests of the modern painting. The painting of 19th and further the art and the architecture of the twentieth century, meant an ending of a long era in which the architectural perspective illusion as a crucial element of the theatric scene was of greatest importance.

³⁶ S. Cheney, *op. cit.*, 379-400.

³⁷ R. Palluchini, *La pittura Veneziana dell Settecento*, Bologna 1951, part II, 170.

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Ana FRANGOVSKA
National Gallery of the Republic of Macedonia

THE TOUCH, 'POLITICAL ECOLOGIES' IN MACEDONIAN CONTEMPORARY ART

In unique political circumstances with socio-political imbalances, Macedonian contemporary art is emerging, a transformation that is still underway, and conditions that lead to the questionable discourse of identity. This socio-political condition is a fertile ground for the production of political art. "Art has its own influence in the world", according to Boris Groys, "and is as much a force in the power play of global politics today as it once was in the arena of cold war politics". Art may be interpreted as a medium of political discourse; as an approximation that is descriptive, interpretive, or directly critical; or as a way of transcending the political. Art complicates our world views and understandings, altering the discursive frameworks in which the political is negotiated.

Political art discusses numerous problems relating to the socio/political dynamics of contemporary societies, political philosophies, social dysfunctions and malformations, but also more complementary concerns such as globalization, migration, economics, global warming, ecology, etc. The last focus of this research is the connection between the political, ecological and artistic aspects.

Incisive perspectives on the world, ecology and cosmology, climate change, the Anthropocene, colonialism and extractive industries, urban futures and development are brought together by the concept of 'Private Ecologies.'

The suggested title and definition "The Touch" begins its story from the famous fresco of Michelangelo on the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, more precisely referring to the scene entitled "The Creation of Adam," describing the biblical scene from the Book of Genesis in which God gives life to the first man, Adam. The key energy is put in this scene in the touch that exhales and generates life. In "The Touch" we deal with the other side of the touch, opposite to that lively moment, a "deadly" touch of the person, leaving behind, consciously or unconsciously, considerable harm to the entire world, its living

organisms and their ecosystems, altering the balance of the whole environment required for normal existence.

At this point, I will paraphrase the conclusion of a 2012 book, "Toward Global (Environment) Mental Change/Transformative Art and Cultures of Sustainability," as one of the theoretical approaches in the field of Ecological Arts, which describes that the global crisis of unsustainability is a disturbance of civilization's hardware, as well as a human mind software crisis. We are very required to include and think about correlations that can be made with our real "new normal" that we are all experiencing in the last 5 months, the war with the unseen enemy, the COVID 19 virus. So isn't the touch in a pandemic age that we're all trying to run away from? No matter whether the virus was produced in a laboratory through a human contact or is a result of nature, the human itself is most responsible for its propagation.

I have chosen Macedonian artists and projects that deal with the questions of ecology, migration, nationality, recognition of the Other in the society, making beauty out of the hideous, issuing the medical industries, etc., in relation to the proposed definition of 'The Touch'. The influence of the human touch on global changes in every aspect of our life is problematized by both of these discourses. Their methods and concepts are artistically embedded in a very clever and poetic way, but they are also a very precise critique of contemporary Macedonian culture, not only of local problems, but also of some more general ones.

The proposed artists exploring the subject of political ecology in contemporary Macedonian art are: Kristina Pulejkova, with the "Wedding Routh" project, carried out in the National Gallery of Macedonia in 2019; Elpida Hadzi Vasileva with the project 'Silenthio Pathologia' realized in 2013 at the 55th Venice Biennale and Velimir Zernovski, with the installation "Beyond the blackness" realized in 2019 at the Museum of Contemporary Arts in Skopje.

Kristina Pulejkova

When it comes to digital media art in Macedonia, there are quite unusual examples of the use of the latest technology, and even fewer, the scene is concerned with other areas in the field of inter- and trans-disciplinary art. The example of the young artist Kristina Pulejkova, based in London, where she lives, works, researches, and studies, is one of the shining examples of these cutting-edge visual expressions of art in Macedonia. She graduated from the Department of Painting and Animation at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna,

and then earned her master's degree in Art and Technology from St. Martin's University in London.



Kristina Pulejkova, *A Calling, Deeply*, 2019, 360 video, Chifte Hamam, National Gallery of Macedonia, Photo: Kristina Pulejkova

Pulejkova's methodology was characterized by her own training in which nothing can be interpreted in the fine arts solely through the medium of art, without exploring and depending on other unique scientific disciplines that would create an unmistakable visual-conceptual amalgam that is multilayered and not only trans-medial and transdisciplinary, but also analyzes current issues in the field of politics, eco-concept.¹

The project is entitled "Wedding Route"² and depicts a complex interactive installation that includes film, holographic projection and film in 360-degree virtual reality, projected on water screens.

The theme through which the narrative of the project is described and formed is the story of the European eel, classified as an endangered species,

¹ Pulejkova gathers all information from research centres, that is, from the Zoological Society of London, as well as from the Hydrobiology Institute of Ohrid.

² The title of the reproductive process of the eels, obtained by the hydro-biologists of the Institute in Ohrid.

and locally, parallel to the European eel, Pulejkova includes the Ohrid eel, which naturally belongs to the European eel, but is now artificially replicated because of the official obstruction of the migration path. The eel is a very unique species that goes from a tiny transparent 'glass' to an adult yellow and sexually mature silver-clad individual across three life stages.



Kristina Pulejkova, *A Calling, Deeply*, 2019, 360 video, Chifte Hamam, National Gallery of Macedonia, Photo: Kristina Pulejkova

It instinctively migrates to the Sargasso Sea, where the act of reproduction takes place, which at the same time is the last chain of its existence's journey; death follows, and the little ones, bearing their predecessors' code of origin and 'intelligence and wisdom,' go back the way their parents had gone. The miraculous journey provided by nature that speaks broadly in a particular way of migration, seen from a human viewpoint, addresses the emotions, dilemmas, questions, history, nostalgia, self-identification of the migrant.

The Ohrid eel was supposed to be on the same course, seeking its own way of reproduction and survival, but sadly, back in 1962, a dam was constructed on the route of the eels to the Republic of Albania, and today there are five additional dams on the same route. Therefore, the reproductive system of the natural eels was forcefully halted (many are the terrible videos of eels wholeheartedly attempting not to succumb to the impulse, thus being minced by the turbines of the hydropower plants) and Lake Ohrid has artificially spawned eels ever since. On the one hand, this dialogue raises a significant question of human influence on environmental hazards, and on the other, political share, viewpoints, and platforms. It opens the discourses of blocking or opening

borders to various types of nationalities, of regular human migrations along the Albania-Macedonia route in the past, of fleeing the Albanian population trying to escape the Enver Hoxha regime in the past. On the other hand, it also applies to the more recent, tragic evacuations of Syrian refugees (like the eels themselves) finding their way to a brighter future for themselves and their children.³

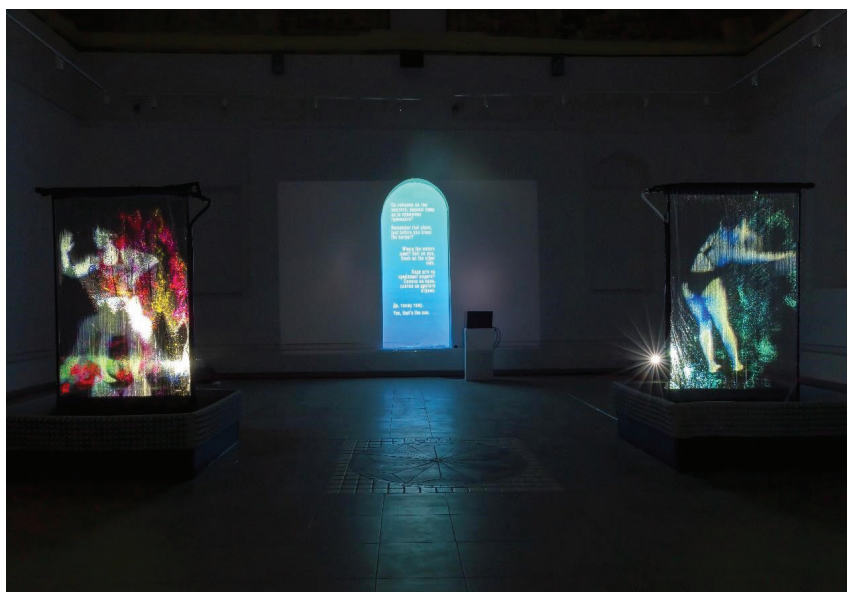
Pulejkova visually organizes this story or notion into moving images; she shoots dancers performing the so-called 'Wedding Route' on behalf of the eels in the studio. The magical dance is performed in two videos of three dancers (each representing an eel in their respective ages: a toddler, a teen, and a mature individual), one representing the eels of the River Thames in London, the other the Ohrid Eel. The video is animated and computer-aided post-production, with water effects and lovely underwater realms. The sound design is by Andy Coaton in these videos, and text is added and read in both English and Macedonian, a sort of conversation between the two eels, exchanging experiences on their distinct journeys. The display of videos on water screens emanates the effect of projecting a translucent, holographic image or projection that can be viewed from both viewpoints (front and back) from "surfaces" generated from tightly positioned compressed water jets that produce a distinct shimmering, glass surface. The conversation of the eels, accentuated and intensified by the particular echo of the Chifte Hammam building in Macedonian and English, offers a somnolent, trance state, taking the receiver to another sensory level, in which they are annoyed and introduced into a different frequency of sensitivity, anonymity, self-echo and empathy with the other.⁴

The video shown through the 360-degree virtual reality set, on the other hand, allows the recipient to become an active participant, to reach the mystical depths of the sea, to become a significant coparticipant in the speculative phase of thinking about the miraculous eel story in general, and the tragic Ohrid eel story in particular. It launches a discussion on the understanding of the disastrous situation and the general threat to the European eel. It criticizes the idea of people's "moral supremacy" over the fate of the Ohrid eel locally. This project advises on the development of a forum for the prevention of eco-

³ *Kristina Pulejkova: Wedding Route*, Ana Frangovska, "Cognitive v.s. Instinctive", National Gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia, Skopje, 2019, Exhibition catalogue.

⁴ *Ibid.*

logical disasters, the effects of climate change, the introduction of bilateral talks to discuss this burning issue, the destruction of the dams and the end of the various ridiculous conditions in the environment, etc.



Kristina Pulejkova, *Do you think about home*, 2019, water screens, Chifte Hamam, National Gallery of Macedonia, Photo: Denis Jagdzi

The eel's holographic projection based on an extract of emotional textual speech from one of the eel species (which deals with the last-breath emotional aspect in which the eel watches its unborn children return on their way, closing a life cycle symbolically and literally) is the only visual projection of a real eel (in appearance and form), which the author ultimately decided to include in this small excerpt directly the eel itself, which in the rest of the project is delivered in human form and implicitly. The Wedding Route speaks of the quest for common ground, of the human desire to achieve an idyllic state of harmony, of understanding, of a world without barriers and challenges, of a world of compromises and of solutions to problems and circumstances. Pulejkova projects the Macedonian perspective and ambition to the European future with the visual language, much like that of our eel, so that the person can be achieved by never forgetting his / her birth, origins, or association at the level of education, employment, or pursuit of a better life. As a migrant, she herself has encountered the benefits and drawbacks of being far from her home country. Via recent developments, Pulejkova brings together science

and information experiences, refines them, making awareness more available and open, directly stimulating deeper discourses on socio-political conditions, ecology, and other main issues of contemporary society.⁵

Elpida Hadzi Vasileva

Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva is a UK-based artist of proven artistic quality. The *Silentio Pathologia* project was chosen as the Macedonian representative for the 55th Venice Biennale. The project discusses the movement, migration and effects of medieval plagues across Europe (and city states like Venice) and discusses existing concerns regarding foreign migratory diseases such as coronavirus. Woven silk, silkworm cocoons, rat skins and steel sheet curtains built in a Venetian palazzo are part of this ambitious work. The spread and spread of one of the most infamous diseases of the period, the plague, can be traced directly along the lines of the economic growth of the silk trade. The cognitive application of this geographic and historical phenomenon in the project of Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva takes into account the connection between the social sciences and the natural sciences. Behind it is the vivisection of the paradigm of transmission as ontology, transmission of knowledge (morphology of media and their deceptive power), transmission of goods, transmission of ideas, of individuals, of livestock, apart from the narrative fundus of this sense, but there is also the spread of side effects of transmission-illnesses in general (the plague is the example at hand, but it applies metaphorically to all modern genetic and synthetically produced diseases, such as birds, swine flu and corona viruses in recent history). The transfer / transmission speed, depending on the time, history, developmental characteristics, etc., is also an ephemeral stage. In contact with the other, it (the transmission) is necessary; thus, immanently positioning discourses on the otherness, on identity, belonging / affiliation, philosophy, autonomous growth and conversation with the other, boundaries, disparities, connections / connections / links and networking, belonging to a whole or problematic emanation and molding into other's / external norms, became important.⁶

⁵ Ana Frangovska, "Inter/Trans-Disciplinarity As A Platform For Seeking Universal Common Ground, From speculation to pragmatism through Kristina Pulejkova's 'Wedding Route' art project", *AM Journal of Art and Media Studies* No 21 (2020): 150-151.

⁶ *Elpida Hadzi Vasileva: Silentio Pathologia, Pavilion of the Republic of Macedonia 55th International Art Exhibition La Biennale di Venezia*, Ana Frangovska, "Multidisciplinary synesthetic mapping", National Gallery of Macedonia, 2013, Exhibition catalogue.



Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva, *Silentio Pathologia*, 2013, Scuola dei Laneri, Republic of Macedonia Pavilion, 55th La Biennale di Venezia; Steel, silk, silk worm cocoons, rat skins, life rats, bespoke cages, cotton and wire, 1600cm x 1000cm x 300cm, Photo: Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva



Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva, *Silentio Pathologia*, 2013, Scuola dei Laneri, Republic of Macedonia Pavilion, 55th La Biennale di Venezia; Steel, silk, silk worm cocoons, rat skins, life rats, bespoke cages, cotton and wire, 1600cm x 1000cm x 300cm, Photo: Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva

Many of the above criteria and axioms refer to the fate of the Republic of Macedonia and the existing social *Mise-en-scène* in the native land of the artist. The rat is one of the major transmitters of the plague, and it is precisely the most common animal (other than the pigeon) living in Venice, and they are a sort of protected animal here in Venice, as opposed to other places where they are treated as pests and regarded with disgust and fear. This is the genealogy in *Silentio Pathologia* of the application of the rodent. The rat is present in two ways in the visual semiotics of *Silentio Pathologia*, living and dead, i.e. just his skin (taken through a special manual and laborious method of skinning already dead animals).

Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva chose to use artificially bred laboratory rats, not ordinary rats, but white (for surfaces made of prepared rat skins) and black (for living rats), primarily for use in medical and cosmetic laboratories. In unique and safe areas, they are housed and are among the cleanest species. Their intelligence is remarkable, while human morphology is most similar to biological and organic morphology. The skin, as an unusual medium of artistic expression, but quite typical of Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva (she used chicken and fish skins, pork and lamb membranes, testicular skin, etc. in her previous works), is a synonym of armor/protection against external, natural, physical, biological influences. It is a container that saves the sacredness of the tissue; there would be no nature of life without the armour. Therefore, in its artistic identity, its meaning in the artist's visual panopticon, which is a strong rational/irrational (mental) instrument in the artist's hands, recognition, seal, structural/intertextual visual code, esthetic/sensitive (sensual) parameter (including not only the sight, but the sense of smell as a sensor for the reception of the work), ephemeris. Hadzi-Vasileva walks the thin line between those metaphysical dimensions of the ugly and the beautiful aesthetic intelligently. She places the element of redefining the beautiful as central and recreating the beautiful, aesthetically pleasing, using waste, hideous, defragmented, exhausted, disgusting waste. In order to decode the *Silentio Pathologia* project, the opposites are also important as a conceptual idiom, and thus the contrasting and opponent simulations are given through several axiomatic pairs, such as black/white (achromatic strength to illustrate the simulacrum idea; black: metal, silk, living rodents; white: silk cocoon mesh and white rat skin panels, sewn together), living/dead, organic/inorganic, complete/disassembled, lovely/ugly, industrial/manual, complete/empty, monumental/meticulous, etc. With elements of playfulness, didacticism, curiosity, shock and unexpected-

ness, the site-specific installation has a multi-layered and multi-dimensional resolution. In the definition of the object, the receiver is directed by the fixed direction of motion. One variable of concept exemplification of the spatial panopticon is the notion of the labyrinth. First, we face a three meter wall made of metal, mapping the room with a certain organic form (seen from a bird's point of view) and opening only at a single point, allowing the inside to penetrate. This wall is a synonym of a frame, a balloon that protects philosophy, heart, history, life, spasm. As a substance, metal is the only inorganic cold medium that can be matched to the skin by its characteristics, since it corrodes, erodes and decomposes in time. Its constructive semiotics provide an enticing sensitivity to sculpture and a lure to the interior material. We begin to walk a set / predefined path as soon as we reach the interior, and a feeling of wonder (Alice in Wonderland) consumes us immediately. Within, we are greeted by yet another wall/curtain, made of dry silkworm cocoons, on the metal wall, and its peer / match forming the path together.



Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva, *Silentio Pathologia*, 2013, Scuola dei Laneri, Republic of Macedonia Pavilion, 55th La Biennale di Venezia; Steel, silk, silk worm cocoons, rat skins, life rats, bespoke cages, cotton and wire, 1600cm x 1000cm x 300cm, Photo: Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva

As a cell configuration, the knitting structure (the theory of knitting references Macedonian traditions and old media of the creative industries) is in the form of a hexagon. A further curtain, three meters tall and 50 meters long, made of black silk, woven in the form of a defragmented spider web, follows this scheme as an allegory of dissolution and decomposition. The meandering path / walk proceeds to a canopy with a surface made of white lab rats' stitched skins. Each skin left the head (full) and the body open, making the shape of the skin clear to the next skin in the seam. There are gaps in the texture made of skins-holes in between, a certain form of transparency that enables light to penetrate and fascinating visual effects of light and shadow within the route and on the walls of surrounding surfaces.⁷

After this mystifying course, where history, geography, science, allegory, biology, as feelings of curiosity, amazement but also eeriness are intertwined / interwoven, emphasized by the smell (the surface of the silkworm cocoons and the canopy of the rat skin, as direct organic reminiscences exude the particular stink of carcass), at the end of the road the moment of surprise awaits, two metal cages with two carcasses with two life black rats. Their participation in the project offers a different philosophy and approach to the given thesis, questions about the beginning and the end, optimism as ideology (after black periods in history, bright, fertile and rich periods came), but also as an allegory and alarm or warn that risk / risk still exists, that other changed pathologies would emerge after H1N1; artificially generated and controlled by third parties, they are among the main risks of modern times.

In addition to the space and shape ephemeris as obvious visual elements that resemble *Silentio Pathologia*, the texture is also significant in visual semantics, shifting from smooth to coarse, from translucent to hairy, from shiny to matte; then the color that is achromatic and reduced to black and white aspects and, finally, the line and graphic accuracy in the nature of the In the interpretation of Elpida Hadzi-Vasileva 's project, variety, heterogeneity and harmonic disharmony are the prevailing principles.

Silentio Pathologia (multilayered and metaphorical title determination, literally translated: silent pathology, with medical but also metaphorical significance, coined from the English word path and the Latin logia, relevant in both variants), draws the viewer's attention as a whole. The audience was drawn by its sophistication, comprehensiveness, multilayeredness, interdisci-

⁷ Ibid.

plularity, intertextuality, transhistoricism, transculturalism, existentialism, committed work, assiduity and left them not indifferent.

Some liked it, some did not, by Umberto Eco, who concludes, to paraphrase, that 'garbage for one is treasure for others' in the same way that we may use the meaning of the aesthetic of the ugly, and that historical periods and lifestyle changes alter the ways of interpretation of such objects (beautiful and ugly) and the border/line/distinction between the ugly and the beautiful is so blurred and fuzzy that it cannot be defined precisely, from a philosophical-artistic-aesthetic aspect.

Zernovski Velimir

Velimir Zernovski is a young multimedia artist who, through his art, primarily explores the concepts of popular culture. He criticizes the monstrous logic set out by capital in his project "Beyond the blackness," alarming the ambiguity of our future, the prospect of the irretrievable destruction of our natural and symbolic world until we are reduced to nothing but an hollow shell, a body without any significant material.



Velimir Zernovski, *Behind the Blackness*, 2018, 3D printing, Museum of Contemporary Arts – Skopje, Photo: Samir Ljuma

We are living in a new geological age, the Anthropocene Age. Unregulated exploitation and careless practices of natural resources have disrupted the Earth's balance of natural order. The humans are the most responsible for their geological influence in the basic natural parameters of life on Earth, leading to disastrous changes. The rapid development of the capitalist production logic, as well as the global capitalist model proposing unscrupulous exploitation of both natural and human resources, has undoubtedly allowed the present geological period. Following this idea, probably the new proposed term Capitalocene should be assigned to this new age and is more compatible with the current situation of both an environmental and a social system crisis. Then we shall try to find the answer to the question that the curator Liljana Nedelkovska is rising "if capital is more valuable than life, then what is our choice?" in the Zernovski's project.⁸



Velimir Zernovski, *Behind the Blackness*, 2018, 3D printing, Museum of Contemporary Arts – Skopje, Photo: Samir Ljuma

⁸ Velimir Zernovski: *Beyond the Blackness*, Liljana Nedelkovska, Museum of Contemporary Arts Skopje, 2019, Exhibition catalogue.

Zernovski created 3D printed sculptures of cosmonauts (an empty shell, a body without any substantive content) and a film, all put together as a multimedia installation, to resolve these problems. A vision of such a body is his video installation, reduced only to its primary function: breathing. At the same time, however, Zernovski "engages" with Stephen Hawking's hypothesis that "black holes are not quite as black as previously believed," and that they may even act as a passage to another universe, considering the strong gravitational field they produce, from which nothing can escape, not even light.



Velimir Zernovski, *Behind the Blackness*, 2018, 3D printing, Museum of Contemporary Arts – Skopje, Photo: Samir Ljuma

Is capital our black hole, which, on the one hand, absorbs and kills even the most persuasive calls to save life on Earth, while on the other, through its vast space program investments, enables people to hope and dream of other worlds? As an exhibition of video installations and multiple sculptures of astronauts put in various places, "Beyond the Blackness" tries to raise this question very lucidly. The figures of astronauts appear to herald the latest ontology of the future. The backdrop is an artistic stylization of the new James Webb space telescope's golden hexagonal-shaped mirrors, a "strong time machine" that NASA claims will look back billion years to see the first stars and galaxies forming in the early universe. However, in addition to the hopes of extending our understanding of the origin of space, the telescope is supposed to be the

first to map new space maps of all planets that humans might theoretically inhabit one day, according to projections. So, in the words of Stephen Hawking, "Don't give up if you feel like you're in a black hole. There's a way out there."⁹

Nevertheless, these three creative methods share the common ground of scientific-cultural interdisciplinarity and conceptual criticality, which, when coupled with contemporary art, demonstrate an eco/aesthetic rethinking of politics as well as a politicization of the relationship of art to the biosphere and the inextricable connection of nature to the human realm of economics, technology, culture and culture.

As established in his texts "The Three Ecologies and Chaosmosis", the influence of which is felt equally in contemporary politico/ecological theory and eco/aesthetics, the issue recognizes the signal legacy of Félix Guattari 's political ecology. As was explained by Guattari:

"Rather than remaining subject, in perpetuity, to the seductive efficiency of economic competition, we must reappropriate universes of value, so that processes of singularization can rediscover their consistency. We need new social and aesthetic practices, new practices of the self in relation to the other, to the foreign, the strange – a whole program that seems far removed from current concerns. And yet, ultimately, we will only escape from the major crises of our era through the articulation of: a nascent subjectivity; a constantly mutating socius; and an environment in the process of being reinvented."

The goal of this paper was to recognize an interest in ecology and politics that occurred in the concepts of some of the contemporary Macedonian artists, which can be characterized as engaged approaches in recent Macedonian art history that are reactive and critical because the artists are individuals who are very socially responsible.

The question remains how to turn such collective commitment to environmental justice into a large/scale transformation to save our future from the highly possible 'planetary dysphoria' scenario, one drawing on all the tools of eco-aesthetics and political ecology.

⁹ Ibid.

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MAINSTREAMING CLASSICS IN 21ST CENTURY PORTUGAL

Abstract: *After decades of decline, Classical Philology is now thriving in the universities of Lisbon and Coimbra. However, with 40 new students, at most, every year, this is still a niche under graduation. How can we explain, then, that in February 2019 a new Latin grammar became a best seller in Portugal? How is it possible that two social media pages about Latin and Ancient Greek have reached more than 12 000 followers, during the lockdown period? Have the Classics finally become mainstream? These will be some of the questions we will try to answer in our paper, focusing mainly on outreach activities to adults.*

I. An unexpected trend.

When it comes to reading habits, Portugal ranks consistently below most EU countries. A study presented last September at ISCTE-IUL (Higher Institute of Business and Labour Sciences – University Institute of Lisbon) reminded us that in 2013 67,5% of European over 15 years old declared to have read at least one book in the last 12 months. In Portugal, only 37,8% did so. This study, a collaboration between ISCTE researchers and the governmental PNL (National Reading Plan), also revealed, among other data, that in 2019 only about 31% of elementary and secondary school students read more than 3 books¹. So, it does not come as a surprise the fact that bookselling is not a profitable business for most small bookshops, that struggle to survive in a market dominated by large corporations. The Portuguese reader is not a sophisticated one, either. A walk among the aisles of any big bookstore will reveal mostly national and international bestsellers. But, if one is lucky, one may find a Latin grammar there. Yes. You heard it correctly. A Latin grammar (Lourenço, 2019b). Or a bilingual anthology of ancient Greek poetry (Lourenço, 2020). Or a fresh new Virgil translation (André, 2020). So, why is there a Latin grammar among other bestsellers? Latin has only a few dozen students in secondary schools², and

¹ The full document and video presentation can be seen here: <http://www.pnl2027.gov.pt/np4/praticasdeleitura.html> (last visited 12 October 2020).

² In 2019 only 65 secondary school students applied for the National Latin Examination.

no more than maybe 300 in all Portuguese universities, each year. But this new Latin grammar (already in its 2nd edition) sold more than 2000 copies since it was first published, in March 2019. What about the bilingual Greek poetry book? Published last April, when the country was in full lockdown, it arrived in bookstores only in May, when most restrictions were lifted, and bookstores could reopen. Since then, it already sold more than 1000 copies, in only 4 months³. Do we have about 1000 students of ancient Greek literature in our universities? Maybe a few dozens, every year⁴. I must remind you that we are only about 10 million, with very poor reading habits. This only highlights how exceptional these figures are.

II. A late rediscovery.

Portugal never had a strong tradition of translating classical Greek and Roman literature. When I was an undergraduate of Classical Philology, in the early 90s, I had to rely mostly on English, French and Spanish translations. We had to wait until 2003 to have the first translation of the *Odyssey* in verse, and the first modern translation of the *Iliad* came out only in 2005. The first academic verse translation of the *Aeneid* was published last June, after the first academic prose translation in 2003. These are no modest works, but the most remarkable foundations of western culture. Of course, there were a few translations in the beginning of 20th century, and even earlier, but they were outdated – and out of print, for decades.

There are some reasons for this neglect. First, for economic reasons, we have no access to the vast Brazilian market. Until recently, all books published in Portugal had a note stating they could not be sold in Brazil. The fact is even though Brazilian and European Portuguese varieties do not differ much, still Portuguese books are subject to spelling and minor syntax intervention, unless the author states that they don't allow any kind of adaptation, like José Saramago famously did. The same goes for Brazilian authors published in Portugal, although not so often. So, our market is a small one. One might argue that some even smaller markets have quality translations of the Classics – even other Iberian languages, with much fewer speakers, like our sister Galician, with only about 2 million speakers, have their own versions of Homer, since the 90s. But there are other reasons.

³ Approximate numbers provided by the author of both books.

⁴ Greek Literature is only mandatory for Classical Philology students. In Lisbon and Coimbra there about 40 new students every year.

Second, as I said before, we do not read much, and when the 1974 Revolution put an end to five decades of fascist dictatorship, we had outrageous illiteracy rates, over 25%. Now, with about 5%, we still have one of the highest European illiteracy rates⁵.

Third, during most of last century, even after the 1974 Revolution, culture was the privilege of a minority who could easily read in French, Spanish and English, so there was no demand for Portuguese translations.

Finally, there was a certain haughtiness among Portuguese scholars, the idea that you just do not need to read a Portuguese translation, because you already can read good English, French, Spanish or German translations. When I was still a young reckless student of Classical Studies, I remember asking a professor why there were no Portuguese translations of the *Odyssey*. She looked at me, puzzled, almost offended, as if I were asking an utterly bizarre question, and all she said was “Why? Can’t you read English?”. The notion of enriching our language and literature and outreaching to non-academic readers through quality translations, the idea that Homer and Virgil and Ovid were not the privilege of an elite enclosed in their dark, dusty libraries was – and still is – strange to many a scholar in Portugal.

If I bother you with these facts, it is because much what I have to say today is already normal in so many countries. But my country, one of the poorest in Europe, has a very serious problem with reading, and recent History might explain it.

When the first modern translation of the *Odyssey* came out in 2003 (Lourenço, 2003), however, it was much more than another academic translation. It became an immediate cultural phenomenon and, most surprisingly, a best-seller. Everybody was talking about it, on TV, on newspapers, everywhere. The same happened two years later, when in the same publishing house came out a new translation of the *Iliad* (Lourenço, 2005).

III. Not all Classics were created equal.

Let me be clear, though. These unexpected bestsellers are just that, exceptional. Not all Classics were created equal, for the Portuguese reader. Many other translations have been published in the last two decades, but none had the same wide impact as Homer, the bilingual poetry, or even the Latin gram-

⁵ These numbers are from the 2011 national census, and were published by PORDATA (Contemporary Portugal Database): <https://www.pordata.pt/Portugal/Taxa+de+analfabetis+mo+segundo+os+Censos+total+e+por+sexo-2517>

mar. Apuleius, Catullus, Horace, Lucretius, Ovid, Petronius, Tacitus, Virgil, just to mention a few, all had new translations in more than one publishing house. Still, they have interesting selling numbers, and publishing houses are interested in them. For instance, Virgil's *Georgics* and *Eclogues* had new translations, published last November by Gabriel Silva (Silva, 2019a; Silva, 2019b), from our Centre for Classical Studies. Both books were presented at a well-known bookshop, by a Latin Literature expert. But also, by a popular comedian and radio host, with no connection to the traditional academic world. So, why this sudden change at the beginning of the century? Why are media celebrities presenting Virgil, and why are Latin grammars and Homer bestsellers? I think it has to do with how the Classics have been presented.

IV. The Rising of popular Classics.

In 2002 my dear friend Frederico Lourenço published his first and acclaimed novel (Lourenço, 2002). It was the first openly LGBTQ+ themed book in contemporary Portuguese literature to become mainstream and to win one of our most important literary prizes⁶. Therefore, when one year later Lourenço published his new *Odyssey* verse translation, it was not just another academic self-centred and obscure publication. It was an exquisite hardcover edition, in a literary but contemporary, accessible, and beautiful Portuguese, by someone everybody already knew. Not as an academic, but as a novelist, and an unconventional one. And it was issued by one of our most respected publishing houses, and marketed not as an academic work, but as a book for everyone who likes literature. And it was a bestseller, and everybody was talking about it, not only classical philologists. Two years later, Lourenço published his translation of the *Iliad*, and I dare say it was even a bigger success. Those two books became the first of a new collection by Cotovia publishing house, featuring quality translations from the Greek and Roman classics, by classical philologists from Lisbon and Coimbra universities.

Lourenço went on to achieve further editorial success, now on Quetzal publishing house. Among other works, such as revised editions of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, in February 2019 he published a new Latin grammar (Lourenço, 2019b), which sold more than 2000 copies, and surely being marketed as a "book for everyone" contributed to this unexpected success. Also, both the original versions and his adaptations of Homer for children entered the official list

⁶ Lourenço won the 2002 PEN Club award for a first novel: <http://www.penclubeportugues.org/os-premios/pen-clube-portugues/>

of readings in elementary and secondary schools, which is no small feature. During the March and April lockdown, he started teaching Latin and Greek on Facebook, by creating two very successful pages, with thousands of followers⁷.

Does this mean that all those who bought his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have read them? Or any other of the many new translations by other academics published in the last 20 years? Unfortunately, I believe they do not. Most just bought them because everyone was talking about it. Maybe most just read a few pages and moved on. And that is not as bad as it may sound. At least some Classics are becoming mainstream. They are being shelved in personal libraries, just like other literary unread icons, like Joyce's or Tolstoy's masterpieces.

V. Outreaching to the community.

V.1. Secondary schools.

But does this mean Classics are just a fad among Portuguese readers? Not at all. In the last few years Classics have become popular, in Portugal, and I am sure Lourenço's translations and mediatic exposure had a very important role. But outreaching activities led by my Centre for Classical Studies and other centres and non-academic associations are perhaps the key for maintaining this flame, this interest people from all sort of background have been having for Classics.

V.2. Society.

Outreaching activities led by Centre for Classical Studies of the University of Lisbon have, as I've said, a very important role on this trend. As mentioned in my presentation in February, in Skopje, we deal mostly with activities for children and teenagers, both in elementary and secondary schools. But outreaching to adults is also a key part in mainstreaming the Classics, mainly by conferences and short-term courses.

I have been particularly interested in this kind of approach, and every time I am surprised by how eager adults are for Classics-related content. For the past years I have been giving lectures about Classical literature, in my hometown public library, organized by a cultural association of which I am a member, Estufa, in collaboration with the Centre for Classical Studies.

The first edition took place in 2016 and 2017, comprising 8 lectures, from Homer to Petronius. The second edition was in 2018, with 6 lectures on

⁷ "Latim do zero" (Latin from scratch): <https://www.facebook.com/latimdozero>; "Grego do zero" (Greek from scratch): <https://www.facebook.com/Grego-do-Zero-Li%C3%A7%C3%B5es-de-Frederico-Louren%C3%A7o-a-partir-do-Novo-Testamento-100354565008928>

Horace, Lucian and others. In both editions, all lectures took place at the public library, on a Saturday, and all sessions were packed with retired people, doctors, secondary school teachers, unemployed, commerce workers, lawyers, etc. Accordingly, I do not present Euripides or Petronius the same way I do in my University classes. This is no academic audience. I know this might sound obvious to you, but unfortunately it is not for most academics when addressing to non-academic audiences.

In 2019, I was asked to give a Latin language course. And so I did. In 7 sessions I presented the basics of Latin to more than 30 people from all kinds of background, including the Secretary of Culture of our town council. Two of these sessions were field trips to the local museum and to a medieval monastery, to read and talk about local roman inscriptions and also Latin in Christian art and literature.

VI. Some conclusions.

There is a demand for classical related content, in our societies. And that should not be unexpected. After all, modern pop culture is full of classical references. I mean, isn't *Harry Potter* full of classical mythology, with characters with Latin and Greek names? Aren't fantasy series, the likes of *The Hunger Games*, based on Roman and Greek iconography, culture and, again, personal names? Aren't our soap operas based on a narrative structure that dates to the Greek novels and comedies? Aren't so many blockbusters full of classical references, albeit discrete, sometimes even in their names? Aren't our shops full of products with Greek and Roman related names?

Ordinary people do want to learn about Classics, and when we present Classics not as exclusive, elevated, purely academic, distant masterpieces, but as the fascinating literary and cultural foundations of our western culture they are, people pour into our classes, and pack our conferences, and, especially, they ask for more.

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Social Sciences

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STUDY OF PEDAGOGY IN MACEDONIA: THREE IDEOLOGIES IN ONE CENTURY OF DEVELOPMENT

Abstract: *The article presents an analysis of the ideological foundations of the study of pedagogy in the course of its centennial development. As one of the fundamental disciplines of the first higher education in Macedonia, the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, the developmental path of pedagogy as academic discipline has been interwoven with the one of its home institution, thus reflecting the educational reform changes during the century, but also the socio-political and economic conditions as a framework for organizing and implementing higher education programs. The analysis is focused on three different ideologies that shaped the study of pedagogy within three states with different political order: the “national” mission that was characteristic of the two-decade development of the Faculty of Philosophy in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1920-1941); the Marxist theory of education that marked the 45-year socialist development of the higher education in the Yugoslav federation and in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as its constitutive unit (1946-1991); and the neoliberal concept of competitiveness and compatibility in education that has been advocated during the last period of almost thirty years of independent Republic of Macedonia (1991-2020). Each of the three sets of political ideas and beliefs are examined through the lens of the higher education policy in the three countries, and especially of the programs of pedagogy that has been implemented within a specific socio-political context.*

Key words: Study of pedagogy, Higher education in Macedonia, History of pedagogy.

Introduction

The studies of pedagogy are one of the main pillars of the higher education in Macedonia, with a century old tradition that has been nurtured within its home institution, the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje. Those one hundred years have witnessed an intense and continuous growth of the Macedonian higher education in which pedagogy and the preparation of pedagogues have had an extremely important role for the development of the Macedonian society and

scientific thought. In fact, the developmental path of the study of pedagogy has always reflected the socio-political and educational movements and turmoil in the country, as well as the major efforts of Macedonian intellectuals for educational, scientific and social progress.

The development of the studies of pedagogy has taken place in three states with different political and educational systems: 1) the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, during a two-decade period between the two world wars (1920-1941), when the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was founded as the first higher education institution in the territory of Macedonia; 2) the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in which the studies of pedagogy had been developed in a period of 45 years (1946-1991) within the newly established Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje as the first higher education institution in the free Socialist Republic of Macedonia; and 3) the Republic of Macedonia as an independent state with nearly three decades of development (1991-2020) in which the studies of pedagogy has outgrown the Faculty of Philosophy and became a part of other faculty programs in the country. In each of the three periods, university studies of pedagogy have been developing on a different ideological matrix that determined the program goals and content as instruments for the realization of an educational policy in a given social context.

The beginnings: the “national” mission of the study of pedagogy

After the World War I the territory of today's Macedonia became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (founded in 1918 and renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929) and remained its constitutive unit in the following two decades, until the beginning of the World War II. The economic and political situation of Macedonians in this period, as well as of other nations that were not recognized in the newly formed Yugoslav state, was very difficult. Instead of the long-awaited national freedom and equality, the monarchist regime proclaimed the Macedonians for non-existent: they were all treated as South Serbs, their national identity and culture were denied, and the Macedonian name and language were banned. Macedonia became “South Serbia” or “Vardar district” (Vardar “Banovina”), a name that was created for purely national-political reasons and forced upon the region (Boskovska, 2017, p.3). In the schools and administration the Serbian language was imposed, and use of the Macedonian language and printing of books and other publications in Macedonian were strictly prohibited (Јовановиќ, 1983,

p.36). Many prominent researchers and analysts of the educational system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia emphasized its undemocratic character: "It's a sad fact that a whole nation, the Macedonian nation, because of the incorrectly resolved national question in old Yugoslavia, had no right to instruction in their mother tongue" (Krnetić, 1978, p.112); "The unitary policy completely demolished not only minorities, but also nations. In such a way, Macedonians who were not recognized as a nation, didn't have schools in their own language" (Bezdanov and Nikolić, 1978, p. 33). On the other side, the educational policy of the Kingdom that reflected its political interests was not in favor of establishing and developing a school network, so the poor region of Macedonia in this period remained without sufficient number of schools. The consequence of this policy was the large number of illiterate, both among the young people and adults (Ogrizović, 1976, p.10).

The system of education in pre-war Yugoslavia that was implemented in Macedonia as well, was undemocratic, dualistic and totally undeveloped (Krnetić, 1978, p.112). This situation was a result of the deprived socio-economic conditions in the country that were unfavorable for educational development. Regarding its economy and culture, Yugoslavia before the World War II was one of the least developed countries in Europe. Without its own industry, with utterly primitive agricultural production as the main economic branch, Yugoslavia had to fall behind both in cultural and educational terms (Potkonjak, 1977, pp.19-20). Within the Kingdom, Vardar Banovina was the least developed region with extremely poor system of education and network of schools. Pre-school education, higher education, adult education and special education hardly existed (Камберски, 1994, p.18). The only segment that somehow was in function was the education provided in the primary schools.

Higher education was the least developed segment of the educational system in Macedonia. The only higher education institution that existed in the period between the two World Wars was the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje. It was established on 15 December 1920 under the authority of the University in Belgrade (Uredba o Filozofskom fakultetu u Skoplju..., 1920) and intended to become "a centre for Yugoslav national culture in the South" (Zakon o univerzitetima, 1930) and to "develop the national consciousness" of "the Serbian people" in "South Serbia" (Картов, 1973, p.103). In accordance with the political agenda for denationalization and assimilation of Macedonians living in Vardar Banovina, the faculty aimed at achieving political, national and cultural tasks. That was evident in the policy of students' enrolment

and teachers' employment, as well as in the teaching process that glorified the Serbian historical and cultural past and present, using the Serbian as a teaching language.

The Faculty of Philosophy initiated the academic work with 5 departments, 21 students and 9 teachers (Slankamenac, 1930). The number of students in Skopje steadily grew to 156 in 1929/30 and remained stable throughout the 1930s. In the last academic year 1940/41, were enrolled 289 students who were taught in different disciplines by a significant number of well educated professors of different national background (Temkov et al., 2006, p.22). From the very beginning, the local students were in the minority, because they were treated as "anational" or even nationally hostile elements that had to be swamped by bringing in hundreds of students from the northern "nationally conscious" regions (Boskovska, 2017, p. 236; Миљовска, 1971, p. 97). In fact, throughout the interwar period the number of local students was pretty small in comparison to the Macedonian students studying in Belgrade and Zagreb (Boskovska, 2017, pp. 240-247; Jovanovic, 2002, pp. 333-40). In 1924, for example, only 45 students enrolled at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje had been born in "South Serbia" while 36 came from Serbia, 3 from Croatia and 21 from Russia (Јовановиќ, 1983, p. 269). According to the newspaper *Jugoslovenski glasnik* from 1 february 1931, three quarters of the students were Serbs from Kosovo, Prizren, the Sanjak, Montenegro and Serbia. Thus the Faculty remained essentially an educational institution mainly for the sons and daughters of Serbian officials in the Vardar Banovina (Boskovska, 2017, 9.240).

One of the reasons why Macedonians were not interested in studying at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje is that the Faculty studied promoted a Serbian nationalist spirit, and they were aimed at training educational staff who was expected to work on the denationalization of the Macedonians. In addition, it was not insignificant that the teachers at that time didn't have highly valued nor rewarded status compared to other professions, and that while practicing their job, they felt the political pressure of constant transfers from one place to another (Јовановиќ, 1983, p.269).

The teaching staff at the Faculty of Philosophy was also selected in accordance with the "national" goals that had been set by the authorities. Teachers who engaged themselves in the "national cause" received good marks and were decorated with medals. In 1933, out of the 22 people employed at the Faculty, from the dean to the housekeeper, nobody was born in Macedonia (Boskovska, 2017, p.236). This situation remained unchanged by 1939. National

“correctness” was also required to obtain a place in the student hostel (that bore the name King Peter the Liberator), whose foundation stone was laid in 1931 on the tenth anniversary of the Faculty, but at the same time on an important holiday for Serbs, the St Sava Holiday (ibid., p.237). The significant and successful national mission of the Faculty of Philosophy was stressed by the Rector of the University of Belgrade as an argument against the initiative for its closing down in 1927. He underlined that it represented a center of gathering the local youth and even those people who had previously studied in Bulgaria, but had become loyal and upstanding “national workers” (ibid.).

However, despite the fact that the Faculty of Philosophy and the studies of pedagogy in the interwar period had primarily political and national mission, it is important to have in mind that in the 1930s the Faculty had played a progressive role, becoming a center for spreading the revolutionary ideas of the labor movement (Миљовска, 1971). It grew into a cradle of progressive students who opposed through various activities the denationalization aspirations of the faculty and political authorities, and advocated for building a democratic society in which the Macedonian people would be equal to other Yugoslav peoples, thus preparing the ground for the new Yugoslav Socialist Federation.

Marxist pedagogy and socialist education

With the liberation from foreign rule and the establishment of a national educational system after the Second World War, the studies of pedagogy continued to develop in a completely different socio-political context that was created in the new Yugoslav Federation and in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as its part. During the period of 45 years, the newly established Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was the only higher education institution in Macedonia that continually provided 4-year education courses to prepare qualified personnel in a range of pedagogical disciplines¹. All the cathedras within the Faculty, including the one of pedagogy, implemented the theory of socialist education that was politically conditioned and ideologically defined by the Marxist scientific view of the world and was understood as a scientific

¹ The first curriculum consisted of 16 academic disciplines out of which 6 were from the pedagogical area and others were in the field of psychology, philosophy and general education (Kamberski, Korubin, 1996, p.41). The number of the subjects in the study program gradually increased, as new pedagogical disciplines were introduced especially during the 1960s and 1970s.

theory, as a "class liberation and revolutionary practice of the working class" (Дамјановски, 1985, p. 28).

In the early after-war period, in order to liberate the education and teaching practice from the recidivism of the "civil school" and the "bourgeois ideology", Macedonian pedagogues turned to Soviet pedagogy, which was perceived as the only science about socialist education (Ангелоска-Галевска, 1998, p.92). It was the source in which the researchers in the entire Yugoslav community sought and found directions for the development of a methodology for pedagogical research. The situation started gradually changing at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s when it comes to a "partial sobering from the influence of the Soviet pedagogy" (Potkonjak, 1977, p.185), and an acceptance of the methodological legacy of the empirical-inductive "bourgeois methodology of pedagogy".

In general, the principles on which pedagogy and the educational system of the People's Republic of Macedonia, later renamed the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, were founded and built, were under direct political influence and were drawn up at the congresses of the Communist party. In its resolutions, the party had been determining the educational goals that were operationalized into tasks and programs carried out from top to bottom. These resolutions caused changes in the laws on education, on the basis of which curriculum was implemented in the schools and faculties.

One of the most complex and sensitive problems of pedagogical science in the period of socialist development was the issue of goals and tasks of education. It had primarily political and ideological character and importance, and was rooted in the Marxist and Leninist educational theory. Although the educational goals had been constantly harmonized with the social development and the changes in the organization and management of the social relations, some of them remained unchanged and became principles upon which the education of the future pedagogues in a course of decades of socialist development was based.

The Marxist and Leninist pedagogy placed great importance on intellectual education, the adoption of systematized encyclopedic knowledge that ought to provide the formation of educated builders of the socialist society. Starting from Lenin's thought that "a person will become a communist only when he/she enriches his/her own memory with the knowledge of the complete richness humanity has achieved" (Žlebničnik 1983, p. 254), the education in the Socialist Macedonia at every school level, from primary to higher education,

was aimed at developing a “universal” or “multilateral” personality. Its realization was carried out in the four-year studies of pedagogy as well, during which students acquired a comprehensive content within a large number of pedagogical, psychological and philosophical disciplines as well as within a wide range of subjects of general knowledge (Преглед на предавањата за учебната 1874/75, 1984/85). Hence, since the very beginning, the study program of pedagogy had been developed as a broad discipline-based academic curriculum that was expected to create a pedagogue with extensive knowledge and wide intellectual horizons. All academic disciplines were studied at least for two semesters (one academic year) and they consisted of a large amount of theoretical systematized knowledge.

Another fundamental theoretical postulate of the Marxist theory of education was the idea of collectivism that in the Yugoslav society was implemented as a value of community spirit, patriotism and brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and minorities. The Yugoslav youth was educated in the spirit of these greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and the revolution, which was perceived as a warranty for the safety and the durability of the Yugoslav federation (Bezic, 1978, pp.25-27). In Macedonia, too, moral education and cherishing of brotherhood and unity was one of the most important tasks in the education of a socialist self-managing personality. It was realized, primarily, through the teaching process (there was almost no school subject or a field where that was not its primary educational task), as well as through the extra-curricular and outside-of-school activities of the students, like the meetings between schools bearing the same name, various labor actions, sport matches, cultural manifestations, outings, excursions, camping and other gatherings of children (Tito’s pioneers) and youth.

Future pedagogues in Macedonia were also prepared in the spirit of the ideal of the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and minorities, as well as of collectivism and patriotism. This goal was achieved by extensive learning about other “brotherly peoples” in the Yugoslav federation, so that important part of the study program of pedagogy in the 1970s and 1980s were two-semester discipline of History of pedagogy of the SFR Yugoslavia and two-year subject of National defense and social self-protection in SFR Yugoslavia. At the same time, the preparation of the future pedagogues was largely based upon knowledge coming from other Yugoslav republics where the science of pedagogy was more developed. Thus, the Macedonian students usually learned from books written by Serbian or Croat authors in their mother tongue and

sometimes from visiting professors from Serbia and Croatia; majority of the teaching assistants at the Institute of pedagogy in the 1970s and 1980s obtained master's and doctoral degrees in pedagogical sciences at the faculties in Belgrade, Zagreb or Sarajevo²

The education of the pedagogues in Macedonia during the period of socialist development was in the spirit of party and ideological monism that shaped both the pedagogy as a science and the educational practice, thus restricting the freedom of thought and action of students, teachers and scientific workers. The development of pedagogy was characterized by apologetics and absence of critical approaches, for its tasks were theoretically and methodologically deducted and consisted of the operationalized stances of the Communist party and government bodies, contained in certain documents (programs, resolutions, etc.) The Faculty courses of pedagogy were created and delivered as means for a systematic Marxist education and were in a service of building a uniform model of political thinking and action. This is the legacy that the new state, the Republic of Macedonia, since the very beginning of its constitution in 1991, has sought to leave behind as soon as possible, and to turn the development of the educational system and pedagogy in another direction.

Pedagogy and the neoliberal approach in education

With the collapse of the socialist political and value system, Macedonian higher education was experiencing yet another ideological upheaval that was reflected in pedagogy studies as well. Accepting as its strategic commitment political pluralism and market economy, the educational system in the independent Republic of Macedonia has enthusiastically embraced the Western educational tradition and trends and has adopted the neoliberal concept of competitiveness and compatibility in education. Since 1994 the studies of pedagogy have been carried out in conditions of institutional, linguistic and program pluralism³, but with a single conceptual basis: preparing staff for successful competition in the labor market. This latest stage of development

² Two-year postgraduate studies in pedagogical sciences were introduced at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje in 1980/81.

³ For almost 50 years the Institute of pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was the only higher education institution in Macedonia to provide a four-year university education for preparation of pedagogues, experts in education. In 1994 studies of professional pedagogy in Albanian were established within the State University in Tetovo, and decades later study program of pedagogy was introduced at the Faculty of educational sciences at the University "Goce Delcev" in Stip.

of the Macedonian higher education is characterized by the efforts to create conditions for unimpeded implementation of the principles and recommendations emanating from the Bologna Process in order to improve the quality of the educational process and increase efficiency of the studies, as well as to ensure competitiveness and compatibility with the European and global academic market (Национална програма за развој на образованието во Република Македонија 2005–2015, 2006, pp. 241-243).

The current situation and the prospects of the study of pedagogy and the higher education in Macedonia need to be considered within the international frame of global trends in higher education that are politically and economically defined. The societal aims and educational priorities have changed in the last 20-30 years in the line with the current enthusiasms of neoliberal policymakers of the West and North. In Macedonia and internationally, higher education reforms tend to framing education in economic terms. The free market approach in education that was advocated in Macedonia since the 90s has significantly changed the role of the universities and they have been transformed into powerful consumer-oriented corporate networks, where “key performance indicators” direct attention to measured outputs rather than to processes and inputs within education (Lynch, 2010). Once admired as “ivory towers of learning”, today’s universities are forced to regard their students as consumers and customers (Malik, 2018, p.17). This approach promoted a competitive society and competitiveness in education with its global language: achievements, performances, accountability, efficiency measured through the correlation between inputs and outputs, effectiveness of the results, etc. Instead of public interest values, mechanisms of control and regulation of university productivity have been promoted; instead of focussing on the process of formation of student’s personality based on nurturing relatedness, monitoring and measuring of student’s performances are emphasized, thus reinforcing the pursuit of economic self-interest by students and contributing to the widespread sense among them that they are in college solely to gain career skills and credentials (Harkavy, 2006, p. 14). As a result, the traditional discipline-based academic curriculum is considered being stuck in the past and has been remodeled based on its “utility” in terms of preparing young people with skills and competencies required for participation in “the global knowledge economy”. Hence, education, the curriculum and even knowledge itself is becoming “means to an end, not ends in themselves” (Young, 2008,

p. 21) . It serves the needs of global capitalism and emphasizes products not processes, the private not the public, skills not inquiry.

In Macedonian higher education, the twenty-first-century skills agenda has flourished over the past decades. As a result of the adopted legislation and educational policy documents, the study program of pedagogy during the last 15 years has been changed several times⁴. With the implementation of Bologna reform since 2004/05 the traditional disciplinary approach was replaced with a modular one, which resulted in breaking up the extensive two or three-semester subjects in one-semester courses. This significantly increased the total number of subjects in the study program, but, at the same time significantly altered the quality of knowledge that students gained. A large number of newly created short courses put emphasis on skills adoption, while knowledge has gained utilitarian value. The comprehensive material has been reduced to a limited number of lessons, the knowledge of which has been usually checked using knowledge-based tests. The skills agenda has promoted a particular type of citizen: one who is literate, numerate, flexible, creative and IT-savvy, and who is ready to compete in the global knowledge economy. These priorities are evident in the latest study programme of pedagogy where many courses develop primarily skills that should enable the future pedagogues to successfully compete in the labour market (initial literacy, adult literacy, academic speaking and writing, strategies of teaching, ICT in teaching, labour market, career counseling).

However, many researchers, including the author of this article, believe that education is primarily an ethical and not economic issue, a powerful tool not only for economic development, but for humanizing the world we live in. Therefore, its main mission should be making people better, rather than competitive production of human capital. Going back to the sources of education, one can learn that education is not about identifying predicted “outcomes” to be measured by “performance management” instruments, but about identifying and developing potentials and personal strengths, about empowering people and giving support, about communication and cooperation. Therefore, in determining the priorities for the future development of the studies of pedagogy, it is necessary to reexamine the existing conceptual,

⁴ Since the implementation of Bologna reform, the study programme of pedagogy has had four revisions accomplished through continuous law changes. However, instead of improvements, there is an agreement among the Faculty staff that the quality of pedagogical and university studies in general, as well as the entrance and exit competencies of graduates, has decreased.

program and organizational setting in the light of global trends, but also to reconsider the original mission of higher education and to soften the ruthless pragmatism of the modern living by the universal values and continuous approach toward humanity.

Conclusion

The studies of pedagogy in Macedonia during the century-long development have been an instrument for implementing certain educational policies in accordance with the political interests of the governing structures in the country. However, within the dominant ideology of the three educational systems, new alternative ideological movements and initiatives appeared that announced the rise of a new social order and educational paradigm. Thus, in the late interwar period, the political mission of the Faculty of Philosophy for denationalization and assimilation of the Macedonian people was strongly opposed by the progressive Faculty teachers and students who spread the ideas of the labor movement and were actively engaged in building of a new socialist society, in which the Macedonian nation would be recognized as a specific historical entity. In the following decade-long period of socialist development the study program of pedagogy incorporated the principles of the Marxist and Leninist theory of education, but during the 1970s and 1980s new academic disciplines were introduced (Comparative pedagogy, Social pedagogy) that were developed on different ideological foundation characteristic of “developed capitalism” (Potkonjak, Simlesa, 1989, p. 3861) and therefore marked as “politically unsuitable”. At the same time, new educational theories were rediscovered, such as John Dewey’s, whose ideas for a long time had been considered to be anti-intellectual and “bourgeois-reactionary” (Zlebnik, 1983, pp. 216-217), but many of his concepts will be infused into the modern reform attempts for teaching improvement (Miovska-Spaseva, 2016, pp.207-224). Finally, the neoliberal approach in higher education during the last thirty years has given rise to its opposite ideology that emphasizes the human aspects of education and the urgent need of reconsidering the educational profile of the pedagogues and the priorities for the future development of the study of pedagogy in Macedonia.

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WHY DO WE NEED PEDAGOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL? - A DRAFT CONCEPT FOR THE NEW BASICS OF EDUCATION AND PEDAGOGY IN PRIMARY SCHOOL

Abstract: *To build an efficient and effective pedagogical and educational system it needs to be solid, safe and resistant to various changes, to produce healthy and competent citizens and which will be able to build a strong economy and well-being and foster a rich culture of living. Children and young people should be offered an education that respects their interests and abilities, nurtures and promotes their capacities and offers them opportunities to make choices and realize themselves through the pedagogical and educational process.*

Most of the interventions in the primary education are focused on the formal aspects of change. Even the initiatives aimed at the implementation of foreign models in primary education were not properly designed and adapted to the specifics of the current situation in our country. Primary education has failed to modernize teaching with correct curriculum interventions, by strengthening the didactic base and above all by establishing a career advancement system for teachers that will enable them to exceed the average individual investment in teaching.

The new concept is based on the revision of first to third grade curricula in primary education and pedagogy. This period is taken as a relatively compact period in terms of the psychophysical development of children. The proposed concept results in: introduction of target-oriented teaching and learning; compatibility and succession between curricula that have a certain purpose and are comprehensive, coherent, compatible and with well-organized content, with the possibility of their target integration; unburdening of curricula and defining levels of student achievement or learning outcomes; establishing an efficient and effective system for monitoring, evaluating, and validating student achievement. With the new concept of reforming primary education, changes have been proposed from: organizational, programmatic and didactic aspects.

Key words: reform, concept, primary education and pedagogy, curricula, subjects

Children and young people should be offered an education and pedagogy that respects their interests and abilities, nurtures and promotes their capacities.

ities and offers them opportunities to make choices and realize themselves through the pedagogical and educational process.

Most of the interventions so far in the primary education and pedagogy in Republic of Macedonia are focused on the formal aspects of modern tendencies in education and pedagogy which are present in last decades in Europe and in the World. Also, big number of national and international programs and initiatives were present in the past two decades in state which were focused precisely on teaching and learning. Many seminars and trainings were held where participants from different profiles and degrees were included (teachers, expert associates, librarians, directors, and others). All were focused on the following: modernizing teaching and increasing the quality of students study in primary education and pedagogy.

Basis of this approach can be found in concept of curricula whereas content dominates. If you look at the set purposes of curricula, you'll see that the ones that required adoption, more precisely memorization of certain fund of knowledge dominate, but the others purposes which suggest developing complex competencies are lacking. Process component of the teaching is being marginalized because the result is important i.e. reproduction of the lectured, not the ways and quality of the double knowledge (flexibility, dynamic, permanence, applicability, comparability etc.). So it means knowledge is being monitoring, evaluating, and validating in a narrow sense i.e. knowledge for the certain school subject, focused on memorization and reproduction of knowledge. Other student's achievements are in second plan or are totally marginalized. This approach causes situation in which student's capabilities for implementation of knowledge in new situations especially in real life situations aren't monitored, examined and validated enough. Capabilities, interests, views, believes and other characteristics of the personality are rarely examined and validated. Therefore, the whole evaluation of the achievements is based only on the realization of the educational assignment in teaching, pedagogical and functional assignment are left out.

Development of language skills is successive and simultaneous in all program areas of teaching the Macedonian language in first educational cycle of the nine years primary education. It is conditioned with the complex of the language and language skills as elementary components and it is important to be mentioned that because of that, there are more program areas with different purposes depending on the focus of specific language aspect. Purposes

correspond with student's adult and cognitive impairments and gradually are getting more complicated, which causes different levels of operationalization.

The new concept based on the revision of curricula in primary education and pedagogy results with:

- ♦ Introduction of **target-oriented teaching and learning** in primary education and pedagogy;
- ♦ Compatibility and succession between curricula (teaching subjects and program areas/themes) that have a certain purpose and are comprehensive, coherent, compatible and with well-organized content, with the possibility of their **target integration**;
- ♦ **Unburdening** of curricula and defining levels of student achievement or learning outcomes;
- ♦ Establishing an **efficient and effective system for monitoring, evaluating, and validating** student achievement. (Muijs, Reynolds, 2006).

Contents of five program areas are realized in current (valid) curriculum for Macedonian language and they are: Listening and speaking, Literature, Expressing and creating, Media culture and Preparation for initial reading and writing. Students have six teaching hours per week, and 216 per year.

During analysis of current curricula for this teaching subject it was concluded that some purposes/ contents from valid areas are too wide and they constantly repeat (*Primary Education, Contents and organization of pedagogical-educational teaching and Curricula I-IV grade, I and II part, 1997*).

In new concept, program area **Listening and Speaking** and program area **Expressing and creating** are both part of program area **Communication and language**, providing less burden to students.

Because of the develop characteristics of children and period of adaptation in school environment in first grade it is predicted students to spend shorter time in new environment, and time gradually increases every next school year. This reduction of fund of hours correspond with reduction of the contents that burdens the previous curricula. This is provided by opportunity of integration of the purposes in teaching subject especially in other teaching subjects so that activities for Macedonian language are not realizing only on those four teaching hours.

The first phase of revision of curricula in primary education and pedagogy, provides for revision of first to third grade curricula in primary education and pedagogy.

Table no. 1

Current (valid) annual global plan for performing teaching of the Macedonian Language for 1st grade in school year 2016/2017 година (*Curriculum, Macedonian Language for 1st grade, Nine years primary education, 2007*).

Per week: 6 teaching hours; per year: 216 teaching hours

Program area: Listening and speaking (80 teaching hours)
Program area: Literature (60 teaching hours)
Program area: Expressing and creating (26 teaching hours)
Program area: Media culture (20 teaching hours)
Program area: Preparation for initial reading and writing (30 teaching hours)

Table no. 2

Draft concept for new annual global plan for performing teaching of the Macedonian Language for 1st grade in school year 2018/2019

Per week: 4 teaching hours; per year: 144 teaching hours

Program area:	Annual fund of teaching hours:
Communication and language	54 teaching hours
Literature	35 teaching hours
Preparation for initial reading and writing	35 teaching hours
Media culture	20 teaching hours

Table no. 3

Curriculum for the students in first grade (*Curriculum for 1st grade, Nine years primary education 2007*).

Current (valid) curriculum			Draft concept for new curriculum		
School subjects	Teaching hours (per week)	Teaching Hours (per year)	School subjects	Teaching hours (per week)	Teaching Hours (per year)
Native Language	6	216	Native Language	4	144
Mathematics	5	180	Mathematics	4	144
Environmental Science	2	72	World around us	2	72
Social Science	1	36			
Music	2	72	Art	3	108
Art	2	72			
Physical and health education	3	108	Physical and health education	3	108
English Language	2	72	English language	2	72
Total Teaching Hours:	23	828		18	648

Teachers can plan realization of the purposes through different sources, activities and strategies, by using their own creativity in accordance with the contexts. Grading of student's achievements is much easier and simple, thanks to the defined results which grow from purposes, in accordance with Blum's taxonomy. (ЧОНТЕВА, 2010). In the programs for upper grades review of the program areas with appropriate ascents of the purposes is planned, which will require succession.

Concept for small and big is learned in school subjects Mathematics and World around us, and differences between big and small letters are tiny.

However in different language number of small letters which are different in writing is not the same: In Macedonian language from 31 letters in alphabet only 3 are different in writing, in Albanian language from 36 letters, 22 letters are different in writing, in Turkish language from 29 letters in alphabet, 14 are different (*Curriculum, Macedonian language for I, II and III degree 2007*).

Need for global reading is determined by more possible factors: modern ways of communication, environment in which child grows, time spent in preschool institutions, having older brother or sister- students etc. Literacy process with global method starts with linguistic mark- the word, not with letter as an initial ground for studying. Thereby every analysis and synthesis is rejected because it is considered as unnecessary. This type of reading, at least at the beginning is made much easier because word recognition is supported and connected with specific didactic material (subject, model, photo, painting), (Harrison, 2006). In this way students learn how to identify, how to recognize the word before they learn about word elements i.e. letters from which it is composed. This way of learning is a result from recognition of whole words (global) which child finds often.

Sentences and short texts can be completed and read from few learned words, the same way as words and sentences are completed from several learned letters.

In teaching subject native, mother language for first grade practices for writing preparation have been considered because through the system of graphic and manual exercises ordered by difficulty, child's hand gradually will learn how to make coordinate moves and how to operate with writing set, thereby preconditions for easier learning of the technique of writing will be established. Teaching practice shows that writing is more difficult skill from reading, children start school with not enough practiced arm to operate with writing set. This results from complex process of writing and modern way of

living (writing is more difficult process from process of reading) and gets to the conclusion that writing preparation should be considered very seriously (Goodman, 2000). **Practice shows that separate writing of the elementary lines from which the letters are composed** (straight, italic, half rounded... lines), is not corresponding with children's nature at this age. Modern pedagogues suggest this type of exercises to be replaced with drawing sketches in which those lines and other different manual and creative activities are inserted., (Тофова-Камилова, 2019а). With this kind of practice, according to the experience, children are preparing for writing on natural way because these exercises are much interesting and easier. What is more important, is that they are made in connection with everyday life, unlike exercises for writing the letter's elements, which are abstract and lifeless and does not provoke child interest, suffocates their wish for creating and makes students tired. We can't forget that on this age it's difficult for children to rewrite from the blackboard, can't make short distance or to write in one line. Also as planning support for students with special educational programs is important, as well it's important to be mentioned that children who can write /read can get additional activities in accordance with their qualifications.

When we talk about language literacy process we have to underline that, that is basis of all types of other literacy processes, and "basis of that base" is elementary literacy. It is interesting that according to the latest psychological information integrated access expressed through inter teaching approach gives better results. Basis of elementary literacy are given in curricula purposes in first, second and third grade - then ends learning of the Latin alphabet. Besides its huge meaning, language literacy (initial reading and writing) is not the only program area. Namely in first educational cycle in teaching native language, there are many program areas which develop and strength different language aspects. Elementary literacy is integrated through these areas, and we can talk about inter program integration. New pedagogy based on vivid knowledge offers whole range of technics for learning which should find their place in teaching processes and learning in primary education and pedagogy. Those are learning by: observation, imitation, practicing " attempts and mistakes ", feedback, conversation, tutoring and helping, resolving problems from real life, research, critical opinion and production of knowledge, listening and remembering, reflection, virtual surroundings, incentives and playing roles, training, competition, games etc. (Томевска-Илиевска, 2016). In preschool age students should have many situations in which they will listen, write, read and

talk. It means that use of language skill should be in different contexts, as are listening and communicating with students from the same age and with adults, sharing and talking about what they read or wrote. Development of language skills has global meaning and it is integral part and ground of whole development process, because without developed language abilities, process of learning is impossible. From the other hand this process of language competences is process that requires constant progress, not just process of realizing specific primary purposes according to the program.

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LIFELONG LEARNING – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Abstract Educational policies that treat the concept of lifelong learning are in the focus of the European strategic documents and tendencies since the last century, but the notion and understanding of the term lifelong learning and lifelong education has provoked the attention of scientists and practitioners leading to different understandings and interpretations within the years. These interpretations vary from equalize of lifelong learning with adult education, second chance education, distance learning, non-formal education, to definitions that surpass the narrowness of the concept, like permanent education, overall learning and education, etc.

Neoliberalism with its latest manifestation in European societies has influenced the educational paradigms overall, including lifelong learning concept. Access to information, ICT, rapid technique and technology development, etc. all lead towards creating new jobs and new demands from the labor market. Neoliberalism is relying on lifelong learning as an instrument to help the economy and prevent unemployment by creating flexible and accessible non-formal educational and training courses that will lead eventually towards strengthening the competences of the workforce. Therefore, over the years, several functions of the lifelong learning concept have been accented on the account of neglecting the core developmental function of the concept and by that, losing its *sui generis*.

This paper has an objective to provide introspective of the concept and societal realization of the lifelong learning concept by illustrating the manifestations and understandings of terminology by using comparative research and portray about the past and current situation in wider context and in Republic of North Macedonia.

Theoretical framework will be complemented with official statistical data from relevant institutions working on this complex problematic. Gathered results will eventually lead towards creating inductive and deductive conclusions and recommendations that are in line with European strategic documents and envisaged goals for the forthcoming period and also give specific directions for paving the path of development of lifelong learning in Republic of North Macedonia.

Key words: lifelong learning, neoliberalism, humanism, educational trends.

1. Understandings of lifelong learning in the past

Learning as a *condition humana* is crucial for human survival and development, which implies that lifelong learning is an evolutionary product of

development of human society and culture. Unacceptable are the thesis which imply that lifelong learning is a “new age revolution”, product of contemporary society. These thesis don't correspond with historical facts.

The idea of the concept of lifelong learning has established its deep roots in the development of civilizations. By its essence, lifelong learning represents a sort of dialectics of development of the society and human living and is consisted of three dimensions: past, present and future. Their interdependence is the only way that we can completely understand lifelong learnings' essence. Therefore, we can observe lifelong learning as a historical category, but also as a contemporary problematic and an issue that will be present in future development of the societies. Historical data that social sciences have from early civilizations of the East (China and India) and Greece are witnessing that the idea about lifelong learning has been crucial part of philosophers and educators thoughts like Confucius, Manu, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristoteles, etc. Hence, Cicerone considered that “the most natural weapon against aging is learning and moral assets which if nurtured throughout life, no matter how long it is, can be very fruitful”. (Savicevic, 1983)

Confucius is creating a concept for societal development in which central part is the development of individuals. The ideal that Confucius seeks is an “honor man” that will be “responsible enough for self-development” after “finding himself” first. Confucius is creating a “school of wisdom” that “prepares young people for successful life¹. This idea is further developed in Greek philosophers' thoughts and learnings.

Western civilization in the period of humanism and renaissance has also fostered the notion and significance of lifelong learning reflected in the thoughts of the social utopists, like: More, Campanella, Owen, Sen-Simone, etc. The most valuable step towards establishing the fundamentals of lifelong learning in this period is the thought of the Czech pedagogist J.A. Comenius that has shifted the boundaries of capacity for learning - from early childhood throughout the whole life, by stating “teaching all things to all”² posing the notion about lifelong learning in wider context and inventing an andragogical approach towards education, which didn't come into realization because of unfavorable socio-economic conditions.

¹ See: Kineski svet, *Opšta enciklopedija*, LAROUSSE, 3, Vuk Karadžić, Beograd, 1973, str. 264.

² See: Johann Amos Comenius, *Pampaedia, Lateinischer Text und deutsche Übersetzung*, Zweite Auflage, Quelle und Meyer, Heidelberg, 1965.

The practical implementation of the lifelong learning idea has come into realization in the period of industrial revolution. Industrialization with the mass production leads to the world's biggest transformation in social, technological, cultural, economy area. That change is shifting the paradigm of lifelong learning from theory into practical implementation. Lifelong learning is observed as an asset by which the working class can create the "new society". Thoughts and philosophies of German social revolutionists Karl Marks, Friedrich Engels and afterwards, Soviet Union's V.I. Lenin are representing a new phase in the affirmation of the concept of lifelong learning. Education and learning intended for everyone is observed as a condition for sustaining socialist establishment, democratization of the society and improving quality of life of individuals.

Specific interest about lifelong learning and education is noticed among international organizations and bodies (UNESCO, OECD, etc.) at the end of the second half of XX century. Their campaigns, declarations and recommendations stipulate the importance of lifelong learning for social and personal development, "weapon" against poverty, unemployment and social exclusion. These ideas and ideological understandings of the remedial power of lifelong learning are still present.

2. Definitions about lifelong learning – connecting the past with present in international and European context

Lifelong learning is gaining an increased importance in transnational policy arena, especially in the present age of globalization due to faster changes at various levels in and around our societies. Transnational policies, at different levels are making significant influence, modifications and resistance of concepts, systems, directions and opportunities of learning from their changing standpoints.

These standpoints are often related to broader ideologies and goals which influence them to promote policies in such a way which could benefit their interests and core agendas. However, these needs for changes seek adjustments from the society, market and individuals. At the same time, the economic notion, which is directly related to the notion of lifelong learning, brings resistance from the society (Jarvis, 2008, p. 36).

It seems that the concept of "education" seems overtrumped with the notion of "learning" that seems much flexible in nature. Major transnational

organizations are, therefore, promoting “learning”, more specifically lifelong learning instead of “education” through their policies.

Before we start with the analyses of different definitions of transnational organizations regarding lifelong learning, we must point out the differences between the terms “education” and “learning” that have gained different significance within the years.

The term “learning” presupposes personal responsibility for one’s educational development. In order to be competitive on the educational and/or labor market or to retain and get promoted to higher job position, individuals should constantly pursue the demands of the educational market and consume it by formal, non-formal and/or informal paths. While, the term “education” is associated and interconnected with the formal education system of one country that ends with highest educational degree (Rizova, 2013). Hence, term lifelong learning is a wider term than the term lifelong education because it encompasses formal, non-formal and informal activities taken throughout the whole lifespan of individuals.

In 1972, UNESCO forms the “Faure Commission” that brings lifelong education into the focus of the world’s policy arena. The report accentuated that the concept and notion of lifelong education is the keystone of the learning society. Throughout next two decades UNESCO promoted its ideologies, and it became the basis of many national education policies around the world. In 1996, UNESCO published Delor’s Report or the report “Learning the Treasure Within” and came back to the transnational policy arena of lifelong learning once again and finally replaced the term “lifelong education” with the term “lifelong learning”. Delor’s Report is also based on humanistic approach, but it also focuses on the link between learning and world of work. It acknowledges the need to rethink and update the concept of lifelong education so as to reconcile three forces: competition which provides incentives, co-operation which gives strength and solidarity which unites. The most significant contribution of the Delor’s Report is the introduction of four pillars of learning: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be (UNESCO, 1996).

Later, UNESCO came up with some important changes in its activity and policies. UNESCO institute for lifelong education in Hamburg, Germany, has been converted to UIL (UNESCO Institute for lifelong learning). This symbolic change of name seems carrying a much specific political change in its direction of portraying lifelong learning, because globalization processes are clearly influencing UNESCO to modify its policies.

UNESCO reports in post-2000 period are mostly mystifying and ambiguous in focus. However, it is very important to note that UNESCO still strongly manifests its keen interest of the holistic development of humankind. It, thus, offers a different worldview than that of other transnational organizations. "It is ethical, but also political" (Jarvis, 2008, p. 42).

European Union in its international educational views made a significant change in its policy domain through their championing of lifelong learning in the 1990s. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty, provided the legal basis for the EC (European Commission) to develop its European year of lifelong learning in 1996. Since then the EU tries to promote the learning concept, both in theory and practice. In 2000, Commission published a memorandum (Memorandum on lifelong learning, which argued that lifelong learning was no longer "just one aspect of education and training, it must become the guiding principle for provision and participation across the full continuum of learning contexts" (EC, 2000, p. 3).

A Memorandum on lifelong learning (EC, 2000) seems to indicate the beginning of a paradigm shift where social and economic changes are interrelated. Three major institutional arrangements are given equal importance, namely, the state, market and civil society. Since then, this combined dimension has dominated the EU policy strategy (Rubenson, 2002). Therefore, the expansion of the ideologies of lifelong learning within EU should not be viewed as economic means, only as it is related to a major social and political project. The aim was also to reunite Europe after the world war and focusing on a cohesive economic up-gradation plan which could serve the purposes well (EC, 2000, pp. 10-18).

Although the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development (OECD) was established before the economic globalization of the 1990s, it has been maintaining a neo-liberal outlook throughout. In its initial stages, it did not include education as a concern for the organization (Papadopoulos, 1994). After the World Wars, enrolment in education had increased rapidly and several studies came up regarding the positive relation between investment in education and economic growth. Importance was given on the development of human capital which can benefit from the technological improvements of post-war period. OECD meanwhile appeared as a "prophet" (Rubenson, 2006, p. 153).

However, the focus was mainly on formal education and this limitation made their policies less productive in real world. Therefore, OECD came up with another solution by introducing the term "recurrent education" which,

at a glance, was similar to UNESCO's term "continuing education", but was actually different in many aspects. The aim of this was to provide governments with practical ways of realizing lifelong education. The concept of "recurrent education" intends to propose a concrete framework, within which a great part of the individual's lifelong learning can take place. It differs from the concept of "permanent education" by making the principles of alternation between education and other activities central to the definition (OECD, 1973, p. 12). The main objectives are to reduce educational disparities between the older and younger generations, strengthen the efficiency of the labor market and the economy and increase linkage among different educational administrations.

Before 1990's, OECD (1989, p. 19) started embracing a more flexible path in education. It mentioned that education was less clearly distinct from "the economy". This report was criticized due to its unidirectional and less humanistic approach between the economy and learning. This pragmatic view of OECD's dimension of lifelong learning increased the interests of not only the member countries, but also others who have the knowledge stocks. The shift from "recurrent education", which has an implicit social demand, is replaced by the lifelong learning which focuses on individual demand.

Although different understandings of the term lifelong learning are still present, we will summarize the dimensions and/or functions of the concept according to the functions of adult education presented by Onushkin and Ogarev, adding one more function derived from the societal changes and that is the *remeditative* function:

- ♦ compensatory (to complement the "gaps" of individuals in educational area)
- ♦ adaptable (adjusting to the new demands of life, work and dynamic changes in the society)
- ♦ developmental (constant enrichment of personal and creative capacities of individuals)
- ♦ remeditative (to "fix" the challenges with employability, illiteracy, unqualified and low skilled workers, etc.)

It is evident that in the last couple of decades we are witnessing underlining three out of four dimensions of lifelong learning (compensatory and adaptable) for account of neglecting the third dimension which is ultimately in the core of the concept of lifelong learning.

It is wrong to think that lifelong learning is a remedy for all society problems with unemployment, illiteracy, social exclusion and marginalization, etc. Lifelong learning is complement on other educational, social, economic, cultural and other efforts. What makes lifelong learning important and revolutionary is that it's a key factor for increasing the level of knowledge and skills for life, improving the quality of life of every individual by respecting its humanistic values.

According to the Serbian andragogist Savicevic, lifelong learning has two basic postulates which are closely interconnected: continuity and integration. The main essence of the *continuity* is the human need and thirst for to learning and education throughout the whole life. *Integration* represents the interconnectedness of all levels and forms of learning and education, in a way that forms coherent educational system of one country.

1.1. The case of North Macedonia

Republic of North Macedonia isn't excluded by the "lifelong learning wave" that has enchanted European societies. As a country candidate for accession in the European Union, Republic of North Macedonia has committed to secure possibilities for obtaining appropriate education for all and for every age group, and make sure that every individual will possess competences in accordance with labor market needs and personal affirmation and fulfillment (Rizova, 2013).

In the last couple of decades, there were some partial and some substantial efforts to upgrade the policy gap regarding the official documentation about lifelong learning mainly initiated by European projects in the country. Therefore, several documents were created in order to emphasize the importance and to raise awareness about the significance of lifelong learning: *National programme for development of education (2006-2015)*, *Strategy for lifelong learning (2016-2020)*, *Strategy for vocational education and training in Republic of Macedonia in the context of lifelong learning 2013-2020*, *Concept paper for non-formal education*, etc.

The first systematic approach towards lifelong learning in Republic of North Macedonia is the creation of the National program for development of education of the Republic of Macedonia 2006-2015, where adult education in the context of lifelong learning is separated and acknowledged for the first time as an equal part of the overall educational system. This will pave the path for future development of these areas of education of course based on

the rich experience and accomplishments in this field from the past in the former Yugoslav Republic.

The National Program for development of education 2006-2015 sets the future steps that the country should make in order to promote the concept of lifelong learning, among which: “to create positive atmosphere for continuous learning and self-development of all age groups,.... Improving the possibilities for educational mobility of youngsters and adults and creating dynamic cooperation between educational institutions and the demands from the labor market and society” (National program for development of education 2006-2015 – Program for adult education in context of lifelong learning, p.2)

Positive indicator is that in the current *Strategy for education of Republic of Macedonia 2018-2025* one of the main goals is to “expand the possibilities for adult education and support of the concept of lifelong learning” which mean that lifelong learning is acknowledged as a concept that should be nourished and realized in the forthcoming period. Among the priorities and expected outcomes of the Strategy is the priority 1. *Improving and consolidating legal educational documents*, where one of the outcomes is “lifelong learning to be widely accepted and promoted throughout the process of planning, of education in all sectors” (Strategy for education of Republic of Macedonia 2018-2025, p.71).

In the framework of on realized IPA project (Component IV) Enhancing lifelong learning through modernizing the vocational education and training and adult education system, a strategic document named *Strategy for lifelong learning 2017-2020* was created which gives an systematic view of the factors and their role in the concept of lifelong learning as an overall education and learning concept. It presupposes integration of lifelong learning from early childhood development in preschool educational institutions throughout the whole life of individuals in every context, formal, non-formal and informal.

Policy, legal and institutional support from adult education and lifelong learning perspective has been made (in accordance with recommendations of the National program of development of education 2006-2015): Law for adult education in 2008, PI Center for adult education in 2008, Council for adult education, all working in making lifelong learning a reality by supporting the adult education sector.

The Public Institution Center for adult education is becoming an institution responsible for adult education sector which occasionally undertakes promotive activities for raising awareness about the significance of lifelong

learning in annual events (ex. Days of lifelong learning) and verifies different programs for adult education that lead to obtaining partial or full qualifications and eventually promote lifelong learning concept. However, lifelong learning remains palliative activity supported mainly by few NGO's in the country.

Scientific treatment and conceptualization of the lifelong learning is achieved by constitution of academic studies for andragogy in 2016 at the Faculty of philosophy – Skopje, University Ss Cyril and Methodius – Skopje, where several academic areas directly or indirectly connected with lifelong learning concept are studied.

But despite all the efforts and activities, the problem with understandings and definitions about lifelong learning still exist in national context. There isn't clear national interpretation about lifelong learning, so European Commission definition about what lifelong learning represents is often used and that is "all learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills/competences and/or qualifications for personal, social and/or professional reasons" (European Commission, 2008)³.

The problem encounters when practitioners and some academics misinterpret and/or identify terms adult education, andragogy, lifelong learning and non-formal education. Then, we can see the ignorance about this complex problematic and how serious the country addresses to this issues.

Having in mind all the weaknesses in the treatment of lifelong learning concept in national context, it is not strange that there aren't integral and complete data related to the realization of the concept of lifelong learning. Some of the official data available from which we can infer the situation about involvement of individuals in lifelong learning activities are Ministry for Labor and Social policy document – *National strategy for employment of Republic of Macedonia 2016-2020*, State statistical Office official data, some research activities undertaken by Agency for employment of Republic of Macedonia, as well as the PI Center for adult education. But, even in some of these national analyses regarding lifelong learning the State Statistical Office's documents, there is data gathered based on unclear methodology which identifies lifelong learning with non-formal education and adult education. In this paper we will present the latest official data consisted in several national documents.

Namely, in the document from the State statistical office of Republic of Macedonia – *Adult education survey (2016)*, lifelong learning is defined as "en-

³ https://ec.europa.eu/epale/sites/epale/files/white_paper_on_lll.pdf

larging and improving the knowledge among adults in order to increase employment opportunities and to provide people with the right skills for employment throughout their working lives”, while participation rate in education and training - participation of persons aged 25 to 64 in formal and non-formal education and training. These definitions suggest direct and single correlation between lifelong learning and the labor market, excluding all of other forms that lifelong learning can take.

Table 1. Participation in education and lifelong learning by sex and educational attainment⁴

T-02: Participation in education and lifelong learning by sex and educational attainment, 2016

	Вкупно Total	Лица кои посетуваат Participants		Лица кои не посетуваат Non-participants	
	број Number	број Number	стапка ²⁾ на лица кои учествуваат во образование и обука Participation ²⁾ rate in education and training	број Number	
Школска подготовка - вкупно (25-64)	1 180 558	150 111	12.7	1 030 447	Educational attainment level - total (25-64)
Без образование, незавршено основно и основно образование	381 296	(3 739)	(1.0)	377 557	No schooling, pre-primary to secondary education
Средно образование	554 081	57 296	10.3	496 785	Post-secondary, non-tertiary education
Више и високо образование ¹⁾	245 181	89 076	36.3	156 105	Tertiary and higher education ¹⁾
Школска подготовка - мажи (25-64)	597 447	80 550	13.5	516 897	Educational attainment level - men (25-64)
Без образование, незавршено основно и основно образование	156 861	(2 243)	(1.4)	154 618	No schooling, pre-primary to secondary education
Средно образование	322 441	36 661	11.4	285 781	Post-secondary, non-tertiary education
Више и високо образование ¹⁾	118 145	41 646	35.2	76 499	Tertiary and higher education ¹⁾
Школска подготовка - жени (25-64)	583 111	69 561	11.9	513 549	Educational attainment level - women (25-64)
Без образование, незавршено основно и основно образование	224 435	:	:	222 939	No schooling, pre-primary to secondary education
Средно образование	231 640	20 635	8.9	211 005	Post-secondary, non-tertiary education
Више и високо образование ¹⁾	127 036	47 430	37.3	79 606	Tertiary and higher education ¹⁾

¹⁾ Високото образование вклучува: високо образование, магистратура и докторат

¹⁾ Includes: university level education, Master's degree and Doctorate (Ph.D)

²⁾ Стапка на лица кои учествуваат во образование и обука - учество на лицата на возраст од 25 до 64 години кои посетуваат формално и неформално образование во вкупното население на истата возраст.

²⁾ Participation rate in education and training - share of persons aged 25 to 64 who participate in formal and non-formal education and training in the total population of the same age.

As we can see from the table, participation of adults in education and lifelong learning is **12,7%** from the overall adult population in the country. This high percentage is due to the fact that the sample of the survey included individuals involved in higher education, master and doctoral studies (formal

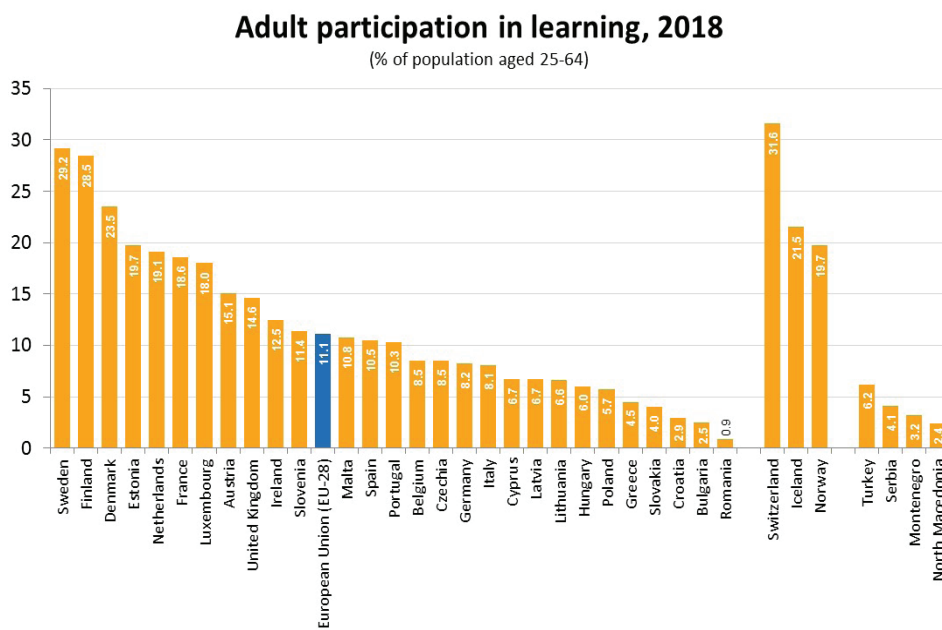
⁴ See: Republic of Macedonia State statistical office, Statistical Review – population and social statistics, *Adult education survey 2016*, 2.4.17.08 877.

education) as well as adults involved in non-formal education and training. We must stipulate that this data is gathered from the Census of population in Republic of Macedonia in 2002 and does not correspond with real and actual situation in the country.

One of the targets under the strategic framework for European cooperation and training (ET 2020) is that, at European level, an average of at least 15 % of adults should participate in lifelong learning by 2020. The latest results from the European Union (EU) labour force survey show that in 2018 the participation rate in the EU stood at 11.1 %, 0.2 percentage points above the rate for 2017. The rate has increased gradually since 2015, when it was 10.7 %.

According to the official European statistical data published by Eurostat, participatory rate of adults in all forms of learning in Republic of North Macedonia in 2018 is only 2,4%, which is more realistic representation of the current situation in national context, than the one from the State statistical office. Hence, the country should work very hard not just in the promotion of lifelong learning concept, but making it a reality.

Graph 1. Adult participation in learning 2018 (Eurostat report)⁵



ec.europa.eu/eurostat

⁵ See: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcod e=sdg_04_60&plugin=1

The most common reasons for not engaging in the lifelong learning activities among adults in Republic of North Macedonia, according to State statistical Office are: (27,5%) cost of educational offer, (14,1%) busy schedule of individuals, (12,4%) family responsibilities, (10,8%) distance of educational offer, etc.

According to the National strategy for employment of Republic of Macedonia (2016-2020), the system for adult education and lifelong learning is still in the phase of early development and there is a need for quick progress in the system for validation of non-formal and informal learning. Further steps should be focused towards decreasing unemployment rate among youngsters and persons that dropped out of education at any stage (National strategy for employment of Republic of Macedonia 2016-2020).

Table 2. Obstacles to participation in education and lifelong learning, by sex, 2016

T-26: Obstacles to participation in education and lifelong learning, by sex, 2016

Пречки	Вкупно	Мажи	Жени	Obstacles
	Total	Men	Women	
	%	%	%	
Вкупно, кои сакаат да учествуваат (25-64)	100.0	100.0	100.0	Total, willing to participate (25-64)
Потребни предзнаења	4.0	4.2	3.9	Prerequisites
Трошоци	27.2	27.5	26.9	Cost
Немање поддршка од работодавачот или јавните служби	8.6	8.6	8.5	Lack of employer's support or lack of public services support
Распоред	12.5	14.1	10.8	Schedule
Оддалеченост	10.4	10.8	10.0	Distance
Немање пристап до компјутер или интернет	2.9	2.9	3.0	No access to a computer or internet
Семејни обврски	16.1	12.4	19.7	Family responsibilities
Здравје	1.9	1.6	2.2	Health
Возраст	4.6	5.1	4.1	Age
Други лични причини	9.2	9.6	8.7	Other personal reasons
Непостоење на соодветна образовна активност	1.8	2.3	(1.4)	No suitable education or training activity
Негативни претходни искуства	0.8	(0.8)	(0.8)	Negative previous learning experience

It would be a misbelief if we think that accepting the idea of lifelong learning in the society will automatically lead to its accomplishment. In order to make lifelong learning a reality, there should be substantial material and intellectual efforts as well as changing the mindset of the wider population, their traditional ingrained beliefs about the significance of education and learning throughout peoples' lives (Savicevic, 1983).

Only when the society is prepared to accept and internalize the concept of lifelong learning, there should be a strategic plan for its realization by finding

the most appropriate paths for accomplishing future goals of economic and cultural development, having in mind the reasonable balance between the ideals that this concept represents and realistic opportunities of the society, as well as dialectic connection between future development of the society and lifelong learning.

Conclusion

It is un-doubtful that today, the process of globalization is dictating human capital in terms of appropriate competences, skills and attitudes necessary for accomplishing and sustaining current life standards, to enhance employment possibilities and job promotion, as well as to nourish social cohesion in the knowledge based societies. Lifelong learning is observed as one of the solutions for this challenge, enabling individuals constantly improving their skills and competences in order to accomplish personal development, increase employment possibilities, enhance social inclusion and “keep in pace” with the time of fast and significant changes.

Some of the authors that examine and reflect on lifelong learning (Liessman, Gruber, Rizvi, etc.) pose their critics of understanding of the concept of lifelong learning in the 21st century, especially in the last couple of decades. Their worries arise by the fact that behind the lifelong learning concept there is justification for the pressure of peoples' lives and careers in terms of being more employable, competent, up to date, etc.

This current situation reflects on emphasizing certificate competences and worshipping technology and natural sciences creating unfair competition in the labor market, making artificial image that only the knowledge that has labor value is the most important, neglecting and underestimating the social and humanistic value of knowledge. Hence, educational institution tend to profane humanistic knowledge and its significance for development and happiness of individuals.

We are witnessing accenting compensatory and remeditative functions of lifelong learning, wrapped beneath the claws of economic development and competitiveness on the labor market. They are rooted in the political interests and social control of the capitalistic establishments that emphasizes the gap between “useful” and “not useful” people and job places.

This kind of understandings of the lifelong learning concept do not lead towards creating informed self-reflective communities, on the contrary, they

understand the concept of lifelong learning as an investment that will eventually lead to increasing individual and corporative productivity (Rizvi, 2007).

Over time, the concept of lifelong learning has been constantly altered and modified. It is perhaps quite clear, at this point, that lifelong learning is no longer just a concept limited to its theoretical definition of learning from cradle to grave, but rather, it is interdependent on a plethora of factors, space and ideologies. Although lifelong learning has been affected by globalization processes and neoliberalist tendencies, its implementation and understandings should be focused towards challenging current educational systems, with special focus on its developmental function – constant enrichment of personal and creative capacities of individuals. Even trapped between global and European context, lifelong learning should not lose its crucial, primeval humanistic value that can guarantee current and future generations quality life.

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STYLES OF CREATIVITY IN EDUCATION

Abstract Creativity is usually defined as the ability to create new ideas that have value. Since the 1950s creativity has been regarded as very important in the educational system and today it is highlighted as one of the general educational goals. Almost simultaneously, two different directions of creativity research were developed: level and style approach. Level approach addressed the question how creative someone is, while style approach addressed the question how someone is creative, i.e. in which way someone expresses creativity. Level (how much) and style (in what manner) represent two dimensions of creativity, so both approaches are equally important for understanding the phenomenon of creativity and the ability to encourage creativity in the educational process. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the relation between the level and style of creativity and the possibilities of encouraging different styles of creativity in the educational process in order to allow each individual a process of learning and development in accordance with individual's unique personality. One of the theories of creativity is Kirton's Adaption-Innovation Theory, which sets two distinct styles of problem solving and creativity, adaption and innovation, on the continuum of cognitive style. People differ in their preferences in solving problems, making decisions and bringing about change, so each person can be more adaptive or more innovative depending on the context. This paper offers guidelines for encouraging the adaption and innovation cognitive style in the modern educational process with the aim to systematically encourage creativity of children with different styles of creativity in education.

Key words: creativity, cognitive style, education, problem solving

INTRODUCTION

Creativity is usually defined as the ability to create new, original ideas that have value (Souza Fleith, 2000; Runco, 2014). In the past, creativity was considered as an innate trait of exceptional individuals (MacKinnon, 1961), however, creativity is today considered to be a potential ability of all people (Isaksen, Dorval & Treffinger, 2000; Jalongo, 2003; Kirton, 2003; Robinson & Kakela, 2006; Runco, 2003, 2014, 2016; Runco & Acar, 2012). According to the contemporary approach to creativity, whether creativity will develop and to what extent depends on several factors that need to overlap, namely: intellectual abilities, personality characteristics, knowledge, motivation, cognitive styles, and environment (Amabile 1983; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Hennessey, 2017; Sternberg, & Lubart, 1991, 1999). Having that in mind, this paper (a) points

out the difference between the level and style of creativity, (b) specifically analyzes cognitive styles and styles of creativity in the context of Kirton's adaption-innovation theory of creativity (Kirton, 2003), (c) highlights the importance of the educational environment for the development of each individual's creativity and (d) offers guidelines for encouraging the adaption and innovation cognitive style in the modern educational process with the aim to systematically encourage creativity of children with different styles of creativity in education.

LEVEL AND STYLE OF CREATIVITY

In 1950 Guilford introduced the term *creativity* into scientific discourse and pointed out the importance of creativity in the educational process (Guilford, 1950). Since 1950 two different directions of creativity research were developed: level and style approach. Level approach addressed the question *how creative* someone is, while style approach addressed the question *how* someone is creative, i.e. in which way someone expresses creativity. Taylor (1975, according to Rejskind, 2000 and Supek, 1987) offered a well-known classification of levels of creativity referring to five hierarchical levels. The first, the lowest level is expressive creativity which includes spontaneity and freedom of expression. On that level more emphasis is put on the peculiarity of creative expression than on originality. The second level is productive creativity, which presupposes already developed abilities under the individual's control and is therefore characterized by the art of creating products. Inventive creativity is the third level of creativity in which an individual notices new relationships based on acquired experience, and is manifested in ingenuity in the application of materials in solving a particular problem. Innovative creativity, as the fourth level, is characterized by the modification of basic principles and established ways of thinking, which has an impact on other creators. The last, emergent creativity, is the fifth, the highest level of creativity, and it is very rare as Rejskind (2000) points out. Supek (1987) equates it with the discovery of new principles that have a fundamental meaning, and is manifested in the creation of new paradigms.

Creativity, like any other ability, is a unipolar construct measured by the level of achievement so higher score on the creativity test is considered to be better than the lower one (Messik, 1976). But, various studies have found that people differ not only in the levels of creativity they achieve, but also in the ways they make a creative contribution. Also, individuals with the same level of creativity or the

same result on the creativity test can express creativity in different ways (Kirton, 1978; Puccio, 1999). It soon became clear that examining the level of creativity was not enough and that creativity should be considered from another angle. Almost simultaneously with the level approach, the question of how people are creative, that is, how they manifest their creativity (style approach) became actual. So, styles of creativity were analyzed through various manifestations like personal beliefs and preferences of strategies used in expressing creativity and making creative contribution (Fuchs, Kumar, & Porter, 2007; Houtz, Selby, Esquivel, Okoye, Peters, & Treffinger, 2003; Kumar, Kemmler, & Holman, 1997; Puccio, 1999; Puccio, Treffinger, & Talbot, 1995). It has been found that heritage and experience equally influence preferred style of creativity and that the preferred style of creativity further influences the development of individual's new abilities and skills, his future experiences and future problem-solving practices (Selby, Shaw, & Houtz, 2005).

It is also important to notice that styles of creativity are closely related to cognitive styles which represent individual's preferences of processing information (Messik, 1984), problem solving, bringing about change and responding to the change (Kirton, 2003). Cognitive style is a bipolar construct whose polarity is value-neutral (Messik, 1976). Blackburn, and Robinson (2016, p. 5) confirmed that „cognitive style is not a measure of performance, but rather an indicator of problem solving preference“. Cognitive style influences the way of learning and teaching, students' and teachers' interaction, and personal and professional decision-making (Witkin, 1977), so it is very important to understand and to appreciate cognitive styles and styles of creativity in education and to plan process of learning and teaching in accordance with the students' interests and abilities and their creative potential. According to Sadler-Smith & Badger (1998, 248), Sadler-Smith (1998) singles out three models of style dimensions: intuition-analysis (Allinson and Hayes, 1996), adaptor-innovator (Kirton, 1994) and wholist-analytical (Riding, 1997). This paper will highlight the dimensions of adaptor and innovator and Kirton's adaption-innovation theory of creativity (A-I theory) (Kirton, 2003).

ADAPTION-INNOVATION THEORY OF CREATIVITY

One of the theories of creativity is Kirton's adaption-innovation theory, which sets two distinct styles of problem solving and creativity, adaption and innovation, on the continuum of cognitive style. Kirton (2003) suggests that all people are capable of solving problems, making decisions and bringing about

change, but they differ in their preferences how to do it: each person can be more adaptive or more innovative depending on the context. Both 'innovators' and 'adaptors' have strengths and weaknesses and one style is not more creative than another, moreover - the same person can be more adaptive in one situation or area and more innovative in another (Kirton, 2003). Adaptive and innovative style can also be referred to as styles of creativity since the preference for adaptive or innovative cognitive style is manifested in the preferred way of expressing creativity - creating change, decision making and problem solving (Buttner, Gryskiewicz, & Hidore, 1999; Houtz et al., 2003; Puccio et al., 1995). Individuals who are more adaptive prefer solving problems in more structured situations (Kirton, 1980, 2003; Kirton, Bailey, & Glendinning, 1991) and their solutions are considered to be more relevant and more accepted (Kirton, 1980, 2003). Research show they prefer technical solutions (Lamm, Shoulders, Roberts, Irani, Unruh Snyder, & Brendemuhl, 2012), and create specific ideas and that are within existing paradigm (Stoyanov, Jablokow, Rosas, Wopereis & Kirschner, 2016). On the other hand, individuals who are more innovative prefer solving problems in less structured situations (Kirton, 1980, 2003; Kirton et al., 1991), and their solutions are considered to be more risky and less accepted (Kirton, 1980, 2003). They prefer less technical solutions (Lamm et al., 2012), and create general ideas that require a paradigm shift (Stoyanov et al., 2016). Research show that higher creativity show individuals who use different cognitive styles (Guastello, Shissler, Driscoll, & Hyde, 1998; Sternberg, 1997), as well as individuals who use different strategies and show higher motivation for the process rather than the final result (Kumar et al., 1991, according to Kumar et al., 1997).

STYLES OF CREATIVITY IN EDUCATION

Since the 1950s creativity has been regarded as very important in the educational system and today it is highlighted as one of the general educational goals (Craft, 2007, according to Beghetto, 2010; MZOŠ, 2010). Educational environment is very important for the development of each individual's creativity. It can encourage or inhibit someone's creativity (Lubart, 1990). Level (*how much*) and style (*in what manner*) represent two dimensions of creativity (Puccio, 1999), so both approaches are equally important for understanding the phenomenon of creativity and the ability to encourage creativity in the educational process. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the possibilities of encouraging different cognitive styles and styles of creativity in the edu-

cational process in order to allow each individual a process of learning and development in accordance with individual's unique personality.

By observing managers and their group dynamics Kirton (2003) set up a management initiative process consisting of 6 stages. That model can be implemented in a long-term creative project that involves group problem solving in educational process. The first stage is *perception of the problem*. It refers to an individual's perception of a problem and convincing others that the problem is worth solving. The problem becomes a problem of the group that wants to solve it together (Kirton, 2003). Runco, & Chand (1995) argued that students' independent choice of the task increases their motivation. Therefore, at this stage, students can be encouraged to, depending on their preferred style, spot high and/or low structured problems, and convince other students that the problem is worth solving together. In this context Sternberg and Lubart (1991, see also Sternberg, 2006) use concept „buy low and sell high“ indicating that creative people should follow ideas which are undesirable at first, but have potential of growth, and persuade others in their value.

The second stage is the *analysis of the problem*. At this stage, the problem and its complexity are considered, where more complex problems require more time and more effort in finding a solution. It is good to have more adaptive and more innovative individuals in the group, because the diversity of cognitive styles is important in order to reach a solution (Kirton, 2003). As Paulus concludes (2000, p. 254): „cognitive diversity within a group is one of the primary bases for enhanced idea generation“. More adaptive students will approach the problem within a given structure, while more innovative ones will approach it by trying to destroy the given structure (Stoyanov et al., 2016). At the same time, more adaptive individuals will define the problem within a generally accepted view of the problem, while more innovative individuals will not be inclined to that kind of approach (Kirton, 2003). Therefore, students can be encouraged to discuss and seek a solution that will include known, expected and unknown, unexpected elements of the problem. In this way, more adaptive and more innovative individuals will be encouraged to think 'outside their boxes' and combine cognitive styles. Working outside of the preferred cognitive style Kirton (2003) calls 'coping behavior', and it is important for achieving higher levels of creativity (Guastello et al., 1998; Sternberg, 1997). The second stage ends with proposing solutions, and in this process it can be expected that more adaptive students will offer couple of new, effective and acceptable solutions that can improve the problem situation, while more

innovative students will offer a larger number of new solutions that are different, and maybe ineffective and unacceptable to others (Kirton, 2003). „Group sessions“ in problem solving, Paulus (2000, p. 254) suggests, „should be followed by an opportunity for solitary reflections before decisions are made“.

The third stage *analysis of the solution* creates a sense of responsibility for the proposed result and often this stage is given full attention because individuals do not want to feel guilty in a case of giving bad solution (Kirton, 2003). Differences in the more adaptive and more innovative individuals' approach can also be expected in this stage because they evaluate creative products differently (Puccio et al., 1995), but, „by addressing A-I preferences explicitly, we can improve students' abilities to cope with the added demands that cognitive style conflicts create.“ (Robinson, Sherwood, & De Paolo, 2010). While the more adaptive will probably evaluate those solutions that are not risky as good solutions, the more innovative will recognize the potential of the risky solutions. Therefore, arguments for and against the offered solution can be made with the students and solution with greater consensus can be chosen.

The *agreement for change* is the fourth stage, which also requires the consensus of the group on the introduction of change based on the agreed solution. It takes a lot of time to reach a consensus because it is difficult to agree on different points of view. The way people understand the problem makes them 'insiders' or 'outsiders' (Kirton, 2003), so group cohesion should be encouraged since it is needed for this (and any other) stage to be successful. Group cohesion is defined as “a dynamic process which is reflected in the tendency for a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of its instrumental objectives and/or for the satisfaction of member affective needs“ (Carron, Brawley, & Widmeyer, 1998, p. 213). Carron, Colman, Wheeler, & Stevens (2002, p. 171) argue that „there are two fundamental orientations in a group member's perceptions: *task* and *social* aspects of group involvement.“. Social aspect of group involvement could be a challenge for students with different styles because 'innovators' perceive 'adaptors' as "sound, conforming, safe, predictable, inflexible (...), and 'adaptors' perceive innovators as " (...) unsound, impractical, risky, abrasive (...) (Kirton, 2003, 55)., but having them oriented on the task and common goal with respect for diverse expertise could overcome their differences.

Acceptance for change is the fifth stage. It assumes collaboration with people who were not part of the group that proposed the change but can implement that change. Here, too, group may encounter the problem of these

people not accepting the proposed change because they did not participate in its adoption and are prone to only one kind of changes (Kirton, 2003). At this stage, once again, the power of convincing others of the value of unpopular ideas is important (Sternberg, 2006). Having that in mind, students can debate from the point of view of their beliefs, but also debate in a point of view of an assigned position, regardless of their own beliefs, so playing roles can also be effective in this stage.

The last stage is *implementation*, which refers to the introduction of a concrete change and a reflection on the success of the whole process. This stage may also be the beginning of a new cycle of problem perception and its analysis (Kirton, 2003). Having experience of using different styles of creativity in all these stages, according to Selby et al. (2005) allows individuals to build new abilities and skills, future experiences and future problem-solving practices, so this kind of approach should be considered as a possibility for systematic encouragement of different styles of creativity in education.

CONCLUSION

Creativity is potential ability of all people to create new, original ideas that have value (Runco, 2004). Due to their cognitive styles, people differ in their preferences of bringing about change (Kirton, 2003). The main difference between creativity and cognitive style is in the fact that creativity is a unipolar construct measured by the level of achievement, while cognitive style is a bipolar construct whose polarity is value-neutral (Messik, 1976). Consequently, the main difference between the level and the style of creativity is that, when determining the level of creativity a higher score is considered better, while when determining the style of creativity a certain style is considered more or less appropriate. Level and style of creativity are two equally important dimensions of creativity (Puccio, 1999) that should both be encouraged in education. Educational environment is very important for the development of each individual's creativity (Lubart, 1990) so teachers should understand the concepts of creativity, cognitive styles and styles of creativity in order to appreciate and encourage them in education. One possible way to make that happen is to use Kirton's 6-stage model of a group problem solving in order to enable process of learning and development in accordance with each individual's unique personality.

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EDUCATION AS A UNIVERSAL HUMAN VALUE

Abstract: *The subject of this study is education analyzed as a universal human value. The relevance of the topic is determined by the special place and the role of education in society and the equally important role of values as social regulators.*

Education is necessary for the social and personal development of the students. It enables education of the individual in his personal interest, but also in the interest of society and the state.

Nowadays, the recognition of education as a universal value is confirmed by the constitution in most countries in the world as a human right to education. Its implementation is ensured by the educational systems that exist in a particular country, but they differ in the principles of the organization. However, the initial conceptual positions of education are not always formulated taking into account axiological characteristics.

Key words: education, universal value, structure of education, content and goals of education, humanistic function of education, axiological characteristics, social and personal development.

Education in modern society is understood as a socially organized process of transferring knowledge and socially significant experiences at a time when personality formation of a student is taking place. The formation of a human's personality cannot be viewed in isolation from the society in which that person lives and the system of relationships in which he/she is involved. Hence, education is the process and result of the formation of a complete "image" of one person (Астафьев, Шубкин, 1996, p. 37). It is the most important mechanism for conveying the values, norms, ideals and meanings of life that distinguishes this cultural system from all others. Through education, the student not only adapts to the conditions of constantly changing society, but also becomes able to develop and increase the potential of world civilization (Афанасьева, 2000).

Education can also be considered as a special way in which a person enters science and culture. Culture, on the other hand, is a precondition, but also a

result of people's education (Давыдов, Зинченко, 1992). In the process of education, the student masters cultural values - historical, artistic, architectural, etc. Because the content of education is derived and supplemented by the heritage of science and culture, as well as by the life and practice, education is a socio-cultural phenomenon and performs the following socio-cultural functions:

- ♦ Entry of the individual in the world of science and culture;
- ♦ Socialization of individuals;
- ♦ Ensuring continuity of generations;
- ♦ Transmission of cultural values;
- ♦ Preservation and development of national traditions;
- ♦ Contributing to the active acceleration of cultural changes in public life;
- ♦ Formation of intellectual, moral and resource potential of the society and the state;
- ♦ Promotion of the political, economic, cultural and technological development of the society;
- ♦ Development, training and education of the individual in his personal interest, but also in the interest of the society and the state and
- ♦ Preparation of the individual for successful activity and functioning in the modern society (Козлова, 2002, p. 216).

Education also performs personal functions. The most important criterion for performing the personal functions of education is to ensure the priority of development over learning (Аллак, 1993, p. 38). Thus, education can be considered both culturally and personally. It is a very complex and multidimensional phenomenon, and it undoubtedly reflects the diversity and complexity of the concept of universal values.¹ The basic vision of modern education should be a world in which everyone has the opportunity to enrich themselves through education and to learn the values, behavior and way of life necessary for a sustainable future and a positive transformation of society.

Education emerges as the most important means of preserving and transmitting social experience and culture. With such capacity, it sustains humanity throughout history. The most important trend in the development

¹ Universal human value is a theoretically existing moral value, a system of axiological maxims, the content of which is not directly related to a specific historical period in the development of society or a particular ethnic tradition. This means that it is present in every socio-cultural tradition, it is reproduced with its specific meaning as a value in any kind of culture. (Авалиани, 2009, p. 24).

of the modern world due to the transition to the information society is the significant increase in the role of education, set as one of the main priorities (Валицкая, 2007, p. 5). In our country, the priority of education is determined at the state-legal level in the Law on Education. The special status of education at the macro level is determined by the fact that today it acts as a foundation without which a modern civilized society cannot be built.

The importance of macro-level education also lies in the fact that it plays a huge role in overcoming the global crisis that has gripped the modern world. To overcome the crisis (both globally and within a country that is particularly important for the Republic of North Macedonia), an entity that can handle this difficult task is necessary. Therefore, in the modern era, professionals and professionalism are especially important, whose absence is mostly associated with dissatisfaction with the ongoing social reforms in a country. The formation and training of professionals (not only in qualification, but also in socio-cultural terms) is one of the most important tasks of modern education.

At the micro level, the importance of education is determined by changing its place and role in the value system of individual social groups and individuals, as well as by a new emphasis on its semantic content. Education as a value acts as the most important motivator and regulator of the activity of the social entity in the educational and professional sphere.

The level of effectiveness of education is largely determined by the economic development of society. But because education has a social nature and historical character, it is conditioned by the historical type of society that implements this social function. It reflects the tasks of social development, the level of economy and culture in society, the nature of political and ideological attitudes, because both teachers and students appear as subjects of social relations.

However, it is not enough to look at education only in terms of its economic and social functions in all their unconditional importance. Modern society is characterized not only by economic indicators, but also by the constant conditions for human development and opportunities for self-realization.

At both the micro and macro levels, education, seen as the greatest human value, should unite goals from different areas, such as: development education, human rights education, sustainability education, conflict prevention education, intercultural and interfaith education. education and the like - all in order to define the common ground of global education. This will have a

huge impact on individuals' awareness of how important their contribution to shaping the future is.

However, education is not just about global issues, world problems and finding common solutions. It is also a vision for a common future in which we will all live better, connecting local and global perspectives on how to realize and enable that vision.

Education can contribute to the vision realization process, but it can also play a role in developing new methods in which social movements and non-formal learning processes are extremely important because they create places for values, questions and approaches that are not central to the formal learning of each individual, including those on the margins of society.

By shifting the focus from transformation from a culture of reproduction and domination to a culture of partnership based on dialogue and cooperation, education has the role of restoring human dignity to the top of the list of values.

Education should be recognized as a process by which human beings and societies are fulfilling their potential. By linking learning, training, information, and action, the intellectual and emotional development of individuals should be appropriately encouraged. Education is also crucial for promoting sustainable development and strengthening human capacity to solve environmental and development problems. Hence, students should develop a sense of social responsibility and solidarity with disadvantaged groups and strive to apply the principles of equality in everyday life.

Upbringing and education must develop a sense of respect for the freedom and skills needed to meet these challenges. This means preparing citizens for overcoming difficulties and uncertain circumstances and strengthening their independence and responsibility. Awareness of personal responsibility must be linked to the acceptance of civic commitment and unity in problem solving and the pursuit of creating a just, peaceful and democratic community.

Therefore, it is extremely important that education provides students with access to the various opportunities available to them, but also to develop competencies in students so that they can reflect and exchange their views and roles in a global, closely connected society. Education should also develop competencies in students to understand and discuss the complex

relationships of common social, environmental, political and economic issues aimed at implementing a new way of thinking and acting.

In the process of cultural and historical development of society, ideas about the social functions of a person are changeable. Under the influence of this factor, two most important components of the educational process are formed - the structure and content of education.

The structure of education is characterized by such components as individual assimilation of the experience gained in the process of cultural-historical development of the society, education of socially acceptable and approved forms of behavior, intellectual and physical development. Thus, education is determined by certain ideas about the social functions of man that are accepted in society at a certain time. These structural elements determine the content of education, I.e, the complex of socially important experience depends on them, the adoption of which is necessary for the effective inclusion of the younger generation in society.

The second component for the development of the personality and the formation of its basic culture is the content of education. The content of education includes general development and social experience accumulated by humanity. It is a combination of systematized knowledge, skills, attitudes and beliefs, as well as a certain level of development of cognitive powers and practical training achieved as a result of pedagogical activity. The content of education is historical in nature, because it is determined by the goals and tasks of education that are present at a certain stage of development of society. This means that educational content changes under the influence of the demands of life, production and level of development of scientific knowledge.

If the content of education includes general development and social experience accumulated throughout history, then what should the younger generations learn? What needs to be developed and educated? The history of pedagogy shows that many mistakes were made in solving these problems that negatively affected the quality of teaching, upbringing and development. Thus, most modern schools direct their efforts to provide students with as many subjects as possible, and this increases the amount of information. This way overloads the students and does not contribute to their full development.

Many modern schools introduce content of education of a propaedeutic nature, reflecting the specifics of the school, but at the same time do not meet the interests of some pupils or students. It is often suggested to prepare an encyclopedic research by deepening the study of various topics. (ДИМОВ, Лесная, 2002, p. 169). Therefore, the content of education either lags behind the current state of science, or is overloaded, or distorts the nature of student development. All this requires a thorough elaboration of the scientific and pedagogical foundations of the contents of education.

Leading benchmarks for determining the content of education are the goals of education, in which the interests of society and the interests of the individual find expression. The purpose of modern education is the development of those personality traits through which a person will be involved in socially valuable activities. (ЗИНЧЕНКО, 1997, p. 15). This goal of education affirms the attitude towards knowledge, skills and abilities as a means to achieve full, harmonious development of the emotional, mental, value, volitional and physical aspects of the person.

Today, the world community inevitably moves towards the realization of the humanistic ideals in education by increasing the social, pedagogical and economic efficiency of its functioning. Social efficiency is expressed in various forms of affirmation of humanism, both in society and in the content and technologies of education as a pedagogical process. So, education as a social phenomenon is, above all, an objective social value. The moral, intellectual, scientific, technical, spiritual, cultural and economic potential of any society directly depends on the level of development of the educational sphere.

In the pedagogical literature it is often claimed that education is based on the basic needs of a person. Man needs to be educated, because his nature is transforming through education. By nature, the value of education is mostly instrumental, because acting as the most important means of satisfying various needs and goals. However, at the individual level, it can also act as a terminal value (ГЕРШУНСКИЙ, Шейерман, 1992, p. 14).

Education provides the transmission and reproduction of the cultural experience of generations, not only of knowledge, but also of the way of thinking and perspective, communication, spiritual values of a nation, its

historical and moral identity, traditions and beliefs (Анисимов, 2008). In this sense, education is broader than the institutional system (school, university); this is a sphere in which the formation of personality takes place throughout human life, in the global and domestic information space, in the diversity of social, political, economic and legal life of the country.

The cultural-humanistic function of education is of particular importance in modern conditions due to the fact that in the process of its implementation education acts not only as a means of satisfying and achieving any external needs and goals that lie outside its borders, but also as a goal only in itself, because it proves to be self-worth and meaningful in itself. This aspect of the value of education has not yet been fully emphasized in the scientific literature.

According to researchers, developed countries today face a reorientation from materialistic values that express preferences for physical and psychological safety and well-being to post-materialist values that emphasize the importance of quality of life, group affiliation, and self-expression. (Андреевкова, 1994, p. 73). Education "works" on all the mentioned parameters of post-materialist values.

The implementation of different values leads to the functioning of different types of education. The first type is characterized by the presence of an adaptive practical orientation, ie an aspiration to attach the contents of the general education with a minimum of information that will enable the person for life. The second type is based on a broad cultural and historical orientation. This type of education is intended to provide information that will not be needed in the immediate practical activity (Levine, Levine, 1996, p. 47). Both types of axiological orientations inadequately correlate the real possibilities and abilities of a person, the needs of production and the tasks of the educational systems.

To overcome the shortcomings of the first and second type of education, educational projects have been created that solve the problems of preparing a competent person. The student must understand the complex dynamics of the processes of social and natural development, to influence them and to be adequately directed in all spheres of social life. At the same time, the student should be able to assess his own abilities, choose a critical position

and anticipate his achievements, as well as take responsibility for everything that happens to him (Саймон, 1989, p. 54).

Summarizing the above, we can distinguish the following cultural-humanistic functions of education:

- development of spiritual forces, abilities and skills that enable a person to overcome life obstacles;
- formation of character and moral responsibility in situations of adaptation to the social and natural sphere;
- providing opportunities for personal and professional development, as well as for self-realization;
- mastering the means necessary to achieve intellectual and moral freedom, personal autonomy and happiness, and
- creating conditions for self-development of the creative individuality of the person and discovering his spiritual potential (Дев това, Купцов, 2001, p. 128).

The cultural-humanistic functions of education confirm the idea that education acts as a means of transmitting culture, whereby the student not only adapts to the conditions of constantly changing society, but also becomes capable of an activity that allows him to cross borders, to develop his own subjectivity and increase the potential of world civilization.

One of the most important conclusions arising from the understanding of the cultural-humanistic functions of education is its general focus on the harmonious development of the personality, which is in fact the goal, recognition and task of every person. Subjectively, this task acts as an internal need for the development of the essential (physical and spiritual) forces of the student. This idea is directly related to predicting the goals of education. The true prognostic ideal of a person is not an arbitrary speculative construction. In fact, the strength of the ideal lies in the fact that it reflects the specific needs of social development, which today requires the development of a harmonious personality, its intellectual and moral freedom and the desire for creative self-development.

The humanistic role of education is expressed and consists in introducing the person to social values. Humanistic ideas, of which the most important is the recognition of man as the greatest value, will become the real property of individuals (and thus of society), if they are present in their consciousness from the early years of life (Гершунский, 1998, p. 67). To ensure such a process is undoubtedly the task of education.

In such a formulation, the determination of the goals of education does not exclude, but, on the contrary, includes the concretization of the pedagogical goals depending on the level of education. Each component of the education system contributes to addressing the humanistic goals of education. Humanistic education is characterized by a dialectical unity of the social and the personal. Therefore, in its goals, the requests addressed to the individual by the society should be presented, and on the other hand, it should include the conditions that provide satisfaction of the self-development needs of the individuals.

The humanistic goal of education requires an overview of its resources - teaching content and teaching technology. As for the contents of modern education, it should include not only the latest scientific and technical information, but also equally should be included the humanistic personal-development knowledge and skills, experience in the creative activity, emotional-value attitude towards the world, as well as a system of moral and ethical principles that determine the behavior of individuals in different life situations (Леднев, 1989, p. 19).

Hence, the choice of educational content is due to the need to develop the basic culture of the person, including the culture of self-determination in life, labor culture, political, economic, spiritual and physical culture, as well as the culture of interethnic and interpersonal communication (Бим-Бад, Петровский, 1996, p. 5). Without a system of knowledge and skills that make up the content of basic culture it is not possible to understand the trends of the modern civilization process. The implementation of such an approach, which can be called cultural, on the one hand is a condition for preservation and development of culture, and on the other hand creates favorable opportunities for creative mastering of one or another area of knowledge.

It is known that every special kind of creativity is a manifestation of the person not only in science, art and social life, but also in the formation of the personal position that defines the line of moral behavior that is inherent in this particular person. The transfer of impersonal, purely objective knowledge or methods of work, leads to the fact that the student can not show himself in the relevant areas of culture and does not develop as a creative person. If the student, while mastering culture, makes a discovery in himself and experiences the awakening of new mental and spiritual forces, the corresponding field of culture will become "his world", a space of possible self-realization. Such an experience encourages a great deal of motivation that cannot be provided by the traditional contents of education (Гершунский, 1998).

According to Devytova and Kuptsov, the realization of the cultural-humanistic functions of education is also a problem of developing and introducing new technologies for training and education that would help overcome the impersonality of education, its alienation from real life, dogmatism and conservatism (Девятова и Купцов, 2001). For the development of such technologies, a partial update of the teaching methods and techniques is not enough. The essential specificity of the humanistic technology of education is not so much in the transfer of a certain content of knowledge and the formation of appropriate skills. It is much more in the development of creative individuality and intellectual and moral freedom of the individual, as well as in mutual personal growth and development of the teacher and students.

The humanistic technology of education makes it possible to overcome the alienation between teachers and students, as well as the alienation of teachers and students from teaching activities. Such technology includes focusing on the individual, respect and trust, dignity, acceptance of personal goals, demands and interests. It is also related to creating conditions for discovering and developing the abilities of students and teachers, with an orientation towards providing full value to their lives. The humanistic technology of education takes into account the psychophysiological parameters, the characteristics of the social and cultural context and the complexity of the inner world. Finally, the humanistic technology of education enables the organic integration of social and personal principles.

Therefore, the realization of the humanistic and cultural principles places the unlimited democratically organized and intensive educational process in the center of the socio-cultural space where the student's personality is located (anthropological principle). The main task of this process is the harmonious development of the personality. The quality and the measure of this development are indicators for humanization of the society and the individual. However, the process of transition from the traditional type of education to the humanistic is conducted in an ambiguous way. There is a contradiction between the basic humanistic ideas and the degree of their implementation regarding the lack of a sufficiently trained pedagogical corpus. The revealed antinomy of the humanistic nature of education and the dominance of the technocratic approach in pedagogical theory and practice shows the need to build a modern pedagogy based on the ideas of humanism. Only in this way will education be able to fully fulfill its purpose as a universal human value.

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REREADING MISIRKOV: THE NATION AS A FACTOR OF UNIFICATION

Abstract: *This text considers Krste Petkov Misirkov's reflections regarding the formation of the Macedonian nation, presented in the five papers collected in the book On Macedonian Matters. Under conditions of intensive propaganda by the surrounding, already established states, which condition a formation of separate identities on the territory of geographic Macedonia, he seeks a way out of the danger of partitioning the territory in the endeavours of a small intellectual elite (separatists) to build a unique – Macedonian identity.*

Key words: nation, proto-nationality, propaganda, uprising, intelligentsia, orthodoxy

*“The events, which have developed up to now have showed us clearly how much harm we can do to ourselves, thinking that we are doing the right thing”
(Misirkov, 1903, IX)*

Time distance is essential in order to follow the development of a certain phenomenon and to perceive from a neutral standpoint its significant components, but that robs us from confrontation with matters that have not been written or other material evidence, a view of the tiny details, as well as comprehending the personal motives of its actors. Hence my endeavour to analyze the personal attitudes, accompanied with concrete activities, of one of the contemporaries of the process of the establishment of the Macedonian nation – Krste Petkov Misirkov.

When I was rereading Misirkov's On Macedonian Matters, as well as his texts collected and edited by Blaze Risteski, Max Weber's thesis kept coming to my mind which says that ethnicity is connected with the common fate, whereas the nation has a political background – the formation of the nation is related with the formation of the state, or at best having the aspirations to form a state. At the same time, I was becoming more convinced that Misirkov had fully accepted the theses of the modernist theory of the nation – that the nation is a modern phenomenon, conditioned by the needs of the modern or-

ganization of a society, including the inevitability of establishing mechanisms for providing its unity.

Misirkov does not raise his perception of the nation to a theoretical level, but the following of the concrete happenings on the Balkans clearly pinpoint his approach from a modernist standpoint, according to which the proto-national awareness can, but does not necessarily find its continuation in the nation. His analysis starts from the Middle Ages, when, on the territory dominated by a Slavic population, two proto-national identities are formed: Serbs and Bulgarians. On the territory of geographic Macedonia, they take turns in accordance with the political constellation. Under the Ottoman rule, the criteria for self-identification become the status (*raya* – as an expression for a subdued position) and the religion (*kauri* – as an expression for a subordinated religious position). The term Bulgarians is added to these – partly as a proto-national and partly as a cultural determinant (according to the Greek identification of the Bulgarian as simple, uneducated, vulgar). The role of the common fate in the formation of the proto-national identity is shown in the example with the population in Bulgaria and Macedonia in the Ottoman period: in both populations the relations between the Turks and the Christians were the same, regarding the religion they were in the same position and the easy communication conditioned by the geographic configuration of the ground contributed to close relations between the two, “hence it is understandable why the awoken people worked towards and followed the same goals for revival of the people in a spiritual respect, for liberation from the Turkish – the political enslavement and from the Greek – the spiritual enslavement”.

Misirkov links the building of the nation with the processes of separation from the Ottoman Empire and the formation of separate states. He assesses the time of living in one’s own political organization as an important factor in the process of strengthening the national awareness and the definition of its own national goals. Hence, on the one hand, the clear definition of the goals that Serbia and Greece had relating the expansion on the territory of Macedonia, and on the other hand, the undefined ideals of the Bulgarians – their preoccupation with political arguments that take away all their energy and prevent the definition of unique national goals.

“At a time, when the Serbs, from the king and the ministers, right down to the man-in-the-street, are all nationalists and find it essential to be united altogether in order to reach with general forces the national ideals, the Bulgarians are splitting up into socialists and many others – ists, who least want to justify the

saying that unity is strength. But all that is the result of the political maturity of the people: the Serbs have created their national ideals and studied their national interests for a whole century, whereas the Bulgarians have tried to do so in a mere twenty-five years”

(Misirkov: 1974, 66).

Early in the introduction of *On Macedonian Matters*, Misirkov states his modernist approach to the question of the nation:

“The debt to the fatherland and the people, up to its fulfillment, is called a national ideal and every man of conscience ought to work toward its fulfillment. The national ideal is formed according to historical circumstances, so that what today was the national ideal, may, once it has been attained, give way tomorrow to another ideal which had previously been given little consideration. Often historical circumstances call for one nation to either radically alter the national ideals in another direction or face a prospect of utter destruction”

(Misirkov, 1974: IV)

And in the following passage in the preface it is clear which concrete ideal Misirkov had in mind:

*“Some people will ask: why break away from the Bulgarians, when until now we have called ourselves Bulgarians and unity, not separation creates strength? ... My new book (he means his book *On Macedonian Matters*) does speak of separation and unification, but this is separation from those from whom we have already broken away, from those with whom we will never be allowed to unite, and this is unification with those whom we are morally bound to join and with whom unification is possible. If with our separation from the Balkan Slavic nations we manage to unite our own Macedonian Slav population into a whole we will not become weaker, indeed, we will grow stronger, and thus the realization of the ideals, expounded in this book will be justified by the saying “Unity is Strength”*

(Misirkov, 1974:V)

In the second paper from *On Macedonian Matters* – “Is there a need for Macedonian national scientific, scholarly and literary societies?”, Misirkov analyzes to a greater extent the attitude of Bulgaria towards the Macedonian matters, with the conclusion that Bulgaria also suffers from the malady of youth and is in no position to deal with the needs of the population in Macedonia and to compete successfully with the Serbian nationalist policy.

“What should be pointed out first is that we are not now breaking away from Bulgaria and so destroying an already existing whole, for we have already been separated and living apart for more than twenty-five years. It was others who divided us, creating for us and for the Bulgarians two different lives, with different needs, and setting us in unequal position. And these others will not allow us to unite”

(ibid. 47-48).

Then follows a direct statement of his position:

“I am a Macedonian and the interests of my country are presented so to me: that Russia and Austria-Hungary are not the enemies to Macedonia, but Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. Only an energetic battle with those three countries will save our fatherland from destruction ... Up to now our nation has been interested in gaining a complete political autonomy, and in our national interests it has allowed uninvited guests, such as Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs to impose unruly on it. After the political struggle comes the national one. ... It is time we removed the wool from our eyes put in by the national and religious propagandas in Macedonia”
(ibid. VI).

Misirkov follows the process of separation from the Bulgarians by indicating some factors that accelerate this process. He points to the common destiny during the Ottoman rule – “we were brothers by our destinies and were equal towards the government and the Phanariot Order. The common destiny reinforced the general name Bulgarians up to Bulgaria’s liberation, which remained by tradition in Macedonia after the liberation of the former. On that basis, the Bulgarians established their pretensions to Macedonia, but the Macedonians had expected to be liberated by Bulgaria” (ibid. 70).

He sees the instigation for reevaluation of its own identity in the beginnings of the propagandas in Macedonia of the already functionally acting Serbia and Greece, especially of Serbia:

“But the rivalry between Bulgaria and Serbia over the Macedonian question, both from the political and from the national point of view, brought the Macedonians themselves onto the political scene. The Macedonians began to step up their interest concerning the question of their nationality and destiny”
(ibid. 70)

Analyzing the Serbian propaganda in Macedonia, especially the installation of Serbian schools, Misirkov perceives an initial accomplishment of its goals:

“Up to 1878 everybody, including the Russian government, claimed that the Macedonians were Bulgarians. After the Treaty of Berlin the Serbs began to lay claim to Macedonia. Whether they are right or not is of no importance to the diplomats. Over the last twenty-five years; and particularly during the last twenty, the Serbs have succeeded, if not in turning the Macedonians into Serbs, at least in convincing Europe that there are Serbs in Macedonia”
(ibid. 5)

The Serbian propaganda continuously encouraged a national awakening – “until then our national self-awareness was only half-aroused. No one dealt specially with the question of our nationality. Indeed, we called ourselves “Bulgarians” and “Christians” in the national sense, but why this was so, and whether it really had to be so, we did not very much care to ask” (ibid. 70).

“Up to the time of the Russo-Turkish war only one theory existed concerning our nationality. Now there are two. To this is added a third: that the Macedonians are something in between Serbs and Bulgarians. The supporters of this theory, however, are divided into: 1, those who claim that the Macedonians are far away from both the Serbs and the Bulgarians; 2, those who claim that they are closer to the Serbs; 3, those who claim they are closer to the Bulgarians; 4, those who claim that one part is closer to the Serbs, and the other to the Bulgarians. To the diplomats it is of no importance where the truth lies. What matters is that the Serbs have an ethnographic interest equal to that of the Bulgarians and the Greeks in the Macedonian question. Furthermore, Serbia is by no means less interested politically than they are in the fate of Macedonia. In fact, this is of even greater importance for Serbia than it is for Bulgaria, as Bulgaria also has an outlet to the Aegean Sea through Kavala and Dede-Agach”

(ibid. 6).

Misirkov gives a detailed description of the Serbian propaganda in Macedonia in his third paper –“National separatism – the soil on which it has grown and will continue to grow in the future”.

He speaks of many examples how giving scholarships to students from Macedonia with the aim of indoctrinating them, shakes in those students the faith in the Bulgarian affiliation and instigates the separatist idea. Those thirty to forty students, according to Misirkov, recognized the Serbian and Bulgarian cultures, realized “the danger of division of Macedonia between the two countries if the Macedonians did not take to arms themselves to fight for freedom themselves, with their own forces and means and so prevent the division of Macedonia” (ibid. 71). They started to organize themselves, their aim being that “the Macedonians should become the main factor in settling the Macedonian question both in their own eyes and in the eyes of Europe. Now that the uprising is over we are treated carefully; before the uprising we were looked upon us as a formless mass” (ibid. 75). The organization, he continues, gradually separates the Macedonian interests from the Bulgarian ones, progressing to a degree when during the uprising “instead of seeking freedom, many are now convinced that we need to cut off our connections with all Balkan nations and we should cultivate in Macedonia everything that is original and that belongs to us: our language, our customs, our history, our literacy, our folklore” (ibid. 75). For him, this is half of the path and one more step is necessary to completely break away from Bulgaria and Serbia as an independent ethnographic area. He sees the success of that last step once Macedonia settles down after the failed uprising.

Misirkov analyzes the situation before the uprising and comes to the conclusion that the main guilty party for giving the Turkish authorities an excuse for not introducing the reforms they were bound to by the agreements with the European countries is the Committee, which, on the one hand is incapable to assess its own power for leading a successful uprising and refuses help, and on the other hand, the chetnik activities give the Turks an excuse to delay the reforms until the situation on the field settles down (ibid. IX-XI).

The arousal regarding the definition of nationality spurs the revolutionary movement, but the identity differences that had already been made, announce its failure, according to Misirkov. In the beginning of the movement, close connections are created with the Bulgarian state, which narrow the inclusion to supporters of the idea of unification with Bulgaria. At the same time, the growing idea “Macedonia for the Macedonians” loosens those bonds. The division regarding the Macedonian ethnicity, according to him, required that all the above mentioned identities are included in the liberation movement. Yet, he sees only the Bulgarian side in the Committee, imported from Bulgaria, because its leaders stem from the Exarchy. With this one-sidedness he explains the mistrust and the fear among the population. In this one-sidedness he sees the particular character of the uprising – “the Bulgarian colouring of the movement is the key for the failure” (ibid. 19). He sees the way out in finding the unifying link of the supporters of different propagandas – and that link is “recognition of the Macedonian nationality and registration of the name “Macedonian” in the official documents of the people of Slavic origin from Macedonia (ibid. 20). This means that the Macedonian intelligentsia was entrusted with the task to clearly separate the Macedonian interests from those of the other Balkan countries and nations and “to study thoroughly all the questions related to saving our nation and our fatherland from this present misfortune, and the questions related to the thriving of our nation spiritually and materially” (ibid. 20). To this he adds the need of a Macedonian language, suggesting for it the central Macedonian dialect (the areas of Veles – Prilep – Bitola – Ohrid).

“I think we should be loyal to Turkey, but assuming that the Turkish government and people will understand eventually that the interests of their country in Europe are in accord with our interests and depend mostly upon them, but do not contradict them, and that is why Turkey will have to be first in proving a sincere willingness to be at peace with us and thus gain our support for their interests”

(ibid. VII).

Misirkov sees the possibility for ensuring the Macedonian unity if the country remains within the boundaries of the Turkish Empire: "We do not need to join Bulgaria or Serbia or Greece. The wholeness of Turkey is of more importance to us than to Russia and Western Europe" (ibid. 24). By working on ensuring the wholeness of Turkey, in his opinion, the Macedonian intelligentsia can acquire the moral right to demand church and educational autonomy, complete equality before the law and local self-government.

"And so the endeavours of the Macedonian intelligentsia and the nation should turn to the national unification of the Macedonian Slavs in a whole and to the unification of the interests of all Macedonian nations. The national and religious enmities should become a sad memory. The solidary work of the Macedonian nationalities should turn to preserving the wholeness of Turkey. In return, Turkey will spread justice upon all the Macedonian nationalities before the law and in the administrative governing and will support the national development of the Macedonian nationalities"

(ibid. 25).

Misirkov is convinced that this course of action will be accepted in the course of time by the European countries and by the small Balkan countries interested in expansion. He sees a danger of partition in the idea of Macedonia joining one of the three small countries because the other countries would oppose it. The other danger he foresees is the occupation by Austria. He also sees danger in the continuation of the uprising actions, which will not bring about liberation nor realization of the reform that Turkey was bound to. What he sees as the only solution is the Macedonian unification.

"And so the first thing the Macedonian intelligentsia should do is: to remove the mistrust between the intelligentsia with different national and religious education, unification of that intelligentsia in Macedonia but also outside its borders; to appropriately define the general interests of the Macedonians; to remove the national and religious hatred; to educate the Macedonian Slavs in a purely Macedonian national spirit; a mandatory study of the Macedonian language and works in the secondary schools in the towns where Slav population lives; education in the rural schools of Slav population in the Macedonian language; Slavic service in churches in the Slav villages"

(ibid. 28)

Misirkov foresees the failure of the uprising – the country in which identity splitting is at full swing cannot mobilize the whole population if it is encouraged by one country. However, he also foresees the aftermath of the countries coming together to attain the goal, which is liberation from Turkey – it is the inevitable partition of the country among the participating

countries in the liberation campaign. Hence, his assessment in 1903 is that the damage done with the uprising for both Macedonia and Turkey “is less than it might have been ... the uprising did not bring about division of Macedonia – that is the positive result of it” (ibid. 34-35). In this respect, he establishes a positive relation between the aims of Macedonia and Turkey – the failure of the uprising saved Macedonia from partition, and saved Turkey from losing a territory. Hence the appeal to both, for the sake of their interests “not to waste their strength in fighting against one another to the advantage of their common enemy, but to extend a helping hand to one another in order to free themselves of all those who try to undermine their friendly relations and meddle with their common interests” (ibid. 35).

Ten years before the partition of Macedonia, Misirkov is aware of the serious danger of it. He considers that the uprising for liberation from Turkey might succeed if Bulgaria and Serbia agree to participate actively in it. However, the inevitable outcome of that agreement would be the partition of the country. Hence, he energetically calls the Macedonian intelligentsia to unite: “one of the major debts of the Macedonian intelligentsia is to drive away from Macedonia the Bulgarian and Serbian propagandas once and for all, to establish in Macedonia our own spiritual centre for the Macedonians and that centre, like the Macedonians themselves, should not have any give and take with the neighbouring countries and nations” (ibid. 35). For him the Macedonian identity is a new phenomenon: “we are a young nation and have become involved in an immature adventure...”, the uprising, on the one hand is a reflection of an ill considered and hasty act – “up to now we have been a young nation, scarcely conscious of its national identity”, and on the other hand, because “up to now, not having lived as a separate national and religious community, we were under the influence of different national and religious propagandas”
(ibid. 38).

The major problem for Misirkov is not joining Macedonia to one of the three interested countries, but the fact that it is impossible to achieve that – “such joining would not be allowed by the small Balkan or big European countries” (ibid. 48). He thinks that Bulgaria in particular, has no capacity to adjoin Macedonia to herself, regardless of the prevailing pro-Bulgarian pro-national awareness of the Macedonian population, for the simple reason that the newly established Bulgarian state faces the problem of sorting out their own Bulgarian identity. He points to the inconsistent Bulgarian foreign policy (turning at one time to the Triple Alliance and at other to Russia), which could not earn the support of Russia that Serbia enjoyed, and the inadequate selection of diplomatic representatives to foreign countries (especially to Britain and Russia) who were no match for the experienced Serbian diplomats.

Misirkov puts forward a set of demands from the Macedonian intelligentsia. The mistakes they have made up to now, mistakes of representatives of a young nation, he thinks, can be forgiven as part of a youth inconsideration, but they cannot be forgiven endlessly. The Macedonian intelligentsia made revolutionary plans achievable by the ordinary people, that is, they made "experiments with other people's lives", but according to him, it is essential to stop idealizing, or better yet, it is essential not to forsake having ideals but to make them "purer and more progressive". The intelligentsia should redeem themselves before the nation for the sacrifices by devoting themselves to the cultural activity: "science and literature are the most important factors in the development of a nation... only with cultural work will our intelligentsia be able to put itself right and at one for all the wrongs that have been committed" (ibid. 40). He sees the benefit from that work in the fact that "our nation will be able to look with their own eyes at themselves and at the other nations, and be made aware of their own and other people's merits and shortcomings", and identify with the success of their individuals - "an enlightened nation can identify with one man" (ibid. 42).

One of the basic goals Misirkov sets before the intelligentsia is the Macedonian "national, religious and economic revival", the study of their own nation "first as a separate unit and then with the other Macedonian and Balkan nations, and lastly as a member of the Slavic family of nationalities", in order to "bring in rationality in the relationships with the mentioned nations". And that, in his opinion, can be achieved if we have intelligentsia "with a clear understanding of the moral debt of the man to his fatherland and to his nation" - "we need intelligentsia that is morally and mentally perfect" (ibid. 43), that is, if the Macedonian intelligentsia, educated in different political centers, breaks away from the influence of their propagandas and unites, and tries to learn the lesson from the failed uprising and devote themselves to general cultural work. The first step of this cultural work would be to prove that "in Macedonia there are not several Slavic nationalities but there is only one; that the Macedonian Slavs can bring down the barrier placed among them by the propaganda and their education in Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece"; that they are apt to make mutual concessions in the interest of the all-Macedonian goals; not to be a tool in the hands of the propaganda; not to aspire to unite with any other Balkan state (ibid. 45).

Another goal is dealing with the destructive influence of the Orthodox Church regarding the national unification:

"...orthodoxy spreads discord and hatred. It is the major tool in the hands of different propagandas with merely national and political assignments. Orthodoxy in Macedonia is now so deviant that we cannot speak of one Orthodox Church - now there are three churches, but not orthodox, they are

Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian. Why should that be so? Should not the Church be United, Congregational, Universal and Apostolic"

(ibid. 22).

In this respect, the duty of the intelligentsia and the whole nation would be "to deprive the church in Macedonia from purely national goals and bring back the goals commanded by its Divine Creator: to preach the gospel in all languages, that is, to all the people and in their languages. Misirkov sees the attainment of that goal in the renewal of the Ohrid Archbishopric, as "a Church of whole Macedonia". He adds to it the school reform, which means education should not be in the jurisdiction of the separate churches, because as long as it is in their jurisdiction, the language of education will not be one, but Serbian, Greek or Bulgarian, and it should be in the jurisdiction of the Ohrid Archbishopric.

Work on standardizing the Macedonian language is certainly an important duty, because: "the national interests are closely connected with the language, and the latter with the character and spirit of the nation"; the separate language would be a successful means in the battle against the three propagandas which endeavour "through the church and the schools to strike a deadly blow to our nationality (ibid. 138-139); with the language "an end will be put to the misuse of the propagandas of our interests" and "a literary and scientific centre will be established so that we will no longer need Belgrade and Sofia" (ibid. 141).

He goes on to explain the reasons for suggesting the central dialects for its standardization: "just as in any country there is a center, which is best situated in the middle of the country, towards which all aspects of life should flow, so too in the field of language there should be a center which, by virtue of its importance, would be related to the peripheral dialects in the same way as the center and capital of a state is connected to the outlying districts" (ibid. 139). They are equally at distance from the Serbian and the Bulgarian language centers. He adds another argument to support this:

"Bitola was chosen as the residence of the General Inspector of Macedonia and his advisors - civil agents, and is becoming the capital of Macedonia. The new capital is not far from the old ones: Prespa and Prilep, and from the seat of the, until recently autocephalous, Archbishopric of Ohrid. One may say, therefore, that the central dialect is historically justified because the capitals are situated in the center, both geographically and ethno-graphically"

(ibid. 140-141).

Misirkov considers the choice of the alphabet, concluding that when a language is standardized, it is possible to use the alphabet of other languages and adapt it to its phonetics. However, he does not give a clear answer to Eftim Sprostranov's question regarding his choice: Why choose the Serbian alphabet when phonetically the Macedonian dialects are closer to the Bulgarian than the Serbian language.

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The factors that determine the different beginnings of the national formation of the Balkan nations within the limits of the Ottoman Empire (political changes through history and their effect on the shaping of the proto-national awareness, the geographic distance from the imperial centre, the international support or lack of it, the time period for a proto-national consolidation, the different positions of the provinces within the Empire with advantages based on the status of the religious institutions or the lack of those advantages) condition the partition of Macedonia geographically and ethnically. The mentioned factors are determinant for Macedonia to be the last to walk the path of the national formation and to fall victim to the imperial ambitions of the newly-formed states. The numerous historical data which reveal the policy of the Empire to reinforce the previously started process of creating identity differences are obvious prove that was unrealizable Misirkov's hopes that the partition can be avoided with a tolerant attitude towards the imperial rule and a reasonable negotiation for carrying out the agreed upon reforms. The historical evidence says that the Empire openly supports Serbia and Greece in their activities to intensify the identity differences.

Sadly, history repeats itself. Almost thirty years after its independence, the Macedonian community today, burdened with political conflicts, still has not managed to define its national interests and to fight for them united.

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DISCOURSE ON THE FUTURE OF ENERGY

Abstract: *The paper aims to show a way of thinking about the future of energy. There is no doubt that this is one of the fundamental problems of modern times. This is the case for several reasons. The first is the growing demand for energy, especially "clean" electricity. The second is the decrease in readily available energy sources, especially fossil fuels, with increasing demand: coal, oil, gas need to be looked at deeper, which increases costs. The third is the correlation between energy production and environmental pollution, CO₂ emissions and progressive climate change. The fourth is the search for new energy sources that will be less costly, more environmentally and climate-friendly. Finally, the fifth is a political problem – control of energy resources means domination and the ability to dictate conditions; energy security is becoming crucial for state policies.*

The empirical basis of the considerations contained in this text is the research carried out in the framework of the research project "Tempus fugit". We focus on the way of thinking about the future of experts related to Polish energy: researchers (employees of scientific institutions), managers, in a smaller part of politicians. Researchers are technicians on the one hand and economists on the other. This is due to the nature of the material analysed: texts published in expert journals related to energy.

We try to show how the authors of these texts think about the future of energy, what aspects of it – technical/technological, economic, climate/environmental, social, political – take into account how far they go into the future. Whether they are visions (imaginaries) or more concrete predictions.

Key words: energy, resources, future, technology, climate, costs, forecasts, imaginaries.

Introduction

The title of the conference, which encourages reflection on the participation of the humanities and social sciences in our knowledge of society and the relationship between science and society, is a good place to present the creation of a new sociological subdiscipline, which is the sociology of energy (energy and society). It is a new, evolving research field covering the relationship between technology and technology of production, distribution of energy use and their social conditions or social aspects. In our opinion, it is part of the analysis of the relationship between society, its shape and condition and the achievements of science and its use.

In this text, we would like to show the research field, which, using Pierre Boudrieu (1971, 1987, Wagner 2016) terminology, can be called the *social field of energy* as a space in which the relationship between different actors – collective and individual – entangled in the processes of energy production, distribution and use can be distinguished and observed. This field also allows the distinction of social determinants (structural and institutional, including legal), economic, technical and environmental (climate) of these relationships. This is a relatively new field of sociological research shaping a new subdiscipline. It is worth noting that this is evidenced not only by numerous publications, but also by institutionalisation at ISA and ESA level, where working groups operate.

In this article, we would like to focus not so much on the sociology of energy itself, but on how we think about energy, how it is perceived when we think about the future. This is so important that we are now dependent on energy, mainly electricity. Its absence means disruptions in our daily lives (households use electrically powered devices), but also paralysis of infrastructure, transport, medical care, safety system. But energy is not only a problem of the present, but also of the future – will it need more or less? From what sources do we obtain it? How will its production affect the environment and climate? Will control over energy sources not lead to conflicts?

We want to focus on ways of thinking about the future (visions of the future) and the place where energy (energy systems) is located in it. The empirical basis of the considerations contained in this text is the research carried out in the framework of the research project "Tempus fugit". We focus on the way of thinking about the future of experts related to The Polish energy industry: researchers (employees of scientific institutions), managers, in a smaller part of politicians. Researchers are technicians on the one hand and economists on the other. This is due to the nature of the material analysed: texts published in expert journals related to energy.

We try to show how the authors of these texts think about the future of energy, what aspects of it – technical/technological, economic, climate/environmental, social, political – take into account how far they go into the future. Are these visions (imaginaries) or more concrete predictions?

Thinking about the future and sociology

Creating a vision of the future was/is the domain of philosophers and writers seeking to show future societies different from the existing one. The starting point was to refer to its state, usually criticizing its some properties

and proposing other, better in the opinion of the authors, solutions. This was the nature of philosophical treaties, starting with *The State* of Plato through the *Utopia* of T. Moore (Morus), *The Sun City* by T. Campanella, *The New Atlantis* by F. Bacon. The literary works of H.G Wells, G. Orwell or the works of science fiction writers such as S. Lem had/are of a similar character. Thinking about the future in terms of a new type of society we can meet with social philosophers such as K. Marx, but also social and political activists Ch. Fourier, V.I. Lenin, A. Hitler, Pol Pot. They resulted in radical attempts to build new societies – communism and Nazism.

In the early 1970s, there was a slightly different current of thinking about the future. It was based on an analysis of the existing state of society, less often as a whole, more often its individual aspects. This was the nature of the Reports of the Roman Club with the famous *The Limits of Growth* (Meadows 1972). Rather, they were forecasts resulting from analyses of demographic trends, the use of resources (especially energy), technological developments. This kind of interest in the future has resulted not only in a series of reports relating to different spheres of life, but also in the institutionalisation of predictive activities – e.g. the Polish Academy of Sciences Committee Poland 2000.

Several important issues have been highlighted. Firstly, the dwindling resources of raw materials, particularly energy resources and at the same time the increasing demand for them. It also referred to the issue of food in a situation of rapid demographic growth, particularly in Asian and African countries.

Secondly, efforts have been made to show the consequences of human activity in relation to the environment and climate. It has been pointed out that uncontrolled growth leads to its degradation.

Thirdly, attention was paid to the social consequences of growth and technological development. This resulted, on the one hand, in emerging concepts showing the directions of change – information society, post-industrial, knowledge-based, "third wave", technotronic. On the other hand, the focus was on the possible effects on the functioning of society. Hence, on the one hand, the works of A. Toffler (from *The Future Shock* (1970) through *The Third Wave* (1981) to *Creating a New Civilization*. (1995) to a *Change of Power*, J. Nisbett *Megatrends* (1982), M. Castells (2003) *Internet Galaxy*, which are kind of visions of the overall direction of development, with a particular focus on the effects of technological development. On the other hand, perhaps more interesting to us are the analyses of Z. Bauman (2000) and A. Giddens (1994, Boksza ski

2010) focusing on changes in the way people function in a changing society (post-modern, liquid modernity, late modernity).

Fourthly, there are some kind of key words as descriptive categories on the one hand, and on the other hand, sensitising to the real and psychological effect of variability - "threat" "risk", "challenges". It is worth refer to the work of U. Beck (1992)*Risk Society* or, above all, the controversial J. Rifkin, *The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World* (1999), *The Hydrogen Economy* (2002), *The Green New Deal* (20019).

Today, however, we are also dealing with such attempts of a slightly different nature. The results of scientific studies showing the directions of possible changes (elements of the forecast) and the actions to be taken to protect against their adverse effects are more involved in the creation of such visions. They are general and more specific and focus on selected problems that are crucial for the functioning of humanity, such as climate change, environmental protection or energy. It can be assumed that the participation of experts is more important in such discourse.

Energy and society

This paper aims to show how we think about the future of energy. There is no doubt that this is one of the fundamental problems of modern times. This is the case for five reasons. The first is the growing demand for energy, especially "clean" electricity. Without it, as it has been mentioned above, it is difficult to imagine the functioning of households, urban systems, transport infrastructure, the daily life of each of us. The second is the decrease in readily available energy sources, especially fossil fuels, with increasing demand: coal, oil, gas need to be looked at deeper, which increases costs. The third is the correlation between energy production and environmental pollution, CO₂ emissions and progressive climate change. The fourth is the search for new energy sources that will be less costly, more environmentally and climate-friendly. Finally, the fifth is a political problem - control of energy resources means domination and the ability to dictate conditions; energy security is becoming crucial for State policies. It is worth adding that an important aspect of energy as a political problem is the issue of governance and control over the energy system. The backing of energy generation on fossil and nuclear fuels in some way forces centralisation, mainly through production scales and the cost of investing in such gyms. This is not the case with renewables, which, in a sense, force decentralisation and greater involvement of citizens and communities; "green energy" is more local. It also

reduces the phenomenon of 'energy inequality', one of today's indicators of social inequality.

The global context is also important for thinking about the future of energy (the production/sourcing system). Resources are not distributed proportionally on the earth, so not everyone has the same access to them. Another problem is the threat to the environment and the role played by international organisations and agreements in the efforts to reduce losses. They have an impact on state energy policies.

The empirical basis of the considerations contained in this text is the research carried out in the framework of the research project "Tempus fugit"¹. We focus on the way of thinking about the future of experts related to the Polish energy industry: researchers (employees of scientific institutions) managers, in a smaller part of politicians. Researchers are technicians on the one hand and economists on the other. This is due to the nature of the material analysed: texts published in expert journals related to energy.

We try to show how the authors of these texts think about the future of energy, what aspects of it – technical/technological, economic, climate/environmental, social, political – take into account how far they go into the future. Are these visions (imaginaria) or more concrete predictions? We try to reconstruct them taking into account their different conditions – technological, economic, political and social. No less important for these ideas is who formulates them, what position it has and what its social role is, what its relationship is with energy.

Materials

The materials analysed in this text are the result of research within the *Tempus fugit* project funded by the NCN (NSC) led by Prof. Aleksandra Wagner at the Institute of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University. These include official documents relating to energy development plans (programmes) at national level, European Union documents related to energy, climate and environmental protection, press materials from two newspapers (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*),¹⁰ energy-related industry² magazines (326 texts) and finally

¹ The *Tempus fugit* research project is funded by the NCN (NSC) and led by Prof. Aleksandra Wagner, PhD at the Institute of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University. In addition to the manager, the team consists of prof. Maria Świątkiewicz-Mośny, PhD, Prof. Marian Niezgodą, PhD, Katarzyna Rabiej-Sienicka, PhD, Tadeusz Rudek, MA.

² They are: *Energetyka Ciepna i zawodowa* (128 texts), *Energetyka* (71), *Rynek Energii* (67), *Nowa Energia* (26), *Przegląd Energetyczny* (20), *Elektroinstalator* (6), *Energia Gigawat* (6), *Wiadomości*

20 interviews with experts, entrepreneurs, local governments, NGO activists. All in all, this gives a set of diverse data to determine how one thinks about the future of energy, what these thoughts take the form of – visions, forecasts, strategies or simply imaginary, more general and non-specialised ideas about the energy industry and its past. In this project, the *imaginarium* category is a sort of key word, the basic analytical category, the most important next to the *time* and, the *future*. We try to determine what are the contexts of meaning of these categories or accompany them technological (scientific), economic, political (institutions, their standards and activities), social terms, typical of thinking about the environment and climate?

We use a research approach of *grounded theory method*. We collect data, analyse it, create a conceptual grid from it, and finally try to build explanations. And the material and analyses are clearly qualitative in nature. We used Provalis (QDMiner, WordStat and SimStat) tools to analyse journal texts. Our approach did not rule out minimal pre-categorisation, as we abandoned *in vivo* encoding in favour of a minimum code book that contained *preliminary* categories that allow for highlighting larger fragments in the analyzed (encoded) texts. They, in turn, showing contexts of meaning allowed for the expansion of the set of categories, their "saturation" and consequently (re) constructing ideas about the future of energy.

Visions of the future of energy in analysed periodicals

We will try to reconstruct the visions of the future, taking into account the elements necessary for energy and energy policy, and therefore also crucial elements for thinking about it. We will take into account the following components: energy sources, technologies, costs (economics), political and social considerations. We will take into account how visions (ways of thinking) about the future are constructed with them in mind. Highlighting these dimensions is of analytical character, in order to bring closer, the way of thinking and the components of the vision of the future.

Sources of the energy

Each system of production and subsequent distribution of energy must use resources, the processing of which allows the production of energy. At present, there are three types of resources: fossil fuels (coal, lignite, oil and natural gas, fuel for nuclear power plants and, finally, renewable energy sources

(wind, sun, water, biomass). Each of them has its advantages and limitations. It is a question of the availability, the cost of energy-generating equipment and, finally, its effects on the environment and climate. There is no room for their detailed characterisation because of these criteria. However, in order to think about the future of energy, it is necessary to determine what energy sources will be used in the future.

Coal (hard coal and lignite) as an energy source occupies relatively the most space in the analysed articles. This is due to three reasons. The first is to have documented and exploited resources of this fuel (fuels) in Poland. Coal provides us with energy security, we do not need to import it.

The second, it has a more political and social nature. Coal power is the continued operation of mining, currently employing around 90,000 workers (more than 80,000 in hard coal mines). Mining trade unions are an important player in the policy market, organizing protests relatively easily.

The third reason relates to the use of this fuel for energy production. Coal and especially the lignite, is a 'dirty' fuel, harmful to the environment, climate and citizens' health. Climate protection measures, the delay of the greenhouse effect, make coal-based backing increasingly costly.

These three aspects are constantly present in published articles in analysed journals. There are arguments that the coal-based energy strategy should be pursued further; the modernisation of energy generating equipment (electricity and heat) should be sought to make them more efficient, cheaper to operate and less CO₂ emitted. However, there are also voices that the resources of coal (hard coal and lignite) are not as great as they are claimed. Therefore, a rational solution is to move away from coal to other, less expensive and "dirty" sources – gas, renewable (water, sun, wind, biomass) or nuclear power. This is a relatively long and investment-demanding process.

What dominates thinking about the future of energy is the so-called "energy mix", that is, the use of different sources in changing proportions. Coal dominates it, but its share is gradually diminishing and the next 20 to 30 years will be dominated by other, more clean fuels – natural gas and RES.

Another fossil fuel is gas. It is, of course, "purer" than coal. There is a problem of its availability, because imports are necessary to cover the growing demand – and it will be even greater when gas replaces coal – (national resources are about 20% of the current demand). For this position, the main supplier of gas and oil is Russia. During the transition, successive government teams made efforts to become independent and create opportunities to di-

versify supplies. However, gas has an important place in the energy mix as a potential replacement for coal.

Another of the aforementioned sources is renewable energy, the greenest and most climate and environmentally friendly. It is taken into account, especially since already at present, its share of the energy mix is increasing. Experts – the authors of the articles – are not enthusiastic about it, claiming that their share will increase, but it will not completely replace the energy obtained from fossil fuels. They point out that Poland is not a country with very high sunshine, hence they are not the solution of a solar panel farm. Wind, which can be used to produce energy, blows more strongly in the north, in coastal areas, and would have to build transmission infrastructure for its transmission to the central and southern regions of the country.

When it comes to water as an energy source, in Poland peak-pumped power plants dominate, which supply electricity to the grid at times of greatest demand. They have limited power. There are also no particularly favourable conditions for the development of large hydropower.

Further aspects of renewable energy are also indicated. The first is the unresolved issue of storing such energy. With the fact that this is treated rather as a technological problem that can be solved over time. However, the question arises as to whether RES can replace traditional fossil fuels? Will new investments be needed? What will be their cost? What technologies will be needed?

No less important are the regulations allowing the direct use of renewable energy sources at local level (energy clusters) rather than through national distribution networks.

Equally importantly, the development of renewable energy leads to a different model of energy functioning – less centralist, more distributed. Focused on increased activity of prosumers – not only customers, but also energy producers. This fits more strongly into the vision of civil society.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the issue of energy sources finds a very important, if not the most important, place in thinking about the future of energy. This is due to the existing hard coal and lignite resources in Poland and the power plant networks powered by these fuels.

These resources are regarded as a condition of the country's **energy security**, giving the chances of independence to the windy supply of other fossil fuels – oil and gas, which Poland must import. But without oil and to a lesser extent gas, road (wheeled) transport will not work, as rail transport

(electrified) is currently less used. This is why the current government's plans to introduce large-scale circular transport of electromobility as an opportunity to become independent of oil are perhaps the result. A similar possibility is offered by RES and hence their growing share of the energy mix.

Technology

Another aspect present in thinking about the future, which also combines with resources, is technological capabilities, i.e. the question of appropriate equipment and techniques for the efficient use of energy sources, its generation, storage, transmission and use. For texts authors, most often practitioners (engineers), scientists (university and research institutes staff) this is a very important issue. Perhaps from their point of view, the most important one. This is, on the one hand, an assessment of existing technologies and their use and, on the other hand, a kind of hope for the emergence of new ones that allow for more efficient energy production from existing and new sources, as well as those that reduce energy consumption in industry, household services and transport.

The way they think about energy technology can be summed up at some of the most important points. The first refers to the current and continued use in the energy industry of fossil fuels, especially coal (hard coal and lignite). Thinking about the future is therefore in terms of the energy mix. It aims to change the share of energy produced from coal to gas-fired power plants (blocks in existing power plants) and to increase the share of energy from renewable sources.

The second, also related to production refers to new energy sources – the use of geothermal waters for warming houses and apartments, solar (photovoltaics), wind, water, biomass to a lesser extent hydrogen. The greatest technological progress is observed in this area. These technologies allow them to be modernised and reduced environment pollution.

However, it should be noted that not all authors are enthusiastic about it. From their point of view, three issues are the most important. First, the scale of production. It can only be regarded as a complement to "traditional" production. Its importance may be more local than global. The second problem is its relatively high production costs. Finally, the third is the issues of storage and connection to national networks.

The third is the issue of the construction of a nuclear power plant in Poland. It appears in the discussion on the composition of the energy mix. In

the 1970s, it was built on the basis of soviet technologies at the time, but the project was withdrawn (costs, but also the Chernobyl effect). Here it would be necessary to involve the investment (capital, financial guarantees) of the State.

The fourth group of technological issues relates to the state and efficiency of transmission networks, which need to be modernised immediately. The discussion is dominated by purely technical elements – voltage, losses, type (overhead, underground), transformers, transmission centers, used materials, etc.

Trying to sum up this topic, it must be emphasized that thinking in terms of technology boils down to the diagnosis and evaluation of the current state of energy. In particular, technology should be used to modernise existing equipment and adapt it to increasing energy requirements. So, there is talk of increasing power, efficiency, reducing emissions. Less attention is paid to new, future-looking technologies.

Economics

The third issue, which is important for constructing ideas about the future of energy, is economic issues. There are important reasons for this. The first is trends in the cost of access to, generation, distribution and purchase of energy sources. In Poland, the cost of coal mining is increasing, so the energy industry is looking for other sources of this raw material to reduce fuel costs.

The second reason is the difficulty in accessing the necessary resources to modernise the system. Investments in this area are capital intensive and, equally importantly, have a long payback period. Strong and capital-rich entities are needed. The question arises as to whether the energy companies resulting from the transformation and privatisation are such. In the opinion of specialists, state intervention is necessary here. This is particularly true for investments in nuclear energy.

The third reason for interest in the economic aspect is that energy is a good present on the market and is subject to its rules of supply and demand, but also of accessibility. Investments in energy under market conditions are intended to be profitable and as such are subject to the principle of economic efficiency.

One more important point may be one more addition. How to treat energy? As a common, public or individual good? The market model of energy, its development, leads to the conclusion that it functions as an individual good. On the other hand, thinking in terms of energy security and eliminating energy

inequalities (access to energy) may indicate that it is being taken into account in terms of the public good and even the common good.

Political and social considerations

Another element of the idea of the future is political and social issues. In the overall visions of society, they have always played a significant role. In our case, the (re)construction of ways of thinking about the future of energy, its facility is narrowed down to the area of the energy production, distribution and use system. Hence, its political and social dimensions function more as external conditions than as an internal component of the system. Perhaps due to the fact that the periodicals analysed are of an industry and specialized nature, less attention is paid to these issues.

The institutions that are present in the construction of ideas are, on the one hand, the state and its agendas (Diet, government, ministries, government agencies) to a lesser extent local government, trade unions, energy lobbies, non-governmental organisations (environmental). These are the most important elements of internal political and social conditions. Attention is paid to the legal situation and its shortcomings, which hinder the activities of the energy sector. Another element is the question of a broader and stable energy policy understood as a syntax for economic policy.

However, energy is not just a matter of internal conditions. No less important, and sometimes even more important, are the external ones. This addresses two points. The first is that not everyone has the same access to energy sources, especially fossil fuels – once coal – now oil and gas.

The second area of external conditionality stems from belonging to international organisations, such as the European Union, which have and implement its energy strategy and policy. EU directives are important because they impose certain restrictions on Member States when it comes to emissions, for example. The Union shall co-finance environmentally and climate-friendly projects and impose penalties for excessive emissions. Similar restrictions result from commitments made under other international agreements, such as the Climate Package.

However, when analysing the content of the texts, one very significant fact can be seen which could be a denial of this statement of minor importance – in relation to the issues of resources, technical and economic – of political considerations. It appears that EU directives are the factors influencing national energy policy. These are the conditions that energy investors, owners and

managers of energy companies and companies have to face. These directives also have a direct impact on national energy policy.

Much less attention is paid to social conditions in the articles analysed. On the one hand, when showing economic conditions and talking about prices, consumers, final consumers of energy and their carriers are referred to as customers. It is a question of how much they will be able to pay for them. There is also mention of protests and environmental organisations as necessary obstacles to overcome. Society as citizens is apparently less important to technicians than costs, prices, demand, manufactured power, efficient equipment.

Future:

Finally, the question arises as to how the future of the future of energy is constructed? What time categories are used in it? What, what facts, events processes, institutions, define the time horizon of these ideas? We'll try to trace that.

We have distinguished three categories of *time: chronological, phenomenological and modal*. The first has three subcategories: the past (what has *already been done*, what has happened in the area of energy), the present (what happens, how is the situation now) and the most interesting for us the *future* (what will happen, what will be done, what actions will be taken). The second uses the concept of the *time* horizon – the farthest point in the past, the date but also the interpretation of events that took place then and the furthest point in the future, date, but also strategic vision (point of arrival). The third is conditional and is directed towards the future (outline of the possibilities, what could happen) and in the past (which may have happened, but it did not happen, lost opportunities and risks).

Time is generally *chronologically* recorded. This is the most common category in the texts being analyzed. Important are the dates, time intervals needed to achieve the goals – modernization of existing facilities and equipment. They are designated by the planning (strategic) documents of the institutions – the government and its agencies and international organisations, especially the European Union.

This thinking in terms of chronology has a special feature – presentism, the domination of the present over the past and the future. This "now" is the most common category. As a rule, analysed authors make a *diagnosis* of the current state of energy. The past is treated not so much as an explanation, but

as an excuse for an existing state of affairs. Diagnosis is therefore a kind of balance of accomplishments and omissions characterizing the past.

The thesis of presentism in timely thinking is confirmed when we look at how the future is constructed. The future situation is an extrapolation of the current state, supplemented by anticipated technological progress, changes in the energy mix (decreasing share of coal, increasing renewable sources). But a question arises – what instead of coal? The hope is new technological solutions to make more efficient use of such energy carriers.

Time understood *phenomenologically* allows us to refer to certain points in the future and past. Perhaps the focus on diagnosis and the present makes the time horizon of the considerations relatively narrow. As regards the future (almost three times the time reference), it is determined, as mentioned above, by the basic documents of the European Union, the Climate Package and the government. The cut-off dates are those that result from them – 2030 – 2050. Since the texts analysed come from different periods ('80 – 2015?) there are other earlier dates – e.g. 2020. It imposes a general conclusion that authors operate on a very limited time horizon.

A slightly more common *modal* time category is used. More importantly, it refers to the future (176 statements compared to 12 relating to the past), which can happen, which is likely what can be expected. This is often a matter of risk on the one hand and of chance on the other. Interestingly, opportunities are most often associated with the sphere of technology, while risks are associated with the sphere of economics (markets, prices, costs).

How the future is constructed? Imaginaries, visions, predictions and their characteristics

In this part of the article, we are going to show how ideas about the future of energy are constructed in the analysed articles. For this purpose, we will use the previous analyses showing the categories in which we think about energy and its past. We take into account the following elements of these constructs

For thinking about the future of energy, it is important, not only in the temporal dimension, the past - present - future relations. In this case, the present most often means the diagnosis of the current state and, what is no less important for the construction of imaginaries and vision, its assessment. Equally important, diagnoses and assessments influence the perception of the past. It means identifying some starting point, achievements, achievements, and omissions, mistakes that have an impact on the current state. Perceiving

the present, the present state, is important when it comes to creating a vision for the future. What is noticeable in the way of thinking about the past, creating a vision is a kind of presentism, projecting the present onto the past.

How one thinks about the future?

It has already been mentioned that creating a vision of the future was the domain of philosophers, writers and politicians. They were of a very general nature and were aimed at building a pattern (model) of the future society that would meet certain axiological assumptions. Much space is devoted to social justice, the elimination of inequalities, and social harmony³. What is important for our analyses are these usually utopian visions, linking social progress and the elimination of injustice with progress⁴ in the field of science and technology. In a sense, it was seen as a factor of progress and a condition for achieving social goals. However, technological progress has an important correlate - the energy needed to power devices. The industrial revolution began with the large-scale use of steam to power engines, and it required fuel, in this case coal, to produce it. It is no coincidence that the nineteenth century is referred to as the age of coal and steam. This does not mean that other energy sources - water drop and wind force - were not used before, which we used all the time and to which we are returning today, in a modified form, enriched with sun. So thinking about the future has always or almost always included thinking about the energy of the future.

We would like to draw your attention to the most important stages of creating a vision for the future. The set of descriptive and explanatory categories at the highest general level is provided by *culture*. It is, along with language, a reservoir of concepts allowing for the description of reality and the mechanisms of its functioning. We are all socialized within a culture and thus equipped with a conceptual apparatus appropriate for it, which we impose on reality and its phenomena. Additionally, a culturally determined system of values allows for the imposition of a grid of importance and priorities for phenomena and components of reality.

³ Of course, this does not apply to all concepts. It is difficult to find such assumptions, for example, *Mein Kampf*, which proclaims the domination of one race, or in 1984, views on the future society of Pol Pot or Stalin.

⁴ Appreciation of knowledge and technology can be seen, for example, in the works of evolutionists, an example of which may be the periodization of the history of humanity by L. Morgan. The role of knowledge, technology and technique can also be seen in contemporary concepts of a technotronic, post-industrial, information-based society.

However, there are two more filters, or rather two constructs, which can be defined as *common knowledge*, being a socially conditioned perception of reality; the effect of socialization in a specific community. The second is *scientific knowledge*, which is a product of education in the educational system, but above all the result of scientific research. At the collective or community level, it is fragmentary. Experts use it to a much greater extent to describe and explain phenomena in reality.

These three elements influence the formation of *imaginaries* of our social images ("representations") about reality and about ourselves (cf. Tylor 2010). More broadly and more precisely, through thought or word, but also through images, legends, behavior, etc. Moreover, it is difficult to clearly define what an imagination is, because it cannot be grasped in any particular structure. the nation, equality of all people, the mandate given to power by society, et." (Perzyński 2012: 137-138).

Imaginaries may also be of a more limited nature, resulting from the framework outlined for these ideas, especially when they relate to the sphere of technology and technology. Loghurst and Chilvers define them as "... common forms of social life and social order reflected in the design and implementation of country-specific science and/or technology projects" (Loghurst, Chilvers 2019).

Of course, the question arises, what are the relations between *imaginaries* and *visions*. The former are more general in nature. They relate to reality, ideas about it and the mechanisms that govern it. Their source is - as we have indicated above, culture, common knowledge as the effects of socialization - individual and collective experiences, and finally specialist knowledge related to its (reality) fragments.

The latter are, in our opinion, of a dual nature. Historically and psychologically, visions meant the predicted state of reality, mainly its future, which is often the result of a specific psychological state of the author (subject) of the vision. The "producers" of such visions, visions of the future were those who had contact with supernatural forces - priests, shamans, sorcerers, fortune-tellers, oracles. They were often the result of intoxication with psychotropic drugs, which is still the case of drug users today.

But the term vision also has a less "supernatural" meaning. It means a special kind of extrapolation of the present into the future. In our opinion, it

differs from the forecast⁵ by the scale; visions are more general in nature, take into account many aspects (features) of reality and many mechanisms that can cause changes in reality. The domain of vision is therefore the future. They are usually the future multi-faceted image of reality, often also of social reality.

Forecasts are usually more detailed and specialized. They relate to specific aspects of reality and are extrapolations of the initial state, taking into account the results of scientific research; observing trends. This is the character of popular demographic forecasts defining the future state of the planet's population and its most important characteristics - the number, age structure, sex, education, life expectancy, etc. departments of the economy.

Thus, the forecasts refer to individual elements of social reality and reality. They are based on data systematically collected by various institutions, but also in the course of scientific or specialist research (expert opinions). The observation of trends allows for the construction of a picture of the state of a given area of life (social life) at a specific point in time located in the near or distant future.

Therefore, regardless of whether we are dealing with visions or forecasts, their essence is thinking in terms of the future, a kind of futurology. It is worth emphasizing, however, that images of the future are firmly anchored in the present and the past. Recording and interpretation of historical and current experiences allows for distinguishing, observing and then extrapolating development trends (changes). The differences between them are well illustrated by the concept of the information society, a new type of society which is a consequence of the communication revolution; a society in which new types of social relations, social structures and a trend

⁵ Formulating forecasts at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in the creation of a specific, interdisciplinary branch of science (scientific sub-discipline) of futurology. It was grown within institutionalized research and expert teams, e.g. Hudson Institute, Institute for the Future, Futures Group, Commission on the Year 2000 or the Polish Committee of Poland 2000 at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Formulating forecasts took various forms - a. The extrapolation method, b. The Delphi method (gathering expert opinions on a specific topic and negotiating the final, most probable version by means of successive approximations), c. Experimental, simulation method, d. Scenario method (see S. Krzemień-Ojak 2000). An interesting description of futurology prognostics can be found in the entry Prognostyka in the Encyclopedia of Sociology by Sław Krzemień-Ojak (Krzemień-Ojak 2000).

indicating an increase in the number of households connected to broadband Internet appear - forecast.

Finally, visions and forecasts (created on the basis of expert opinions) are the basis for building a *strategy*, i.e. defining goals to be achieved in the future, with what means, outlays, decisions (legal, economic, political) to be made. Therefore, they have a practical dimension, steps to be taken in order to achieve the set goal (s). Strategies become the basis of *policies*, which are a catalogue of actions to be taken in order to implement them (strategies).

It should also be emphasized that thinking about the future, its visions and the strategies created do not take place in a vacuum, but in a specific social, political, economic and technological environment. As a rule, social visions also have an ideological context.

The social context is no less important today. Contemporary societies are closer to the model of a civil society in which citizens actively strive to respect their rights, ensure their needs and pursue their interests. Civic organizations (NGOs) also express their views on energy issues (energy policy) - e.g. the location of mines, power plants (especially nuclear). They strive for environmental and climate protection. But there are also those that mobilize residents to protest against installations producing "green energy" (wind farms). The phenomenon of NIMBY (not in my backyard) is widely known.

Another socially important issue is "energy equality" or access to energy. This means not only the production of energy to such an extent that it meets collective and individual needs, the arrangement of transmission networks so that energy is available everywhere, but also its economic availability - so that it can be used (energy prices).

It also depends on the actor (author of the statement). Experts - technicians, economists, entrepreneurs - tend to emphasize the importance of the fields they represent. If they take into account the political context (legal conditions most often for them), they do not take into account or minimize the social context. In turn, representatives of think-tanks, local government officials, representatives of NGOs, to a lesser extent, politicians try to pay attention to it, appreciate its importance.

Summary

Referring to the above-mentioned categories, it can be stated that thinking about the future in the analysed articles has the features of a **forecast**. Perhaps this is typical of article writers, researchers and practitioners who are used to formulating judgments based on facts, most often in the form of numbers. They express the size of resources, the power of energy generating devices, energy demand from the economy and individual consumers, the capacity of transmission networks, investment costs in new sources of carriers, power plants and transmission networks, storage of carriers (gas) and energy and their modernization, prices of carriers , equipment, costs of emissions and the amount of penalties, and finally the time expressed in years necessary for investment and modernization. Therefore, the basis of thinking is counting, comparing necessary to determine the future state - energy demand and the possibility of satisfying it. So depending on who the author of the statement is.

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RELIGION AND VALUES IN CONTEMPORARY MACEDONIAN SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

The European intercultural context includes the Republic of North Macedonia, which regionally belongs to the Balkans, not only regarding its geographic position but also considering its politics and culture. The social order of the state runs on neither as isolated, nor as entirely unique one. If one distinguishes the values which are the most important for the cohabitation in R. North Macedonia, both during the history and today, from the corpus of values being prevalent in some member countries of the European Union, we could get to what is essential for the contemporary Macedonian society. And this is what should be preserved, verified and maintained. The significance of the dominant value and its analysis is particularly important in transitional societies where values have lost their primary meaning. The modification of values is closely related to the modification of norms thus determining the social implications and changes. The faith strengthens the vertical connection of the people with God as well as the horizontal connection among the people (Šušnjić 2002, 215).

As any other social constellation, the current one has been also determined by both the cultural and civilization heritage. On the other hand, we have been defined by the values currently occurring, i.e. those which are currently being introduced, established and further confirmed.

The system of values suggests complexity in a socio-historical context. Human reality is not only the production of something new, but the reproduction of the past, as well. Human and social values aim to keep preserving the social system and culture. The changes and upheavals in the system of values entail large and associated changes in culture in general (Koković 1997,

97). This is important to emphasize since the values have the attribute of an impact, which through the socialization i.e. acculturation is accepted as a rule. Values are all those real or ideal objects to which the human needs and desires interconnect. The value is considered to be anything that may be subject to human necessity and desire and that can be satisfied in a way that is not contradictory to the given culture. If there is any dominant value within the society, then the existential meaning is simpler to be reached by the realization of that value. In addition to the sacrilegious values there are also sacral ones offered by the belief as the highest ecclesiastic and moral ideals. Values of the belief date back from the archaic period (Moss 1982, 165).

Value is a general idea, a product of the evaluation process in the overall reality (material objects, spiritual phenomena and human behaviour), that the man considers the given social community as an eligible, desirable and good one (Tanović 1978, 66). In addition to the profane values there are also sacral ones offered by the religion as the highest ecclesiastic and moral ideals. Religious values impose to the believers to exercise them as both personal and collective practice. The extent at which an individual or a community will be able to get from and to understand the ideal world of values, but not only to convey them as norms and rules but rather to apply them in practice, depends on the person's open-mindedness, willingness, sensitivity and maturity. Religious values are not opposed to the secular ones; rather they are just more deeply rooted and give the secular values the meaning that treats the human as the highest value (Šušnjić 2002, 218). The entire personality is profoundly associated with the recognition of the other, as a phenomenological datum beyond the ergo-existence, and all of the cultures, religions and people rely on this basic truth in order to found their own ergo-existences, laws, cultures, religions and nationalities (Цепаровски 2007, 9-10).

THE ROLE OF THE MACEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH - ARCHDIOCESE OF OHRID IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE MACEDONIAN SOCIETY

During the history Macedonian Orthodox Church – Archdiocese of Ohrid (MOC-OA) as carrier of the spiritual life on this region has significant influence on development of Macedonian culture, values and national identification. MPC-OA actually is direct successor of the Ohrid Archbishopric formed in XI century. After the big divide between Orthodoxy and Catholicism in year 1054, and crusade wars, the Orthodoxy many centuries will be conserved in

the frames of Ottoman Empire, where the spiritual life of the Christian people is under jurisdiction of Cirrigrade Patriarchy and Ohrid Archbishopric. In the period between XI until the late XVIII century, Ohrid Archbishopric had a big influence not only of the development of religious life on Macedonian people, but also on the complete shape of its cultural and national identity. The Ottoman Empire respects the autocephaly status of the Ohrid Archbishopric, which in that time had and kept the legislative, executioner, juridical-church and civil authority in whole Turkish period. From this it is clear that Ohrid archbishopric had profane and sacred character.

The Ohrid archbishopric is abolished in 1767 with non-canonical decision of the Turks authorities and it is under jurisdiction of Cirrigrade Patriarchy. From then, this Patriarchy becomes meaning and instrument of nationalistic aspirations and political manipulation for denationalization of the Macedonian people. Its representatives have fight for abolishment of the Church Slavic language in the religious service and of Macedonian language in the schools. For that purpose, they take wide action for destroy of the Church books and scriptures. Also, they were hostile against the Macedonian folk customs, which they want to substitute with Greek ones. Macedonian clergy in that time becomes a protector of religious, national, cultural and political rights and act in the frames of Serbian and Bulgarian Orthodox Church. For that purpose, Macedonian Orthodox priests in the frames of Churches and monasteries have opened first religious and profane cell schools in which the teaching process is on Church Slavic language. This kind of schools were opened in the cities with the developed economy where prevail the Macedonian ethnic element and the Greek influence was weak, such as Veles, Skopje, Prilep and Shtip. The resurrection of Ohrid Archbishopric was done on II Church-People Assembly in Ohrid in year 1958. With this the Macedonian Orthodox Church – Archdiocese of Ohrid (MOC-OA) makes continuum of the spiritual guide of the Macedonian Orthodox believers (Димевски 1989).

RELIGIOUS VALUES IN POSTCONFLICT PERIOD IN R. NORTH MACEDONIA

In crisis time people are losing orientation, but not the need from it. Seeking without purpose is vagrancy: there isn't objective determination in events, nor subjective believe in their outcomes. In crisis situations even the no believers are inclined to faith if they don't see help from other side. In those moments we are reaching for something that we don't know we had. In front

of us reveal hidden experiences and customs for which we weren't conscious and aware that live inside us. Man does what he can and what depends from his power, when he is convince that he can't help itself then he is reaching for some other power (Gidens 2007, 531-533). The life set questions, and symbolic systems give answers. People can choose between different answers, but most often they choose answer that physiologically fit, without difference is it true or false, good or bad, it's important that gives promise. Faith is experience to be brave when everything and everyone sinks. After the fall of the communism and the big social changes that happened, Macedonian people lost orientation, but still they believe that there is some way out. It's a matter of time when will be found. In that search for way out, Macedonians face with ideas, believe and values which are traditionally connected with the Orthodox religion and MOC-OA. True opportunity they feel as personal hope.

Social crisis that reveals in the post conflict period in R. North Macedonia creates uncertainty and fears in individuals, which is structurally shake and is felt like inner soul shock (Аџески 2009, 61-78). Crisis that shakes the basis of the society can't spare inner peace in individuals, which are seeking way out from it. Social crisis disturbs stability and with it is calling every individual to think about itself and community in which he lived. In the time of crisis differences are begging to hinder: who is different is danger! Crisis is suitable for racial, national and religious conflicts. Instead of supplementing each other, denying the other becomes characteristic in social relations.

The leaders from MOC-OA and State representatives mutually resolve questions of vital interest for political, social, economic and religious life. Such as:

- ♦ Denationalization of Church properties
- ♦ Resolving of the inter-ethnic and inter religious tolerance
- ♦ Religious education in public schools
- ♦ Resolving of the fall of moral norms and values

Solving of all this question becomes imperative for EU and NATO integrations. On all that is previously told we can conclude that MOC-OA confirms its mature, greatness, wisdom and tolerance. Has showed that autocephaly is not only a question of status but much more than that. These mean to speak when others are silent, and to have attitude and virtue for public condemned of intolerance and language of hatred. MOC-OA is prepared for much more highly integrative and civilization challenges that European Union offers. MOC-OA completely has accepted the challenge for its modernization with

one goal to follow the process of democratization and plural directions of Macedonian society.

Conscious of its existing in multi-ethnic community, MOC-OA has always shown certain level of practical tolerance. But, the fact that MOC-OA is established as national church (church of the Macedonian nation) and it exists in that way in its national frames is doubtless. Somehow it limits its tolerance, but we cannot say that MOC-OA doesn't show evident manifestations of practical religious tolerance. It practiced tolerance as much as it was needed, suited to the time and space in which it functioned. In certain historical moments this religious organization intended and tried to be distanced from other religious organizations, especially when its national interests are in question. In this direction, it's interesting to search for answer on the question: whether MOC-OA calm down or sharpen ethnic conflicts and problems. Since MOC-OA is separated from the state, it is clear that she cannot carry the main guilt for inter-ethnic problems in Republic of North Macedonia. State and political parties in it are guilty for this. However, we can answer this question if we make detail analyses of the statements, declared by religious leaders in the last ten to fifteen years. Analyses would show that their speeches differ from the religious teachings about peace and about conflicts. Anyway, this religious organization can't be accused. It has no influence on public life and public opinion as much as state and politics elite which do it through the means for mass communication. If it depends on MOC-OA, there wouldn't be ethnic conflicts in Republic of North Macedonia. They are present because it's not up to it. But church dignitaries are not completely free of responsibility. If they are not responsible for what they said, they are responsible for not saying what they had to say. It gives impression that MOC-OA did not enough power to speak in their own religious language, but in certain social-political moment they speak in collective language of its environment, where ethnocentrism becomes ideology of modern time.

Finally, we can conclude that the religious tolerance in R. Macedonia has the following characteristics:

- ♦ There is a practical tolerance
- ♦ There is no any dogmatic tolerance
- ♦ There is a dosing tolerance
- ♦ There is a declarative tolerance

- ♦ The religious tolerance is a condition for an expected negotiation for entry into the European Union
- ♦ The religious tolerance has been directly related to the democratization of the Macedonian society.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

At the time when the Republic of Macedonia was part of the common state (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) in force was the so-called socialistic moral. Its values and norms were taught in all levels of education (preschool, elementary, secondary and higher education). The idea of the socialistic moral was simple. The realization of the highest moral norms and values were achievable, regardless of the fact whether they were founded on religious basis or not. The socialistic moral proclaimed philanthropy, solidarity, altruism, equity among people as well as entire range of humanistic values which were to be unconditionally acquired in the framework of the family, and particularly in the framework of education. That is why to socialistic education a supplementation was added: teaching. It is safe to say that the role of the socialistic education was to teach children about these relevant categories of right and true moral behaviour (Blagojevi 2005, 165-170).

With the dissolution of Second Yugoslavia, collapsed socialism as an ideology, together with the values he proclaimed. R. North Macedonia, as well as the rest of the real-socialistic countries entered into a period of creation of a modern civil society. Accordingly, the successor of the socialistic moral was to be the so-called civil moral that was based on civil humanistic rights and freedoms. The social society, which was founded on the maxim "freedom, liberty and brotherhood among people" was to establish the moral norms of the 21st century people. These moral norms should have provided a code of conduct for these people; thus, they would be equal before God and before the Law.

The establishment of civil moral in a young Macedonian democratic society proved to be quite difficult. The reasons for this situation are several. The principal reason for that, however, was the fact that new state did not possess democratic tradition. As a consequence, a vacuum of moral values which had terrible consequences on the people and the society in general, took place. Simply put, in a situation where the socialistic moral values were abandoned and the civil moral values were still not created, the people started to feel lost

and disoriented regarding their moral norms. Then, certain norms and values, more characteristic of the evil rather than the good, were put in place. The Machiavelli thesis of “the goal justifies the means” was reincarnated again. In order for one to be successful and launch a political or business career it was allowed to perjure and steal and even eliminate anyone that stands on one’s way. Like mushrooms after rain, the newly established businessmen and political leaders appeared, making a career in a very short time, and in a secretive and immoral way.

Other deviant occurrences in the society, not characteristic for the previous period, took place. There was an enormous increase of the number of alcoholics and drug addicts who, having escaped from the new, cruel reality, have become narcotics’ addicts. Also, as direct consequence to destruction of moral values, the prostitution started to spread. Many girls have entered the vicious circle of prostitution and trafficking. Moreover, the juvenile felony and crime (especially organized crime) intensified. On the top of it, the percentage of divorces in Macedonia has significantly increased. The Macedonian society began to enter into debauchery and immorality. The hedonism, as philosophy of covetousness, was a way of life for more and more people, especially those from high and middle standard of living. It was a time of parties, accompanied with drinking indulgence and love affairs outside marriage and family. The children were left on their own, without any moral socialization within the framework of the family or school.

This represented an ideal chance for promotion of the idea of return to religious moral, which, with help of its moral norms, based on the Old and New Testament, should be able to save the moral deterioration of the Macedonian society. And, of course, the best way of establishment of moral values-love, fate and hope-was the religious education. It ought to remind children about the forgotten 10 Commandments from the Old Testament as well as the Jesus Christ’s messages for introduction of a new moral code, founded in the Scriptures in the New Testament. Of course, here we can mention the Letters of Apostle Paul who introduced Christianity in these countries in the first century (Matevski, Aziri, Velickovski 2006, 139-160). In mass communication media there is a declaration of prominent public and scientific figures that support the idea that the religious moral has to save the future generation from the moral fall. The idea was: religious education in no way can hurt the children. On the contrary, it can only assist them in finding themselves in the post conflict period.

The MOC-OA representatives hold that religious education is requested by the believers and the whole Macedonian public. Another reason is improving morality among the young and giving them healthy values (“gaining health righteous criteria”). Accordingly, religious ethics are the most significant aspect of the subject, and objective knowledge of religions or religious history is of secondary importance. The MOC-OA argues that a high percentage of the believers are loyal citizens of the states, who pay their taxes and do their military service, and since the believers are contributing to the financing of public schools, the state should be sensitive to their request. The MOC-OA representative’s point to Western countries in which, they say, the sociological category “church-goers” has the secular connotation of a trusted person with good moral behaviour. Religious education will create a better kind of person who will carry religious ideas and values in the sense of creativity and of religious rights and freedoms, and this will help in the creation of a better society.

Religious values can to a large extent, help modern Macedonian society to implement and participate in the values of social cohesion. Social cohesion means the ability of society to ensure the well-being of all its members, to minimize inequalities and to avoid divisions. Most definitions contain the following key aspects of social cohesion: a sense of belonging to the community; the perception that society is just; desire and willingness to participate in public and political life; a positive attitude towards marginalized groups and those groups that are not part of the dominant culture in society. The main aspects of social cohesion are: the sense of belonging which implies common values, identification with the local community and trust in the institutions of local self-government; the sense of social justice and equality which, among other things, implies the evaluation of public policies by the citizens; feeling and desire for active participation in the public and political life of the country. Values: a sense of satisfaction with the quality of life and a positive attitude towards the prospect of a better life. From the point of view of the citizens, social cohesion means that all citizens, regardless of their affiliation, personal characteristics and orientations have: equal access to the rights guaranteed by law; equal access to society's resources, such as the labor market, education, health, social protection and culture; can equally participate in decision-making, contribute to the development and well-being of society; they can develop their potential and live with dignity.

SUMMARY

In big economic, political, moral and physiological crisis as happened in R. North Macedonia comes to revival of suppressed and temporally forgotten ideas, believes and values. In moments of crisis most of the Macedonian people goes back to Christian believes to find their identity and values. In that moment the holy has appeared less rationally, but more emotional. They didn't accept whole system of faith but some parts of it. It's true that Orthodox religion has lost some part of authority, power and influence in public life, but this doesn't change church influence in private life. Religion is special quest for holy, not just group ceremony. The establishment of civil moral in a young Macedonian democratic society proved to be quite difficult. The reasons for this situation are several. The principal reason for that, however, was the fact that new states did not possess democratic tradition. As a consequence, a vacuum of moral values which had terrible consequences on the people and the society in general, took place. Simply put, in a situation where the socialistic moral values were abandoned and the civil moral values were still not created, the people started to feel lost and disoriented regarding their moral norms. Then, certain norms and values, more characteristic of the evil rather than the good, were put in place. The Machiavelli thesis of „the goal justifies the means” was reincarnated again. In order for one to be successful and launch a political or business career it was allowed to perjure and steal and even eliminate anyone that stands on one's way. Like mushrooms after rain, the newly established businessmen and political leaders appeared, making a career in a very short time, and in a secretive and immoral way. This represented an ideal chance for promotion of the idea of return to religious moral, which, with help of its moral norms, based on the Old and New Testament, should be able to save the moral deterioration of the Macedonian society. And, of course, the best way of establishment of moral values (love, fate and hope) was the religious education. It ought to remind children about the forgotten 10 Commandments from the Old Testament as well as the Jesus Christ's messages for introduction of a new moral code, founded in the Scriptures in the New Testament.

Key words: values; moral vacuum; moral norms; dominant value; religion

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IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF MACEDONIAN CITIZENS: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: *This article profiles comparatively the ideological and political orientations of the Macedonian citizens. The comparative analysis is performed on diachronic and synchronous level based on data collected within the European Values Study project. Firstly, the ideological and political orientations of the Macedonian citizens are compared with the profile registered in 2008. This comparative analysis allows us to see the course and intensity of the changes in the past decade. Secondly, the comparison is made at regional and European level. The term ‘ideological and political orientations’ in this article, as in many other studies, covers two closely related aspects of political action: its value dimensions and its specific political measures or programs (policies). In practice, both dimensions are measured by two scales of ideological orientations and three scales of political orientations. The ideological orientations are presented in two dimensions: self-orientation left-right and self-orientation solidarity-egoism. The political orientations are presented in three dimensions: etatist-liberal, libertarian-authoritarian, and political preferences.*

In general, the analyzes show that the ideological and political orientations of Macedonian citizens fit within the European and regional profiles. At the same time, as a whole and with its individual dimensions, it is located within the range of average scores at European and regional level. We can observe some inconsistencies and contradictory ideological (value) and political orientations, but their intensity is not such as to call into question the predominantly centrist orientation.

Key words: European Values Study, ideological orientation, political orientation.

The two key terms ‘ideological orientations’ and ‘political orientations’ are commonly used interchangeably in the literature. In Western literature, the term ‘political orientations’ is more commonly used. It often refers to ideological orientations as well. This stems from the close connection between

the terms 'politics' and 'ideology'. There is no politics without ideology. The political action of people is ideological, i.e. ideologically conceptualized. In addition, there are other related terms that are used as equivalents, such as political positions, political preferences, political spectrum, political ideologies, political values and political views, political culture and others.

These are theoretical constructs used by the social sciences that study politics in order to achieve two goals. First, to grasp the socio-psychological basis of political action and, second, to present their political effects in a figurative way. The first sense of these terms is best reflected in terms such as 'value orientations' often used with the adjective 'political' as equivalent to the terms political ideology or political views, political opinions, and the like. The second sense is reflected in terms such as 'political spectrum', 'political chessboard' (such as the French L'échiquier politique), and others.

The large number of terms used reveals a strong interest in this topic within the social sciences and humanities. More specifically, political orientation is a favorite subject of sociology (especially political) and psychology (especially social and political). The sociological interest in this phenomenon is illustrated by the fact that this term is included among the one hundred most important sociological terms compiled by Serge Paugam (2018). The journal *Psychological Examination* (Special Issue, 2/3, 2009) which provides an overview of the most important findings regarding the various aspects of political orientations testifies to the psychological interest.

Sociological and psychological studies of political orientations are dominated by explanatory approaches. They aim at determining the factors that influence the formation of political orientations, their interrelatedness, consistency, intensity, and influence on political behavior. Political studies are more typologically oriented. In explaining the sources and effects of certain political orientations they rely mainly on sociological and psychological explanations.

The main focus of this article is comparative. Our goal is to give a comparative overview of the political orientations of the Macedonian citizens. The comparison is made on two levels: diachronic and synchronous. The first level of comparative analysis allows us to see the changes that have occurred in the ideological and political orientations (IPOs) of Macedonian citizens in a period of ten years, from 2008 to 2018. The second level of analysis enables us to understand the specifics of Macedonian citizens' IPOs at European level and regional Balkan level.

The comparative analysis is achieved by examining the data obtained within the European Values Study (EVS) project.¹ This research in Macedonia is conducted for the second time by a team of researchers from the Faculty of Philosophy. The first research was conducted in 2008 when the Faculty of Philosophy joined the consortium of European universities conducting the fourth wave of EVS.

The data on the basis of which the IPOs of the Macedonian citizens are comparatively analyzed were obtained through a survey on a representative sample performed by following the methodological framework established by the EVS methodological group and with a questionnaire developed by the EVS theoretical group. The data obtained from all countries are harmonized and available through the integrated GESIS database.²

EVS is a periodic research program conducted as a survey of the key human values in many countries. The survey questionnaire is designed to provide data on the ideas, beliefs, preferences, attitudes, values and opinions of citizens across Europe. The last, fifth wave of EVS was conducted in 33 European countries with a total of 55,276 participants.

The Macedonian sample was compiled by the State Statistical Office following the instructions of the national research team and the EVS methodological group. The sample included 1117 adult citizens (18 to 88 years old), from the eight statistical regions in the country (Skopje, Northeast, East, Southeast, Vardar, Pelagonija, Southwest, and Polog). The sample is representative in all relevant aspects of the total adult population in the country: gender (50.2% female and 49.4% male), residential structure (62.7% urban and 37.3% rural), educational structure (48% secondary), ethnic background (69.6%, Macedonians, 23.3% Albanians, and 8% others), as well as religious structure (Christians 69.12%, Muslims 29.78%).

Data was obtained through individual, face-to-face surveys of participants in their homes. The survey questionnaire, in addition to demographic characteristics, contains 104 items organized in five thematic units (life, family, work, religion, politics and society), formulated as questions and assessment scales. In order to measure the different aspects of the ideological and political orientations depending on the scope of the definition of this term, the questionnaire provides several scales.

¹ <https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/>

² <https://www.gesis.org/angebot/daten-analysieren/internationale-umfragen/european-values-study>

For the purposes of this article and taking into account the assumed interest and profile of the participants in the conference³, the ideological and political orientations of the Macedonian citizens are studied with a total of five scales: two scales for measuring ideological orientations and three scales for measuring political orientations. As pointed out in the introduction, a theoretical distinction is made here between the terms ideological orientations and political orientations based on the established local scientific tradition of separating ideology and politics. This is often not the case in Western European research circles. In the dominant Anglo-Saxon and Francophone literature, the term political orientations and other similar terms such as political values, attitudes, preferences, etc. integrate both dimensions. Thus, for example, the well-known left-right scale is sometimes presented and analyzed as a scale of ideological or value orientations (Knutsen 1995; Caprara and Vecchione 2018), and other times as a scale of political orientations (Wojcik, Cislak, and Schmidt 2020).

Essentially, this scale is defined as a general point, as a metaphor with instrumental value. With its help, people, both political elites and the masses, orient themselves in the world of politics. Functionally, this symbolic framework reduces the complexity of the political reality and political options and as such, it is used for various specific purposes. Therefore, even when used as an analytical framework by researchers, it can measure different things. Sometimes it measures values, i.e. ideological aspects, and other times political positions, especially when it comes to self-identification and self-location of respondents on the left-right scale or continuum.

In this article, we approach the left-right metaphor more as a value and ideological framework of political orientations, rather than as a purely political-party orientation. In accordance with such an approach, the left-right identification in this article is interpreted as “an expression of value and ideological orientations [where] ‘left’ and ‘right’ are ideological labels and self-locating on the left-right scale is ideological self-identification because value and ideological orientations motivate people to place themselves on the left-right scale” (Knutsen 1995: 2).

On the basis of that, we supplement the standard left-right scale of self-identification with a solidarity-egoism self-orientation scale. Such approaches in

³ This article was initially presented at the International Conference Commemorating 100 years of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje titled “Society and Science: the Contribution of Social Sciences and Humanities” held on 2-5 September 2020 in Struga.

measuring this dimension rely on the research tradition of the value-oriented individualism-collectivism (Hofstede 2001). Unlike the left-right scale, which is always constructed with a continuum of only one item, when measuring the dimension of the value orientations solidarity-egoism, several items are usually included. Here it is constructed with five attitudes on ideologically and politically relevant questions: who should take care of meeting people's needs (individuals or the state), should the unemployed have a choice of job or have to accept everything that is offered, whether competition is bad or good, whether wages should be equal or different; which property should dominate the industry (state or private)?

All five items are constructed as separate Likert scales on a continuum from 1 to 10. Thus, based on theoretically proven interpretations of solidarity as left, and egoism as right ideological orientation, the solidarity and leftist poles on the scales start with 1, and the egoistic and the right one ends with 10. Based on the scores of each of the five individual Likert scales, a sum solidarity-egoism score is calculated for each participant. It is obtained as the average of the scores on the five individual scales.

Political orientations are measured in accordance to the same logic. The questionnaire provides an opportunity to study different aspects of political orientations. For the purposes of this article, our interest is limited to three dimensions of the attitude towards democracy: the attitude towards the role of the state in democracy, the attitude towards the place and role of different social authorities in democracy and the attitude towards democracy compared to other types of political system.

The attitude towards the role of the state in a democratic society is expressed on a scale where the left extreme of the continuum includes the pro-state or the so-called 'etatistic' orientation towards democracy, and the right extreme embraces liberal orientation. Participants assessed the importance of the state in a democracy upon three issues: imposing taxes on the rich to help the poor, receiving state aid during unemployment, and state equalization of citizens' incomes.

The attitude towards the position of different social authorities is expressed on a scale on which the libertarian orientations are located on the left extreme, and the authoritarian attitudes on the right extreme. In this context, participants were asked on a scale of 1 to 10 to rate the importance of six theoretically and empirically proven relevant aspects of democracy: the authority of religious authorities, the importance of elections, the role of the

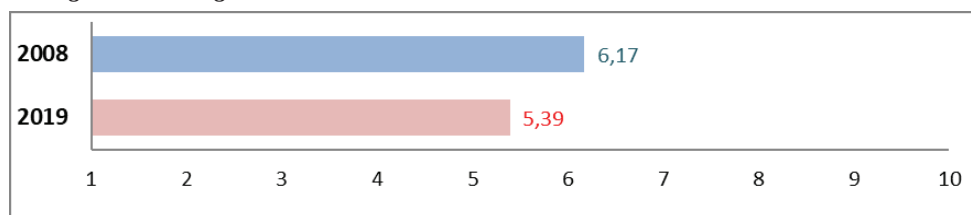
army, the importance of civil rights, obedience to power, and equality of women's rights with men's rights.

Political system preferences are expressed as an attitude towards four ideal types of political regimes and political systems: charismatic, technocratic, militaristic, and democratic. In this context, participants were asked to rate how good or bad it is for the country to be ruled by a strong leader (charismatic orientation), to be ruled by experts (technocratic orientation), to be ruled by the military (militaristic orientation) or to be ruled by the people (democratic orientation).

Ideological and political orientations are variable. As mentioned earlier, in Macedonia the European Value Survey has been conducted twice: in 2008 and 2018. Therefore, the opportunity to study the changes in the ideological and political orientations of the Macedonian citizens is limited to the last decade. From that historically comparative perspective, we can conclude that there is a significant weakening of the right ideological orientation of the Macedonian citizens (Figure 1).

Namely, in 2008, with an average score $M = 6.17$ on a scale from 1 (Left) to 10 (Right), Macedonian citizens are ideologically slightly to the right of the medial interval (between 5 and 6). In contrast, in 2018 the profile moved to the left, with an average score $M = 5.39$, which means a decrease of 13 index points compared to 2008. However, the profile is still within the limits of the median values. Such shifts may be a reflection of the current constellation of relations between the main political parties in the country – VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM. In 2008, the ruling party was the right-wing VMRO-DPMNE, and vice versa in 2018 the power at state and local level is mainly in the hands of the left-wing SDSM. It undoubtedly had an impact on the self-identification of citizens.

Figure 1. Left-right self-identification of Macedonian citizens: 2008 vs. 2018



b) Macedonian citizens on the scale left-right in European and regional perspective

At European level, compared to all 33 countries in which EVS was conducted in 2018, on the left-right scale for self-orientation, Macedonian citizens, on average, are located right in the middle. The average score ($M = 5.39$) shows an ideological profile that locates them in the seventeenth place. The first and second place taken by citizens with the most pronounced leftist profile belongs to Armenia ($M = 4.69$) and Slovenia ($M = 4.78$) respectively. While the most right-wing profile is exhibited by the citizens of Azerbaijan ($M = 6.37$) and Poland ($M = 6.30$). In the center, one place to the left of Macedonia, are the citizens of Norway ($M = 5.36$), and one place below, meaning to the right, the citizens of neighboring Albania ($M = 5.4$)

Table 1. Regional left-right scale, average scores

Country	Left-Right M
Slovenia	4.78
Montenegro	5.03
Serbia	5.33
Croatia	5.34
Bosnia and Herzegovina	5.35
Macedonia	5.39
Albania	5.40
Bulgaria	5.80

At regional level (Table 1), including the countries of the former Yugoslavia and the neighboring countries (excluding Greece), Macedonian citizens are presented as centrist, similar to the citizens of most of these countries. Exceptions are Slovenian citizens, who see themselves significantly to the left ($M = 4.78$) and Bulgarian citizens, who locate themselves slightly to the right of the center ($M = 5.8$).

3.1.2. Macedonian citizens through the prism of solidarity-egoistic orientations

The dichotomy solidarity-egoism is often used as a conceptual theoretical framework for the analysis of ideological or value orientations of citizens, although through the use of different terminology. Some of the equivalent terms being used are socialism-liberalism (social-liberal) as well as collectivism-individualism, and others. In any terminological variety, this dimension

is understood as parallel to the left-right orientation. Therefore, solidarity, collectivist, and socially oriented attitudes are understood as leftist and vice versa, egoistic, individualistic, and self-oriented attitudes are understood as rightist.

Certainly, such a theoretical parallel does not mean that every individual has consistent value orientations. Numerous studies illustrate the inconsistency of ideological and political orientations (Critcher, Huber, Ho, and Koleva 2009). The investigation of such expected inconsistencies is not the purpose of this analysis. They are evident in our analysis, but our goal is to present this dimension of the ideological orientations of Macedonian citizens as it is in comparison at European and regional level.

The comparative analysis at European level shows that according to the total score on the scale of solidarity-egoism scale Macedonian citizens show pronounced solidarity, collectivist, and social value orientation. Among all 33 countries, Macedonian citizens ($M = 5.73$) take the fifth place on the scale from left to right, from solidarity to egoism. Only the citizens of Montenegro ($M = 5.05$), Bosnia and Herzegovina ($M = 5.17$), Azerbaijan ($M = 5.27$), and Spain ($M = 5.43$) show a more pronounced solidarity profile.

Table 2. Solidarity-egoism, average scores

Country	Solidarity-Egoism	Needs State-Individual	Unemployed Refuse-Accept	Competition Bad-Good	Salaries Equal-Differ	Ownership State-Privat
Albania	6.82	6.02	7.15	8.58	5.86	6.42
Azerbaijan	5.26	4.19	4.93	6.61	5.41	5.12
Austria	6.26	6.49	6.24	7.47	4.86	6.18
Armenia	6.07	5.43	5.39	7.24	6.48	5.72
Bosna. Herz	5.16	4.91	5.17	7.25	4.07	4.19
Bulgaria	6.4	6.27	6.28	7.77	6.09	5.1
Belarus	6.31	6.21	5.5	7.54	5.98	6.25
Croatia	6.03	5.73	6.23	7.76	4.87	5.47
Czechia	6.5	6.22	7.28	7.89	5.07	5.91
Denmark	6.5	6.58	6.74	7.41	5.64	6.55
Estonia	6.29	6.36	5.03	7.86	6.09	5.93
Finland	6.13	6.32	5.82	7.02	5.41	5.94
France	5.84	6.31	5.03	6.51	5.06	6.07
Georgia	6.36	3.67	6.13	7.59	8.99	5.42
Germany	6.26	6.01	6.21	7.62	5.61	5.75
Hungary	6.27	5.66	6.43	7.38	5.68	6.06
Iceland	5.93	5.31	5.68	8.04	4.9	5.7
Italy	6.26	5.52	7.49	6.82	5.57	5.82

Lithuania	6.11	6.35	6.52	7.01	4.65	5.86
Montenegro	5.05	4.54	4.78	6.72	4.62	4.54
Netherlands	5.89	6.00	6.08	6.1	5.58	5.57
Norway	6.39	6.08	6.88	7.49	5.58	5.93
Poland	6.38	5.67	6.44	7.42	7.25	5.10
Romania	6.79	6.47	5.99	8.19	7.46	5.61
Russia	5.79	5.49	5.53	6.96	6.046	4.86
Serbia	5.88	6.01	5.77	7.33	4.58	5.46
Slovakia	5.91	5.58	6.43	7.26	4.87	5.41
Slovenia	6.37	6.17	6.98	6.86	5.65	6.25
Spain	5.43	4.89	5.68	6.67	5.26	4.87
Sweden	6.71	6.62	6.5	7.74	6.39	6.24
Switzerland	6.2	6.79	5.75	7.1	5.03	6.25
Macedonia	5.73	4.47	4.91	7.46	6.48	5.26
Great Britain	6.2	6.31	6.14	7.2	5.63	5.67
Total	6.13	5.82	6.08	7.31	5.66	5.70

The distributions of both the individual scores on the five scales and the cumulative score on the sixth scale, with small deviations, is mainly located within the median intervals of the scales - between 5.05 (Montenegro) and 6.82 (Albania). This means that in all nations involved in EVS, moderate positions dominate, with a slight emphasis towards egoistic, individualistic, and liberal value orientations. Albania, whose citizens show the most egoistic orientations, is followed by Romania (M = 6.79), Sweden (M = 6.72), Denmark (M = 6.59), and the Czechia (M = 6.51), followed by neighboring Bulgaria (M = 6.4).

Given that the countries of the region and former Yugoslavia, as regional reference countries for Macedonia, are located at one of the two extremes on the scale of solidarity-egoistic orientations at European level, it means that regionally Macedonia is between the two extremes - the most solidary Montenegro and the most selfish Albania.

3.1.3. *The political orientations of the Macedonian citizens*

As pointed out earlier, we measure political orientations using three dimensions of the attitude towards democracy: a) the attitude towards the role of the state in democracy; b) the attitude towards the place and role of different social authorities in a democracy; and c) the attitude towards democracy compared to other types of political systems.

a) The attitude towards the role of the state in democracy

This dimension of democratic political orientations is measured by three scales. Each of them measures a different aspect of the social or redistribu-

tive function of the state in a democracy: imposing taxes on the rich to help the poor, state aid during unemployment, and state equalization of income (Table 3, left in black presents the most etatistic, and right in yellow, the most liberal cases).

Table 3. Etatist-liberal orientations, average scores

Level of comparison and country	Etatist-Liberal	Taxing the rich to help the poor	State support for the poor	Equalizing income
European	4.09	4.5	3.56	5.09
Most etatistic	Bosnia 3.32	Austria 3.39	Azerbaijan 2.56	Azerbaijan 3.68
Most liberal	Czechia 5.64	Czechia 6.06	Czechia 4.67	Czechia 6.9
Macedonia	4.21	5.21	3.18	4.99
Regional referential countries				
B&H	3.32	3.65		3.9
Bulgaria	4.57		2.83	6.54
Serbia		5.19		

The analysis shows that at European level, Macedonian citizens ($M = 4.21$) have more liberal perceptions of democracy than the European average ($M = 5.09$). At this level, the Czech citizens have the most liberal understanding of democracy ($M = 5.64$), while the most etatistic oriented are the Bosnian citizens ($M = 3.32$). At regional level, compared to the Macedonian citizens, more liberal orientations towards democracy are shown by Bulgarian citizens ($M = 4.57$), and the most etatistic, as previously pointed out, are Bosnian citizens.

b) Attitude towards the place and role of different social authorities in democracy

In addition to the attitude towards issues related to the redistributive function of the state, the attitude towards democracy is measured on the basis of attitudes about the place and role of various social institutions which, in one way or another, to one degree or another, prove important for the functioning of democracy. The EVS questionnaire highlights the views on the democratic significance of religious authorities, elections, the army, civil rights and freedoms, women's rights and obedience to the laws. In relation

to these, respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 10 to what extent they are essential or not for democracy. At the left extreme (1) of the scale are located freedom-oriented attitudes (here marked as libertarian), and at the right extreme (10) are located the authoritarian views. Based on the answers of each respondent on the six individual scales, an average score on a single scale of libertarianism-authoritarianism was derived (see second column of Table 4).

In relation to this dimension, almost all European countries participating in the last wave of EVS show strong acceptance of libertarian views on democracy. This is evidenced by the fact that the range of registered orientations ranges from the most libertarian score of Germany ($M = 2.04$) and the most authoritarian score of Montenegro ($M = 4.39$). Consequently, the citizens of all European nations are, in the vast majority, pro-libertarian oriented. Macedonian citizens' average on the scale of libertarianism-authoritarianism ($M = 3.54$) shows a weaker libertarian orientation than the average European profile ($M = 3.24$). The strongest libertarian-oriented nations include Germany than, Sweden ($M = 2.46$), and Denmark ($M = 2.54$), while the strongest authoritarian orientations are registered in Montenegro than, Russia ($M = 4.3$), and Armenia ($M = 4.29$).

Table 4. Attitudes towards the essential characteristics of democracy: libertarianism-authoritarianism, average scores

3166-1 numeric code	Libertarian-Authoritarian	Religion as law	Election of leaders	Army in power	Personal rights	Respect of laws	Equal women's rights
Albania	2.47	2.81	1.68	3.77	2.55	2.7	1.33
Azerbaijan	3.56	2.94	1.86	4.51	3.25	5.77	3.04
Austria	2.31	2.12	1.89	2.88	2.41	2.78	1.79
Armenia	4.29	4.84	3.24	4.42	3.82	5.69	3.74
Bosnia & Herzegovina	3.5	3.48	2.65	4.78	2.94	4.71	2.41
Bulgaria	2.92	2.81	1.97	3.43	2.96	4.55	1.78
Belarus	3.84	3.5	2.88	4.60	2.84	6.48	2.71
Croatia	3.27	3.22	2.58	4.87	3.09	3.89	1.97
Czechia	3.24	2.6	2.91	3.21	3.58	4.47	2.69
Denmark	2.54	2.26	1.74	2.34	2.61	4.81	1.48
Estonia	2.86	2.69	2.30	2.99	2.61	4.45	2.1

Finland	2.97	2.61	1.95	3.42	2.95	5.31	1.57
France	3.66	2.6	3.22	3.96	3.89	5.48	2.8
Georgia	4.09	3.93	3.0	5.40	3.83	5.62	2.77
Germany	2.04	1.68	1.63	2.46	2.42	2.56	1.46
Hungary	3.34	3.85	2.21	3.41	3.25	5.13	2.19
Iceland	2.64	1.85	1.88	2.20	2.37	6.33	1.23
Italy	3.26	3.11	2.4	3.37	2.77	5.91	2.02
Lithuania	3.37	3.46	2.49	3.73	2.98	5.12	2.43
Montenegro	4.39	4.44	4.0	5.04	4.2	5.06	3.6
Netherlands	2.95	2.67	2.43	3.33	3.10	4.25	1.92
Norway	2.65	2.03	1.76	3.11	2.82	4.65	1.52
Poland	2.9	3.43	2.06	3.82	2.42	3.74	1.91
Romania	3.8	4.12	2.52	5.36	2.35	5.84	2.58
Russia	4.29	3.96	3.07	5.77	3.01	7.01	2.94
Serbia	3.44	3.09	2.78	4.60	3.49	4.2	2.5
Slovakia	3.96	3.99	3.36	4.25	3.91	4.82	3.42
Slovenia	3.02	2.71	2.30	3.64	2.98	4.48	2.02
Spain	3.59	3.59	2.47	3.66	3.07	6.39	2.34
Sweden	2.46	2.18	1.45	2.57	2.08	5.23	1.24
Switzerland	2.62	1.89	2.09	2.96	2.48	4.56	1.73
Macedonia	3.54	3.42	2.45	5.73	2.9	4.28	2.46
Great Britain	3.5	3.09	2.50	4.95	3.45	5.08	1.90
Total	3.24	3.01	2.41	3.87	2.99	4.92	2.22

At regional level, the profile of the Macedonian citizens on the scale of libertarianism-authoritarianism is located at almost equal distance from the profile of the regional most liberal citizens of Albania ($M = 2.47$) and the profile of the citizens of Montenegro who have the weakest pro-libertarian orientations not only regionally but also at European level. Bosnian ($M = 3.5$) and Serbian ($M = 3.44$) citizens are profiled very similarly to the Macedonian citizens. The closest to the libertarian profile of the Albanian citizens are the Bulgarian (2.92) and the Slovenian ($M = 3.02$) citizens.

This ambiguous democratic orientation of the Macedonian citizens is confirmed by the comparative analysis of the preferences in relation to the different political systems.

c) Preferences in relation to different political systems

In order to examine the orientations towards the alternative ways to rule the country (charismatic, technocratic, militaristic and democratic) the respondents were asked to locate their opinion on four separate scales. For each political system, the scores range from 1 (Very good) to 4 (Very bad). Each of these two extremes has a lower grade (2, fairly good and 3, fairly bad). For the purposes of this analysis, the answers obtained are recoded dichotomously – ‘bad’ and ‘good’ political systems – and only the ‘good’ rating percentages for the alternative political systems are presented (integrating the ‘Very good’ and ‘fairly good’ options, see Table 5).

Table 5. Percentage of positive assessment for political systems as ways to rule the country

COUNTRY % GOOD	Militaristic	Charismatic	Technocratic	Democratic
Albania	16.1%	22.7%	90.1%	98.3%
Azerbaijan	10.5%	73.6%	45.7%	96.3%
Austria	5.5%	15.8%	56.4%	95.8%
Armenia	25.2%	62.3%	68.6%	92.2%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	38.3%	47.2%	75.8%	91.7%
Bulgaria	14.3%	60.8%	81.3%	93.3%
Belarus	26.4%	68.7%	72.7%	93.4%
Croatia	20.7%	37.2%	88.2%	94.8%
Czechia	8.2%	26.9%	60.4%	92.7%
Denmark	3.5%	18.2%	33.0%	97.4%
Estonia	3.6%	18.6%	68.8%	93.9%
Finland	6.6%	13.9%	51.3%	94.1%
France	11.9%	23.6%	51.0%	94.1%
Georgia	31.4%	78.4%	66.9%	92.3%
Germany	1.6%	19.3%	41.6%	98.7%
Hungary	6.5%	21.8%	76.2%	93.3%
Iceland	1.1%	12.0%	55.6%	99.1%
Italy	9.3%	31.3%	40.5%	97.0%
Lithuania	13.6%	55.3%	40.4%	90.4%
Montenegro	44.4%	74.7%	80.5%	89.2%
Netherlands	3.2%	33.0%	48.4%	96.9%
Norway	3.5%	13.2%	34.4%	98.3%

Poland	18.4%	15.6%	68.4%	91.2%
Romania	35.2%	77.8%	83.9%	90.8%
Russia	16.5%	29.7%	36.2%	80.1%
Serbia	56.8%	61.6%	79.7%	90.4%
Slovakia	15.6%	28.2%	80.8%	86.8%
Slovenia	5.3%	28.3%	83.4%	91.2%
Spain	10.6%	25.8%	63.9%	94.6%
Sweden	4.6%	17.2%	33.1%	98.0%
Switzerland	3.7%	19.6%	34.3%	96.4%
Macedonia	49.2%	77.3%	86.1%	93.9%
Great Britain	14.0%	26.4%	52.4%	94.3%
Total	14.5%	36.0%	58.5%	94.0%

The analysis shows that the pro-democratic orientation prevails in all European countries. 94% of Europeans surveyed say that democracy is a good political system. The next alternative that comes closest to democracy is the technocratic political system. This type of governance is assessed as good by 58% of Europeans. In contrast, the rule of strong leaders is assessed as a good political system by 36%. The power of the military received the lowest percentage of positive assessments as a way of governing (14.5% at European level).

Macedonian citizens fit in this European political profile only with the positive assessment of the democratic government. The percentage of Macedonians who think that democracy is a good way to govern the country (93.9%) is almost identical to the European one (94%). Regarding the other three types of political systems, the preferences of the Macedonian citizens significantly deviate from those that dominate Europe as a whole, as described in the previous paragraph. More Macedonians (86.1%, i.e. 27.6% more) than other Europeans assess that the technocratic government is good for the country. The percentage of Macedonians (77.3%) who assess that charismatic government is a good system of government is 41.3% higher than the percentage of Europeans who have positive view towards charismatic government. Regarding the military government, the percentage of Macedonian citizens (49.2%) who assess that it is a good type of political system is 34.7% higher than the percentage of Europeans with a positive opinion for the militaristic government.

With such preferences regarding political systems, Macedonian citizens are profiled very differently from, for example, the citizens of Iceland (1.1%) or Germany (1.6%) who show the lowest percentage of positive assessments for the

militaristic government and the highest percentage of positive assessments for democracy (about 99% in both). Instead, the preferences of Macedonian citizens are more similar to the preferences of the citizens of Serbia. At European level, Serbian citizens show the most positive opinion (56.8%) for the rule of the army. Macedonian citizens are second on this list of supporters for the military government, followed by the citizens of Montenegro (44.4%).

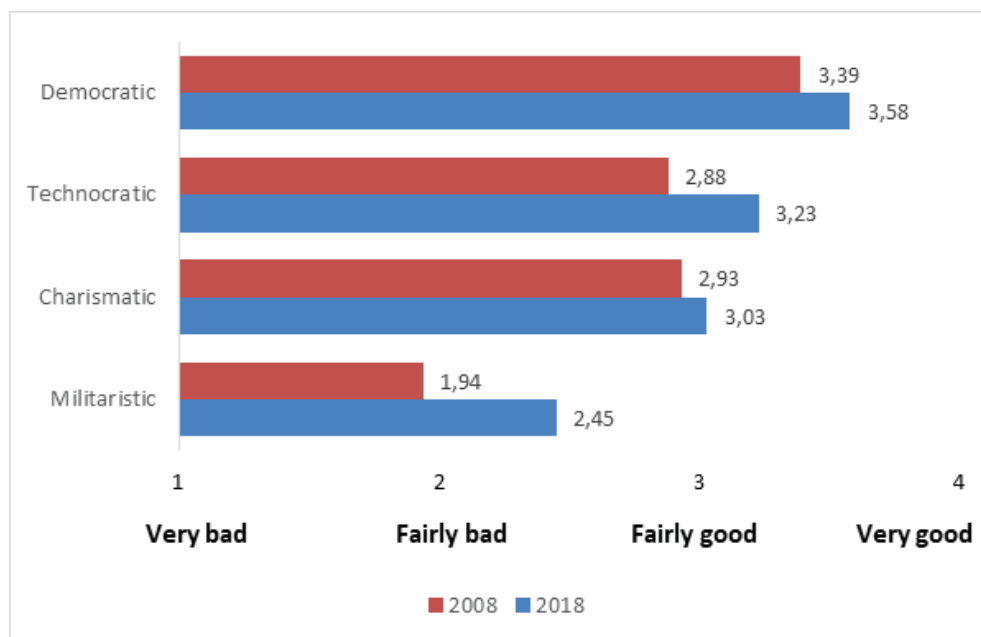
We find a similar comparative profile in terms of charismatic power. With 77.3% of Macedonian citizens evaluating the government of strong leaders as a good political system they are approaching the most charismatically oriented citizens of Georgia (78.4%) and are farthest from the Icelandic (12%) or Finnish and Norwegian citizens (about 13%) who show the least propensity for this type of government. At regional level, the high percentage of positive assessments for this type of government proves that Macedonian citizens are the most charismatically oriented, unlike the citizens of Albania (22.7%) and Slovenia (28.3%) who show the lowest percentages of positive attitude towards charismatic government.

Regarding technocratic government, 86.1% of Macedonian citizens display positive assessment which is closer to the most technocratically oriented citizens of Albania (90.1%) and is far from the profile of the Danish citizens (67%). At regional level, technocratic government has strong support in all the countries, and is weakest in Bosnia and Herzegovina (75.8%).

Such contradictions in the Macedonian profile of political preferences overshadow to some extent, but do not endanger, the high pro-democratic orientation. As it was mentioned at the beginning, with 93.9% positive assessments for democracy, Macedonian citizens are pro-democratic above the average and are closer to the group of the most democratic European nations such as Iceland (with 99.1%). At regional level, the citizens of Albania show the strongest pro-democracy orientation (98.3%, and the weakest are the Montenegrin citizens who in the largest percentage (10.8%) assess that democracy is a bad system of government followed by Serbian citizens (with 9.6% negative assessment).

Such political profiles of Macedonian citizens, as well as of citizens in Europe as a whole, are not static. They change with the changes in the different spheres of social life and, in turn, their changes affect changes in the relations between the political forces at a given historical moment. Proof of this is provided by the comparative analysis of changes in attitudes towards the four types of political systems in the period between 2008 and 2018 (Figure 2).

Figure 2. The average scores of the preferences of the Macedonian citizens in relation to the types of political systems: 2008 vs. 2018



The figure shows that the previously stated contradiction in the political preferences is maintained in the studied time period. In 2018, similar as in 2008, Macedonian citizens most positively assess the democratic government compared to the other three political systems. The average positive assessment of democracy grew in the studied period. But at the same time, there is an increase in the positive attitude towards the technocratic, charismatic, and militaristic governments. The increase in positive attitudes towards these four different political systems is greatest for the militaristic government ($M_{2018} > M_{2008}$ by 0.51) and for the democratic government ($M_{2018} > M_{2008}$ by 0.49). The positive attitude towards the technocratic government increased by 0.31, and the lowest increase was recorded for the charismatic government (0.1).

The comparative analysis of the ideological and political orientations of the Macedonian citizens shows its relative stability and fit into the regional profiles that are located around the European averages. Stability is evident from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. From a historical perspective, they experienced minor changes during the period 2008-2018. The changes can be observed in the intensity of the attitudes, while their direction remains the same. On the ideological scale left-right, the profile of the Macedonian citizens is mainly centrally oriented, with a slight inclination to

the right, with a slightly decreasing intensity during the analyzed period. The same conclusion applies to the dynamics of preferences in relation to different political systems. During the studied period, the positive attitude towards a democratic political system was maintained and strengthened, but it was also strengthened towards the other three types of political power.

Viewed through the ideological prism of solidarity-egoism, the orientations of the Macedonian citizens at European and regional level move within the median intervals. This is to be expected given the fact that the centrist orientations are dominant in all countries - the range of average scores at European level is very narrow and ranges between $M = 5.05$ (Montenegro) and $M = 6.82$ (Albania). The fact that two Balkan countries (among all European countries) take up the extreme ends of the interval of these orientations deserves a more in-depth analysis than the ambitions of our article here.

Regarding the perception of democracy as etatistic or liberal governance, we can observe that Macedonian citizens are also located in the center of the distribution interval at both European and regional level (between $M = 3.33$ and $M = 5.64$). The Macedonian citizens' average score on the scale of etatism-liberalism is higher than the average score of all other countries participating in EVS. Regarding the orientation dimension of libertarianism-authoritarianism, Macedonian citizens show strong acceptance of the libertarian views, similar to almost all European countries. In this case, the range of the average values of the synthetic score is even narrower than the others and located very left (from $M = 2.4$ to $M = 4.49$). The average score for Macedonian citizens shows a stronger libertarian orientation than the average at both European level and regional level.

The direction, structure and intensity of the designated ideological and value orientations is reflected in the profile of the political orientations of the Macedonian citizens. The analysis showed that the profile of the political orientations of the Macedonian citizens expressed through their preferences for the four alternative political systems partially fits into the European profile. The fit is represented by a strong positive assessment of democracy. However, it deviates from the European profile and fits with the Balkan profile due to the expressed respect for different models of governance - technocratic, charismatic and militaristic.

Such contradictions in the structure of the ideological and political orientations of the Macedonian citizens require a more in-depth analysis that would reveal the interrelatedness of the individual items on the scale, and among the scales themselves, with the diverse segments of Macedonia as a more or less plural society.

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COMPARISON OF MOTHER-CHILD EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT THEORY AND THE PARENTAL ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION THEORY (PART)

Abstract: *There are many theories about parenting, that is, the emotional connection and the influence of parents on a child's mental development. One of the most popular theories is John Bowlby's Theory of Mother-Child Emotional Attachment or Attachment Theory. John Bowlby, an English psychoanalyst, who lived at the end of 19th and at the beginning of 20th century, based this theory on a number of extensive studies of the concept of attachment. He accepted the psychoanalytic view that early childhood experience has a significant impact on adult development and behavior. According to the psychoanalytic concept, the child's relationship with the mother is based on the fact that the mother provides for the child's primary needs for food, hygiene. John Bowlby questioned the nature of that relationship, and he believed that the mother-child relationship was not only about meeting the basic needs of the child, but also about the warmth and affection that the mother expressed for her child. He defined it as emotional attachment. The primary need for a mother also means the child's primary sociality, which is absolutely opposite to the psychoanalytic ideas of man as a primarily autistic being. Accordingly, Bowlby believed that the attachment had an evolutionary component of survival. A newer theory, with significant contribution to the understanding of the parenting, is the Ronald Rohner's Parental Acceptance and Rejection Theory (PART), established 1984. Looking at the concept of acceptance and rejection, one observes that together they make the dimension of parental warmth. Parental warmth is a dimension or continuum that all people can embrace since everyone has a childhood experience of more or less love from their parents. PART provides answers to several questions, divided into three sub-theories: the sub-theory of personality, the sub-theory of coping, and the sub-theory of the socio-cultural system. In this study these two theories, and their approaches, will be compared.*

Key words: comparison, theory, emotional attachment, parental acceptance and rejection

Introduction

During the 1940s and 1950s a number of studies emerged suggesting that very young children when separated from their mothers for considerable period of time, proceed through series of reactions that have become known as the phases of „protest“, „despair“ and „detachment“. These or similar reactions

were so common, despite variations of familiarity of the setting or quality of care received by the youngsters, that John Bowlby (as well as others) departed from the several scientific and clinical consequences and decided that it was the loss of specific mother figure that was the most important factor in this reactions (Cassidy & Shaver, 1999). It was from this beginning that Bowlby went on to develop his ethological-control system theory of the infant's tie, or "attachment" to its mother or primary caregiver (Bowlby, 1958, 1969/1982, 1973, 1980, according to Colin, 1996). In a partnership that spanned nearly 40 years, Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth decided to embark on a quest to answer the questions: Why do young children become so distressed by the loss of the mother? What is the bond that ties the child to the mother? What are its forms and how do they emerge? What happens to these forms as the child matures? Do such bonds exist in adults, and if so in what form? And, ultimately, how do we understand form and functioning "when things go wrong"?

The answers to these questions are given in several theories of parenting. The aim of this paper is to present and compare the Theory of Mother-Child Emotional Attachment (Attachment Theory) and the Parental Acceptance and Rejection Theory (PART). The main approaches in the study of the parent-child relationship and the terms that explain that relationship will be presented and compared.

Theory of Mother-Child Emotional Attachment

One of the theories explaining the emotional development of the child through the child-mother relationship is the theory of emotional attachment. The founder was the English psychoanalyst John Bowlby, who based it on a number of extensive studies of the concept of attachment as a permanent psychological connection between people. Because of the thorough study of mother-child emotional attachment, this theory is also called the Theory of the Origin and Nature of Human Emotionality. Bowlby accepted the psychoanalytic view that early childhood experience has a significant impact on adult development and behavior. According to the psychoanalytic concept, the child's relationship with the mother is based on the fact that the mother provides satisfaction of the child's primary needs for food, hygiene and other basic needs of the child. Psychoanalysts have called this relationship *emotional dependency*. The same conclusion was reached in 1958 when the American scientist Harlow came to the same conclusion that "the child's love for the mother does not feed exclusively on milk." His experiment is extremely import-

ant for creating the theory of attachment. He proves that even in newborns, the need for contact and seeking maternal closeness goes before hunger. John Bowlby (1960) questioned the nature of that relationship and defined it as *emotional attachment*. Bowlby postulates that seeking closeness to certain people is a basic form of human behavior; he even believes that the origin of this behavior has a biological nature. He published his findings in the books *The Nature of the Child's Tie to His Mother* (1958), *Separation Anxiety* (1959), and *Grief and Mourning in Infancy and Early Childhood* (1969).

The terms Bowlby uses to describe the emotional attachment process are: need, disposition, behavior, and relationships. The *need* for attachment is basic, like the need for food and sexual needs, and without it there is no survival; the attachment is a *disposition* of one person to seek closeness and contact with another person, especially in specific conditions of danger and endangerment; attachment *behavior* is a purposeful behavioral system that continuously monitors where the attachment figure is and responds to the arrival of information so that the child can regulate their feelings of security by seeking its proximity; to define a *relationship* as a relationship of attachment, it must be manifested through four components in the child's behavior in relation to the parents: seeking closeness, separation distress, safe haven, and a secure base. The *attachment* as the main concept in the theory of emotional attachment is defined as a special emotional connection, which includes the exchange of comfort, care and pleasure between mother and child. Therefore, Bowlby believed that attachment had an evolutionary component of survival. The need to establish strong emotional bonds with certain individuals is a fundamental component of human nature. The terms that describe the characteristics of the attachment are: *proximity maintenance* – the desire to be close to the people with whom we are emotionally attached; *safe "haven"* – return to the attachment figure for comfort and protection in a state of fear and danger; *secure base* – attachment figures have the role of a safe base from which the child can explore the environment around him/her; *separation distress* – anxiety that occurs in the absence of the attachment figure.

Based on the degree of representation of these characteristics in the relationship between the child and the mother, different types of emotional attachments are established. Many pathogenic patterns of parental behavior influence the formation of insecure, anxious, depressed children, and children prone to phobic reactions. Bowlby also made a classification of those pathogenic patterns of parents: parents (one or both) who were unable to respond to

the child's needs, care for him/her, or actively underestimated or rejected him/her; parents who have repeatedly abandoned the child for various reasons, e.g. hospitalization and institutionalization; constant threats from parents that they will not love the child they are raising; threats from one or both parents to leave the family; causing the child to feel guilty because his/her actions will make the parents sick or die. All these patterns of parental behavior are pathogenic and create a fear in the child that he/she will be abandoned and lose his/her loved one and his/her love. Many situations that are completely harmless create anxiety in these children. Bowlby believes the full-fledged attachment system develops around the third year and lasts until the tenth year. The child who develops patterns of secure attachment to parents will have an inner working model of a confident parent, who can give love, but also a representation of himself/herself as worthy of love and attention and will "wear" that model as a trademark in all other relationships as an adult. Conversely, an insecurely attached child may see the world as a dangerous place and will show greater caution and care towards other people. Bowlby's collaborator was the American Mary Ainsworth, a developmental psychologist, who conveyed Bowlby's concept into empirical findings. According to Mary Ainsworth, relationships established up to the fifth year of life are also maintained later in the process of independence in adolescence. She described three main styles of attachment: secure attachment, ambivalent insecure attachment, and avoidant insecure attachment (Stefanović-Stanojević, 2005). Main and Solomon later added a fourth style of attachment called the disorganized insecure attachment. The attachment styles will be explained in brief:

A *secure attachment* is recognized when the child shows anxiety when separated from the mother or guardian and happiness when they return. These children feel safe and are able to rely on their mother or guardian. When the adult leaves, the child may be upset, but it feels safe that the parent or guardian will return. These children know that the parent or guardian will provide them with comfort and security, so they spontaneously seek help when they need it. *Ambivalent attachment*, i.e. ambivalently attached children, usually become very upset when their parents leave. These children cannot rely on their mother or guardian when they need them. *Avoidant attachment* is reflected in the tendency of children to avoid their parents or guardians. When offered a choice, these children will not show a difference in preference between a parent and a complete stranger. Research shows that this style of attachment is the result of abusive and neglecting parents or guardians.

Children who are punished for seeking parental support will learn to avoid seeking help in the future. *Disorganized insecure attachment* refers to the child's behavior when he/she finds himself in an anxiety-provocative situation in which the rejecting parent introduces him/her. Research shows that a failed bond with a parent or guardian in early childhood has consequences on the behavior in late childhood and later in life. Children who had trouble bonding and who were often neglected in early childhood, or in some way traumatized, were diagnosed with oppositional, defiant disorder, then behavioral disorder, or post-traumatic stress disorder. While attachment styles that manifest in childhood are not necessarily the same as those of adults, research shows that early bonding has a serious impact on later relationships.

Parental Acceptance and Rejection Theory

The Parental Acceptance and Rejection Theory (PART) was developed by Ronald Rohner, an American psychologist and professor Emeritus at the University of Connecticut in the USA made a significant contribution to understanding the impact of parental behavior on a child's emotional life. His first major work summarizing research data (in the United States and other parts of the world) and translating it into theory was the 1984 *Handbook for the Study of Parental Acceptance and Rejection*.

The concept of parental acceptance and rejection is based on the *parental warmth* dimension. In other words, parental warmth is a bipolar dimension, on the one hand *parental rejection* and on the other *parental acceptance* (Rohner, 1984). Warmth as a dimension is closely related to the affective relationship between parents and children, as well as to the physical and verbal behaviors that parents use to express those feelings. The characteristics of parental acceptance are: warmth, emotionality, care, comfort, concern, support or simply the love that children can experience from their parents. The other end of the continuum is marked as rejection, which refers to the absence or significant withdrawal of these feelings and behaviors and the expression of various physically or psychologically hurtful behaviors and influences. Research reveals that parental rejection can be experienced by any combination of four main expressions: 1. cold and unemotional, 2. hostile and aggressive, 3. indifferent and neglectful, 4. undifferentiated rejection. Unidentified rejection refers to the child's belief that the parents do not really care about him/her, even when there are no clear behavioral indicators that the parents are neglectful, that they are unemotional or aggressive towards the child. This means that the

parents may be perceived by their children as warm, or as unloving towards them. The further analysis of parental acceptance-rejection is divided into three sub-theories: the personality sub-theory, the coping sub-theory and the socio-cultural system sub-theory.

The personality sub-theory begins with the assumption that through evolution humans evolved based on a biologically predetermined emotional need for a positive response from those who matter to them (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002; Leary, 1999 according to Rohner, 2005). In adulthood the needs become more complex and different and include the needs (recognized or unrecognized) for a positive response from people with whom they have a substantial emotional attachment. It is the child's sense of emotional security and comfort that depends on the quality of the relationship with the parents, called attachment figures (Ainsworth, 1989; Bowlby, 1982; according to Colin, 1996). Therefore, the feeling of emotional security and well-being in adults depends on the perceived quality of the relationship with the attachment figures. The personal concept, according to Rohner, defined in the personal sub-theory is a more or less stable set of predispositions for response (affective, cognitive, perceptual and motivational) and current behavior in different life situations and contexts. This personal store says that the emotional need for a positive response from significant others and attachment figures is a strong motivator in behavior, and when children are not satisfied with this need, they are predisposed to respond emotionally and behaviorally in a special way. Thus, individuals who are rejected are more likely to be anxious and insecure. They direct their activity towards achieving a positive response from others. Hence, the term *addiction*, which is described in the suppository of a person, is understood as an inner, psychologically desirable and longing for emotional (as opposed to instrumental or task-oriented) support, care, comfort, attention and similar attitudes of attachment figures. The term *dependence* is constructed in PART as a continuum of independence at one end and dependence at the other. Independent people are those who have successfully met the need for positive responses, so that they are free from frequent or intense cravings or behavioral actions to help significant others. Chronically rejected children also develop *defensive independence* and they often reject this need by saying: "Go to hell", "I do not need anyone", etc. Defensive independence with its accompanying emotions and behaviors sometimes leads to the opposite rejection, where the person being rejected, rejects the rejecting person. According to personality sub-theory (Rohner, 2005) in the

psychological adjustment of rejection there are the following consequences: depression and depressive feelings, problematic behavior, including mental disorders, delinquency and drug and alcohol abuse.

The *coping* sub-theory raises a basic question. What is it that allows some children or adults to deal effectively (resilience) with the emotions caused by parental rejection in childhood? PART argues that the multivariate model of individual behavior (coping with perceived rejection) is a function of the interaction between self, others, and context. The *self*-features include individual mental activities along with other internal and external features. The features of *others* include the personal and interpersonal characteristics of rejecting parents and other attachment figures, as well as the form, frequency, duration, and severity of rejection. The features of the *context* include significant others in the life of the individual, such as the socio-situational characteristics of the environment in which the individual lives. The likelihood of the child being able to cope with perceived parental rejection is supported by the presence of warmth and support from an alternative caregiver or other attachment figure. PART emphasizes mental activity, i.e. the specific social-cognitive abilities that make certain children and adults cope with perceived rejection more effectively than others. These abilities include a clearly differentiated sense of self, self-determination, and the ability to depersonalize (Rohner, 1986). More specifically, according to the coping theory, an individual's ability to deal with parental rejection is underpinned by the extent to which he or she can have a clearly differentiated sense of self. Self-determined individuals believe that they can establish a minimum of control over what happens to them through their own strength or personal attributes, while others feel like pawns: they feel that what is happening to them is the fate, misfortune or power of others. Similarly, individuals who have the capacity to depersonalize use other socio-cognitive mechanisms to cope with perceived rejection. Personalization, on the other hand, means that "the behavior of others is understood as self-directed behavior" that automatically relates to oneself and usually interprets events egocentrically and in a negative sense. A significant portion of the consequences of rejection can continue into adulthood, as a high risk of social, physical and emotional problems throughout life, unlike those who have been constantly loved.

The sub-theory of the *socio-cultural system* shows the way of thinking, the consequences and other correlations of the acceptance and rejection of the

individual in a certain social context (Kardiner, 1939, 1945a, 1945b, according to Rohner, 2005).

Comparison of the main terms in both theories

When we approach the comparison of the Attachment Theory with the Parental Acceptance and Rejection Theory, we will first present the main terms such as emotional attachment and parental warmth, i.e. parental acceptance and rejection. If Bowlby defines *attachment* as a special emotional connection, which involves the exchange of comfort, care and pleasure between mother and child, in PARTheory that parent-child relationship is explained by the *child's need for a positive response* that includes emotional desire, longing (regardless whether it is consciously recognized or not) for comfort, support, care, attention and similar attitudes towards the attachment figures. According to this theory, many rejected children and adults feel the need for constant emotional support and security.

Furthermore, the style of emotional attachment, which according to Bowlby collaborator Mary Ainsworth is represented by *four styles*: secure attachment, ambivalent insecure attachment, avoidant insecure attachment and disorganized insecure attachment, in PART would be appropriately termed *dependence* and *independence*, varying from moderate dependence-independence, defensive independence and immature dependence. According to Rohner, independent people are those who have successfully met the need for positive responses and do not have frequent or intense cravings or behavioral actions for help from significant others. Thus, the secure style of attachment in Attachment Theory is followed by the acquisition of mature independence or moderate dependence-independence in PART, where safely bonded children feel safe and able to rely on their mother or guardian. As adults, those who are safely attached in childhood are prone to high self-esteem, strong romantic relationships and the ability to bond with others, to establish a deep and lasting relationship, says Bowlby, while PART goes further and says that these people who are raised with parental warmth and acceptance as adults act with high individuality, freedom, and establish stable relationships with partners and other significant people for them, i.e. form mature independence or moderate dependence. Conversely, those who are anxiously attached according to Attachment Theory tend to get in and out of love relationships quickly, showing ambivalence in relationships with others, which in PART is explained as immature dependence or immature independence.

According to Bowlby, the child's need to attach to attachment figures is described through the *characteristics of the attachment* as: the need to maintain proximity to the attachment figure; a safe "haven" or return to the attachment figure for comfort and protection in a state of fear and danger; secure base, when attachment figures act as a secure base from which the child can explore the environment around him; separation distress - anxiety that occurs in the absence of an attachment figure. Rohner in PART expands this knowledge with *manifested behaviors* that reflect this need in young children and adults. Namely, young children show the need for dependence by holding on to the parent, crying when the parent leaves and seeking physical closeness with him/her when he/she returns. In adults, these manifestations, especially in times of sadness, are seen through the need for security, seeking confirmation or support, the need for comfort, the need for emotionality or comfort from people who are important to them, especially parents for young people, while from other attachment figures for adults.

Bowlby also made a classification of *pathogenic patterns of parental behavior* that may develop an insecure bond between mother and child. These are unresponsive parents (usually the mother) who could not respond to the child's needs, care for him/her, or actively underestimated or rejected him/her; parents who have repeatedly abandoned the child for various reasons, e.g. hospitalization and institutionalization; children receiving constant threats from their parents that they would not be loved; threats from one or both parents to leave the family; causing the child to feel guilty because his/her actions will make the parents sick or die. Rohner, in PART, *extends them to the following behaviors of the mother and father* that the child perceives as *rejecting*: when the parents act according to the feeling of hostility, anger, dissatisfaction, aggressive behavior and disinterested (indifferent) behavior. Parents show aggression: physically (hitting, punishing, throwing things, harassing) and verbally (sarcastically, swearing at them, making fun of them, shouting at them, humiliating them, telling them derogatory things, criticizing them excessively). Indifferent and disinterested parents show neglect for their children, or have a reduced interest in their well-being.

Bowlby describes the occurrence of *anxious attachment* when children create discord in relationships with parents (especially the mother) in response to insecurity in the emotional attachment. Similarly, Rohner introduces the term *defensive independence*, where children often do not receive the necessary love from their parents, defying this, which is called reciprocal rejection.

Defensive independence is colored by anger in the child's behavior, which leads to re-rejection by the parent, and so on in a circle. Bowlby postulates that many inappropriate behaviors of parents affect the formation of inappropriate behaviors of children, insecure, anxious, depressed children and children prone to phobic reactions. Rohner goes on to illustrate these negative consequences through a mediation model of the relationship between parental acceptance and rejection and the child's mental health (in the personal sub-theory). He associates perceived parental rejection with the self and others as a contextual risk factor and the effects on an individual's mental health. Those consequences are: depression, behavioral problems, and substance abuse. The self-factor as a risk factor is presented through: cognitive, mental representations, such as a negative worldview, affective manifestations, e.g. anger, negative feelings about oneself, then behavioral, e.g. aggression, etc. In terms of "others" as a contextual risk factor he lists: association with deviant peers, problematic interpersonal relationships and more. Other contexts in the life of the individual that contribute to the risk are: problems at school or at work, in the family, in interpersonal relationships, etc. (Rohner, 2005).

Attachment Theory talks about insecure mother-child bonding and the lasting consequences of it in adults, but says it does not necessarily have to be the same as it was in childhood. Life situations, such as quality peer relationships, close friendships, other important ones for the child, and romantic partners, can be correctors of the "damage" done to the emotionality by the rejecting parents. The term *coping* is included in PART and in the coping subtheory it answers the question of how some individuals seem to be able to withstand the daily parental rejection, without suffering, poor mental health and other consequences. Rohner explains coping or resilience with the multivariate pattern of behavior, which argues that the individual's behavior (coping with perceived rejection) is a function of the interaction between self, others, and context. He emphasizes the importance of specific social-cognitive abilities that make certain children and adults cope with perceived rejection more effectively than others. In explaining the coping process, Rohner includes the feeling of the self as differentiated from others, that is, he explains it as self-determination and the ability to depersonalize (Rohner, 1986). More specifically, self-determined individuals believe in their own strength that they can establish control over what happens to them, that is, they perceive the "behavior" of others as behavior that is not related to them and do not interpret it egocentrically. The phenomenon of resilience is defined as internal

psychological mechanisms for *minimizing* the very harmful consequences of perceived parental rejection.

On the question of whether parental behavior is related to the *society in which they live*, Bowlby believes that the occurrence of emotional attachment mother-child is universal and independent of what is and which is the environment. Rohner, on the other hand, considers it as an important factor in parental behavior, explaining this in the socio-cultural system subtheory. Namely, he believes that the different forms of parental behavior with children depend on the current system in society, values, customs, norms, then, family structures, common defense mechanisms and other things that refer to the culturally organized population.

Finally, in the analysis of the Attachment Theory, it can be seen that Bowlby emphasizes the role of the *mother* in the attachment with the child, although he does not deny the existence of other attachment figures, while Rohner believes that the child's perception of accepting and rejecting behavior of *both parent* are of equal importance to child's socio-emotional development.

Conclusion

The two compared theories, Emotional Attachment Theory (Attachment Theory) and the Parental Acceptance and Rejection Theory (PART) study parental behavior and the effects on the socio-emotional development of the child. The theories are based on a number of extensive studies of parenting behavior in countries around the world. The Attachment Theory was established in the 1950s, while PART was created thirty years later in 1984. Although there are differences in the historical development of the family, and thus in the parental behavior, still it is fundamentally similar in each period of the development of society. The similarity is in expressing the feelings of the parent towards the child, in the form of more or less emotionality, warmth and love. The knowledge from the older theories is upgraded and developed with new knowledge and theories in the field of parenting.

Bowlby accepts the psychoanalytic view of the child's relationship with the mother, which is based on meeting the child's primary needs for food, hygiene, but he added maternal love as basic need of the child and defined it as *emotional attachment*. Bowlby postulates that seeking closeness to certain people (attachment) is a basic form of human behavior. Bowlby believes that a mother-child relationship creates a model for oneself and others that is repeated in future interactive experiences. He explains the term through

four characteristics of emotional attachment. He and his co-worker Amy Ainsworth later classified it into four styles of emotional attachment: one secure style and three insecure attachment styles (ambivalent, avoidant, and disorganized). Rohner later discusses in PART the concept of parental acceptance and rejection that make the dimension of *parental warmth* a bipolar dimension. Rohner develops the PART in three sub-theories: the *personality* sub-theory, the *coping* sub-theory, and the *sociocultural system* sub-theory, explaining the effects of parental acceptance and rejection on children, with the terms dependence-independence, defensive independence, coping with parental rejection behavior (resilience), self-determination and personalization. Rohner also includes the socio-cultural context in PART, which he believes contributes to the manifestation of some forms of parental behavior. Finally, it should be noted that both theories, each from its own aspect, go deep into the study of the socio-emotional life of the child and further of the adult, as a “consequence” of the perceived parental behavior in childhood explained through several phenomena and scientific terms.

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NON-STATE ACTORS AND SECURITY

Abstract: *Security is a serious challenge for the security sector in the society and it is a significant concern not only for state actors, but for non-state actors as well, because it becomes more evident that societies are exposed to continuous attacks. Hence, appropriate steps are undertaken permanently which are founded on a participative and anticipative relationship of all the actors in order to ensure security. The scientific explication in this paper is based upon two approaches. First, the research is founded on the review of the basic theoretic presumptions about the terminological divergences of the notion and the use of the term non-security actors, and the second approach follows the analysis of the new realities, which the contemporary society and the states face. The new realities are complex, specific and simultaneously contradictory, but are essentially important because they shape contemporary livelihood.*

Key words: security, actors, state actors, non-state actors, contemporary world, threats.

INTRODUCTION

It is evident that international order in the recent century had an essentially different “quality” than nowadays. The imbalance in development of certain highly developed countries had manifested through an increasing gap between countries that comprise the contemporary world.

Signifying that it could be stated that today we live in a world in which there are less rules of play, a world in which the business interests have a primary role, and therefore the functioning of the economy and the society becomes more vulnerable. Everything is made for easier creation of wealth and no redistribution of the created wealth is in demand. Also, lately we are witnessing the fact that civilization is followed by a continuous multiplication of power in all of its kinds. Hence, the argumentation for the numerous attacks on technological break-throughs in the field of information, communication, transport and defense are useful and valuable. The affirmation of womens’

rights, the religious extremism critique, the social welfare concern, the cultural identity, the increase of population and environmental degradation are often inspiring. That signifies that the aspects of political collisions, industrial disputes and unsolved issues which may result in crisis, counterpoise a comprehensive sum of crucial socio-economic and political indicators. In this notion, the warning of some analysts for the complexity of international relations are connected, which are specific for certain countries that points out the need for permanent democratic transformations in those countries due to the sensitivity of the political, the economic, the social and especially the security affairs. If the threat from terrorism and international organized crime is added up to this, it can be certainly said that these new and emerging challenges draw out the international security map. The new map of international security will not replace the previous one, the traditional one. The relations between the countries still counterpoise an issue in international relations and their interactions can lead, as it was the case in the past, to massive armed conflicts. Nevertheless, It would not be possible to promote international security and stability without the utilization of the new map, as well as facing with the effects of the new global challenges. If they are not successfully resolved, the world will be shaken by new violences in this mullenium as well, as it was in the past.

1. SHIFTS IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD WHICH INFLUENCE SECURITY

In contemporary settings, the increased risks and threats point us out toward the conclusion that today we face complex security realities. Hence: *the first reality* refers to non-state actors. Lately, non-state elements are increasingly evident by wanting to impose their influence. Many non-state elements push within the countries and have an intention of creating a parallel state, respectfully a parallel governance. They impose their decisions over governmental resolutions, becoming a significant factor in the resolving of certain issues in that way. So, the attention is not focused solely on the countries any more; it is necessary to pay attention to the broader spectrum of non-state actors as well. Many of these actors can not only mobilize significant amounts of means and influence over political and economic flows, but they also have the power to harm. The key topics for argumentation for the future of global policy is the rotatory and subalternate play between the state-centered world (traditional world of high-table geopolitics) and multi-centric world (a host world for non-state actors increasingly present in international relations). Also,

a significant subject for debate linked with non-state actors is the dealing with the new multiplication of non-state actors, which are network-connected; transnational in volume; highly flexible in their operations; have the ability to exploit and vovetail in social and financial institutions and be undisclosed in that manner; possess a capacity for regeneration even when they suffer a significant amount of degradation. The (mis)use of the cyber space and the advantages of modern technology enable a broad range and fast benefit in accomplishing various political goals. Non-state actors are utilizing the advantages of modern technology on a daily basis in order to multiply their power. Not seldom, the states them selves, acting openly or covertly, misuse the same space, entering proxy wars, exploiting all the elements of national power in gaining a certain advantage or accomplishing a certain goal which supports their national interest. The case of Stuxnet had succeeded to rewind back the Iran nuclear program, while dozens of countries from the world blamed Russia for purposeful cyber attacks, especially in the context of the events in Georgia and Estonia. The founder of the Telegram application had stated that “privacy is not for sale” , after the disclosure of the information that exactly that application is used for coordination by the terrorist groups. Criminal organizations and terrorist networks need to be perceived as “organizations for examination”. The recognition of the capacity of the terrorist and criminal networks, their training, methods to adapt and improve in what they do, regardless wehter it is a matter of centrifification or exploitation of markets, is the beginning of the wisdom in dealing with them.

The second reality refers to multinational corporations and the continuous play with the state-centered world. Modern corporations are a synonym for a concentration of financial and political abundance, in order to serve foreign interests of nations. Corporate power and influence increases in the last 150 years. The increased financial stability enables them to manipulate with democratic processes and dictate very efficiently to democratic policies. A small group of polititians and corporations that have similar financial interests dictates the global economic policy. The privilege to influence politics belongs to the public, not the corporate elite that represents 1% of the population. However, having in mind that the political influence is increased with economic and financial power, the corporate influence in the national and global governmental structures is much “heavier” than the one of the citizens.

Regarding the estimate of the influence of the corporation over the economic stability of the country, Michel Henri Bouchet defined a general risk for the

countries as a symbiosis of differences connected with corporate investments in a certain country. In this sense, all business transactions of companies involve a certain degree of risk associated with the return on investment and the profitability of the transaction or investment. The transaction of capital outside the borders of a country carries with it certain additional risks, which are different from the risks in domestic economic entities. In this context, according to Bouchet, the core risk components for business corporations and countries are divided into two groups: a component that can be quantified and assessed (economic risk, financial risk and exchange rate risk) and a component that is described as qualitative and whose assessment is complex (political risk, culturological risk, risk related to the legal framework of the country, regional risk and systemic risk - global crisis).

The third reality are the media. Medias are a method of communication through which a message or information is transmitted from the communicator to the recipient. The medium enables transmission of the message through space and time from the source to the receivers.

Basically, medias are organized, official institutions, which with the assistance of technical means (printed contents, radio and TV-waves) broadcast messages through time and space, and in that way enable their function, respectfully the accomplish their purpose. They are practically a mean through which the public is present everywhere and finds out what is actual, but also, forms its perception for important issues or try to find out for the current political and social problems.

With the expansion of mass media and their ability to carry on information and messages to whole populations simultaneously is essentially changing the communication itself, while with the process of globalization and expansion of the medias outside the borders of one country, they became: conglomerates, the profit vertiginously increases, and they have greater power. However, in parallel with the increase of audience, their competition increases as well. In that way creating an increased pressure for profit. In fact, medias are profit oriented, extremely tolerant towards those that advertise, because they are one of the main sources for means; or as Owen Fiss sais - "the rich, for example, could dominate so much on the advertisement spaces in the media and the derogatory public domains, that the public will only hear their message" and the voice of the less powerfull will be suffocated.

In the essence, medias should be never seen nor as enemies nor as friends. Here, most often a press conference is held by the political parties or the gov-

ernment if there is something to be announced (a new project, results from certain work, etc., but most often, for “hits below the belt” of the opponent parties). Still, in a democratic society, medias should serve as disassemblers of issues with vital significance for the community, to educate the electorate for the problems in society and governance.

Beside the media, the *non-governmental organizations* have their relevancy. The term “non-government organization” (NGO) was introduced to use in 1945 due to the need of the Organization of the United Nation (OUN) to make a distinction between the right for participation in the inter-governmental specialized agencies and those rights to participate in international private organizations in their Charter. According to the Organization of the United Nations, practically all types of private bodies can be underlined under the term non-governmental organizations. They just have to be independent from government control, not to be competition to the government in the sense of political party with power pretensions, to be a non-profit oriented and to not be incepted with criminal, counter-legal or illegal ideals and values. In the Charter of the Organization of the United Nations, in Article 71 is quoted that the Economic and Social Council should consult with an NGO, which points out to the fact that the NGO's are a serious non-state actor in international politics. The Charter of the UN identifies the principles of sovereignty, independence and non-interference in national competencies which have a fundamental significance for the success of the organization. In that way, on their engagement, the countries agree to accept the responsibilities of the Charter of the UN, as an international arrangement with which they designate the fundamental principles of international relations. The Charter of the UN is much more than an official document which identifies the roles and authorizations of the supreme organs at the UN, regarding the supporting services in the system of countries in the UN. It is a multilateral plan as well, based on the political theory for balancing the international peace and security and promotion of the basic human rights, as well as economic and social progress.

Basically, the non-governmental organizations have a great significance in the social policy of the developed countries, because the contemporary robust state cannot satisfy all the demands of the citizens, so a large portion of the non-governmental organizations transfer their programs to non-profit organizations, where they are efficiently resolved. In that manner, the non-governmental sector is an alternative and a new partner (but not a concurrent) to the state sector in which the people in situation of crisis rely on their own

strengths. Because of that, it is said for the non-governmental sector that it is non-profitable and a third sector located between the state and the market on one side and family on the other side. Beside that, what is significant for these spontaneous associations of citizens in resolving various private, group or social problems is that it creates a network of relationships independent from the state, which constitute civil society and which simultaneously increase the participation of the citizens and their responsibility for themselves and for the community they live in.

In general, the existence of the global civil society composed by individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) calling out the governments to take responsibility for their actions is an integral part of contemporary democratic societies.

The fifth reality is organized crime. Beside the fact that for a long time the organized crime was related only to specific nations and specific geographic areas, in the late decades of the XX century, it started to be treated as a real international issue, which drew the attention of many international organizations, state institutions and public opinions in many countries, which resulted with numerous initiatives for a decisive and efficient combat against this phenomenon. Until the end of the 80-es from the previous century, the notion organized crime was used as a phrase which signified the escalation and concern of the national institutions and individuals regarding the expansion of internal and international criminal markets with increased mobility of the bearers of the criminal activity through national borders and the damage which organized crime inflicts on the legal work and on the economic flows as well as criminal destruction of democratic political institutions.

Organized crime counterpoises a threat for the unimpeded and complete functioning of democracy for all the countries in the world, especially expressive in the developing countries and for postcommunist countries in transition. The activities of organized crime can interrupt or marginalize democracy, paralyse the functioning of the legal government institutions, economically exhaust the country and by that bring to question the independence and sovereignty of the state. Larger disruptions and imperilments of the internal security of the country could mean loss of independence and sovereignty in certain situations.

The inquiry of the phenomenology and ethiology of organized crime cannot rely solely neither to official financial, nor other indicators, which can be taken as variables that in cross-section research can be analysed as

significant indicators for the conditions in organized crime. It is sufficient just to mention the problem with “grey economy” in which organized crime blossoms and which does not decrease (according to various assessments and estimates of economists covers a range of 50% of the economic life). The apparent shapes of the grey economy create conditions for affirmation of corruption, smuggle and fraud.

The sixth reality is terrorism. Terrorism as kind of violence became one of the most significant challenges for the countries. Terrorist activities in the XX-th century were an enigma and a huge problem for international security, yet still a great problem in the XXI-st century. Basically, terrorism is politically motivated, highly destructive phenomenon and a dangerous type of violence which most intensively strikes civilian population and institutions of the country. Also terrorism is violent or threats with violence, aimed at far-reaching psychological consequences outside the immediate victim, led by a terrorist organization. Besides the fact that terrorism is broadly condemned globally, in practice the fact is confirmed that terrorism is still an efficient weapon for accomplishing political goals. So, terrorism becomes one of the greatest problems of contemporary society which as a mean and method for accomplishing its goals is imposed by different groups, organizations, etc., whereby as a direct consequence emerges the interest of individuals, forces or structures for shift in relations in a given community with the use of force or violence against people or assets.

The new global terrorist organizations are comprised with thousands of members which act on a global level. The structure of these organizations is networked and horizontal. Within the framework of the organizations, independent members or small groups have a high degree of autonomy in decision making. The leadership of the organization is transformed on an operative level of guidance and becomes religious-ideological leader, respectfully an elite which purports and instructs the political platform for action. Due to the great number of members of the network and their dispersion, the main role of the leader is projecting religious-ideological platform, which with its ideas and purposes can be accepted by the increased number of potential terrorists. The immediate preparation of the operations, the selection of targets, the time of the attack, engagement of immediate perpetrators (suicide terrorists) are left to the local or regional structures of the network, except when it is a matter of a greater attack. In that case, an approval by the leadership is necessary. As a result of this structure and modes of action, actions are being carried

out by local religious fanatics (which previously have not established formal links with a terrorist cell) and if they are in accordance with the fundamental principles of the network they will additionally be accepted as part of a broader and coordinated action.

Terrorism in its form is not irreversible, and it is observed, “thanks to the factors which generate it, international terrorism renews and refines increasingly on a technical and technological level, and its efficiency continuously increases.” Although certain efforts are made by the countries and international organizations to counterfight this, the trend is “instead of weakening, terrorism became much more dangerous: new terrorists are better organized, better equipped, have high technology and modern technique, are harder to be detected and even harder to destroy”. Terrorist organizations become braver, more daring and instead of their original strategy for enforcing individual terrorist acts, today they express the ability to carry out several coordinated terrorist attacks simultaneously, anywhere in the world. Since terrorism is on the rise, as well as the threat of terrorism it takes a more significant domain in the national security strategies.

The next *reality are smart adversaries*. The term cyber security alludes to the appliance of integrity, safety, reliability and accessibility to information. Cyber security develops a series of mechanisms, approaches for risk management, technologies, training and best practices designed to protect networks, devices, programs and data from attack or unauthorized access. It means that cyber security is a set of techniques and technologies applied for protection of data, computers, networks and programs from violation and exploitation activities purposes.

It is obvious that cyber security cannot be viewed separately from security in real world. The damage as a result of a cyber attack is very real and causes real consequences in the physical world as well. Still, due to the specifics of the technology, types, perpetrators and victims of such attacks, the issue on cyber security demands special care by everybody connected to the Internet. Meaning that cyber security is in the focus of interest of contemporary society thanks to the fast spread of number of internet users, repeating the old truth that technology can be useful and threatening. What can be utilized for the benefit of society can be used to its harm.

The effect of fast integration of the Internet in almost every form of human activity is the increased vulnerability of modern society to cyber attacks. The internet is part of the global critical infrastructure and many other basic

services of contemporary society (e-trade, e-banking...) depend on the Internet and are a common target for cyber attacks.

The eighth reality is globalization. Globalization is a process of removing the obstacles for movement of goods, capital, people and ideas in today's world and the ideology that accompanies this process. Globalization is primarily economically driven process. It is based upon the free market doctrine as a single mechanism ruling the economy and human society as well. All social relations come down to production, exchange, trade and expenditure of goods. The imposing of this doctrine throughout the world in order to transform it into an open market without limits is the essence of the globalization process, as we know it today. The opponents of globalization reprimand it for the deprivation of its whole social life in the naked market relations and discuss about homoeconomic mentality whose material benefit is the primal motivation and consumption is the sole life purpose. This materialistic ideology elevates the consumer's demand to the point of main driver of development. On a cultural level it offends with its banality, instead on focusing on great artistic and scientific achievements, mass media are overwhelmed with "news" from the lives of certain "celebrity stars". The supporters of globalization emphasize the benefits of global communication, such as the ability to meet and gather members of different nations which are spatially and culturally distant from each other, which can counterpoise a basis for a peaceful coexistence through diversity awareness development. Also, it enables the best minds from the world to unite in the efforts for humankind benefits.

Beside the fact that the globalization process brings to increased equalization, still globalization should be perceived as a multidimensional and asymmetric process which as a consequence can have destructive occurrences as well. In the part of the forecasts as "relatively safe" it is stated the consolidation of the already actual trend of transfer of the wealth and the economic power from the West to the East. Some countries will insist to invest more in order to improve their own economy so increase of initiatives for geopolitical stability are expected. During the transfer of power nonetheless, some countries that aspire to challenge the western order such as Russia will strengthen. For the USA in concrete, it is denoted that it will remain the most powerful country in the world, but with a smaller advantage related to the other world powers. The reason for this conclusion is the assumption that the economic crises will incite Washington to pay more attention to domestic priorities and not intervene throughout the world unless it is necessary. The

new approach would signify decrease of defense budgets. Despite the current world crisis, a steady economic growth is expected to continue in the world. Exactly the steady development in combination with the increase of the world population for even 1,2 billion people will cause a global search for sources of energy, food and water.

The ninth reality is tied with the *privatization of security*. In the last fifteen years the privatization of security has become a “popular” topic in scientific research. Still, the published books and articles in general examine the implications which privatization of security has over the monopoly, respectfully the control of force by the country and society, the options for regulation (on a national as well as regional and international level) or the organizational structure of the ever expanding private security sector, while few authors deal with the conditions and the dynamics of the use of private companies for providing security and military services, so that it remained empirically unclear what effect do these companies have over the country. While some authors consider that these companies have a dysfunctional effect over the country, others claim the opposite.

So, it means that contemporary global security scene is characterized with two seemingly conflicting tendencies – internationalization and privatization of security. In the context of the first, it is considered that security is becoming more and more an issue which can be defined and provided on a supranational level, not only that it is demanded by the so-called transnational security threats, but due to the fact that within the global framework the integrative processes are strengthening, especially in the realm of security. But simultaneously, the tendency for privatization of security gains equal relevancy as a second tendency. It counterpoises creation of a private market for offering/supplying security services, so security becomes a good/product that can be obtained in a greater or lesser extent, depending on the financial abilities of the users. In both contexts occurs something that undermines the philosophy of the state and its central role as a security supplier.

CONCLUSION

The global threats are a challenge both for state and non-state actors. Still, state actors have the primary responsibility and they are the ones that feel the consequences from the threats over the values they protect the most. The risks from the threats on national security are on the rise, taking into account the indispensable domino effect that emanates from these threats, which

reflect even broader on international security. Actually, the domino effect is the one that implies not only within the framework of a certain country which is a target of a terrorist attack threat, but within the range of international dimensions as well, where it gains broader influence.

This analysis substantially confirmed that non-state actors have a significant influence in the global processes having in mind that it is about structures that are outside of the government and the public administration. In addition, they are independent from the state: they are often proactive and simplify changes, and are pretty initiative for problems and social situations.

There is an opinion that non-state actors divert global business surrounding, and the effects of the corporate globalization so far are known and recognizable, both for the wealthy and for the poor parts of the world, and among social groups and layers in the interior of every national economy. Nonetheless, simultaneously, the emergence of the global world ruling networks thousands of voluntary, non-governmental associations all over the world which have a secondary role in the social effect of the global business environment, as well as the more powerful, which express readiness to counter all of that.

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THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF SECURITY CONCEPT TRANSFORMATION

Abstract: *Safety and security are top priorities in our society and addressing problems in these areas is crucial. Several different kinds of safety or security exist today, such as international security, cyber security, physical security, fire safety, and so on. The scientific community is starting to address the creation of a theory of safety and security. The theory of safety and security will be followed by a series of default theories. This paper discusses the concepts and theoretical sources we can draw from for the theory of safety and security, as well as subsequent knowledge. Nowadays, a mostly pragmatic approach prevails in the safety and security research. Until now, there is no common theoretical basis for safety or security.*

Key words: theory of safety and security; concept; risk theory; crisis theory; causality.

Introduction

Nowadays, a mostly pragmatic approach prevails in the safety and security research [B. Buzan, O. Weaver, 1998]. Currently, safety and security research is realized independently, with each sector addressing its own kind of safety or security. Each kind of safety or security mostly creates its own professional conceptual apparatus.

Many specialists think that it is not possible to connect problems of international security, fire safety, information security or work health safety in one unit because they do not have a collective content. There are obvious reasons for that. Until now, no comparison was done between the different kinds of safety and security; in addition, no generalization was attempted.

Specialists in each field work on and develop their own kind of safety or security measures independently. Each kind of safety or security is solving

its own specific problems of that field, which are meant to prevent danger or negative consequences. Because of this reason, each kind of safety or security was created by taking into account measures that make a reference object safe or secure. The different kinds of safety and security were researched and evolved separately. Until now, there is no common theoretical basis for safety or security.

Many scientific disciplines like informatics or electronics have their own theory. There also should be the theory of safety and security. The theory of safety and security should evolve from each kind of safety or security. This theory should reflect the existing theoretical knowledge in the area of safety and security research and other disciplines which have relations to safety and security.

Copenhagen school of security studies

The theory of safety and security can draw mainly from the following sources:

- ♦ Copenhagen school of security studies,
- ♦ risk theory,
- ♦ crisis theory,
- ♦ causality.

The following section analyzes the above mentioned sources and their impact on the theory of safety and security. The last part of the article discusses the starting points which should be respected in the theory of safety and security.

Theoretical security research exists for a long time. The main research was done in the field of international security and military. The specialists who researched this field had mostly political science education. They researched the security from the political science and governance point of view. The aim of their research was to solve mainly military problems between states. The Copenhagen School of Security Studies (CSSS) had a significant position in this field. During the 90s of 20th century, the CSSS focused on the research into other sectors of security. In their work [B. Buzan, L. Hansen, 2009], they emphasized security research not only in area of military security, but in human security, environment and other sectors. The specification of security sectors and securitization process are the main benefits of CSSS for security research. There are three main questions about security:

- ♦ Whose security?
- ♦ Security of which values?
- ♦ Security against what?

Answers to these questions should help analyze the security reality. They define what the reference object is, what protects it, and what the threats are. Answers to these questions allow specifying the basic elements and interactions in the analyzed kind of security. The situational analysis is the result of this process. This analysis is the basis for solving security problems and choosing of the appropriate security methods, measures and resources.

The risk theory as a base for the theory of safety and security

Risk theory is a widely used scientific discipline, based on the identification of a threat, the specification of risk and the specification of how to overcome the risk. The essence of risk lies in the objective existence of threats. The risk comes from consciously controlled acting, or chaotic and uncontrolled acting of each part of a complex. In the behavior of elements, moments may arise when the elements, whether intentionally or randomly, are getting into direct interaction (collision, impact).

Many interactions are negative, with devastating impact. This impact is proportional to the magnitude and direction of the action (measure), where the individual reference objects are involved in negative interactions. This negative interaction is named “security incident”. The application of the risk theory evaluates which threats (or negative acts) affect the reference object, and which ones have more or less significant impact. The purpose of risk identification is to identify the worst possible impact of threats and prepare measures to counteract these threats. The proposed measures should prevent the effects of threats or prevent negative impacts on the reference object.

The aim of risk is to express how probable and how large the negative impact will be on the reference object. The risk can be determined quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Its size has more variables. There is currently no definition of risk that is clearly defined and accepted. Usually, the risk is characterized by the size of the negative impact or the harm and by the probability of threat exposure. Some authors have added the vulnerability of the reference object into the risk definition [M. Hromada, vol. 2015, no. 2, pp. 118 – 127.]. The question of vulnerability is purposeful. The vulnerability emphasizes the threats to which the reference object is prone. This parameter

is involved in specification of probability of exposition. If it is not prone to threat exposition, the exposure probability, and also vulnerability, will be lower.

The method of risk management is used in many fields. These include project management, investment, economics, and so on. It is also always part of the management. The goal of the risk management is not to find a way to efficiently fulfill the objective function of the reference object. Its aim is to determine the negative impact, which can affect the reference object, how the reference will be affected, how it acts or how to minimize the impacts. Risk management has an important position in the field of safety and security. It is focusing on minimization of damage or impact. The risk theory could be used as methodology for specification of possible negative impacts, which could harm the reference object. Due to this fact, risk management is used in many fields, in which significant theoretical development and practical applications were developed. Methods of risk analysis have been elaborated. Nowadays, we have many methods of risk analysis. These methods allow quantifying the level of risk. Depending on the approach and nature of the application, different risk analysis methods could cause different results, which were obtained during the analysis of one specific security problem.

Risk management prefers the repressive manner for ensuring the safety or security. It defines for what risk and how the reference object should be prepared. The disadvantage of the risk management is that it does not find out the causes of threats. Threats are taken as a fact and it only focuses on what they can cause. Unacceptable risk is solved by appropriate measures. The solution comes as acceptance of risk, risk retention, risk transfer and risk avoidance.

Despite this disadvantage, risk theory creates the basis of the theory of safety and security. The main contribution is its well developed methods of risk analysis. The risk theory is well applied in kinds of safety or security that protect the conditions of reference object (physical security, information security, administrative security and so on). Risk theory is less suitable for the kinds of safety or security that govern the reference object (international security, homeland security and so on). In these cases, it is about creating the secure of safe environment as the result of synthesis.

The crisis theory and its relation the theory of safety and security

A crisis is an important phenomenon, which has negative influence on human society. The negative effect is a common sign of security breach and

crisis. For the safety and security research, it is important to determine what is the reason and nature of safety and security problems. Moreover, we need to examine what is the relation between the theory of safety and security and the crisis theory. Crisis theory is a scientific discipline focused on the theoretic aspects of crisis research, mainly on nature and causes of crisis. The basics of crisis prevention and its handling are based on the crisis theory. The crisis theory has systems and a dynamic character. The crisis theory is independent from a concrete reference object; it also researches the basic aspects of the creation and development of crisis. The crisis theory is the basis for successful management of a crisis. Nowadays, the crisis is understood as: time when contradictions culminate, or as a complicated situation.

These terms are similar. They are appropriate for designation of a time period when existential complications arise. The crisis is considered as a state or period when danger is coming out and simultaneously the aim function of the reference object is threatened. The crisis arises when there is a significant change in conditions for the reference object. Changing conditions occurs due to the chaotic or uncoordinated behavior of each part of the system. During this time period, the configuration of conditions and environment are changing. It could be caused by a lack of inputs, a fault in the power supply or production elements, or escalation of electric voltage, and so on. Each change requires an adequate system reaction to provide adaptation. If the changes are expected, the system can be prepared for them and after that; it also can have a suitable reaction. The situation is different when a rapid change has a higher than expected value. During this situation, the system can have an inappropriate reaction and, following that complications or crisis may arise. Basically, the crisis is created due to:

- ♦ unexpected and large negative situation,
- ♦ unmanaged control.

A. Unexpected and Large Negative Situation

An unexpected situation is a situation which cannot be predicted. The complications are created by a negative event of large scale (for example, natural disasters, the sharp fall in the price of the shares on the stock exchange, large-scale attack of an unknown computer virus, and so on). The system is not prepared for these changes, because they are not frequent and the prevention is economically unbearable. The system should be prepared for these negative situations. Managing the crisis is based on minimization of the influence of

the negative situation and also on system recovery. Crisis management is a special kind of management created for managing and overcoming the crisis. The activation of new forces and equipment is a basic crisis measure.

B. Unmanaged Control

The nature of the crisis arising is based on the unmanaged control. The crisis usually includes periods (stages) of latent symptoms, acute, chronic and resolved/unresolved crisis. In the stage of latent symptoms, the accumulation of unresolved problems happens. If the managing system is not catching up or is not solving the crisis symptoms, the crisis comes out. In the acute stage, problems culminate. The unsolved problems accumulate, too. The control system should start solving these problems slowly. A breakpoint of the situation is then reached. This breakpoint is based on the capacity of the system, especially on the control system. The crisis is eliminated if the system is capable of activating and ensuring plenty of resources for appropriate measures. The crisis management has been activated, too. The crisis management has to act fast and has to be effective enough to solve the crisis without harming the elements of the complex. In crisis, we usually do not have enough relevant information. So, crisis solving must be done during an unclear situation. Knowledge and experience, obtained from previous crisis, plays a key role in managing complicated situations. Decisions usually have irreversible implications. The systems have to be prepared for crisis and also have to make the plans for eliminating the crisis situation. At the same time, they should solve the crisis immediately in the stage of latent symptoms. This ensures avoidance of crises.

C. Relations between Crisis and Safety and Security

The crisis theory and the theory of safety and security represent the common form of scientific knowledge, which gives the systematic view about laws and main substantial relations, reasons and conclusions of special types of negative effect affecting reference objects. These negative effects are crisis and security incidents. Both of them have negative effects for the reference object. The reason why negative effects happen is different in each case. The key reason of crisis is the unmanaged control and the key reason of security incident is the objective existence of danger and intentional, unintentional or accidental emergence of safety and security incidents. The common signs of crisis and safety and security incidents include:

- ♦ a negative effect for the reference object,
- ♦ arising due to changes in the reference object and its inputs,
- ♦ the fact that overcoming of complications requires a specific type of management,
- ♦ the fact that the size of the impact can be minimized by prevention and repression,
- ♦ the usage of the risk theory as the basic theory for its managing and overcoming.

The different signs are:

- ♦ difference in the nature of arising,
- ♦ security incidents happens suddenly, but a crisis usually comes gradually.

Disclosure of security breaches lies in the objective existence of threats and intentional, negligence or accidental exposure. The security incident emerges due to the chaotic evolution. It can be a cause of negative interaction and also as creation of damage. The crisis is based on an unmanaged control of changed conditions. Both theories have many common points, but their basics are different. Crisis can cause security incidents and also security incidents can cause crisis. On one side, the economic crisis leads to increasing criminality and also, on the other side, a security incident such as an attack on oil pipeline can cause an energy crisis, for example. There are relations between them. In practice, the safety or security is ensured continuously. On the other hand, the crisis is solved only at the time it arises.

Causality and its relation theory of safety and security

The causality is a scientific discipline which researches relations between cause and effect. The term causality has evolved from the Latin word „causa“. The cause is relation, where cause and effect are mutually connected. The law of causality determines that anything that happens has at least one cause, and also any cause has future consequences. The same causes create the same effects. It is structured by a causal relationship (causal nexus). Causality is an expression of the relationship between two events, where one of them raises and the second is called the "cause". Basically the reason is the term, which causes effect. Causality is key for the theory of safety and security. It allows establishing a logic chain of causes of security or safety violation. From this point of view of safety or security, there is inadequate position of causality. A role of causality is neglected. It is important to focus on this problem.

Background for theory of safety and security

The theory of safety and security should follow up to the crisis theory, the risk theory, the causality and the CSSS. Based on the analysis of the above mentioned theories, the theory of safety and security exploits the following findings and conclusions:

A. The Copenhagen School of Security Studies

The CSSS' benefit is a conceptual security framework which gives the answers to basic questions: "Whose security?", „Security of which values?“, „Security against what? " The response is the notion of a "reference object", which refers to an object whose security is assessed. Another benefit is the list of threats affecting the reference object. A sector approach to decomposition of the security environment is another benefit. Sectors refer to areas where security issues should be identified and addressed. If there is an accumulation and a repetition of security problems, a new kind of security is created for its solution. The last benefit is specifications of the securitization process. This concept shows how the problem becomes a security issue. The problem then comes to the security agenda. Security issues are those that have to reference the object's existential influence and impact.

B. Risk Theory

The risk theory offers to the theory of safety and security a basic methodological approach to the identification and assessment of safety and security problems by identifying threats, risk analysis and the choice of method of risk management. Risk theory gives to theory of safety and security the basic terms. Basic terms are a threat, risk, damage and impact.

C. Crisis Theory

The crisis theory is closely linked to the theory of safety and security by managing the breach consequences. Most security breaches get a reference object into a crisis and it is important to overcome it.

D. Causality

The causality deals with the causes of safety and security breaches. The theory of safety and security can utilize the types of causes of safety and security breaches. It is the intent, negligence and chance.

The above described theories offer to the theory of safety and security new knowledge and themes. The newly created theory of safety and security can draw from this knowledge. The theory of safety and security can be created in several ways. Based on the conclusions, the theory of safety and security

will be established by generalization and induction. Such a theory should be created in the form of postulates creating a systematic, generalized picture of the essential patterns and contexts of safety and security, its breaching and ensuring.

Conclusion

Nowadays, there is an effort to create the theory of safety and security. The newly created theory of safety and security would provide a common framework for all kinds of safety and security. The problem of safety and security has been addressed for a long time, and a theory of safety and security should utilize already established theories and theoretical discipline. Based on long-term research, we identified fundamental theories which should establish a background for the theory of safety and security. These theories can be used as source for creating the theory of safety and security. The theories discussed include the Copenhagen school of security studies, risk theory, crisis theory and causality. The newly created theory of safety and security is based on a generalization of the findings from the already established kinds of safety and security. This theory will be realized in the form of postulates.

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THE ROLE OF CYBER SECURITY IN URBAN SOCIETY

Abstract: *In the conditions of modern and urban living, the security balance within society has drastically changed. If in the past the term security was perceived as the absence of a direct threat posed by firearms or physical force, the modern way of life generates new forms of threats that are imaginary, highly dangerous, and can occur with the use of a work computer or smart technology.*

The functioning of urban society is based on the expansion of smart technology, which depends on every segment of the critical infrastructure of society and citizens, which imposes the need to build secure cyber space.

The role of cyber security as a national security segment of every society is incorporated into national legislation and exercised through competent institutions directly tasked with detecting, neutralizing and repairing damage caused by particular cyber threats, is challenge that deserves special attention and will be interpreted through the content of the specific scientific paper.

Key words: cyber security, cyberspace, security balance, urban society, critical infrastructure.

INTRODUCTION

The urban way of life is a specific and complex feature of the modern world dominated by developed technical-technological and information technology. The development of technology is one of the reasons for the introduction of the term "urban society" for which many well known authors have given their opinion. Unlike the rural way of life, the urban style makes the way the citizens function elegant. Many processes of the citizens in the daily responsibilities are facilitated, so the urbanization with high speed has affected more than half of the world population and the process lasts a little over fifty years.

However, urbanity has its weaknesses which in conditions when we discuss digitalization and automation can be fatal in relation to many segments of social life.

Information systems are one of the pillars of urban society. The daily activities of the institutions cannot be imagined without a computer or a "smart device".

The information systems contain diversified data and information that refer to the citizens as individuals but also to the state system and even to the security services in the society and they are safely exchanged through the Internet, with special monitoring by the services responsible for cyber protection.

This is of particular interest to various criminal structures and even governments of states that are willing to intercept and steal or misuse data relating to a state, a citizen institution. Entry into another's information space, system or network in the modern professional literature is defined as cybercrime and the consequences of this type of crime have an inconceivable harmful impact, regardless of who they are directed against.

Given the fact that urban society is based on information technology, it is vulnerable and a constant target for cyber attacks and the destruction of information systems. The dependence of the military, security, health and other facilities in the society on the Internet additionally complicates and endangers the security if they are the target of a cyber attack.

This type of modern threat is of great interest to many researchers, although the field of cyber security and cybercrime is infinitely large and offers a wide range of research. The implementation of appropriate methodological approaches in the specific research will give a clear indicator of the impact of cyber security in the urban society and will determine the degree of impact of cyber security in achieving the basic functioning of society, to guarantee the necessary level of security of institutions and citizens. The results of the research will be interpreted as conclusions at the end of the paper which will give its scientific contribution and will solve a certain security dilemma regarding the subject title.

1. CONCEPT AND MEANING OF SYBER SECURITY AND THE CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

The term cyber security refers to the security in cyberspace and it is the space (information network) that is needed for them to function. Cyber means everything that refers to computers, the Internet, mobile devices and other smart devices connected to a network. Cyberspace is full of critical information whether it is privately owned or a government institution. Today's way of

communication implies unimaginably large exchange of data and information through cyberspace. That is why the security of that information is essential in their transmission from the starting point to the end user (Mitevski and Spasov, 2019).

In other words, cyber security is the application of technologies, processes and controls to protect systems, networks, programs, devices and data from cyber attacks. It aims to reduce the risk of cyber attacks and protect against unauthorized use of systems, networks and technologies. (<https://www.itgovernance.co.uk/what-is-cybersecurity>, 24/08/2020).

Other relevant sources describe cybersecurity as the application of technologies, processes, and practices designed to protect networks, devices, programs, and data from attack, damage, or unauthorized access. Cyber security can also be called information technology security (<https://digitalguardian.com/blog/what-cyber-security>, 24.08.2020).

Obtrusion into computer systems allows criminals to access and manipulate personal, financial, commercial and government data. The commencement of computer viruses can completely disrupt the integrity of the data system. (Lyman.D.M. Potter.V.G. 2009).

The essential meaning of cyber security is best felt in the government, military, corporate, financial, and medical organizations, which collect, process, and store unprecedented amounts of data on computers and other devices. A significant portion of that data may be sensitive information, whether intellectual property, financial data, personal information or other types of data to which unauthorized access or exposure could have negative consequences. Organizations transmit sensitive data over networks and other devices while doing business, and cybersecurity describes the discipline dedicated to protecting that information and the systems used to process or their storage. (<https://digitalguardian.com/blog/what-cyber-security>, 24.08.2020).

Cybersecurity is important because smartphones, computers and the Internet are now an integral part of modern life, so it is difficult to imagine how they would work without them. From online banking and shopping, to email and social networking, it's more important than ever to take steps that can prevent cybercriminals from keeping our accounts, data and devices. (<https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/section/about-ncsc/what-is-cyber-security>,24.08.2020).

Critical infrastructure is a set of systems, networks and tools that are essential to ensure their continued operation to ensure the safety of a given nation, its economy and the health or safety of the public. Although critical

infrastructure is similar for all the nations, as a result of basic living conditions, the infrastructure considered critical, may vary depending on the needs, resources, and level of development of a nation. (<https://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/critical-infrastructure>, 24.08.2020).

In the analysis made on the available literature that determines the critical infrastructure, it is identified with the elementary infrastructure of the state on whose survival depends the survival of the state. In a broader sense, the term critical infrastructure most often refers to technical and technological facilities, energy facilities, military facilities and all other facilities that are vital for the survival of the state and the creation of a safe and normal life of the citizens. The available literature says that the critical infrastructure in different countries in the world covers different capacities, but it all depends on the level of development and equipment of the countries. In this line of view, in one country in the world, critical infrastructure can be a simple source of drinking water, while in another, critical infrastructure includes cosmodromes and nuclear facilities. Many authors put critical infrastructure in the function of protecting citizens, institutions, welfare and livelihoods, while others describe it as a factor that imposes the need for security, additional funding, human resource training, and so on. In contemporary literature, critical infrastructure is emphasized as an integral part of urban society. This strong connection arises from the characteristics of modern society such as: heterogeneity, mobility, social control mechanisms, openness and others.

2. SYBER SECURITY POLICY

Every country in the world is building its own cyber security policy within its capabilities. Cyber security policies are usually built at the national level within the country, but they are absolutely inapplicable if they are incompatible with international cybersecurity policies and are often based on a set of international principles and rules. Cybersecurity policies must also be compatible with national or international legislation. These policies are created in the long run and within them are defined the competent institutions that will guarantee cyber security with their scope of competencies, preventive mechanisms and disciplinary policy.

In the concept of good security sector management, security policies aim not only to ensure the security of the state, but also the security of the individual. Applying this approach to the Internet means that cyber security should strive to create a secure Internet space for all. To achieve this, cyber

security policy must cover a range of issues, from protecting state integrity and guaranteeing human rights, to enforcing the law and preventing crimes committed in, or using, cyberspace. Therefore, cyber security management questions should not only address the issue of maintaining Internet security and resilience, but also building security and fostering Internet capabilities. Therefore, the first step in preparing a successful cyber policy and strategy is to define security goals and determine what it means to maintain security and build Internet security for the state and its citizens. (<https://www.dcaf.ch,28/08/20>).

Ten years ago, cyber security was not mentioned often. There have been discussions about information and communication technology (ICT) security, but not about computer security. With the increasing networking of systems and infrastructure and the spread of new technologies such as smartphones, the focus and discussions have increased. This was also necessary due to the increasing share of threats, both qualitative and quantitative. In this period, hardly any country had a computer security strategy aimed at amortizing the new challenges coming from the new virtual world. (Handbook CSDP Volume I 3rd edition, 2017).

The European Union for a long time already has been developing activities related to computer security and electronic communications (European Commission, 1993; Council of the European Union, 1997) and only in the last decade it has been decided to develop a fully - covert approach to cyber security. Faced with the growing number of cyber attacks on individuals, companies and critical infrastructures, the European Union discourse has slowly begun to reflect the idea that the social dependence of technology is a rapidly growing security risk that needs to be properly addressed. This change in discourse has resulted in an attempt by the European Union to decide on support and cooperation in the field of cyber security. Given that cyberspace and cybercriminals are not limited by national borders, the European Union has created a logical and effective solution to the Member States' challenge on how best to deal with cyber security threats (Council of the European Union, 2005). The move was noted with the adoption of legal measures, such as the Council Framework Decision of 2005 on attacks against information systems and the creation of new infrastructures, including the creation of the Agency for Network and Information Security in 2004 and the European Center for Information Technology cybercrime at Europol, in 2013 (Carrapico and Barrinha, 2018).

In terms of security policies, cyber security is one of the most important priorities of the European Union, which is integrated in parallel with other European union policies. Capacity building is supported by creating opportunities to fund cybersecurity research and innovation (€ 600 million for 2014-2020), further developing national infrastructure (ensuring, for example, that each Member State has centers for cyber security) and the establishment of a public – private partnership aimed and enabled a digital Single Market. (Carrapico and Barrinha, 2018).

One of the ways in which the European Union implements its cybersecurity policy is to create a cybersecurity strategy whose primary purpose is to build an effective cybersecurity mechanism.

The period before bringing up the Strategy, the European union had already several Council conclusions and a great number of other documents for sectoral politic themes, the result of which included air, justice and cybercrime alignment policies. The European Union Cyber Security Strategy 2013, which took the form of a joint communication entitled "European Union Cyber Security Strategy: Open, Safe and Secure Cyberspace", was one of the first joint efforts of the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for foreign air policy and security in the post-Lisbon era in building cyber security (Klaar-Tiirmaa, 2018).

In order to follow the international trends, the Republic of North Macedonia permanently works on strengthening the national capacities for dealing with cyber threats and improving the cyber security at the national level are of priority importance for the country. The National Cyber Security Strategy of the Republic of North Macedonia is a strategic document that should serve as a guidepost for the development of a safe, secure, reliable and resilient digital environment, supported by quality capacities, based on trust and cooperation in the field of cyber security (National Cyber Security Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia 2018-2022).

3. THE NEED OF CYBER SECURITY IN URBAN SOCIETY

If we start from the fact that people today live a digital life, we will come to the conclusion that most of the processes in modern human life are related to cyber technology. The development of medicine has reached a point where certain "smart" electronics replace or complement the work of some organs in the human body, a general conclusion is imposed that in modern society

a high level of cyber security is required. Urban society also performs its functions with the help of information technology, ie through the Internet.

Modern economies are highly dependent on critical infrastructure, including transportation, communications, and electricity and the Internet. The European Union's Secure Information Society Strategy, adopted in 2006, addresses cybercrime. However, attacks on the private or governmental IT system in European Union member states have given it a new dimension, as a potentially new economic, political and military weapon. More needs to be done in this area, to explore a comprehensive approach to the EU, to raise awareness and to strengthen international cooperation. (<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/30823/qc7809568enc.pdf>)

The most commonly used tools that threaten cyber security are malware such as viruses, trojans, adware and spyware to gain access to systems, track activities and collect data, and more. The effects of these attacks are numerous. Individuals can suffer financial losses, but can also be victims of theft of personal and sensitive information, as well as identity. Companies that are victims of cybercrime face potential financial losses, as well as losses of sensitive business information, patent data or personal data of their clients and users, which can indirectly lead to serious consequences for reputation. Public institutions and non-profit organizations can become victims of extortion or theft of personal data of users of their services. (<https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/CyberPolicyToolMACEDONIAN%28Cyrillic%29.pdf>, 28/08/20).

The modern information society is highly dependent on the availability of free and secure cyber access to the Internet. This dependence occurs in almost all areas of our lives, including, of course, in the foreign and defense policy pursued by the European Union, as well as its activities, including civilian and military missions and operations. They use it from the digital world and their success is directly related to the availability of confidential information and the functional communication and information systems. Cyberspace and the Internet are increasingly becoming a new battleground. Cyber-attacks are part of everyday business, and at the same time they are becoming more sophisticated, ranging from massive counter-attacks to advanced and complex intrusions aimed at collecting, stealing, encrypting or manipulating and compromising information. Cybercriminals know the Internet addiction and have noted the weaknesses of social systems, using the cyber domain to gain an asymmetric advantage and achieve economic, political or military goals

anonymously and unadjusted, remaining below the threshold of armed conflict. The networks of the European Union institutions are constantly under constant monitoring and although there is still no evidence of their abuse, operations and missions are already facing a growing dimension of cyber attacks. Today's conflicts increasingly support disinformation campaigns based on social media or through destabilization operations with cyber-attacks on sectors that make it possible. Cyber-activities must be considered as part of all future scenarios, thoroughly explored and integrated into the wider crisis response, and taken into account in the fight against hybrid threats. (Handbook CSDP Volume I 3rd edition, 2017).

The presented facts only confirmed the dependence of urban living on cyber technology on an individual and social level and detected the need to build effective cyber protection mechanisms. If we start from the fact that security has no price, it is a clear indicator that maintaining high level of cyber security is a complex, complex and expensive process, because this process of building cyber security must be infinite and efficient..

4. THE NEED FOR CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION

The terminological interdependence of the terms critical infrastructure and urban society is evident. The analysis shows that urban society cannot be imagined without critical infrastructure, a fact that imposes the conclusion that the protection of critical infrastructure in urban society means the protection of urban society.

Effective protection of critical infrastructure requires communication, coordination and cooperation at the national level. This is best achieved by nominating contact points for critical infrastructure protection in each Member State, who should coordinate internally on critical infrastructure protection issues, as well as with other Member States and the Commission (Council of the European Union, Directive on the identification and designation of European critical infrastructures and the assessment of the need to improve their protection, paragraph 17). This is followed by a process of direct implementation of critical infrastructure protection in three steps: 1. identification; 2. determination; 3. protection. The identification of the potential critical infrastructure is done by the sector holders (competent ministries) in cooperation with regulatory agencies. Once these interested parties have identified potential critical infrastructure within their sector, they compile the list and submit it to the government for confirmation.. In the next step,

the government reviews the proposed lists of potential critical infrastructures and decides on an individual critical infrastructure or all of the proposed ones. That decision is then communicated to the critical infrastructure owner or manager and to the relevant ministry or regulatory agency. Upon receipt of the decision, all the above actors are obliged to communicate and cooperate with each other. The first level of cooperation is to see if there is an operational security plan and if it is appropriate for the level of protection of critical infrastructure. It is also necessary to appoint and liaise with security liaison officers who will perform relevant tasks between the relevant ministry, critical infrastructure, regulatory agencies, and cooperate with other stakeholders in this process and the critical infrastructure protection system. (Mitrevska, Mileski, Mikac, 2019).

Prevention is the best mechanism to protect critical infrastructure from cyber attacks. Prevention means taking a series of planned and tactically set steps at the national level that will build an effective cyber protection system. The creation of an efficient cyber protection system imposes the need for unification or standardization with already proven cyber protection systems that have given an effective response in the countries in the region and beyond. National legislation is one of the pillars for building an effective cyber protection mechanism.

As previously stated, the national legislation needs to be synchronized with the international legislation that determines this issue because cyber threats can arise from a country thousands of kilometers away from the country where the cyber attack takes place and in identifying the perpetrators will be involved. and the international community.

From the above, the fact arises that the creation of an effective model for the protection of critical infrastructure imposes the need for systematic analysis of risks and threats in the region and beyond, analysis of available world expert literature, experience of developed European and world countries and of course financial resources. for the implementation of ideas. Investing in a mechanism for cyber protection of critical infrastructure gives the perception of an expensive investment, but if we take into account the damage that may result from a cyber attack on a certain critical infrastructure, it absolutely justifies the invested funds.. The severity of cyber attacks can affect the world economy but can also cost lives.

CONCLUSIONS

Cyber security is vital for the normal functioning of modern urban societies given their information-technical dependence.

The risks and threats posed by the cyber sphere threaten the critical infrastructure that is an integral part of any urban society.

Urban societies around the world in order to achieve the basic function emphasize sophisticated and highly developed information technology, which makes them highly vulnerable to cyber risks and threats.

The consequences that can be caused by cyber risks and threats are directly reflected on the citizens and institutions that are part of the urban society.

In order to increase the level of cyber security, urban societies need to build an effective cyber protection system that will be effective, standardized with the highly developed world cyber protection systems, ie to build their long-term cyber protection policy.

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On line resources:

- <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/about-enisahttps://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/cyber-exercises/cyber-europe-programme>,
- <https://www.itgovernance.co.uk/what-is-cybersecurity>,
- <https://www.nsa.gov/What-We-Do/Cybersecurity/Advisories-Technical-Guidance/>,
- <https://www.ncsc.gov.uk/section/about-ncsc/what-is-cyber-security>,
- <https://www.fda.gov/medical-devices/digital-health/cybersecurity>,
- <https://digitalguardian.com/blog/what-cyber-security>,
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- <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/30823/qc7809568enc.pdf>,

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FURTHER IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON EUROPEAN SECURITY. LEGAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES FOR EUROPEAN SOCIETIES, LAW ENFORCEMENT, SECURITY AND DEFENCE INSTITUTIONS

Abstract: *Increasingly complex and complicated strategic security environment of the beginning of the 21st century will be likely to be characterised by further global and regional instability in failed or failing states and regional crises and conflicts. The adversaries that arise from these situations will display asymmetric and hybrid threats to states, including trans-national entities such as terrorist networks, organized crime networks and paramilitaries, each seeking to utilise a wide range of asymmetric capabilities and methods to challenge the ability of state security and defence institutions to deal with the threat. (Rublovskis, 2013:126) Therefore, terrorism will highly likely remain one of the most important and dangerous security threats for European societies and, subsequently, for European law enforcement, security and defence institutions. The rapid development and scope of simultaneous security challenges such as collapse of a statehood, prolonged civil wars, uncontrolled migration, further radicalization of societies, further development of organized crime networks, cyber threats, biological threats, CBRN threats-all of abovementioned security challenges will further contribute to the rise of terrorism within the security environment of the 21st century. There is obvious need to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of institutional framework of the security sector, fundamental reassessment of legal framework of organizations involved into counterterrorism (CT) activities. According to NATO's Military Concept for Defence Against Terrorism, CT includes all preventive, defensive and offensive measures taken to reduce the vulnerability of forces, individuals, and infrastructure against terrorist threats and/or acts, to respond to terrorist acts. (NATO's Military Concept for Defence Against Terrorism, 2016:1) Moreover, there is obvious need for further criminalization of actions which support individual terrorists and terrorism networks, including ideological, informational, financial, operational and logistic support. Further development of intelligence early warning systems and further involvement of military capabilities into direct actions against the terrorist networks should be considered.*

Key Words: Europe, Terrorism, Threats, Security, Institutions

1. Introduction

The strategic environment in which states and, subsequently, state law enforcement, security and defence institutions will operate over the near future will be characterised by wide scope of simultaneous security challenges and further development of terrorist networks with their ability to display asymmetric and hybrid threats to states and societies. State and non-state actors will seek to combine conventional, irregular, and asymmetric methods concurrently, often in the same time and space across the combined domains of air, land, sea, space and cyberspace. (Multiple Futures Project, 2009: 37) These adversaries will seek the opportunity to engage both- civilian and military targets by using emerging technology, sophisticated conventional weaponry, as well as simple but effective means to deliver the most efficient material and psychological damage possible. (Rublovskis,2013:126) In the 21st century security environment, terrorism has become a far more important security issue as terrorists, unlike their 20th century predecessors, are more willing to use weapons of mass destruction (WMD) against civilians. (Bobbitt,2008:9) The prospect of WMD in the hands of globally networked, cunning irregular enemy is indeed a nightmare without close precedent.(Gray,2005:220). Subsequently, abovementioned security environment will further impact the effectiveness and efficiency of the institutional framework of security and defence sector. Moreover, one would argue that further fundamental transformation of global and regional security architecture has been developing, and, thereafter, the ongoing decrease of Europe's ability to shape and impact various security challenges, both- beyond the Europe's borders and within Europe itself. (Munich Security Report 2020:7)

The aim of this paper is to analyse further impact of terrorism on European societies and institutional framework of law enforcement, security and defence organizations, as well as legal, institutional and operational challenges of the security sector. One would mention specific security risks and challenges for European societies and institutions of the security sector. Firstly, further radicalization of European societies after migration crisis of 2015. Secondly, challenges to social order and public safety due to radicalization of the societies and development of exported and homegrown terrorism. Thirdly, relatively slow and largely ineffective legal, institutional and operational approach of law enforcement, security and defence institutions to effectively address increasing threat of terrorism. Therefore, previously mentioned security

challenges, including rise of terrorism, lead to discussion of several areas which are in urgent need of improvement of effectiveness and efficiency of institutional framework of entire security sector. It further leads to fundamental reassessment of effectiveness of legal, institutional and operational framework of organizations involved into counterterrorism (CT) activities.

2. European Security Environment in the Beginning of the 21st Century

Security environment of the beginning of the 21st century in Europe has created rapid and fundamental security challenges, including increased terrorism threat to internal and external security of Europe. Further radicalization of European societies, threat to social order, public safety and critical infrastructure, legal, operational and institutional challenges of law enforcement, security and defence institutions- these challenges will further fundamentally impact European security environment in near future. Taking into account increasingly fundamental differences among European countries on legal, institutional and operational approaches to defence against terrorism, it is obvious that it will be difficult to deliver one common policy on counterterrorism. These security challenges will especially and specifically apply to small states of Europe, as small states depend heavily for their own security and defence arrangements upon a politically powerful and military capable global actor, or upon a security and defence organization where such an actor plays prominent role. (Rublovskis and Associates, 2013:14) It is obvious that external factors shape a small state security mentality. (Vayryanen, 1997:98)

One would argue that political leadership of some European countries failed to address timely and decisively urgent security challenges which arose from uncontrolled migration process across whole Europe in summer of 2015. Inability of European military, police, security and border guard institutions to deal with the border control on EU external borders and/or European state borders, poor performance of police institutions to maintain public order and safety, inability of security institutions to prevent terrorist attacks in Europe, intrusion of individual terrorists into military, police and security institutions- all those examples revealed foregoing vulnerabilities of European institutional framework of law enforcement, security and defence institutions.

Yet another strategic challenge for Europe is fundamental transformation of global and regional security architecture and further decrease of Europe's ability to shape and counter current and emerging security threats and challenges (Munich Security Conference Report, 2020:7). Far-reaching power

shifts in the world and rapid technological change contribute to a sense of anxiety and restlessness in Europe. The world is becoming less European and less Western. But, more importantly, Europe itself may become less Western. This is what we call “*Westlessness*”. (Munich Security Conference Report, 2020: 6). For the past decades, the answer to the question what it was that kept Europe and the West together was straightforward: a commitment to liberal democracy and human rights, to a market based economy, and to international cooperation and international institutions. Today, the meaning of the West is increasingly contested again and one is witnessing “the decay of the West” as relatively cohesive geopolitical configuration. (Munich Security Conference Report, 2020: 6) The President of France Emmanuel Macron stated in August of 2019 that “we were used to an international order that had been based on Western hegemony since the 18th century. Things change and as the result of these changes is also the emergence of new powers whose impact we have probably underestimated for far too long” (Munich Security Conference Report, 2020: 7) As the result, Europe’s ability to safeguard its security and prosperity and conduct an independent foreign policy with the necessary means is already being challenged on various fronts. It is obvious that if Europe will not learn the language of power, it would disappear “geographically” (The Economist, 2019) or have others to determine its fate (Munich Security Conference Report, 2020:36)

The lack of coordination and fundamental differences over Europe’s strategic direction between France and Germany, United Kingdom’s departure from European Union, further disagreements on European policies towards the United States, Russian Federation and China, as well as fundamentally new threat of COVID-19 outbreak in Europe in February/ March of 2020 have shown increased vulnerabilities of Europe within military, social, economic and political sectors of security. Furthermore, the disintegrated efforts of European states to address COVID-19 threat, and lack of leadership of various institutions of the EU have further complicated security environment, for example, closure of internal borders within the EU, leading to the potential outbreak of violence and threat to public security and safety on the certain borders. Further spreading of COVID-19 has already put extreme pressure on law enforcement, security and defence institutions of European states, and the limit of this pressure is not reached yet. Taking into account abovementioned aspects, it is, however, obvious that Europe and the West as such, is in retreat, in decline, and under constant attack- both from within and from

without (Munich Security Conference Report,2020:22) One would conclude that rapid and simultaneous security threats and challenges, including recent outbreak of COVID-19, have created an unprecedented problems for security environment in Europe, increasing pressure for military, political, social, economic and environmental sectors of security, and, subsequently, unprecedented challenges for law enforcement, security and defence institutions. Moreover, terrorist and organized crime networks will be able to maintain their operational readiness and possibility to plan, supply and act within increasingly complex and complicated security environment.

3. Terrorism and Other Emerging Security Threats in Europe

Taking into account previously mentioned security environment of the 21st century and current and emerging security threats for states and societies of Europe, one would argue that terrorist and organized crime networks will remain one of most important security threats in the future. Due to the persistent global and regional urbanization, these networks will increasingly likely to utilise urban areas where uniformed paramilitaries, insurgents, terrorists and criminal organizations can use the population and terrain to their advantage. (Rublovskis, 2013:127) Subsequently, for weaker insurgent, terrorist, and/or organized criminal groups that lack the capacity or inclination to control urban territory or take state's security forces head on, cities still offer an array of lucrative, high value, high- visibility soft targets, including airports, metro stations, shopping malls, hotels, concert halls, restaurants, and religious and cultural sites- all of which are endowed with practical and symbolic value. (Konaev, 2019: 20). Bearing in mind technological development and increasingly possible access to advanced technologies and sophisticated tactics, relatively small groups or even individuals are capable of causing disruption to an entire society and have global effect. (Rublovskis, 2013:127) Within current security environment , the size of an effective terrorist, organized crime or paramilitary group has shrunk. It is technically feasible for a small group or even an individual to cause mass destruction or mass disruption. Subsequently, an essential requirement of the state is protection of its people's live and property.(Enders and Sandler, 2006:24) Within current liberal democracy in the West, there are several factors conducive to terrorism, including freedom of association, which allows terrorists to form groups and networks, freedom of speech, which permits terrorists to spread dissent

through political wings, and freedom of movement which allows terrorists to plan and act rather rapidly. (Enders and Sandler, 2006: 24).

However, one would emphasize significant changes of terrorist network development in Europe since 2015. Obviously, those changes are direct result and outcome of uncontrolled migration of summer of 2015, which led to further ideological radicalization of societies in Europe, enhanced jihadist extremism in Europe, and, subsequently, created breeding ground and rapid development of right- wing extremism. There are number of cases when law enforcement institutions have arrested migrants who had planned to carry out terrorist acts in Europe, developed terrorist recruitment networks, like, for example *Najumuddin Faraj Ahmed* in Norway, or arrested perpetrators of terrorist acts like *Gokmen Tanis* who committed terrorist act in Utrecht, in the Netherlands in March of 2019. However, recent terrorist attacks in France and Vienna, Austria, in November of 2020, displays the ability of terrorist networks to carry out successful attacks within environment of COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, migrants remain one of communities of high degree of radicalization and potential to commit terrorist acts and/or support terrorist networks. On the other hand, right- wing extremism commonly refers to the act of supporting or committing violence based on the belief in one's supremacy, fierce nationalism, and /or opposition to government authority (Erin Miller, 2017:6). The main targets of the right-wing terrorist groups are migrants, other national and/or religious communities, and mainly left-wing politicians who support migration into Europe. Although most right-wing extremists conduct their attacks alone, for example, attacks in Christchurch, New Zeland perpetrated by *Brenton Harrison Tarrant* in March 2019, *Philip Manshaus* attack in Norway, in August of 2019, *Stephan Bellet's* attack in Halle, Germany, in October of 2019, *Tobias R.* Attack in Hannau - they are, however, increasingly embedded in transnational networks. These networks, such as *Die Harte Kern* in Germany, *Sonnenkrieg Division*, *COMBAT-18* in United Kingdom or *Soldiers of Odin* in Finland, rely on strong sense of common identity, based on ideological, national, religious identity and perceived need to protect it. This global " intellectual cohesion of ideas" (Farah Pandith, 2019:7) was evident in the manifestos and social media posts relesed by the perpetrators of Christchurch, El Paso, and Halle (Munich Security Conference Report, 2020: 62) Beyond the opportunities provided by social media and internet, the extreme right capitalizes on fears of demographic and socioeconomic change (Bruce Hoffman and Jacob Ware, 2019) as direct outcome of migration crisis in Europe in 2015. The fears that

right-wing extremists exploit have been nurtured by far-right nationalist parties. As such, far-right extremism is part of much broader problem: the rise of political actors who are mainstreaming radical views and are thereby eroding the fabric of Western liberal democracies from within (Sophie Gaston, 2017) On the other hand, left-wing terrorist networks, such as *ANTIFA*, have been instrumental in breakdown of social safety and security in the United States and Europe in May-August of 2020, and it means that further radicalization of the society is significantly increasing and it will, most probably, result in further activities of right-wing, left -wing, and jihadist networks.

One would argue that recent outbreak of global pandemic of COVID-19 which has devastating impact on Europe's political, economic and social security sectors could be considered as extremely important and fundamental security threat. Moreover, it is highly likely that current security environment which will be fundamentally impacted by further spread of COVID-19 and estimated consequences of it for political, economic, social, military and environmental sectors, will not significantly impact capabilities of terrorist and organized crime networks, at the same time, current security environment will put increasingly mounting pressure on law enforcement, security and defence institutions, legal framework they are operating within, operational rules of engagement (ROE's), operational techniques, tactics and procedures (TTP's), and Standing Operational Procedures (SOP's), Therefore, under current and, most probably, near future circumstances, one would argue that radicalization of societies will be persistent trend and both-jihadist and right-wing terrorist networks will further develop their ideological base, intelligence, logistic, recruitment, financial and operational capabilities. Moreover, left-wing terrorist networks will increasingly target public safety and security in both- the United States and Europe. Most probably, the role of ideological and operational leadership of terrorist networks will increase in the future.

4. Legal, Institutional and Operational Challenges for Law Enforcement, Security and Defence Institutions.

Taking into account abovementioned status of current security environment in Europe, emerging security threats and challenges, further development of terrorist networks, and role of terrorist network's leadership, one would foresee substantial legal, institutional, operational, and even moral challenges for law enforcement, security, intelligence and defence institutions. Obviously, several applicable categories to engaging terrorist networks, including their leadership:

1. Political and Governmental (including negotiations and amnesty),
2. Economic and Social (including freezing assets, removing grievances),
3. Psychological and Communicational (including psychological operations (PSYOPS)).
4. Military (including use of Special Operations Forces (SOF)),
5. Judicial and Legal,
6. Police and Prisons (including detention and interrogation),
7. Intelligence, counter-intelligence, and security services (including surveillance and infiltration). (Bjorgo, 2005:225)

It is highly likely that the most fundamental challenges for state security sector institutions will be the following:

Increase of criminalisation and prosecution of direct and indirect ideological, operational, financial and logistic support to terrorist networks,

1. Further development of procedures of investigation, prosecution and trial,
2. Limits of intelligence and surveillance operations,
3. Decrease of further radicalization of inmates in prisons
4. Use of targeted killings against high value targets in terrorist networks
5. Use of military personnel and capabilities, including Special Operations Forces (SOF) in conterterrorism (CT) actions, defensive (patrols, check points) and offensive (raids, targeted killings) operations.
6. Prevention of terrorist's infiltration and intrusion into law enforcement, security and military institutions,
7. Decrease of support from law enforcement state security and military perssonel for jihadist or right-wing extremist networks in Europe. Further challenge of right-wing radicalization within Law Enforcement, Security and Defence institutions.
8. Legal aspects of European citizens/current and former terrorist network fighters, for instance in Syria and/or Iraq.

The gathering and storage of terrorist propoganda materials and other useful information for planning and execution of terrorism acts has already been criminal offense in several European countries, however, United Kingdom has already used rather effectively this provision against individuals who gather, store and use propoganda materials and other useful information for support of terrorist networks. For instance, investigations, such as *Zakaria Yanaouri* case, trail process against *Aftab Khan* and *Mohammed Farrukh Yousif* which started in February of 2020 on abovementioned charges and process

against *Muhammad Abdur Raheem Kamali* and *Mohammed Abdullah al Faisal* which has ended in February of 2020 with subsequent sentences to jail.

The intelligence effort, essential to knowledge of a certain security environment will play an increasingly important role in order to ensure the fulfillment of the task list of security and defence organizations. The attaining information superiority and asserting control over the information environment is extremely important to facilitate decision-making. (Konaev, 2019:39) Bearing in mind different types and level of leadership of terrorist networks, it is extremely important for intelligence institutions to develop clear plans and direction, ensure gathering and collection of relevant information concerning all aspects of the activities of a terrorist network, including assessments of what would be the internal and external consequences, or impact on internal decision-making process, if certain leaders were targeted (Ganor, 2005: 49) Therefore, timely, comprehensive and effective gathering and analysis of intelligence information of all sorts (HUMINT, OSINT, SIGINT, IMINT and others) will remain as one of the most important activities of law enforcement, state security and defence organizations.

However, rather effective improvements within legal framework in European Union countries and United Kingdom in defence against terrorism which allows bring terrorists and their supporters to justice, and, subsequently, imprisonment still need substantial improvement. Individuals who have been sentenced to jail for commitment of acts of terrorism or terrorism-related crimes, still have the possibility to be released from jail before serving full time of sentence. However, there is clear evidence that number of individuals released before the end of their sentence, have been repeatedly involved into operational planning and execution of terrorist acts. Therefore, United Kingdom has changed legal framework in order to terminate the possibility for inmates which has been sentenced for terrorism-related crimes to be released before full sentence is served. One can conclude that sentenced terrorists in jails will highly likely remain one of the most important target audience of further radicalization and recruitment of inmates, for example, *Xeneral Imiuru* case in February of 2020 in Winchester prison.

One of most challenging and demanding issues from every aspect for law enforcement, state security and defence institutions will be targeted killings of high-value targets of terrorist networks and increasing involvement of military capabilities and personnel into offensive counter-terrorism actions, especially, if targeted killing is undertaken. Several countries are using mil-

itary personnel and capabilities in order to carry out successful individual offensive actions against terrorist and insurgent leadership of every kind and every level (Burleigh, 2008: 408) Targeted killings of *Ousama Bin Laden*, *Abu Bakr al Baghdadi*, and *Qasem Soleimani* are the most known targeted killings undertaken by a state. This approach require military institutions to become more irregular, and Special Operations Forces are the tip of the regular's spear (Gray, 2005:215). Bearing in mind that the list of Special Operations Forces main tasks includes special intelligence gathering and direct action, it is obvious that they are well suited to carry out intelligence collection, target analysis as well as direct actions against high -value targets within a counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism environment, against terrorist and insurgent networks and their leadership in particular, including targeted killing. However, there are at least several categories that define the target audience for these offensive options, with diferent legal frameworks:

1. Area of operation (domestic legal framework or operatio abroad),
2. Legal status of individual (citizen or non- citizen, combatant or non-combatant), (Ganor, 2005:112)

As previously mentioned, targeted killing as a spearhead of offensive activity within the context of government counter-terrorism policy and involvement of Special Operations Forces to carry out such action will be certainly on the agenda of political and military leadership of any state. Targeted killing action against the leadership of terrorist, insurgent or organised crime networks and direct action carried out by military personnel, especially Special Operations Forces, are the most challenging aspects of state counter- terrorism efforts which includes several key issues for consideration when targeted killing is planned and executed against selected high- value targets within terrorist or insurgent networks:

1. Moral,
2. Legal,
3. Measurement of the effectiveness of the offensive action,
4. Involvement of military personnel and capabilities (Ganor, 2005:109)

Prevention of infiltration and intrusion of terrorists and their supporters into law enforcement, state security and state defence institutions is also one of the most obvious and challenging tasks for these institutions. Since 2015, there have been numerous attempts of terrorists to target personnel of law

enforcement, security and defence institutions, for example, attempt of assault on police officers by *Mathias. R* in February of 2020 in Dieuze city in France, as well as attempts to infiltrate and intrude into personnel of state security sector,

Yet another challenge for law enforcement, security and defence institutions will be increase of both-jihadist and right-wing radicalization and extremism within the personnel of these organisations. This issue is increasingly challenging and cause substantial security threat for society because personnel of state security sector has substantial training, experience and knowledge of weapons, law enforcement tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs), and the ability to organize and train paramilitary extremist organizations. This trend is ongoing since migration crisis in Europe in 2015, and one would argue that right-wing radicalization of law enforcement, state security and defence personnel is a result of failure of European political leadership to address security threats in timely and efficient manner as well as inability of European legal framework, law enforcement, security and defense institutions to cope with security threats caused by uncontrolled migration of 2015. Since 2015 number of personnel of law enforcement, state security and military institutions have been detained in United Kingdom, Germany and France on suspicions of their contacts and links to right-wing and jihadist extremist networks, for example, a number of French police officers were detained in October 2019 on suspicion of their link to jihadist network, *Mikael Harpon* case who converted to Islam 18 months before he attacked and killed five of his police fellow officers in October 2019 in Paris Police Headquarters, *Lisa Smith*- former officer of Irish Armed Forces who converted to Islam and joined ISIS in Syria in 2015, *Franco A*-former officer of German Army who planned to carry out right-wing inspired terrorist attacks, and *Marco. Gross* - former German Police SWAT officer who had links with right-wing network *Nordkreuz* which consisted of active duty and former military and police officers, also from German Army Special Forces unit KSK . Those are just few examples which confirm very worrying trend of radicalisation of law enforcement, state security and military personnel.

After military defeat of ISIS in Syria and Iraq, there are several thousand individuals with the citizenship of European states which were captured by Syrian and Iraqi regular forces or tried to return to the countries of their citizenship. This issue causes significant problem how to deal with these individuals. Whether they should be punished under Syrian or Iraqi legal framework, facing death penalty in many cases or should they be returned to European countries of their citizenship causing further radicalization

in Europe? Returning or returned individuals from Syria and Iraq have substantial potential for further radicalization of communities in Europe, organisation of further recruitment into terrorist networks, and necessary military experience to plan and execute terrorist acts. Especially, it applies to captured wives and children of ISIS fighters. It will be developing legal and moral dilemma for European countries how to deal with this issue. Moreover, this community has increased potential for further radicalization and could be involved in planning and execution of terrorist act, for example, *Saida El Mimouni* case in Belgium and *Safiya Amira Sheikh* case in United Kingdom, who planned to carry out an attack on St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and *Carla-Josephine S.* case and trail in Germany in April of 2020. However, development of anti-radicalisation programmes or cancellation of citizenship of European states for those who were captured by government forces in Syria and Iraq or those who have returned to Europe would be effective approach in order to diminish terrorism threat in Europe.

Finally, one has to conclude that challenges to legal, operational and institutional frameworks will fundamentally challenge the ability of law enforcement, state security and defence institutions to address security threats effectively and efficiently.

6. Conclusions

It has to be concluded that the increasingly complex and complicated security and defence environment of the 21st century will further demonstrate the importance of guarding against asymmetric and hybrid threats. Further development of advanced technologies and increased access to military technologies will substantially increase the operational capabilities of terrorist, insurgent and organised crime networks, and it will enable these networks become even more organized and more lethal. These organisations' networks will seek to exploit opportunities to further challenge the ability of states to deal successfully with those threats.

Further engagement of terrorist networks, including engagement of leadership of terrorist and insurgent networks will remain important issue. All possible opportunities and approaches should be addressed- negotiations, law enforcement activities, and direct action, including targeted killing. The main tasks of the state and, subsequently, its law enforcement, security and defence institutions will remain as follows- deter, disrupt, eliminate, punish, and target these networks and their operational ability and capabilities.

There is an obvious need for further criminalisation of actions which support individual terrorists and terrorism networks, including clear legal

definitions of ideological, informational, financial, operational, and logistic support in order to counter these activities. Secondly, there is a need of further development of criminal/protective intelligence, early warning systems, information gathering and analysis, further development of TTPs (Tactics, Techniques and Procedures), including counterterrorism raids, investigation, interrogation, prosecution and imprisonment of terrorists. Moreover, further involvement of military capabilities and military personnel, including Special Operations Forces (SOF) into joint and combined military, police and security services direct actions against terrorist networks, including targeted killings of high-value targets. Yet another fundamental security challenge will stem from an attempts of terrorists to infiltrate within state security sector institutions and radicalization of personnel of law enforcement, state security and defence institutions.

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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SECURITY IN BIO EMERGENCY SITUATIONS

Abstract: *The research project aims to identify government strategies for the security management of bio-emergency containment related to the spread of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) implemented in Italy in February and March 2020. In particular, it examines restrictions on social spaces and physical environments generating limiting behaviours and actions, following the numerous self-isolation provisions aimed at reducing the spread of the virus.*

In its daily implementation, the social construction of security based on the incorporation of values, ethics, obligations and limits is expressed through deeply rooted and reassuring psychological and relational behaviours. The adoption of elements limiting mobility (a destabilising element within the known and acquired social system) has led to a series of actions characterised by a reduction of the system of orientation and tolerance, and mistrust in interpersonal relations, generating phobias, fears and neuroses with respect to the social and civil environment.

The study of collective behaviour in extraordinary emergency situations can reveal profound modifications in interactive and relational dynamics generating perceptions of insecurity and social instability.

Key words: isolation, control, safety, tension, stigma

The social construction of security is inherent to the implementation of behavioural models that incorporate recognised and reiterated values and implementation models. Normal habits reveal not only involuntary learning processes, but also attest to their social validity and usefulness. The normality and recurrence of behaviours that become daily habits give social actors a feeling of security and management of daily actions reflected in stability models and adherence to sociocultural protocols that subjects tend to adopt and in which they see themselves. Sociocultural membership and the resulting respect of behavioural precepts reveal adherence to shared and chosen cultural models, providing a sense of reassurance and socio-emotional stability. This matrix of actions, thoughts, attitudes and inclinations is part of a broader social framework belonging to a shared, legitimised and socially

useful majority culture. A sense of belonging to a whole through cognitive congruence processes strengthens a collective values model and generates social security. This organisation is the fruit of organisations' and political groups' decision-making processes that address the problem of social responsibility and personal ethics. A society that is organised, but characterised by a breakdown of spatial and temporal boundaries, contributes to the organisational construction of social security though with vacillation between new demands for renewal and social and economic changes and more obsolete forms of conservation. This is a conflicting tendency in which the perception of security refers to a concept of cultural security of a more interpretative nature as a vehicle of social and organisational transmission. Although the concept of security initially had a more technical dimension, i.e. the observance and respect of administrative practices and responsible individual attitudes, the cultural approach can also contribute to the demolition of the sociocultural dimension of security, including connections between individual attitudes, organisational phenomena and institutionalised knowledge.

The culture of danger represents a mediation process and sharing among subjects to deal with limitations and problems in which each culture assigns cultural categories of danger, defining the use of random connections and the regularity of events. Each social context creates its own category of danger, orienting itself toward a specific value focus of sharing and involvement with the group itself. Indeed, the perception of danger may be felt by one group but not by another that considers the situation bearable. Acceptance or non-acceptance of a dangerous situation involves a cultural cognitive process constructed socially by a group. Therefore, the determination of the risk, its damage and the resulting level of tolerability of the conception and sharing of the risk itself is a subjective process. It is a social response that formalises elaborations through attitudes that are also dictated by institutions themselves. Institutions can determine or mitigate dangers and risks by encouraging new values to be shared. Therefore, because this constitutes a risk assessment, danger cannot be ascribed to a single action or a mechanistic evaluation, rather to a perceptive cultural dimension in a purely social environment.

Acceptance of a situation declared dangerous by institutions and specific scientific communities directs precise cultural dynamics and conditions of social interaction among individuals who are called to reflect on and negotiate their personal interests with those of the group in a democratic and collective manner, thereby reducing and limiting their scope of free action. Thus, each individual uses behavioural models incorporating values that, in turn, represent a value system in a cultural cognitive heritage that is not divisive but inclusive in nature. Alienation, or the violation of this interconnected and interdependent network, may generate a form dissonant with the system of membership. The sudden change in behavioural patterns and the reinterpretation of the value system creates an emotional state in subjects that can compromise their social psycho-equilibrium with themselves and with others. Social security requires a cultural cognitive consonance with the external society built on models and norms to which subjects refer and contemplate in their daily activities. Modifying and implementing new processes can modify the entire binomial relationship between humans and society, especially if those processes are imposed, causing destabilisation that can lead to fear, worry and anxiety.

The interruption in the linearity of events, the sudden modification of patterns and the obligation to restrict the social space destabilises the foundations on which subjects had previously built and nurtured a sense of security. The control of daily life through the repetition of actions consolidated over time and accepted by the community can be eliminated if the norms of space and social movement are changed.

The history of epidemic management offers reflections on social-cultural scenarios characterised by apparently *anaesthetised* actions. Individual freedoms are frozen through extraordinary decision-making powers legitimised by daily construction of an emotional backdrop and information flows that are very impactful and, in some ways, shocking (though necessary), affecting cultural and behavioural models. Detailed daily death and infection reports are a product of a strategic intent aimed at giving the pandemic a visual impact, causing a predictable emotional sharing, individual responsibility and social control (sociological creation of a state of insecurity and hostile and divisive orientations).

This is an asymmetric and top-down pact between institutions and citizens based on restrictions and necessary limitations that affect everyone democratically, imposing adaptation security protocols but also cultural and social levelling. It is a time in which judicial actions are suspended in the name of emergency and urgency, in which the state of necessity, spectacularised by the media, fuels the perception that the situation will never end. In the case of epidemic viral emergencies, this seemingly eternal danger requires limited scopes of movement. Space restriction, self-isolation and interrupted social interactions, characterised by mandatory social and physical distancing, alter the normal patterns of coexistence and intimacy between individuals, leading to phenomena of social stigmatisation.

Limiting social interactions due to emerging restrictions generates sudden and unplanned behavioural self-regulation that can generate feelings of inter-subject and social insecurity. New behavioural norms are modified and imposed, different from culturally incorporated and stabilising behavioural precepts. Mandatory adherence to new action parameters, limitations to the freedom of movement and interactional syncopes can generate anxiety and depression, even representing stress-causing situation of conflict. The temporary nature of isolation and the forced interruption of social relationships that feed and transmit cultural processes imply new repressive trajectories and behavioural codings that are inhibitory and, in some cases, also potentially aggressive.

There are psychosocial and cultural consequences to the abandonment of a shared, protective and secure socio-value scheme and the acceptance of an imposed, limiting and obstructive one. If prolonged, confinement weakens external ties and eliminates consolidated certainties, generating new feelings of fear and anxiety about a future characterised by doubts and professional uncertainty. This unexpected and destabilizing scenario feeds a sense of hopelessness that is difficult for subjects to adapt to and connect with.

Forced isolation requires a reorganisation of the daily routine to help subjects adapt and recreate a leisure and value-based scenario of comfort and stimulation. This gradual adaptation to a new model of solitude can encourage the use of the media to communicate with the outside world

and the establishment of new knowledge paths based on digital platforms, despite a slight and gradual weakening of external (forcibly interrupted) social ties. A dangerous habit of isolation known as *Hikomori* is a psychosocial condition in Japan in which adolescents isolate themselves in the digital world in response to a growing sense of inadequacy and incompleteness in relation to the outside world.

It is possible to become accustomed to social isolation through a strengthening of affiliations with a previously experienced and familiar digitally interconnected world that replaces the physical one. This can be gratifying for subjects, offering a greater sense of security. Distancing from social relationships and imposed closeness with the digital world can compromise communication and relationships, creating a new form of socio-affective gratification that substitutes digital ties for social ones.

This condition is also known as the *theory of sequestration* in which subjects bond with the world and context of segregation, imprisonment and exile in which they temporarily find themselves. *Stockholm syndrome* occurs when victims bond with their captors. So, the link is reversed and, in a sociological perspective, can lead those who have lived through time periods to adapt and experience new modes of sociality and value models of cultural reference. This new cultural-cognitive heritage can generate solitude, feeding dangerous forms of aggression toward other subjects in situations of closeness or violation of protective norms.

However, use of the digital world, including after a gradual return to social coexistence, is not necessarily the only possible behavioural option. The forced restriction of space can generate an active desire to return to a sense of normality by restoring and enhancing interactive and behavioural modes with exaggerated insistence and recklessness. This desire to return to normal can lead subjects to violate the new gradual and adaptive protocols, thereby compromising health protection measures.

Social isolation is a temporary condition dictated by emergency contexts and is believed to be necessary to protect health and social security. It is a context that is experienced in personal and subjective ways, making it difficult to establish and classify predefined and universal psychosocial definitions. The psychological implications can give rise to strong emotional tension, fear, disbelief, and neuro-vegetative and motor phenomena, given the sedentary lifestyle and the difficulty in practicing physical activity. It is no accident that

the reacquisition of spaces and the restoration of sociality can create a sense of rediscovery of free will and of one's personality that had been anaesthetised by social restrictions.

Emotional reactions to confinement can cause initial feelings of shock that are accompanied by fear, dismay and anger. This symptomatologic condition can later become resignation to the condition of prisoner. Physical and mental fatigue may be accompanied by despondency, distress and depression. Certain dissociative symptoms are also possible, in which subjects may seek to escape inside their minds to avoid the limiting condition. However, many people can also find renewed hope, though it may alternate with disillusionment and discouragement. While the initial phase of isolation may feature denial, shock and disbelief, the subsequent phase may involve traumatic depression with reactions of anger, apathy, insomnia, irritability and alarm.

However, the relationship between subjects and the surrounding environment may also be characterised by understanding and justification of the limitations, an awareness of the temporary nature of inactivity and asociality for the collective social good. Such a response represents an adaptation to the environment, valuing its characterizing elements. Moreover, driven by a spirit of survival, humans interact with their environment, rendering it as humane and welcoming as possible. A special relationship is created between the subject and the private context based on daily solidarity and the enhancement of spaces and environments. The easing of restrictions and the gradual return to sociality can undoubtedly trigger post-traumatic stress, sleep disorders and stress. Certain objects, odours and noises may cause subjects to relive moments of isolation. It is not easy to adapt to normal life and above all to reconnect with one's life.

Confinement is experienced as a form of captivity marked by time that seems never ending, in which subjects learn to adapt to a space that is limiting, developing sensory activities and rediscovering new attentions. Subjects tend to revise plans for their future based on uncertainties about work, intimate relationships and friendships.

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MODELS OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TERRORIST GROUPS AND THE MEDIA

Abstract: *The objective of this article is to more closely examine the models of relationships that can be established between a terrorist group and the media.*

This paper is going to investigate the role of media in terrorist environments. Particular consideration shall be given to terrorists' efforts to publicize their cause, their manipulation of mass communication, and the prospective impact of the new Media. Issues related to reporting terrorism including question about which incidents to report and how to report them. The concepts of information as power and media-oriented terrorism will be defined and explored as decisive reflections in understanding the role of media.

The purpose of this paper will be focused on the relationship between media coverage and terror attacks themselves, raising the question of whether increased coverage has an effect on the increased number of terrorist attacks. Terrorists use different types of media in a variety of ways, namely as an information instrument, to generate publicity and draw attention to their cause. The role of the media within the symbiotic correlation with terrorism can vary, however. While the media are always in some way linked to the idea that they support terrorism, the ways in which they can essentially aid terrorists in advancing a cause can take different characteristics.

The media has become a platform for terrorist communication in some respects, has inaccurate the threat sensitivity of terrorism and has unintentionally encouraged copycat terrorism. The type of this symbiotic relationship is frequently minimised by policy-makers. It is argued that we cannot truly understand terrorism in the twenty-first century – let alone counter it effectively – unless we also understand the processes of communication that underpin it.

In other words, it is the type of relationship between two groups involving mutual dependence where one party matches the other. There is, however, more than one type of models that can exist between terrorists and the mass media. The variety of causes, ideologies, and social and cultural conditioning factors that motivate diverse terrorist groups are evenly valid to the type of relationships that these groups create with the news media.

Introduction

Today's terrorists are well aware of the power of the media and manipulate them to their own advantage and need. The van attack that killed one and

left several injured near Finsbury Park mosque in north London in 2017 is the latest in a sequence of high-profile, low-tech terrorist attacks in major urban areas. Before this incident, a van and knife assault on London Bridge and in nearby Borough Market on June 3 shocked leaders and citizens, a similar attack in Westminster killed five, and on July 14, 2016, a terrorist slaughtered 86 in Nice, France, by plowing through a pedestrian walkway in a large cargo truck. Across the Atlantic, a driver killed one and injured several by attempting to run down pedestrians in New York City's Times Square last year, after which an Islamic State-affiliated media channel warned that there will be more vehicular attacks to come. To date, the Islamic State has produced guidance materials showing would-be terrorists how to kill with cars, trucks and knives (Miloshevska, Buzar, 2019).

Terrorist attacks in the US and in Europe have tended to target cities as symbolic and critical centres of power, as seen in New York City (2001), Madrid (2004), London (2005), Minsk (2011), Oslo and Utøya (Norway, 2011), Paris (2015), Brussels (2016), Nice (2016), Berlin (2016), Manchester (2017), London (2017), Barcelona (2017), Utrecht (Netherlands, 2019), Christchurch, (New Zealand, 2019).

But many cities aren't ready for a new onslaught of urban terrorism. State security services have long been occupied with defending vulnerable urban spaces against attack, but until recently, the style of terrorist attack – the targeting of high-profile commercial or government buildings – seldom affected everyday city life. As we have seen from recent attacks, the modus operandi of terrorists has changed significantly in recent years and counter-responses, including urban planning, must adapt to this new reality (Coaffee, 2017).

There is a clear trend of terrorist "migration" to online social media, including YouTube, Twitter and Facebook. Moreover, this trend is expanding to the newest online platforms such as Instagram, Flickr, and others. Rephrasing von Clausewitz, the new media should be regarded as "an increasing continuation of war by other means." This new arena of open and social systems presents new challenges and requires dramatic shifts in strategic thinking regarding national security and countering terrorism (Benhamou, 2018).

Terrorist act as communication strategy

"If terrorism is a strategy characterized by symbolic attacks on symbolic targets, it is also a strategy characterized by international manipulation of the news media"

(Gus 2011).

This chapter addresses terrorism as a communicative act and explains how tightly woven are terrorists' violent acts and their communication strategies. The most visible (which perhaps means most successful) terrorist groups are those that operate with a communication model that has advanced beyond simple delivery of a message to a passive audience. Rather, the modern communication model used by terrorist organizations is audience-based, meaning centered, culture-dependent, and always tied into an ongoing narrative stream that is part of the socio-political context in which these organizations operate (Corman et al 2008).

All but the centremost of these rings are linked to the event by mass media, primarily widely accessible news media, but also self-generated media that terrorist organizations use with increasing skill. Most mainstream news organizations impose standards that rule out graphic images from terror attacks, but the perpetrators of such attacks might disseminate those images through the Internet and other new media sources to audiences that are smaller but are considered high-value, such as potential recruits. The terrorist groups also know that videos on You Tube or other online venues can reach substantial audiences regardless of how much attention is paid to these items by traditional media outlets. Videos showing the execution by terrorists of kidnap victims have sometimes been viewed online millions of times. Overall, getting words and images to various publics is far easier in this era of fewer determinative information gatekeepers (Seib & Janbek 2011).

Further emphasising the centrality of communication, other authors examine the relationship between terrorism and the media. In this respect, Brigitte Nacos (2002) approaches terrorism as a "massmediated" phenomenon. The mass media plays a central role in what she calls the "calculus" of perpetrators: terrorists anticipate the consequences of their actions, "the likelihood of gaining media attention" and the possibility of entering, through the media, the "Triangle of Political Communication" (Nacos 2003). In a triangle whose points are constituted by the media, policymakers, and the public, as she explains, the media are not neutral.

Recognising that terrorism is an act of communication – that it is about sending a message, that communication technologies can support terrorist groups in spreading their ideology or organising terrorist plots, or that wide coverage of terrorism might contribute to giving extremists an aura of legitimacy – is, in fact, not sufficient to explain the role of communication and the media.

The most visible (which perhaps means most successful) terrorist groups are those that operate with a communication model that has advanced beyond simple delivery of a message to a passive audience. Rather, the modern communication model used by terrorist organizations is audience-based, meaning centered, culture-dependent, and always tied into an ongoing narrative stream that is part of the socio-political context in which these organizations operate (Corman et al 2008).

Merely killing people or blowing up things does not accomplish terrorists' purpose. A simple model for terror effects uses concentric circles. At the cores, the damage-deaths and physical destruction-caused by the terrorist act itself. This is certainly significant; it would be improper to minimize the importance of loss of life and, to a lesser extent, loss of property.

Their success expands exponentially as reports and images of the act reach larger publics. The next circle comprises local media from the affected area that are seen by audiences familiar with the site, and perhaps with the victims, of the attack. Personal attachments are likely to lead to more visceral reactions.

Despite the clear danger the manipulation of media by terrorists poses to society, it seems imposing a media blackout regarding terrorist acts could pose some more. The restriction and/or censoring of media by the government would strongly undermine its democratic nature. Moreover, the broad spectrum of media outlets, channels and mediums available nowadays, makes it impossible to control them all, rendering a media blackout not only theoretically problematic but practically impossible to sustain. Avoiding treating subjects pertaining to terrorist acts could further rumours and conspiracy theories as well as damage the public's trust allocated to medias and to the government. Medias should thus be encouraged to follow precautionary guidelines but by no means should these be legally enforced by the government as it would undermine both the media and the government's "raison d'être", trustworthiness and legitimacy at home and internationally (Ganor, 2011).

Terrorists and their supporters continued to exploit information and communications technology (ICT), in particular the Internet and social media, to communicate, spread propaganda, share instructional materials and carry out attacks. Terrorists and violent extremists also increasingly used live-streaming technology to publicize their attacks. This trend was notably illustrated during the attacks carried out in Christchurch, New Zealand, on 15 March 2019. Although detection from large social media platforms has improved significantly, owing to the efforts of the technology industry and

multi-stakeholder collaboration, terrorist groups and associated individuals increasingly exploited smaller platforms, which are less capable of detecting and removing content, while simultaneously seeking to bypass the controls introduced by larger platforms. This has resulted in an increasingly decentralized, but interconnected online terrorist “ecosystem”, which includes mainstream social media platforms, as well many other much smaller platforms, such as file-sharing sites, instant messaging services and chatrooms (United Nations Security Council, 2020).

Models of relationship between terrorists and the media

"The right of information must not be above the right to live safely and peacefully in the country"

(Bradley, 2020).

The majority of a considerable amount of academic literature where this topic has been discussed has pointed out the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the mass media.

Barnhurst proposes two models that try to describe the relationship between terrorism and the media.

The first model is the *culpable-media model*. According to this model, the media complete a vicious circle. By reporting on terrorist attacks, the media play a part in conveying terrorist messages to a large audience. This is a key aim for terrorist organizations, and therefore encourages them to carry out more attacks, which will in turn be reported by the media. This creates a vicious circle, in which terrorist carry out attacks, which are reported by the media, and which subsequently lead to more attacks. In a sense, the model identifies the media as a cause for terrorist attacks.

The second model is called the *vulnerable media model*, and views the media as a victim of terrorism rather than a cause. In this notion, it is proposed that, even though the media could theoretically stop covering terrorism, this would not be enough to end terrorist activities. Terrorists do not have to rely on any one media outlet for their communication. This is because of the existing competition in the current media system (Barnhurst 1991). In addition, a “breaking news mentality” is deeply rooted in the media. This means that every newspaper, television network, or radio station constantly tries to be the first to cover a news item, which enables them to draw large audiences to their particular news feed (Glückler 2008). This is caused by the increasing

competition among media to cover news items as quickly as possible (Kushner 2000). In some cases, this pressure can cause journalists to underestimate the consequences of reporting on terrorism, or lead to incorrect interpretations of the activities of terrorist organizations.

In other words, it is the type of relationship between two groups involving mutual dependence where one party complements the other. There is, however, more than one type of relationship that can exist between terrorists and the mass media. The diversity of causes, ideologies, and social and cultural conditioning factors that inspire different terrorist groups are equally applicable to the type of relationships that these groups establish with the news media. Four different models of behaviour models are:

1. **Complete indifference.** The terrorists' goal is to terrorize their victims, without seeking to attain media attention for their acts. There is no expectation that the press will become involved (this situation is highly unusual).
2. **Relative indifference.** The terrorists are not concerned with being on the news, even though they are conscious of the power that explaining their cause in currently existing media can provide them.
3. **A media-oriented strategy.** The terrorists are not only aware that the press can expand the scope of their words and actions, they also perform a series of operations based on the knowledge that they possess on the dynamics and functioning and the of news producers. After well thought manipulations, the news media becomes integrated in the terrorist group's actions.
4. **Complete breakaway.** This is case of terrorists that see journalists and reporters as enemies that must be destroyed, putting them on the same level as other direct adversaries. The press ceases to be an entity that should be cynically manipulated (as democracy's Achilles' heel). It is instead viewed as the appendix of a system that must be destroyed (Wieviorka 2004). (American journalist James Foley was executed by terrorist organizations ISIS on August 20, 2014).

These four models do not only give us an idea of the variety of possible relationships that can be established between these two entities, it also allows us to see how terrorists can alternate between different models, or even adopt more than one at the same time. In fact, modern terrorist groups frequently employ strategies that work to satisfy the news media's demands, while at

the same time considering them an integral part of an enemy that they seek to overcome and annihilate (Miloshevska, Buzar, 2019).

Conclusion

The lack of coverage of terrorist incidence demonstrates how discretion in coverage could allow normality amidst havoc and how less coverage of terrorism events could reduce terrorism incidences in future.

Access to the media brings terrorists closer to a democratic society's decision-making process, which significantly increases chances that this complex network of interactions will end with a result in a political decision that favours the interests of their group.

In all places in the world, the architects of terrorism take advantage of the mass-media—including the Internet for the benefit of their operational effectiveness, information gathering, recruitment, fund raising, and propaganda methods.

In sum, we are now relatively confident that covering terrorist groups actively encourages those organisations to attack more. It makes them more famous. And it makes it easier for them to recruit followers. All in all, this should be sufficient for journalists and editors to think twice about whether we should really cover these groups.

In the future, technological developments would allow terrorist attacks to be pulled out in ways that were previously unthinkable. Terrorists found an influential partner in the mass media that would help them obtain public attention for the group and its demands.

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USE OF WEAPONIZED UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLES (UAVs) SUPPORTED BY GIS AS A GROWING TERRORIST THREAT

Abstract: *Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) are one of the most advanced achievements of modern technology widely used by contemporary states. They have developed as an important tool for national security and commercial industries. Although they offer immense security benefits, UAVs can also open up new threats and opportunities in conducting terrorist attacks. The increased use in both state and private sectors reduces the cost of the UAVs therefore making them easily accessible tools for terrorist organizations. The pioneering attacks conducted by Islamic State of Iraq and Syria – ISIS (2016) have highlighted the capability of terrorist organizations and individual terrorists to deploy commercially available UAVs in order to attack their state adversaries.*

Even though the first ISIS UAV operations focused on conducting reconnaissance operations in Iraq and Syria, the organization continued further and started using them to attack Kurdish, Iraqi and Turkish forces. This is only an isolated case and so far these type of terrorist attacks have-not happened on the scale that can terrorize a big mass of people or cause greater civilian or military damage, However, ISIS is not the only user of UAVs. Their use by Hezbollah and alleged assassination attempt on Venezuela's president Nicolás Maduro (2018) proved that other terrorist organizations and militant groups have also adopted the use of UAVs. They could further use weaponized UAVs an, to achieve even worst scenarios than the assassination of a country leader, in terms of possible conduct of chemical or biological attacks by home-grown terrorists on numerous public venues in contemporary states. The factors affecting the expansion of the weaponized UAV s supported by GIS and the risk of their use as a growing terrorist threat will be examined in this paper.

Key words: UAV, GIS, threat, terrorism, security.

Introduction

The use of UAV's by terrorist or militant Islamist organizations is not a new phenomenon. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the UAV's were viewed not only as a weapon but as a real threat to the security of Western allies and their installations in the current regional conflicts. In its

2006 National Strategy Against Terrorism, the US State Secretariat states that terrorists are effective in adapting modern technology to carry out terrorist attacks with massive consequences and effects[1]. As a rising terrorist threat, the proliferation of UAV's was the subject of the 114th US Congress held on June 24, 2015, and resulted in a directive to the Secretary of Homeland Security - processed by the Secretaries of Defense, Transportation, Energy and Regulatory Affairs. Nuclear Energy Commission - to make an appropriate security assessment. The focus of the said directive is on how commercially available UAV's could be used in an attack, as well as the ability to prevent and reduce the risk of such and similar attacks.

As a rising terrorist threat, the proliferation of UAV's was the subject of the 114th session of the US Congress held on June 24, 2015, and resulted in a directive to the Secretary of Homeland Security - working with the Secretariats on the potential threat of the European continent in question. The best indication is the incident that occurred on September 15, 2013, during the pre-election campaign in Germany. Standing in front of its own supporters and supporters in Dresden, the UAV's - previously flipping the rally - literally collapsed at the feet of German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Defense Minister Thomas de Mezir. Although UAV's was driven by members of the opposition Pirate Party - in protest against the national surveillance program using UAV's, Euro Hawk - the event itself more than realistically presented potential security implications and limited opportunities. to prevent terrorist attacks of this or similar type. As Merkel followed the event with a smile for the global security community, the incident was a warning that the use of UAV's, posed a new and serious threat to public security. This thesis was confirmed on August 4, 2018 when the first attempted assassination of a state leader using a commercially available UAV's with a previously well-prepared and analyzed GIS mission was recorded in Caracas. According to official reports, shortly after the first explosion that interrupted Maduro's speech, Venezuelan security forces reportedly shot down two more armed UAV's in an attempt to liquidate the President. Immediately after the attack, the little-known group "National Movement of Soldiers in T-shirts" claimed responsibility. Through several posts on social networks, the group reportedly planned to use two UAV's that were disabled and shot down by sniper fire.

Like the security services, UAV's has always been the subject of analysis by the global academic community, especially today when market availability has greatly increased the risk of being used as a key weapon in future terrorist

attacks. Starting with the 1991 Gulf War, continuing with NATO intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995), the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1998), and especially in the war on terror in Afghanistan and Iraq, the UAV's received a firearm that significantly changed the concept of warfare. In addition to their use as an effective tool for gathering intelligence, identifying, and marking military objectives in the above conflicts following prior GIS analysis, UAV's have also been used to destroy strategic installations or terrorist leaders with specific GIS information obtained. The first armed bomb attack was registered on 04 February 2002 in Pakita province, Afghanistan, where the target of the attack, near the city of Kost, was then al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden.[2]

In fact, UAV's opened a new chapter in the concept of warfare. We have seen above that the UAV's initially allowed conventional armed forces to carry out surveillance and combat missions from a safe distance, but we also saw that in the following period the UAV's would be similarly used by terrorist and militant organizations. The fact that the UAV's has the potential to carry out a terrorist attack with the worst possible scenario has resulted in new security threats and challenges for Western allies. In this context, in the remainder of the text, we will first analyze the genesis of the threat in question, look at the factors that contributed to its mass proliferation by analyzing the use of GIS, and finally see the risk of this threat to the security of the Western Allies.

The genesis of the threat

As we have already pointed out in the introductory section, ID is not the first and only terrorist or militant organization to have used armed UAV's in pursuit of its own goals. In fact, terrorist and militant Islamist organizations have been using UAV's for more than a decade. Beginning in 2004, Hezbollah begins using the UAV's in Israeli airspace to gather intelligence and attack various targets[3]. In November 2004, using a Mirsad-1 type UAV's, Hezbollah for the first time succeeded in conducting a reconnaissance mission over the city of Naharia in Western Galilee, without being intercepted by Israeli anti-air defenses[4]. Similarly, in April 2005, using the same type of UAV's, Hezbollah is conducting its second successful scouting flight in Israeli airspace[5]. Unlike the first two, in April 2006, Hezbollah made its third flight, also the first attempt to attack strategic targets in Israel. Namely, Hezbollah launched three Ababil-type[6] UAV's, each armed with 25-30kg of explosives and metal fragments that would enhance the killing effect on the target. One UAV's managed to break into the suburbs of Haifa - a Mediterranean port city

with a population of about 300,000 - before being located and shot down by Israel aviation.

Although abruptly discontinued in 2006, Hezbollah's campaign to disrupt Israeli airspace was renewed in October 2012. Namely, the Ayub-type[7] UAV's after launching from Lebanon, across the Mediterranean, the Gaza Strip and the Negev Desert, covering an area of about 300km a previously well-analyzed GIS route following, penetrated the city of Dimona where it was intercepted and destroyed by the Israeli Air Force. Weeks after the event, an Iranian official released photos of the Dimona nuclear complex and linked them to the recently used Hezbollah UAV's. From a labor point of view, this example is extremely important because Hezbollah first searched the Israeli nuclear facility at a nuclear facility, near the city of Dimona. At the same time, the event is a strong propaganda victory for Iran, but also a message that Hezbollah has cutting edge technology that can be used to attack targets of strategic importance to Israel. However, Hezbollah's first successful armed attack on Hezbollah was not aimed at Israel but in Syria. According to available information, on September 21, 2014, Hezbollah carried out a successful attack with an armed UAV's on the positions of the Jabhat al-Nusra / al-Nusra Front in the Lebanese border town of Aarsal, killing 23 militants from the militant Islamist group. This example will go down in history as the first attack on an armed UAV's by a non-state actor, but at the same time an event that has hinted that the technological gap between Western allies and militant groups is gradually diminishing. Two years later, this thesis was backed up when Hezbollah launched its first armed UAV's attack outside Lebanon, more precisely in the northwestern Syrian province of Aleppo. On August 9, a media outlet close to the organization released a video showing an attack on a command post by opposition forces in the city of Kalsa, using an unknown type of armed UAV's with complete control and maneuvering by GIS coordinates[8].

The Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement - Hamas - is the second militant Islamist organization that not only implemented the use of Iranian UAV's but went on to develop its own program and production. In November 2012, the Israeli Air Force attacked eight sites in the town of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip, destroying operational and UAV's in the process of development and testing. According to official reports, the destroyed UAV's had an operational radius of 10km from the Gaza Strip, making Tel Aviv a relatively easy target. In 2012-2014, more attempts were launched to launch an Hebron-launched UAV's and attack targets in Israel that were timely prevented

by the Israeli security forces. In July 2014 in the Gaza Strip, Hamas launched for the first time two Ababil-1 type armed UAV's fully backed by guided missile flight through previous GIS, which were intercepted and destroyed by Israeli air defense shortly before the attack. near Ashdod and Ashkelon. Armed with four air-to-ground missiles, the main objective of the UAV's was the Israeli Ministry of Defense headquarters in Tel Aviv[9]. After claiming responsibility for the planned attack, Hamas for the first time publicly acknowledged that it had its own production UAV's, which were publicly presented in December 2014 during a parade organized on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the organization. However in December 2016, Hamas's UAV's development program suffered a serious setback when Tunisia killed Muhammad Al-Zorai - a Tunisian UAV's engineer and expert - one of the founders of the UAV's Technology Development Program in the Gaza Strip.

As of October 2016, when the ID was first using armed UAV's, besides Hezbollah and Hamas, no other militant organization had carried out a similar attack. For example, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Taliban, and al-Qaeda have primarily focused on developing strategies and technologies for defense against the armed UAV's. On the other hand, the Front al-Nusra, Ajnad al-sham and the ID, using UAV's, have documented a growing number of battles and individual suicide attacks on targets of government forces in Syria. Unlike the first two, ID continues to follow in the footsteps of Hezbollah and Hamas and not only launches reconnaissance missions and target attacks in Syria and Iraq, but launches its own armed UAV's development program as a new tactic to carry out terrorist attacks globally level.

In October 2016, in the fight against Kurdish forces north of Mosul, the ID for the first time used an armed UAV's, killing two Kurdish fighters and wounding as many French soldiers. According to agency reports, convinced that it was another of the large numbers of UAV's used by IS to search the area north of Mosul, after the aircraft was shot down, Kurdish forces transported it to their base, in an attempt to further investigate it, plane exploded. The intensity of the ID Campaign against the Iraqi Armed Forces increased significantly in January 2017, when through its own online media, the ID officially unveiled a program to use the UAV's as an innovative tactic in the fight against Iraqi and Kurdish forces in Iraq. The video "Knights of the Dawawin" aired on the Shumoukh Al-Islam internet forum shows more attacks by armed IDBs on Iraqi positions at various locations . Interpreting them as a "nightmare"

for "unbelievers", ID shows GIS-backed attacks on military equipment and personnel, while emphasizing the murderous effect on the targets selected.

However, losing control of the occupied territories in Iraq, ID lost the initial momentum that resulted in a reduction in the intensity of the use of armed UAV's. However, ID has put UAV's in the focus of its propaganda policy, massively displaying video clips of armed UAV's attacks or suicide operations whose primary purpose is not only to promote but also to encourage future suicide attacks. In this context, on February 1, 2017, the Internet media site "Sawa'eq" published a poster showing IDs of attacking and destroying more American landmarks, including the Statue of Liberty in New York and Congress Capitol headquarters in Washington. Similarly, on February 12, 2018, using the social platform Telegram, ID supporters called for the use of armed UAV's to attack "apostates and infidels" in the Arab world and the West. In the appeal, ID supporters are urged to procure any explosive-carrying UAV's that can be used to attack a factory, police car, gas stations, warehouses, shopping malls and energy facilities[10]. On October 13, 2018, the online media outlet Al-Ansar published a threatening poster titled "Await for our surprises". The poster showing the Eiffel Tower as a target, besides a gunman with ID, also shows a UAV's carrying additional load, possibly explosive or any weapon.

Not with standing the dwindling operational opportunities and heavy international pressure it was exposed to in 2017, ID continued to improve its UAV's and offensive attacks in Iraq and Syria. In March 2018, Arab media published original documents seized from an ID headquarters in northern Syria, according to Fadel Mansour (known as Abu Yusri Al-Tunisi) - a Tunisian-born engineer - working to increase the weight of the IDB's cargo can carry up to 20 kg. Furthermore, on October 24, 2017, the ID attacked and completely destroyed a Syrian Army ammunition depot located at the football stadium in the city of Deir ez-Zor. According to the effect achieved, this attack is probably the greatest achievement that ID has been able to achieve since the use of armed UAV's so far. Among other things, it is obvious that the UAV's program is also a propaganda tool that ID shows as a strong and ruthless adversary, thereby boosting the morale of its own fighters, attracting more supporters and recruiting more fighters.

Factors

To determine the factors that influence the expansion, we need to answer the question of what makes the UAV's attractive to terrorist and militant Isla-

mist organizations? The answer to this question is simple because the reasons are the same for both state and non-state actors. For both of them, armed UAV's are a cheap and safe method of attacking various targets without risking the safety of the personnel who manage them. While the effects of the above examples are incomparably small compared to the effects that terrorist and militant Islamist organizations achieve in suicide attacks, nonetheless armed UAV's offer a wide range of purposes in a variety of environments - including urban areas - without unnecessarily sacrificing staff. Similar to suicide attacks and other innovations in terrorism, the use of armed UAV's is highly likely to be widely accepted by terrorist and militant Islamist organizations globally, especially given the mass use of commercially available UAV's. According to some estimates, in 2016 around 2.2 million UAV's were sold globally, while by 2020 this figure is expected to increase threefold and reach 7 million[11].

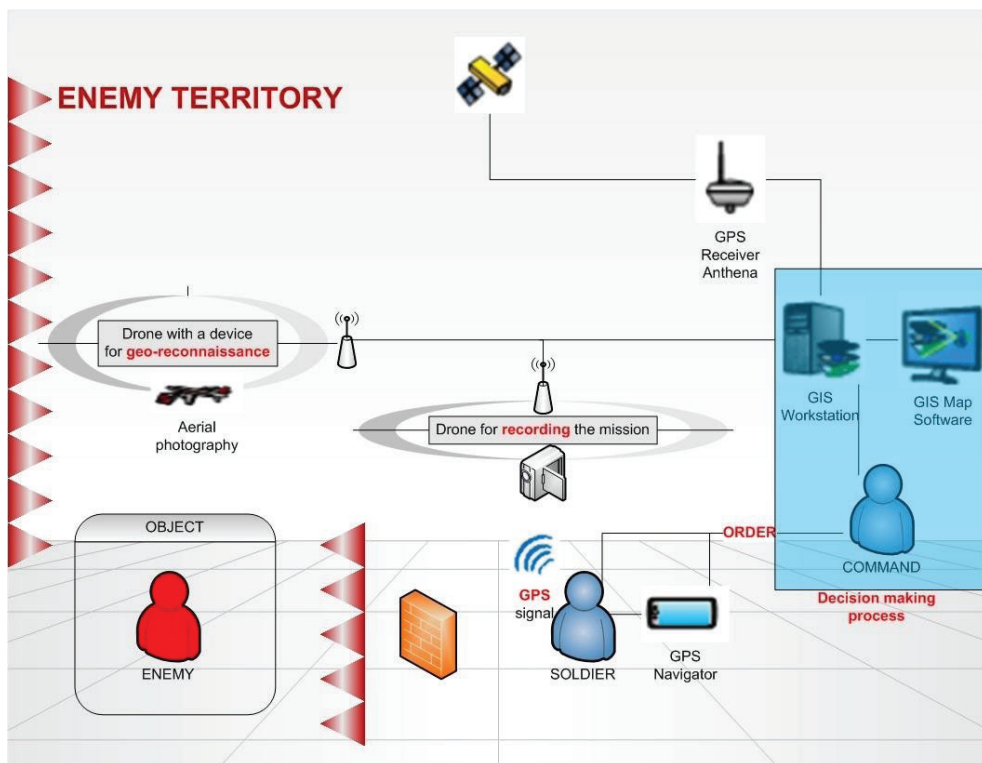
Regardless of the fact that these numbers refer to small UAV's - most commonly multicopters - it should still be taken into account that they are quite sophisticated, with various types of built-in sensors, advanced satellite navigation systems supported by modern GIS that allow them to be programmed to fly on a pre-planned route and carry an additional load of 0.5-20 kg. In terms of labor, it is interesting to note that Amazon's largest online store offers commercial UAV's that can carry up to 10 kg[12]. With UAV's of this kind available, terrorist or militant Islamist organizations and individuals can easily arm them, program them for the intended purpose without being directly exposed to the action of the embedded explosive device.

External logistical and technical assistance is another factor influencing the expansion of the threat in question. Thanks to the support of Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas have not only succeeded in carrying out armed UAV's combat missions in Israel and the Lebanese border area to Syria, but have also developed their own production facilities located on safe locations in the Gaza Strip and Lebanon. Furthermore, the war in Syria enabled Hezbollah to not only continue to use armed UAV's but, thanks to Russian and Iranian experts, to refine this innovative tactic. In this context, in a February 2017 interview with Middle East Eye, a Hezbollah official said that working with Iranians and Russians, the organization is daily refining the tactics and techniques of applying UAV's to Syria's battlefields to the most up-to-date GIS available [13].

GIS is widely used in almost all the branches of the modern armies, but this is available and for almost every terroristic organization online. So, one of the ways of data gathering is by aerial photographs and space images.

Advantage of these kind of collecting data is the possibility of gaining information without getting any contact with the earth surface directly, but with contacting a mediatory unit carrying information about the surface. As that kind of mediatory unit which carry an assessing equipment to gain information are today's popular unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV's) commonly known as a drone. With a proper equipment they can be used to observe and make a live photographs of the terrain of interest which is part of crisis area. This method will reduce the usage of people risking their life for the purpose of collecting information.

Image 2: Model of Geo-reconnaissance and commanding (GRC) information system which is used by the terroristic organization with online information[14]



Unlike Hezbollah and Mossad, ID has developed its own program to use UAV's without external, or state, support. In addition to simplicity and creativity in terms of engineering design, another key factor that influenced the development and refinement of the IDU's UAV's program was the takeover and control of large territory in Iraq and Syria. Controlling several key cities, military bases, and production facilities - civilian and military - IDs gained space and opportunity for their own and cheaper production of various

program support components that was further supported by the purchase of commercially available UAV'Ss and spare parts. Based on documents seized by Iraqi forces in the vicinity of Mosul, ID attempted to standardize operations and institutionalize data related to the development plan of the UAV's. For illustration only, one of the documents contained a checklist of pre- and post-flight procedures, mission data, team composition, location and trajectory of UAV's. Among other things, the program envisioned the procurement not only of multicopters but also of fixed-wing UAV's that have a higher operating radius and greater payload than multicopters.

Risk

From the examples given in the genesis of the threat in question, we have seen that Hezbollah, Hamas and even IDs have already used their own fleet of UAV'S outside the territory they control. While it is purely an opportunistic attack and the reconnaissance of military targets in conflict areas, any public place, element of critical infrastructure, public institution or state leader in modern states could be considered as a potential target[15]. The risk of such a scenario has never been ruled out by the Western Allies' security services. In 2015, US and UK intelligence provided evidence that terrorist organizations were planning to launch a bomb attack on public places such as football matches or festivals. In this context, the discovery of the abandoned fixed-wing UAV's ID workshop in Ramadi in February 2016 is additional evidence that only confirms the risk of the above scenarios. In July 2016, active members of the al-Minbar al-I'lami al-Jihadi jihadist forum claimed that ID members had informed them that the organization had developed a UAV'S armed with rockets and other explosive devices.

As for possible attack scenarios, there are various methods that depend primarily on the type of weaponry (conventional/unconventional) and the technical characteristics of the UAV's used by terrorist and militant Islamist organizations and individuals. In this regard, Hezbollah and Hamas use partially more advanced UAV's than IDs and have greater capacity to launch a planned attack at a greater distance. However, taking into account the creativity of ID and its globally distributed propaganda, in addition to explosive devices, the UAV'S that the organization uses can easily be adapted to attack various radioactive, chemical and biological (RFB) agents in the form of so-called. "Dirty bomb". In this context, in June 1994, the Japanese sect Aum Hinrichiko had its first unsuccessful attempt to release a nerve agent Sarin using

a remote-controlled helicopter equipped with an interrogation mechanism [16]. A similar or similar scenario for the use of armed UAV'S should not be ruled out today, especially given the examples and experiments with the use of chemical weapons by ID, and especially its interest in the production of biological agents. Despite the fact that no mass effects have been registered, a number of media outlets have proliferated reports that ID in Syria is not only using blunt poisons, but also has developed its own chemical weapons production program, backed by engineers with extensive experience. The most notable among them is Abu Malik, a chemical weapons expert who, before joining al-Qaeda in 2005, worked on Saddam Hussein's chemical weapons development and production program. He was killed in January 2015 during an air strike by coalition forces in Syria.

The liquidation of Abu Malik is not the only obstacle to the ID for the use of chemical, radiological or biological weapons against Western allies. Their storage and transport to potential targets without the use of dedicated containers and special premises that provide stable conditions for agents. It is for this reason that IDs are more likely to use radiological, chemical and biological (RFB) weapons with the use of UAV'S immediately after its production in the immediate vicinity of the potential target. All of this initiates additional logistical requirements such as procuring the necessary materials, proper UAV'S and, of course, recruiting local experts, but also an increased risk of intelligence being detected by the intelligence services. However, the ID's readiness to use RSD weapons poses a real risk to the Western Allies' internal security. Immediately after the second terrorist attack on ID in Paris in November 2015, the risk of this threat was highlighted by French Prime Minister Manuel Valls. Addressing the French Parliament, Val touched on a wide range of possibilities for the use of weapons of mass destruction by ID, particularly emphasizing the risk of chemical and biological attack. At the same time, his statement calls into question the effectiveness of long-running paradigms that cannot be dealt with by the innovation of IDs and which in a very short time can become obsolete and not deliver the desired effects in the fight against terrorism.

Conclusion

The development and advancement of 21-st century BPM technology has offered them an alternative method and a perfect opportunity to achieve the goals of terrorist and militant organizations. Recent advances in state-of-the-

art technology have allowed UAV's to operate autonomously and perform a wide range of conventional and unconventional operations without the involvement of manpower. Hezbollah and Hamas' pioneering efforts, as well as ID's ability to develop its own UAV'S production program, showed that states' monopoly on the use of force is slowly eroding and that modern technology is reducing the gap between state and non-state actors. Although UAV's ID development program has been under pressure from coalition forces and suffered serious consequences, its achievements described above testify to the organization's ability to make use of commercially available UAV's and adequate expert support.

Unrestricted access to up-to-date UAV's at affordable prices and the online proliferation of information on armaments not only do not exclude them, but also pose a serious threat to the security of Western allies that have the potential to cause significant harm. Identifying the risk, Western Allied state leaders emphasized the need for urgent security policy reforms, necessary to suppress armed UAV's as a growing terrorist threat.

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UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLES (UAVs) TECHNICAL BASICS, OPTIONS FOR USE

Introduction

On October 12th, 2017, the Canadian Federal Transport Minister Marc Garneau confirmed “an incident that saw a small drone collide with a passenger airplane above Jean Lesage airport in Quebec City“. The plane “only sustained minor damage“, Garneau said “he was relieved that no one was hurt.“ However, “if the drone had collided with the cockpit or the engine, the incident could have been `catastrophic.’”

“This is the first time in Canada that a drone has collided with a commercial aircraft, Garneau said, and the use of drones at that altitude is in violation of regulations.“

Taking into account, that drones – or correctly: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, UAVs – have become a very popular tool to spend leisure time outdoors, attention should be given to the technical aspects (to know how UAVs work), the useful mission profiles (to see what UAVs can be good for), the criminal mission profiles (to have an idea, what police, drug enforcement agencies, border patrol and others are facing) and the defense (how to mitigate, hinder, prevent the use of UAVs for criminal purposes).

Technical aspects

There are several categories of UAVs to be distinguished: Is it the sheer size, the means of propulsion or the purpose of the device? A short and rough overview of the types of UAVs will be given here.

First, the terms “Unmanned Aircraft (UA)” and “Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV)” are used synonymously; their properties can be briefly defined. Unmanned aircraft

- ♦ do not have a human operator on board;

- ♦ are operated using different automated functions;
- ♦ can be designed as one-way (“expendable”) or re-usable (“recoverable”) aircraft;
- ♦ can carry a lethal or non-lethal payload.

The so-called “cruise missiles” are not considered unmanned aircraft.

In contrast to the “Unmanned Aircraft (UA)” or “Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV)”, the “Unmanned Aircraft System (UAS)” is defined as “System, its components

- ♦ the unmanned aircraft itself,
- ♦ the supporting network and
- ♦ the equipment and personnel necessary to control the unmanned aircraft”.

The term “drone”, which is used by the general public, is derived from various similarities to the male bee. The aviation industry itself, government authorities and members of the aviation community refuse to use this term, which – in their eyes – is slightly derogatory.

Armed forces of different countries also insist on using the terms RPA or RPV (Remotely Piloted Aircraft / Vehicle) and RPAS or RPVS (Remotely Piloted Aircraft / Vehicle System).

Categories

UAVs are categorized into fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft (e.g. quadcopter or hexacopter), based on the wing constellation and the number of rotors. A comprehensive description would go beyond the scope of this elaboration, however, the terms VTOL (Vertical Take-off and Landing), bird-like (ornithopter) and insect-like (entomopter) shall at least be mentioned for the technically interested reader. The latter two use flapping wings for propulsion and imitate movements taken from the animal world.

Size

There are several size categories for UAVs, used by civilian and / or military agencies to distinguish between nano-, micro-, mini-drones and the larger size UAVs. NATO, for example, classifies UAVs depending on weight (“take-off-weight”) and possible flight altitudes (“low”, “medium” or “high altitude”). The size of UAVs like the MQ-1B Predator and the MQ-9 Reaper

can be compared with a Boeing 737; their wingspan lies between 35 and 40 m / 115 and 130 ft. These multi-mission aircraft are armed, remote-controlled, tasked for medium altitudes and with long endurance, long-range sensors and a multimodal communication package on board. The smallest UAVs, however, fit on a fingertip and have a wingspan of 2.5 to 5 cm / 1 to 2 in.

Useful mission profiles

From the vast number of useful mission profiles, this paper will cover just a few examples in the urban spectrum and touch another selection for rural areas, open wild and maritime environment.

Traffic Monitoring

UAVs can be used for monitoring traffic in cities and on interstate or highways between the inhabited areas. UAVs are much cheaper than sending out helicopters for detecting and reporting traffic jams, accidents, congested roads or the like. On regularly highly congested routes, there is the option of installing an automated UAV surveillance pattern e.g. from 6 to 8 a.m. and from 4 to 6 p.m., shuttling back and forth, sending live pictures to a centralized traffic observation and management agency during rush hours. In previous approaches, “[s]atellites were initially considered for traffic surveillance purposes, but the transitory nature of satellite orbits makes it difficult to obtain the right imagery to address continuous problems such as traffic tracking.” UAVs can be used for “incident response, monitor freeway conditions, (...) traveler information, emergency vehicle guidance, (...) measurement of typical roadway usage, monitor parking lot utilization”, just to name a few.

Fire Department

Each and every Fire Department is – in case of a wide spread fire – in need of a comprehensive overview of the scenery. Taking the forest fires in California in September 2020 or any other large-scale-scenario, a decent overview will allow the Fire Department to engage its assets at an optimum. Through the sensors of a UAV, incident commanders and emergency managers receive “early information [,which] helps (...) [to] understand the magnitude of community impact on building infrastructure, road conditions”, and other info required to handle the current emergency. “[T]his information can help in determining [which] additional resources might be needed from FEMA, neighboring communities, or other organizations.”

The legislation – at least in Germany – allows the Fire Department (as well as Police and the Federal Agency for Technical Relief (Technisches Hilfswerk, THW)) to use UAVs in places, where the general public is not allowed to use it, e.g. disaster areas, accident sites, etc. However, one must be aware that either curious onlookers and / or sensation-seeking reporters might interfere with their private UAVs in scenarios as described above. The defense against these will be covered later in this paper.

Search and Rescue (SAR) in (near-)urban environment

SAR scenarios are manifold, and so dealing with them can challenge the respective authorities in various ways. UAVs can help to build up a comprehensive picture, e.g. in earthquake scenarios. One example is reported from China, the country that uses UAVs for more than a decade in disaster (i.e. earthquake) response. UAVs are used “to find survivors and navigate disaster zones when time is short and the situation dire.” A Chinese official is quoted that immediately after an earthquake, the UAVs owned by the National Earthquake Response Support Service will “take off, flying in hour-long intervals and surveying two square miles per trip.” This covers the most valuable time span directly after the incident: “90 percent of people located within half an hour [will survive]. After 24 hours, the survival rate drops to 81 percent.”

Another one of numerous examples is described for Oct 28th, 2019 in Somersworth, New Hampshire, USA. “[A]fter 7½ hours of unsuccessful traditional searching (...) the [p]ublic safety officials used a drone and infrared imaging” to locate a missing person. The UAV was able to locate the missing person within 17 minutes – wet and cold, but alive.

Agricultural use

The variety of agricultural uses of UAVs cannot be covered within this paper. The spectrum ranges from avoiding to “spray pesticides uniformly over their crop to protect them from fungal infections”, which is neither environmentally nor financially the optimum solution; with intelligent use of UAVs, “farmers can choose to not spray pesticides based on an aerial survey of their crop using drones. Alternately, they can selectively spray pesticides only on plants that need attention, thus minimizing environmental damage”,

- ♦ assess damage caused by thunderstorms, hail, frost or other adverse weather conditions,

- ♦ to locating fawns in corn fields, who might otherwise be killed by approaching (possibly automated) harvesters.
- ♦ There are many, many more options for using UAVs for agricultural purposes. The keyword here is “precision agriculture”; precision agriculture allows the farmer to individually manage small zones of his arable land, thus optimizing the use of fertilizer, harvesting machinery, cattle feeding etc..

Weather (Hurricanes)

One example of using UAVs for (extreme) weather monitoring is to send unmanned vehicles into the eyes of a hurricane, instead of sending the WC-130 Hercules with a crew of up to five personnel. These aircraft “penetrate tropical disturbances and storms, hurricanes and winter storms to obtain data on movement, size and intensity.” One can imagine that directing a manned aircraft into the eye of a hurricane puts the personnel on board at risk; this can be avoided by sending UAVs, which – in case of a failure – are just a financial loss.

Search and Rescue (SAR) in maritime environment

Another scenario in Search and Rescue missions, this time in maritime environment, is to locate a / several missing person(s) (e.g. after a ship’s collision, persons falling overboard). The relevant NATO and IAMSAR (International Air and Maritime Search and Rescue) publications give search patterns for missing person(s) in the water. These patterns can be flown by an aircraft or a helicopter, but if within reach of a feasible coastal location for take-off, recovery and possibly recharging the batteries, it would be easy to have a dozen UAVs, programmed for different sectors of the search area, fly simultaneously and successfully locate a / several missing persons (see example of Somersworth, New Hampshire above).

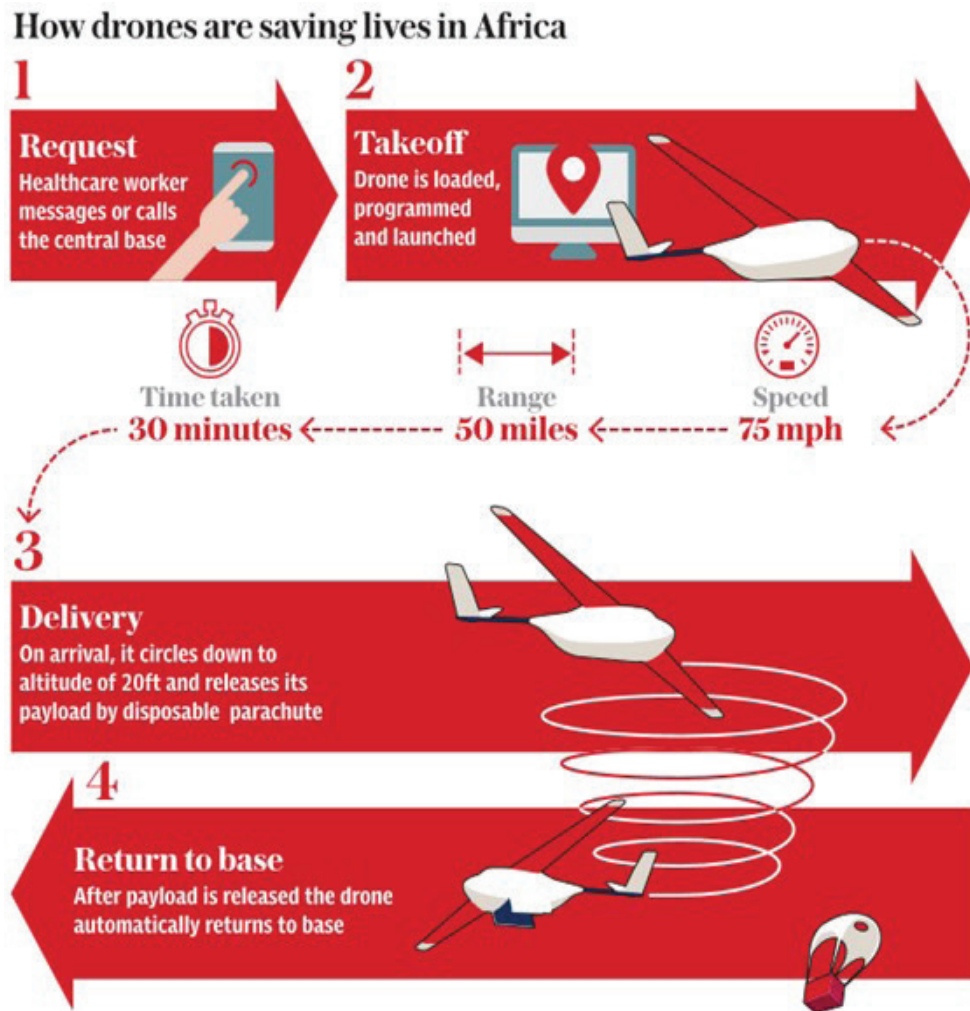
Transport of pharmaceutical products / medicine to remote areas

One of the most innovative, yet almost unknown example is a project in Burundi / Central Africa called “Zipline”.

This project was founded in 2014 and has delivered thousands of necessary medical packages in the African country Burundi since then. “Zipline operates from distribution centers placed at the center of each region of service. Part medical warehouse, part drone airport, each distribution center can

make hundreds of deliveries each day to any point within a 22,500+ square kilometer (8,750+ square mile) service area. [The company has created] a national delivery network with a series of distribution centers” strategically located in the country.

Figure 1: Project “ZipLine” in Burundi



Meanwhile, the logistics service provider DHL has installed a similar project in Tanzania, a neighboring country to Burundi. This project ensures that 400,000 residents of the Ukerewe island district of Lake Victoria, Tanzania, can be provided with necessary medication and in return can send their blood and lab tests fast enough to allow thorough analysis.

Criminal mission profiles

As one can imagine, not all users of UAVs are driven by benevolent intentions and / or commercial / economical interests. Several examples of using a drone for criminal purposes have been documented. Some of them will be discussed here, before showing a few of the defense methods to prevent this very criminal use. This article will not go back to Jean Lesage airport in Quebec City on October 12th, 2017 (see intro), as this incident is not rated as a criminal engagement, but as an inadvertent collision, caused by poor airmanship.

General aspects of using UAVs in criminal scenarios

One of the aspects of using a UAV is that the perpetrator does not at all endanger him- / herself, as he / she is able to keep a safe distance to the location to be attacked or the destination of the illegal cargo; some UAVs require operation within line of sight, the more advanced vehicles can be programmed, their radius of action is basically limited by their endurance. This gives the relevant authorities (e.g. Drug Enforcement Agency; DEA) a chance to at least locate the operator and arrest him / her after detection.

UAVs equipped with explosives

Using a UAVs, and especially rotary-wing UAVs, is a perfect method to deliver a load of explosives. A historic example, which can more or less be considered as a UAV delivery of explosives, is reported from as early as World War II, when the Army Air Corps initiated the Aphrodite Project. The project “used old B-17 aircraft [nicknamed ‘Flying Fortress’] loaded with explosives, flown to altitude by a pilot, who then bailed out. A second B-17 assumed radio control of the unmanned aircraft and directed it to crash into a target.” Imagine this method would have been adapted by the terrorists of 9/11, when the fourth aircraft (United Airlines Flight No. 93) was presumably aimed to hit the White House. The only reason this aircraft never made it to its target was that crew and “passengers fought for control with the hijackers before [the aircraft] went down” into a field in rural Pennsylvania, hence prohibiting the execution of that plan. However, a much smaller plane could

have carried enough explosives to achieve the same impact on that building as a fully fueled civilian aircraft, scheduled for a flight of almost six hours. With a much smaller “payload”, substantial damage can be achieved in an industrial environment or in a Research and Development (R&D) facility, with the aim of destroying raw material, machinery, specimen or other products.

Another option is dropping a container with a biological or chemical agent with the intention to kill a person or a group of persons. Both biological or chemical agents are prohibited by the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), however, several examples show that terrorists or extremists of whatever kind have proven the ability to produce and disseminate these agents.

It may even be sufficient to make a number of people believe that a biological and / or chemical warfare substance has been delivered into a crowd, e.g. at a festival, in a sports stadium or the like; the resulting panic may result in injuries or fatalities.

UAVs used in acts of sabotage and espionage

Besides using the UAVs for carrying explosives, they can also be used for carrying spying equipment (cameras, microphones) and for disrupting, disturbing or manipulating the electronic spectrum. The latter aspect will be covered in the section “Defense against UAVs”, as the technical aspects are basically the same, almost regardless whether stationed on the ground, on a vehicle on the ground, at sea or in the air. The only limiting factor for an airborne jammer or spoofer would be the battery capacity, as it takes a large amount of energy to cover a broad spectrum of electromagnetic emissions.

For espionage, small-size UAVs with a reduced acoustic signature can be equipped with the required electronic tools to collect data in almost any scenario. In some instances, highly sensitive microphones were installed on a UAV, which was then directed outside a meeting room, where confidential information was discussed. As the UAV was kept below the window sill, i.e. out of sight for the personnel attending the meeting, confidential information could be extracted. However, depending on one’s point of view, espionage (which is considered a criminal act) is basically the same as gathering information through intelligence channels (which is considered a necessity in military environments to be able to assess the opponent’s abilities).

UAVs as “mules” for drugs and weapons smuggling

Nowadays, DHL, Amazon and the like consider transporting their merchandise via UAVs, so it is no wonder that drug cartels have come up with the idea of transporting drugs from the country of production to the country of consumption even earlier. “Experimentation by the Mexican drug cartels with drone narco-trafficking is believed to have started in 2010 [,and in] 2015, two high-profile drug seizures by U.S. law enforcement put to rest the theory of drones as potential drug mules and demonstrated the practical application of the new technology.” The same principle holds true for weapons smuggling across a border or – several instances have been proven – into a (federal or state) prison. E.g., in England and Wales, there have been “nine attempts to use drones to infiltrate prisons (...) in the first five months of 2015, according to the [British] Ministry of Justice.” The numbers have dramatically increased since then.

Defense against UAVs

Military Research and Development (R&D), but also simple civilian individuals have come up with several methods to counter UAVs. In the following section, five of these will be introduced, presented and discussed shortly in the appropriate paragraph. The defense measures can be differentiated for the means of defense. These can be mechanical, ammunition technology / explosives, electronic, optical and opto-energetic or animal defense measures.

Another differentiation of the defense methods considers the outcome, the effect on the UAV: Will there be:

- ♦ a destruction of the optronics, leaving the UAV as such intact, but basically “blind” (which means, it can possibly return to the UAV operator);
- ♦ a destruction of the weapon or the cargo (so the desired effect will not be achieved, however – as above – the UAV as such remains intact);
- ♦ the damage or destruction of the UAV as such (so-called “unit kill”); or
- ♦ taking control of the UAV and retrieving it / directing it to a landing spot within reach; this enables the successful defenders to draw conclusions about the opposing operator.

Mechanical defense

A very simple means of mechanical defense is the building of nets, similar to those in baseball stadiums, used to prevent the fans from being hit by a ball,

approaching at high speed. Such a net is a cheap means for the protection from the UAV dropping a detrimental payload; it cannot prevent video footage of the events behind the net.

If the net is not a stationary device, but is used in conjunction with an air gun, this leads to the principle of SkyWall 100 ® and its successor SkyWall 300 ®.

Figure 2: Principle sketch of SkyWall 100 ®



A projectile with an encapsulated net is deployed at the approaching UAV; the projectile opens at a pre-destined distance from the target UAV; the net catches the UAV and – using a parachute – brings it safe (and mostly undamaged) to the ground. This system was prepared to be used – but never deployed – by the security personnel during the visit of U.S. President Barack Obama in November 2016 in Berlin.

Defense by using ammunition and / or explosives

There have been several incidents reported of e.g. “an angry farmer shooting down a drone”, however, at least 50 percent of these “reports” and “videos” have been identified as fake. Nevertheless, an incident from Kentucky made it to court, so the reports about the farmer William Merideth in Kentucky can be classified as credible; In July 2015 he shot down a (presumably quasi-stationary) UAV, which was located above his property and – according to at least some reports – came too close to his sunbathing daughter. Meredith was charged with a criminal offense, but the local judge dismissed him, dropped

the allegations, stating that the UAV's flight into his property was indeed a "privacy invasion" and that Meredith "had the right to shoot down the drone."

Electronic defense

Techniques as "jamming" and / or "spoofing" can be detrimental to other electronic equipment, which the perpetrators do aim to interfere with. One example for a successful spoofing maneuver happened in 2011, when "the Iranian government had successfully taken down a highly classified U.S. military drone using GPS spoofing, or 'electronic ambush'." This "ambush" was simply laid out and conducted by giving wrong GPS data to the UAVs navigation system.

Optical and opto-energetic defense measures

Basically, these methods are referred to when using high intensity light to blind the optronics on board of the UAV or when using high energetic laser beams to destroy parts of the UAV, e.g. cut off a wing in flight.

Animal defense measures

Animals have been trained for many different purposes of law enforcement agencies throughout history. A relatively new approach is training birds of prey for counteracting UAVs. The French Air Force (Armée de l'Air) and the Dutch National Police (Koninklijke Marechaussee) are the first in the world to use birds of prey to hunt and capture UAVs. The birds and their trainers are being deployed in the vicinity of nuclear power plants, airports, official government buildings and other vulnerable buildings. Precautions have been taken so the animals do not get hurt.

Conclusion

After the introduction of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), it might have become obvious that this new technology with increasing numbers of UAVs flying around may pose a lot of opportunities and useful options, but also several more or less severe threats to society.

This paper's intent was to shortly introduce the technology behind UAVs, some of the options in search and rescue, weather research or agricultural uses as well as some of the risks associated with these aerial vehicles. If used in a criminal or malevolent way, defense measures must be discussed, to be able to assess the pros and cons of the selected defense method(s).

To sum it up, there will be an increasing number of options to be introduced in conjunction with UAVs, for better or for worse. It is worth discussing all aspects of the use of UAVs in a variety of fields of society.

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SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN CIVIL AVIATION REPRESENTED BY SAFEGUARDING OF ACTS OF UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE

Abstract: *Regardless of current aviation conditions caused by the COVID 19 pandemic, the post-crisis airstrikes will undoubtedly continue to be dominant in growth and development compared to other industries, including increased preventive security measures that will become a reality in the future. All relevant indicators and projected figures show that the development of the world economy will directly depend on the trend of activation of air traffic as a whole.*

If considered the turbulent past of civil aviation when it comes to terrorist attacks on one hand and one of the foundations of civil aviation which is security, on the other hand, than the guide through all processes will be of course the science and education along with modern technological achievements and the mandatory frameworks. Through the complexity of modern threats that directly affect international and national security, the science and education processes are being developed in parallel with aim to deal timely and effectively with all the threats that are active today.

To achieve a standardized level of aviation safety, our state is building its security training platform through building a comprehensive policy, supported by legal regulations that will implement all entities involved in any civil aviation security structure.

The vulnerability as well as the consequences presented in this paper through relevant indicators will aim to analyze events that have greatly influenced the development of air traffic safety by describing the key factors that preceded the events, but in the same time through specific security measures in line with ECAC, ICAO and EC. This paper will provide an analysis of what is being done internationally and nationally in relation to the aviation science education process and to show the importance of continuing investment in such activity.

The subject of the elaboration will therefore be the educational process of realization of the training activities to the all personnel involved in air traffic and ways of improving it including developing awareness-the safety culture of all other air traffic stakeholders. It can also be aimed at making it ideal for creativity, discussing the practical application of a science education system within the frame of analyzing common national security infrastructures.

1. Aviation Security and the need for a scientific education approach

The traffic in each country is of primary political and social importance and is one of the factors for the economic development of the country. There is a strong interdependence between the level of development of traffic in a country and the development of the economy. Traffic is a result of a certain level of economic development on the one hand and on the other hand it affects the economic development of each country. Therefore, the safety of all transport systems, including aviation, has always been important, but the emphasis on their greater protection came after the 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States and those in 2004 and 2005 (London and Madrid), Brussels 2015, Istanbul 2016, etc., where the targets of the attacks were transport systems.

Techniques and tactics are often developed depending on the intentions but also the breakthrough of the established security measures in the entire aviation industry. The proliferation of new technologies such as drones, explosives, chemical, biological and other advanced weapons and the tactics we are witnessing make the security sector vulnerable and the challenges that require active involvement in science to improve the ability to prevent and actively deal with all kinds of threats.

From here it can be concluded that the priorities of the transport system are aimed at preventing and detecting of all harmful risks and dangers today. It can be said that the risks in aviation are numerous, including international and transnational terrorism. On the other hand, the large number of plane crashes and serious incidents only confirmed the scientific and educational need.

The scientifically educational approach observed from the aspect of human capacity should be the most flexible, very adaptable and valuable part of the system, but it should also be mentioned that it is the most vulnerable to influences that can negatively affect its performance. The term "human error" basically does not help prevent accidents because although it may indicate where a problem occurs in the system, it does not provide instructions on why it occurs.

The error attributed to people in the system may be caused by constructive, technical, poorly designed procedures, plans, or improper training. However, human error continues to be at the forefront of accident statistics. However, the shortcomings and performance of systems and the "human" factor through continuous scientific education can be improved.

As a result, aviation security relies on a number of measures and systems, including intelligence, to conduct quality risk analysis to determine the security priorities of the airline's physical protection, including cyber systems, and to raise national awareness, international threats, such as improving air security around the world through international partnerships and security cooperation.

Therefore, each Contracting State as its primary objective has the safety of passengers, crew, ground personnel and the general public on all matters relating to the protection of acts of unlawful conduct in civil aviation. It develops and implements regulations, practices and procedures for the protection of civil aviation within its competence, taking into account the safety, regularity and efficiency of flights, including the ability to respond quickly and adequately to increased security threats.

Each country has protective challenges and specific security strategies to reduce risk. One of those challenges is undoubtedly the appropriate training and application of the scientific education system in order to improve security facilities.

2. Permanent education as a guarantee of success

Analyzing all aspects of corporate operations and security as an integral part of the overall process and the fact that some of the major corporations are among the national critical infrastructure identified and that there is a serious reflection on national vital interests, requires special attention in the national security system. The responsibility for the protection of national critical infrastructures largely falls on the operators of critical infrastructures, hence, and access to appropriate education is largely the responsibility of the relevant departments.

In a company, the needs for training and education can be predicted on the basis of various indicators, such as the difficulties in performing the tasks, the new technology, and the change of the way of working and so on. In relation to these indicators, it is necessary to assess the needs for training and education with the help of analysis of the organization and the staff. Based on this analysis, it is determined exactly what kind of problems exists and then the necessary type of training and education is carried out with which those problems will be reduced or removed.

As one of the main strategic management, it means attracting or recruiting the necessary staff, primarily the so-called "talents" who will continue to

be the basis of company's in the future through appropriate education and development career. In the context of a lack of talent, one of the challenges is strategies to attract employees for future roles and positions. Providing training and development for current employees is a popular strategy used by most organizations to retain talent. These trends represent investment in employee training and development that will be key to determining an organization's success in the future.

The activity of training and education will be effective only if it is approached systematically. This approach requires the creation of training plans and the training itself to take into account all the factors and variables that can affect learning.

If we look at the progress of security through the function of the human factor as for aviation or other professional personnel we will see that they include a multidisciplinary field, including, but not limited to, psychology, engineering, physiology, sociology, biology and biomechanics and str. In short, it is a combination of all kinds of sciences that will contribute to the construction of qualified and effective primarily human performance.

However, despite the best efforts of states, airport administrations and aircraft operators, acts of unlawful conduct or attempts to commit such acts or threats are likely to occur in the future.

3. Selection of staff and methods of education

One of the most important segments in security, of course, is the proper selection of security personnel. The Selection and criteria need to be proportionate to specific needs and tasks.

The body, the airport operator, the airline or the entity subject that is employing staff to implement security measures in accordance with the national Civil Aviation Safety Program must ensure that these persons meet the standards set for appropriate, "certification", which means formal assessment and confirmation by or on behalf of the relevant authority indicating that the person has successfully completed the relevant training and that the person possesses the necessary competencies to perform the assigned functions for acceptable level. "Competence" also means being able to demonstrate appropriate knowledge and skills. Competencies acquired by individuals prior to recruitment may be taken into account when assessing training needs. Relevant competencies specific to each area e.g. screening, access control or other security controls in the security area.

In accordance with the applicable rules of the Union and national legislation, background checks include at least: (a) determination of a person's identity on the basis of a supporting document; (b) cover criminal records in all States of residence for at least the previous 5 years; and (c) covers employment and education that will be continuous for at least the past 5 years.

Every new employee needs to be subject to security checks as well as such checks to be repeated over a period of time. Security checks of persons working or employed in the aviation industry should include checks on the identity and previous past of the person in terms of any criminal past and eligibility for his employment in the aviation..

After the completion of the general obligations, additional trainings are organized depending on the needs of the company, ie the nature of the work. It is necessary to realize training regarding the specifics of the work processes, as well as the use of funds and equipment to improve security.

Here we will mention the need to introduce licenses for X-ray operators, security instructors, security supervisors, as well as physical security, for which there are training programs with precisely defined topics and subjects in the form of theoretical teaching, as well as practical training.

The trainings are generally composed depending on the job positions divided into several categories:

- Basic training
- Job specific training for persons implementing security controls:
- Job specific training of persons implementing screening of persons, cabin baggage, items carried and hold baggage,
- Training of persons implementing screening of cargo and mail
- Training of persons implementing screening of air carrier mail and materials, in-flight supplies and airport supplies,
- Specific training of persons performing vehicle examinations,
- Specific training of persons implementing access control at an airport as well as surveillance and patrols,
- Training of persons implementing aircraft security searches,
- Training of persons implementing aircraft protection,
- Training of persons implementing baggage reconciliation,
- Training of persons implementing security controls for cargo and mail other than screening,
- Training of persons implementing security controls for air carrier mail and materials, in-flight supplies and airport supplies other than screening,

- ♦ Specific training for persons directly supervising persons implementing security controls (supervisors)
- ♦ Specific training for persons with general responsibility at national or local level for ensuring that a security programme and its implementation meet all legal provisions (security managers).
- ♦ Training of persons other than passengers requiring unescorted access to security restricted areas,
- ♦ Training of persons requiring general security awareness.

In general, all of the above trainings have their own conditions, specifics, training methodologies, criteria and durations, as well as systematicity and consistency.

In addition to technology as part of the security system in critical infrastructure, it is necessary to mention another segment, and that is psychology as a science in the field of educational process among employees, because in case of illegal actions or criminal acts, great help and contribution to general security. can be given by any one employee regardless of the job position set according to the organizational set-up. It's called personality profiling. Developing such a skill is an ongoing process, supported by specialized instructors to raise awareness, first and foremost of security personnel, but also to support and assist security personnel who are actively involved in taking security measures against acts of illicit activity.

4. Education for aviation security in the Republic of Northern Macedonia

The Republic of Northern Macedonia has been a member of the United Nations since 1993, and in the field of international civil aviation, it is a member of ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) from 09.10.1993 and ECAC (European civil aviation conference) from 03.07.1997. As a country that is an equal member of the above-mentioned international organizations, and at the same time as a country that has accepted the 1944 Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago Convention), the Republic of Macedonia is obliged to respect and implement international safety standards. Of civil aviation, following the practices and obligations arising from domestic and international regulation in order to combat illegal actions directed against security the importance of civil aviation through regulations, practices and procedures.

Activities prescribed by law, in the field of aviation in addition to: air transport, specialized aviation services, aviation - sports activities, construction

and maintenance of aircraft, construction, reconstruction and maintenance of airports, airports and fields, airport services, air traffic services and Other activities include training in aviation personnel and other professional personnel. Here, primarily through a clear legal framework supported by international and national regulations, they are set in terms of the necessity of meeting a number of criteria according to the areas, and that primarily refers to professional training, professional training by organizations and training centers after previously programs approved by the regulator, permits, examinations, etc. for both air and other professional personnel.

The Civil Aviation Agency - CAA is organized as an aviation authority of the Republic of Northern Macedonia whose organizational structure provides quality and timely performance of security regulatory functions described in ICAO Annex 19 and Doc.9734 (Safety Oversight System) and other functions related to security supervision. (Security), economic supervision, flight rights, etc.

It also supervises the application of the provisions of the Law on Aviation and the regulations adopted on the basis of the law. Prepares a draft law and adopts bylaws in the field of aviation in accordance with the EU, ICAO, ECAC, EUROCONTROL, JAA / EASA. Approves a collection of aviation information, conducting an administrative procedure for issuing, extending, changing, suspending and withdrawing permits, authorizations, certificates, approvals, etc. established by the Law on Aviation, registration of aircraft, airports, resorts and field records, proposes measures for development and application of new technologies in aviation, organization and coordination of activities related to the search and rescue of aircraft, and other matters in accordance with the Law for aviation.

The main organizations involved in the safety of civilian air traffic at the national level are:

- ♦ Civil Aviation Agency,
- ♦ Ministry of Interior,
- ♦ Airport operators,
- ♦ Airlines.

At the airports, in addition to the obligations arising from the Law on Private Security, there are additional staff training, in accordance with approved training programs, regulated by international and domestic aviation regulations, where the main emphasis is on staff selection, minimum qualifications for certain powers as well as the obligations arising from domestic

and international regulations regarding the quality and implementation of trainings.

The National Civil Aviation Training Program, as a basic document, defines the principles on which the types of training are based, fully following the guidelines of ICAO and Annex 17, as well as the EU, ECAC documents. The program identifies collaborations, criteria, training, training and many other criteria in the field of security from acts of illegal action. This primarily refers to the need for adequate specialized training such as state bodies (Ministry of Interior and the customs administration) as well as the categories of airport staff, navigation service providers, flight attendants and anyone who has any contact with aviation and could affect air traffic safety.

Finally, quality control is invaluable when it comes to this type of training in order to improve all aspects of implementation, through analysis of the realization, curricula and programs, training and observation of exam activities.

Conclusion:

The risks and sources of threat from acts of illegal conduct in aviation are becoming increasingly unpredictable, asymmetrical, and transnational. Hence the need to introduce continuous education, as well as the implementation of methodologies through modules adapted and adapted for specific positions. All security-related training goes through appropriate plans regarding the types of training, conditions, realization of theoretical and practical exams, the reliability of the material, the type and mastery of the curricula as well as the use and applicability of international standards and regulations.

Issues related to the implementation of training modalities are aimed at creating a stable security system and strengthening the security capabilities of the aviation industry. There is no doubt that continuing education in line with modern standards and recommended practices, primarily by fully following the guidelines of the international institutions ICAO, ECAC, and EC in order to perform the tasks set correctly, adequate to the risks and dangers that accompany today's.

Following the example of aviation and airport security, as one of the more regulated areas when it comes to security training, this paper provides an opportunity to apply certain methods and techniques of education in other critical infrastructures in the Republic of Northern Macedonia that are not and / or or are insufficiently regulated in the area of security education, with

the ultimate goal of creating a modern, efficient and comprehensive security system.

Based on the above and the analysis of a number of international standards that treat the aviation industry and the findings, it is possible to shape and practically apply certain standards and procedures, which result from the final operationalization of the solutions offered in this paper. In this regard, there is an unequivocal need to implement a framework on which future development strategies should be based in terms of education not only in the aviation industry but also in large part of the determined "critical infrastructure" because their non-functioning or reduction of harassment can have serious consequences for national security, the economy, health care, and so on.

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RETOPEA – PROMOTING RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND PEACE: EUROPEAN AND MACEDONIAN PERSPECTIVES

Abstract: *Religion and religious symbols undoubtedly made a comeback in the public debates' foci. This phenomenon had been scientifically recognized as early as the 1980s, the decade when the term "post-secularism" was created, while the debates are certainly not losing their momentum ever since. This text is part of the European H2020 RETOPEA research project, which has a goal of researching how religious coexistence is conceptualized and envisioned in different parts of Europe. By employing multimodal discursive analysis, we will present the major findings of the research on museums, TV series, political rhetoric and peace treaties. The Macedonian case-study provides an additional value in these debates, having in mind its multiethnicity, multiconfessionalism and post-conflict history. The goal of this text is to summarize the main research findings in three brief and separate parts, but also to point out to certain results that are important for North Macedonia and the Macedonian society.*

Key words: Religion, Religious symbols, North Macedonia, RETOPEA, Europe, museums, TV series, political rhetoric, peace treaties.

Introduction

Religion and religious symbols undoubtedly made a comeback in the public debates' foci. This phenomenon had been scientifically recognized as early as the 1980s, the decade when the term "post-secularism" was created, while the debates are certainly not losing their momentum ever since (for an overview, see Abeysekara 2008; also, Habermas 2008; Ferrara 2009; Koehrsen 2012). What could be the reason for such a development? In what ways does religion contribute towards peace or conflict? How did people manage

to neutralize religious conflicts in the past? This text is part of a European H2020 research project RETOPEA – Promoting religious tolerance and peace in which a team of researchers from the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje took part as Macedonian, but also regional (Balkan) representatives.

The main goal of RETOPEA is to research how religious coexistence is conceptualized and envisioned in different parts of Europe. It also focuses on the ways religious peace treaties were set and made in the past. For that purpose, the research teams within RETOPEA have analyzed different discourses from various subjects such as museum, TV series, political rhetoric and peace treaties. The case studies were approached using multimodal discursive analysis, a longitudinal and comparative perspective, while the research results were presented on an interactive and interdisciplinary online platform. The Macedonian case-studies provide an additional value in these debates, having in mind the state's multiethnic, multiconfessional and post-conflict dimensions. The goal of this text is to summarize the main research findings in three brief and separate parts, but also to point out to certain results that are important for North Macedonia and the Macedonian society.

Peace treaties

A common denominator of the current scholarly debates on peace agreements is certainly the call for broadening its research scopes by discussing their contextual, social, and legal aspects, as well as the complex phenomena of political violence, the scope of the state- and non-state actors involved into violent conflicts and the issues of conflicting interests (for an overview, see Bell 2008). From a conflict resolution studies' perspective, two major approaches are traceable as paradigmatic within the most recent scholarship: one which puts the agency of the international community as a prime concern (see Richmond 2014), and the other one which highlights the need for recognizing the local context (see Newman et al. 2009). However, within both the schools, the role of the religion into violent conflict and conflict resolution emerges as a high-priority issue. Herein, the questions of defining a certain conflict as a religious one is gaining traction, as well as the questions of identifying and mapping the role of religious actors in conflicts, conflict resolutions, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. The religious conflict is a more complex phenomenon than the religiously motivated violence, a concept which is also hard to be precisely defined as it covers not only the violent acts but also the discursive violence, their mutual relations and scopes (see Mayer et al. 2013).

One of the key pillars of RETOPEA is the research of a divergent set of documents – edicts, treaties, declarations – that uncover different ways of institutionalizing the religious tolerance and the peaceful coexistence throughout history: from the III century B.C. up to the XI A.D. More precisely, this research group has approached 21 peace treaties with comparative and longitudinal analysis of the ways that different communities, elites, lawmakers and diplomats have developed models for the coexistence of the religious groups. Undoubtedly, each one of these documents emerges from certain historical, societal and political contexts. For that purpose, the content of the given document was triangulated with secondary literature which sheds light on the various contexts, as well as literature that helped with mapping the significance of these documents throughout history. A crucial novelty is the attempt to establish trans-spatial and trans-temporal parallels by focusing on the major benefits of the particular treaty in terms of religious tolerance and coexistence.

In brief, the analysis showcased that the documents can be separated into seven analytical groups, varying from documents with a universal aspiration to documents that have conflict prevention and management as their main goals. Here, the research team argued that even so the treaties have universalistic or particularistic agendas, it is hard to draw a hard-theoretical line in all of the analyzed cases: The Declaration of the Rights of the Men and of the Citizens of 1789 (see Doyle 1989), for instance, even though postulates universal principals is still embedded in its historical context and local tensions, while on the other hand, the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the Good Friday Agreement, even though having clear conflict-settlement goals, still emanate certain universal values and principals.

The second frame is centered around the axis of urgency, finalization and implementation of the treaties: here we identified top-down trajectories in peace-building – with given political elites as key stakeholders – and bottom-up trajectories – with the local actors as critical agencies. However, the analysis of Rhode Island Charter (1663; for referral see: Pasture 2020) and the Edict of Saint Germain (1562; for referral see: Zemon-Davis 1973; Robberts 2013) show that such a division is not all-encompassing as in both the aforementioned cases, the cooperation between the elites was key for finalizing the particular peace treaties.

The third frame, which is close to the second one, aims to map the individual agencies for drafting certain peace treaty. The Edicts of Ashoka (268-232

B.C.; more in Upinder 2012), the Akbar the Great's Settlements (Siraj 2008; Chatterjee 2009; Talbot 2012) and the Rhode Island Charter are predominantly result of individual merits and ideas for religious tolerance. The analysis has shown that women have an exceptional role in creating projects for religious coexistence: for illustration, the role of Catherine de' Medici in the Edict of Saint Germain; or indirectly through participating in certain legislative bodies that were key in the development of certain of the peace treaties in the research focus.

Finally, the last frame aims at mapping the treaties which are related to particular religious conflicts: here, the analyzed peace treaties vary from peace projects for interreligious dialogue to peace projects for communities with various religious groups. Almost all the European treaties from 1555 to 1648, that were part of the project's research, as well as the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the Good Friday Agreement, refer to different religious groups. Beside the gender aspects that were not in focus for a long time in the scientific debates, the analysis of the peace treaties referred to one more analytical category that is often part of the relevant literature, namely the westernized discourse in reference to the peace treaties and projects. And so, through analysis of the non-European treaties of Ashoka, Akbar, Medina and Umar, amongst others, the research team has tried to map alternative lines of idea transmission for tolerance and peace.

The Ohrid Framework Agreement

The Ohrid Framework Agreement was drafted in Villa Biljana, Ohrid, North Macedonia, over July-August 2001. It was concluded in Skopje on 13 August 2001 and signed by the erstwhile President of the Republic of Macedonia, the leaders of the state's major political parties; and brokered by the representatives of the European Union and the United States of America. From today's perspective, the OFA is interpreted as an agreement which contributed to a cease-fire and halt to an escalation of civil war in today's North Macedonia. The OFA is also interpreted as a step towards institutionalization of the multiethnic and multiconfessional societal reality in the state (Brunnbauer 2002; Bieber 2008; Janev 2009; Ilievski & Taleski 2010; Spaskovska 2011; Aleksovska 2015). As for the RETOPEA research project, OFA was subjected to an interdisciplinary analysis, for which the results can be found in an interactive format on the official internet page of the project. In short, the analysis encapsulates the public debate for the so-called "spirit of the agreement"; the debate it

instigated on the understandings of Macedonian multiconfessionalism, as well as the different ways of commemorating the OFA and the 2001 conflict.

The commemorative regimes of OFA and the 2001 conflict were discussed from a comparative perspective (alongside the Good Friday Agreement) in a paper, co-authored with Professor John Wolfe of the Open University, which is to be published in the final RETOPEA edited volume. The chapter is based on the “memory regimes” research framework (Kubik & Bernhard 2014), while the analysis uncovers that, in the Macedonian context, the commemoration and remembrance of OFA and the 2001 conflict during the last two decades uncover a different set of reconciliatory practices (more in Georgieva, Trajanovski & Wolffe, forthcoming). We also argue that even so in both the comparative case studies a particular memory-institution is being envisioned, the memory of the settlements and the conflicts can be traced beyond these frameworks – especially in the first post-conflict decades in North Macedonia and Northern Ireland. In addition, we came to conclusion that the religious practices and actors are not the main stakeholders in the creation and negotiation of the memories of the settlements and the conflicts in the public domains, yet – they facilitate and legitimize certain exclusivist narratives.

Museums

Religious tolerance oftentimes is a subject of museal interpretation. That is the reason why the research team of RETOPEA – consisted by researchers with different national and disciplinary backgrounds – had approached the museal institutions in Europe with a single goal of discovering their means of representing religious diversity. After researching multiple museums and exhibitions, the researchers have classified them in three clusters, namely museums that display the Jewish heritage and culture in Europe; museums that display the Islamic heritage and culture in Europe; and finally, as a separate geographical group the Balkan museums. In the aftermath of the research, the team have set the religious difference and the religious heritage as arbitrary constructs. The research of museums that display Islamic history has shown that there is a deficit of narrative by the Islamic groups and there is no sensitivity for the differences within the Islamic communities themselves. This is also a case at a European level: some European museums as well as cultural policies implement recurring policies in representing diversity. Namely, through representation of what Slavoj Žižek names the “decaffeinated Other” (2010), the European museums, often stemming from lucrative

reasons, display Islamic identities that are compatible with the European ones (a process that is also called "decaffeinated Islam" - Peter, Dornhof & Argita 2013). The case of the museums that display the Jewish heritage and culture in Europe shows that, unlike the cases of Islamic communities, the European museums not necessarily have a goal to integrate the Jewish communities into the dominant ethnonational identities but aim to reimagine the past of the community – either in or out of the context of the cultural identities from the nearest surrounding. The complete research will be published as a separate chapter in the final printed issue of RETOPEA (Manasievska, Reyhan Kayikci, Sztyma & Trajanovski, forthcoming).

Museums and religious tolerance on the Balkans

The Balkans holds, undoubtedly, a long history of multireligious coexistence, but also a history of interethnic and interreligious conflicts. Thus, the historical museums and the way that they represent the religious differences on the Balkans are a quite interesting subject for analysis. From the establishment of the first state-sponsored history museum in today's North Macedonia in 1924, until today, the Macedonian museology passed many phases (for the history of the Macedonian museology see Trajanovski 2020). One of the most recent critical junctures, herein, is the 2001 conflict and the OFA. From a present-day perspective, we identified several major trajectories of musealization of religious diversity, tolerance and coexistence in North Macedonia which, to a large extent, emanate from the early 2000s. The research on the Macedonian and Balkan museums resulted in a set of clippings that are published on the official webpage of the project itself, but also as a chapter which is to be part of the project's edited volume.

The first trajectory is an ethnonationalization of the history in the Macedonian museums created after 2001. Here, we primarily refer to the set of historical museums and memorial houses established after 2010 or the period of the "Macedonian museal renaissance" (see Trajanovski 2020). As a brief illustration, we can point out to the memorial house of Tatarčev family in Resen, established in 2016, that overlooks the multiconfessional history of Resen and the Prespa region in its ethnographic section, but it also "nationalizes" several historical figures that originate from that region but had different national feelings and beliefs. The ethnonationalizing trajectory in the Macedonian museums also works the other way around: even though the Museum of the Albanian alphabet was inaugurated on 22 November 2012, the Day of the Albanian alphabet, the interviews with the key museal

stakeholders shown that this object – within the administrative scope of the NI Institute and Museum Bitola – is not self-sustainable and therefore it is not in good condition. That being said, it is important to note that religion and multiconfessionality do not play a crucial part in these developments: the museal objects and exhibitions in the state are mainly in unstable condition having in mind the financial, managerial and specialized staff shortages. Also, the museal institutions regularly follow the dominant and prevailing cultural credos and the politics towards the minority groups in North Macedonia.

TV series

One of the key pillars of the international research project RETOPEA – Promoting religious tolerance and peace, is the contextualization of religion, especially building the peace through religion and the representation of these elements in the contemporary public sphere – mostly the mass media, new media as well as the social networks. The detailed analysis of these concepts has four basic goals: 1) To better understand the contemporary spectrum of religions, spirituality but also the secularism via analysis of the contemporary representation of religious coexistence in the media. The basic emphasis for this first goal is put on the young population. Their part and activity were used for the making of short documentaries, but also preparation of policy recommendation whose goal is to improve the real-life of young people, especially the teenagers. 2) To discover ways through which the religious background of Western Europe and the Balkans will be used for additional improvement of the tolerance and the peaceful coexistence; 3) To gather research materials upon which audio and visual content will be made and the youth will mainly use them; and 4) Creating policy recommendations that will stimulate the tolerance and the peaceful coexistence amongst youth, with special reference to how and to what extent referring to religious practices can be used to create alternative narratives for those that propagate a distorted image of history and who misuse it for undermining tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

The researchers of RETOPEA have chosen several popular global and Balkan TV shows to research the representation of tolerance and religious coexistence in Western Europe and the Balkans. The shows were chosen based mainly on their popularity and viewership, as well as their accessibility. The following TV series were the subject of analysis: "The Vikings", "The Borgias", "Roots", "Prespav" and "On the same side".

"The Vikings" and "The Borgias" are world-renowned TV series where the representation of the religious coexistence and the religious (in)tolerance are shown in positive as well as in negative context. The examples from the Balkans - the Serbian TV show "Roots" as well as the Macedonian series "Prespav" and "On the same side" largely focus on the positive framing of tolerance, religious coexistence and peace. The idea of this pan European research was to emphasize the similarities and differences in the representation of religious diversity and tolerance in the TV series and the series accessible on YouTube that originate from two very different parts of Europe - The Balkans and Western Europe. The idea behind this approach is to dive into the mechanisms through which the good practices of religious diversity and tolerance can be transported from one region to another and vice versa. The added value of this research is to highlight lessons learned from the wrongful representation of religious diversity and malpractice in both parts of Europe, so in future, their impact would be minimized and marginalized (Ketola, Stefanovski and Kurma forthcoming).

"Framing" the messages represented through the TV series in the Balkans

The "framing theory" has its roots in the concept of "frame" that is defined as a schema for interpretation that allows individuals to locate, percept, identify and mark the appearances in their living space, as well as generally through the process of cognition of the world (Goffman 1974). Through giving the meaning of the happenings and appearances, the frames serve as a way to organize the experiences as well as direct the individual and group activities. The framing theory is quite significant in researching of social movements, and this theory had its greatest popularization in political sociology from Snow and the coauthors in their seminal piece "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation" (Snow et al. 1986).

The analysis of the framing of the messages in the TV series in the Balkans have shown proliferation of three dominant "frames" or messages, represented in three different contexts: positive, i.e. "happy" frame; the negative or the "sad" frame and the neutral or the frame of perceived neutrality.

The positive frames are dominant in the TV series "Prespav" and it is a result of the Macedonian production where the humour and satire are dominant through the comic representation of Macedonian reality i.e. the everyday life in Macedonian society in a multiethnic and multiconfessional environment. The negative frames are best represented in the Serbian TV series "Roots" that

had quite the popularity in the Balkans. "Roots" depicts the Balkans sorrow through demystification of the dark family secrets in the Serbian Kingdom at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning on the twentieth century, in the midst of the political polarization between the radicals and the liberals. And lastly, the neutral frame that essentially delves the deepest into the representation of the Macedonian religious tolerance and coexistence is represented through the Macedonian documentary "On the same side". This documentary is successful in the picturesque representation of the placid multiethnic and multiconfessional reality in Macedonia, choosing examples of mixed marriages, multireligious micro environments as well as the everyday challenges that the citizens in the Balkans have to face (Ketola, Stefanovski and Kuurma, forthcoming).

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ACTIVATION OF BENEFICIARIES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Abstract *The purpose of this paper is to analyze the activation of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance aimed at empowering users to enter the labor market as a basic precondition for their social inclusion and to reduce their dependence on the social security system. The instruments used to activate this target group of beneficiaries are analyzed and they are divided into three main groups: a) mandatory activation (establishing criteria for job search, mandatory participation in active employment policy, mandatory activation of beneficiaries), b) enabling (trainings, courses, education, provision of work experience, counseling) and c) financial incentives (job bonuses, subsidized employment, etc.). These measures target users in order not to be passive within the system of social protection, enabling them to be encouraged and provided with employment mediation services.*

The need for restructuring of the social security and employment system has been elaborated, with institutions in both systems remaining independent but would integrate the work through case management and data sharing. This method (principle) is based on a holistic approach in social work, through active participation of the beneficiaries themselves in the area of service planning, with applying empowerment methods, coordination of care by meaningful systems and taking responsibility in the change process. The monitoring system will enable meeting the individual needs of the beneficiaries, their empowerment to actively engage in the labor market through effective and efficient use of resources, organizations and staff on behalf of the beneficiary.

Analysis is made on the indirect intervention of the case manager who provides the necessary services and resources to the beneficiary and has impact on his/her capacity building, in order to provide a more meaningful and successful fulfillment of the beneficiary's needs. Within the case manager's indirect intervention, several types of strategies are applied in the practical work: brokerage; connectivity; advocacy, coordination, intervention in the social network to enhance existing resources; technical assistance and consultation to meet the beneficiary's needs.

The use of strategies that require techniques such as negotiation or bargaining has been elaborated, while others require management in case when he / she exploits the potential for conflict. However, all of these are part of the case management package and can be used to meet the beneficiary's need for his/her activation in the labor market.

The case manager works on systematic change on organizational level or on development level and delivery of new social services in the community, in order to activate the guaranteed minimal assistance for the beneficiaries and to enable their integration on the labor market.

Key words: guaranteed minimum assistance, enhancement of the capacities of the beneficiaries, labor market, and active measures.

Guaranteed minimum assistance

The poverty rate in the Republic of North Macedonia according to official statistical data in 2017 is 22.2 and decreases in 2018 to 21.9 and to 21.6 in 2019.

If we take a look at the total number of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance it is evident that the number of beneficiaries increases, from 32.657 beneficiaries in July 2020 to 32.962 in October, the same year.

However, there is an evident trend of increased number of new applications for exercising the right to guaranteed minimum assistance. In March 2020 there are 480 new applications and 323 applications in June 2020 (Employment Service Agency, 2020).

Prior to the introduction of guaranteed minimum assistance in the Republic of North Macedonia, a comparative analysis of relevant regulations was undertaken in several developed European countries: Netherlands, Belgium and Croatia. Several useful indicators for reforming the financial assistance in the Republic of North Macedonia were taken in consideration, in direction that the guaranteed minimum assistance would enable overcoming certain restrictions and disincentives linked with other rights within the social protection system (Gerovska Mitev M., 2020). This would ensure creation of legal basis for guaranteed minimum assistance.

The guaranteed minimum assistance is the basic financial compensation that is provided to meet the living needs of families. The amount is determined depending on the characteristics of the family, such as the number of family members, age, disability, pregnancy, status of parents (single parent). The right to guaranteed minimum assistance for persons who are capable to work is conditioned by the obligation to register with the Employment Service Agency and active search for employment and participation in trainings.

Activation of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance

The "activation reversal" is gradually evolving around the world, establishing different models of activation and activation strategies, with a particular focus on the development of active employment policy measures. At EU level, activation is contained in the Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion Directive, and the modalities applied are diverse.

The concept of activation policies has emerged as a result of the inability of the social protection system, even in the most developed countries, to provide unlimited use of social assistance to beneficiaries.

The activation strategies aimed at the beneficiaries of guaranteed material assistance in the Republic of Northern Macedonia are in process of development, because it is about activating a group of beneficiaries that recently in 2019 became a target group towards which the activation policy is aimed. Pursuant to Article 37 of the Law on Social Protection ("Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia" No. 104/19), Rulebook on the manner of cooperation for inclusion of the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance in active employment measures was adopted, as well as the outlook and content of the individual plan form ("Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia" No. 109/19).

There are three broad categories of active labor market interventions, namely **services for employment** which are usually provided by the employment service and/or other public agencies, and these include services such as provision of information for the unemployed, monitoring individual cases, or provision of services for individual assistance (e.g. intensive counseling and guidance, job search assistance), etc.

The second group entails **employment measures** that include training, employment incentives, shelter or supported employment and vocational rehabilitation, job creation subsidies and incentives designed for starting own businesses for beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance (startup).

The third group encompasses **support for employment** (known as "passive measures") which covers different types of cash benefits / allowances paid to unemployed people in case of unemployment (so-called unemployment benefits).

The results of several studies have shown that the models of activation of beneficiaries of financial social benefits present in the countries of the region are very diverse and range from "fully conditioned" to "fully voluntary". As for the practice in the process of activating the beneficiaries of financial social benefits, they are grouped mainly around two basic models: *activation of beneficiaries*, which is the so-called expeditiously, which gives fast results (short-term approach) and others that are more difficult, long-term and fair, i.e. those that are *focused on the real needs*, interests and development capacities of individuals and aimed at long-term and sustainable problem solving of work capable beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance (long-term approach).

Research data suggest that short-term social assistance often leads to long-term, multi-generational dependence on the social protection system. For these reasons, the Centers for Social Work and the Employment Agencies, in

cooperation with relevant social stakeholders, develop a model for activating members of vulnerable groups, taking into account the individual needs of the beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance, on one hand and the common, long-term interests of the social protection system on the other hand.

The key features of active the employment measures are the accurate assessment of the causes of employment problems and the creation of targeted employment services and programs. These causes usually fall into three broad categories:

- a) Mismatch between the skill level of job seekers and the skills required by employers (mismatch between supply and demand of skilled workers);
- b) Low demand for workers (the supply of job seekers exceeds the demand of available employers / jobs; there may also be other reasons such as high labor costs, which reduces the motivation of economic operators to invest);
- c) Long waiting in the records - caused by insufficient information about the available jobs, discrepancy between the offered and required skills or low demand for workers. This leads to a loss of motivation and, subsequently, individuals reduce the job search activities and thus reduce the likelihood of losing their unemployed status.

Different solutions are needed for each of these factors. Unemployment caused by skills mismatch is more effectively addressed by training programs aimed at raising the qualifications of the unemployed; low market demand for workers can be addressed by measures which encourage employers to recruit new workers (employment subsidies); loss of motivation and low intensity of job search can be addressed by providing adequate labor market information, job search assistance, counseling and guidance, and conditional social assistance and unemployment benefits with an active job search obligation.

If we understand the planning of the intervention as a means that guides the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance towards the expected final goal, than the planning should incorporate a strategy that leads towards accomplishment of the desired objectives. Different strategies for assistance are applied for different vulnerable groups of population:

- 1) Unemployment represents a significant problem for the beneficiaries, due to long-term unemployment, low education level or age. The case manager may help the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance with training for job interviews and development of job-related skills training, as well as gaining more self-confidence, improvement of social skills and enhancement of abilities for finding employment.

2) Many vulnerable beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance have low self-esteem due to prolonged physical or mental disorder. The beneficiaries with low self-esteem may also benefit from developing appropriate interpersonal skills. The effective approach focuses on changing the image of oneself, from negative to positive.

3) The lack of social contacts represents a problem encountered by the beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance, and they are not in position to develop their social interactions due to their living situation.

In the Republic of North Macedonia, a concept of social mentoring was piloted in the period of October 2016 - May 2017 in five regions of the country with conducted social mentoring training where the mentees were included in the labor market, as a result of increased desire to work. The results also indicated that there was an evident need for employment of additional personnel in the centers for social work and provision of technical and financial resources for implementation of mentoring activities for skill enhancement.

The new activation system promotes a new approach on the labor market, related to provision of support and development of individual skills and potentials of the beneficiaries of the programs and measures. The activation system for beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance offers intensive psycho-social and mentoring support (counseling and motivation of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance) and trainings, lasting from 3 to 12 months for overcoming obstacles that prevent their participation on the labor market.



Source: Employment Service Agency, 2020

The conducted Labor Market Skills Survey in the Republic of North Macedonia for 2020 provides short-term indicators of employers' expectations regarding new employments and the necessary skills that people should have to be competitive in the labor market.

The project "Activation of vulnerable groups in the labor market" started on September 20, 2019 and will last 36 months and aims to reduce long-term unemployment and dependence on guaranteed minimum assistance, by means of ensuring effective inclusion in the labor market, through inclusion of people in specialized skills development programs and services.

Specialized programs and services for skills development (counseling and motivation services (so-called CaM program) and employment support program through trainings) are implemented. Required occupations and crafts trainings were completed by 116 beneficiaries of the guaranteed minimum assistance for 14 required occupations (Source: Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Report, 2020). 981 Individual plans for activation of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance have been developed.

Integrated case management

In the Law on Social Protection (Official Gazette of RNM No. 104/19, 146/19, 275/19) the term "case manager" is defined as an expert in charge of a specific case who in cooperation with the beneficiary determines his/her potentials and needs and uses professional and other resources from the center for social work and other institutions and organizations on the territory of the local self-government unit, which are necessary to meet the needs and overcome the problems, i.e. to provide appropriate services for the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance. The legal definition itself determines a large part of the role of the case manager in the implementation of the method of integrated case management.

For purpose of activating the beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance, cooperation is established between the person who is the case manager at the center for social work and other responsible persons from the Employment Service Agency who are responsible for implementation of employment services (motivation trainings, career guidance, professional orientation, etc.).

The electronic real-time data exchange between the IT databases in the Employment Service Agency of the Republic of North Macedonia and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy is still an open issue.

The collective, or the integrated case management system enables best utilization of all available resources to the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance throughout the overall process of integration and inclusion (Scoppetta et al., 2017).

The key capacity for innovation of the integrated case management is comprised of: a) close institutional cooperation (Ministry of Labor and Social Policy and the centers for social work); b) provision of coordination and cooperation with other stakeholders (Employment Service Agency of the Republic of North Macedonia, secondary specialized schools, etc.) and c) integrated case management provides not only administrative management of beneficiaries, but enables strict care for provision of assistance for overcoming social exclusion on the labor market for persons beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance.

Therefore, in this specific case in the work with beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance, the introduction of integrated case management represents a twofold benefit for the overall social system. It enhances the work of the social workers as case managers, in two dimensions: a) the service provider / case manager is responsible for the family / household as a unit for analysis and unit that may request guaranteed minimum assistance; and b) the service provider / case manager leaves the daily administrative work (desk work, reception of documents) and focuses on the needs on the labor market and the social needs of the family-beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance. The case manager is focused on the field work with families - recipients of guaranteed minimum assistance, in order to make concise assessment of their needs, opportunities and obstacles on the labor market and their social integration.

The case manager from the center for social work and the service provider expert from the Employment Service Agency and the beneficiary jointly assess the needs and level of employability of all registered unemployed persons, beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance from one household, in order to select the most employable person, and his/her inclusion in the active employment measures and services, taking into account his/her age, acquired education, previous work experience, professional qualifications, acquired skills, and available jobs on the labor market. The employment of guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiaries includes several indicators of the nature and patterns of behavior and the way family members experience their employment and work experience or long-term unemployment.

Aspects that are taken in consideration are the stability of employment (before dismissal, seasonal work, no contract, etc.) and the organization of the household and working hours, how parents view their work or unemployment, and how this affects their relationship with their children.

Other things that are taken in consideration are difficulties in employment that do not meet the needs of the family life or if children have to take care of themselves while their parents are at work or if they have to take care of younger siblings. There is a need to strike a balance between work and parenting. Assessment is carried out no later than 30 days from the beginning of the cooperation.

The planning process itself is carried out with the participation of the case manager, the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance and the representative of the Employment Service Agency and can be also established by an interdisciplinary team for development of a comprehensive plan, coordinating multidisciplinary efforts and involving key representatives of the social environment.

The specificity of the service plan is a useful therapeutic tool for beneficiary service planning, including very deep in problem solving and decision making. The beneficiary's participation is needed at the earliest stage of his emancipation in the case management process (Veil, 1985, p.368).

Intervention planning is an important link in the chain of functions in the overall boot model and has, in fact, been identified as an essential case management function. Also, the involvement of guaranteed minimum assistance users in the planning process itself generates motivation for beneficiaries to use the services provided by the individual plan (Gerhart, 1990 p. 213).

The case manager and the service provider from the Employment Service Agency follow the implementation of the individual plan and the fulfilment of the obligations of the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance, and they document the implementation of individual activities and how successful they are and develop periodical quarterly report to monitor the success of the implementation measures. The case manager and the service provider from the Employment Service Agency, in cooperation with the beneficiary make the required adjustments for implementation of the individual plan.

Going through different stages of integrated case management, the case manager takes on different roles that should connect the beneficiary to the services and to represent the needs and interests of the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance. According to Woodside and McClaim, the primary roles of the case manager are advocate, mediator, coordinator, collaborator, community organizer, consultant, counselor, evaluator, executor, planner, problem solver, reporter, and system modifier (Zegarac, N., 2015: 32).

Indirect and direct service strategies of the case manager

The main concern of the case manager is to identify and organize *the potentials that can meet the needs of the beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance*. By engaging in change-seeking, and with an attitude that each meeting with a particular service is an opportunity for effective systematic change, the case manager can influence the development of new resources and programs for guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiaries.

The case manager uses indirect service strategies that enable the provision of services and professional assistance for guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiaries as well as to influence the capacities of these services and professional assistance in order to respond to the individual needs of the guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiaries.

Mediation and networking are two strategies that enable guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiaries to be provided with formal social services. The mediation involves the case manager in selecting appropriate professional services in the community which can appropriately and adequately focus on the needs of the beneficiary. Networking is a strategy used by the case manager in working with the guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiary in order to ensure the use of the required service. One of the main means of networking is referral (Hepworth, Larsen 1982).

The case manager also intervenes in the social network to improve the provision of professional assistance by the social system to support the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance, by using *technical assistance and consultation* with formal social services or members of the social environment.

Effective referral is a complex process that involves the case manager in mediating between the guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiary and the identified institution that has the necessary professional assistance.

The case manager coordinates the services and ensures that they are implemented in a harmonious and compatible way by the providers of social professional services and by the members of the social environment in order to respond to the needs of the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance.

The case manager takes care of the following matters: (1) ensures that all stakeholders strive to meet the objectives in a compatible manner, (2) takes care of the implementation of the service delivery plan in accordance with the established dynamics, (3) takes care all stakeholders to inform each other about their activities for providing services and support on a regular basis. The case

manager who works as a coordinator provides the necessary work support to all stakeholders who provide support for the beneficiary by organizing and maintaining the structure for achieving the objectives of the service plan and support for the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance.

Case managers often work with people who have a lot of problems, and it seems that such people have learned to be helpless. Acting against this "learned helplessness" is the greatest result of the direct service function of the case manager. However, self-guidance does not only focus on the disadvantages of the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance but it rather represents more positive conception of the potential of the beneficiary. Self-guidance is expected to change the situation of the beneficiary by using his/her skills, abilities and resources to meet his/her needs.

The basics of self-guidance go into four main areas of focus for the beneficiary and the case manager which promote the development of value base that emphasizes the individualization of the beneficiary by the case manager and the existence of trust between the case manager and the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance.

The case manager works with the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance, in the area of development of his/her cognitive and behavioral skills to achieve the desired goal and helps the beneficiary in the process of self-guidance depending on the nature of the relationship for provision of assistance that exists between these two persons.

The case manager also performs direct roles as an "implementer", and to a large extent provides directions and guidelines for the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance. It is not uncommon for a case manager to make contact with the beneficiary user who is facing a very stressful event in life and therefore faces a complete crisis and guides the implementation of the necessary activities.

The case manager as a teacher / instructor works directly with the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance in promoting his/her skills that are useful so he/she would be able to meet his/her own needs in future. One of the principles of case management is teaching the "beneficiary how to catch fish instead of giving him/her fish".

The case manager works as a guide / collaborator working with the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance in identifying the social services he/she needs to meet his/her needs and then guides the beneficiary through the process of providing these services and support.

As an information specialist, the case manager can guide beneficiaries how to use the information system and show them how to actually use it to find the appropriate tools, benefits or services in the community.

The establishment of the number of beneficiaries is another critical aspect of the program. The number of beneficiaries depends on a number of factors: the type of service offered, the intensity and duration of contacts between the case manager and the guaranteed minimum assistance beneficiary, and the number of human resources that the social work center can afford to employ.

Conditionally, the number of beneficiaries should be determined on basis of "program by program". During the duration of the program planning in general and the development phase, the number of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance is relatively low, later it gradually increases with the progress of the program implementation and there are empirical and rational reasons for a certain number of beneficiaries.

CONCLUSIONS

Employment is a key element of socioeconomic inclusion. Similarly, the number of people on social assistance relative to the population can be an indicative of the overall health of an economy.

The implementation of guaranteed minimum assistance through the process of integrated case management in the Republic of North Macedonia, requires reforms in the work portfolio of current social workers and their upgrading to case manager, and restructuring from mostly administrative work (checking that all documents are submitted) into field integrative work.

The indirect service function involves the case manager in using various strategies to develop a responsible network to support the beneficiary of the guaranteed minimum assistance. In some cases, such as mediation and networking, the indirect service function serves to connect beneficiaries to existing services and to ensure that these services are appropriately used and provided. On the other hand, as with the advocacy strategy, the case manager can use his/her influence and even conflict techniques as a means of getting feedback from service providers.

The direct service function provides a means of upgrading and strengthening the self-care capacity of the beneficiary of guaranteed minimum assistance.

The guaranteed minimum assistance program should collect sufficient indicators of success and set important objectives for the duration of the assistance for the recipients in order to be able to participate in the employment

activities. The effectiveness of programs in assigning appropriate employment preparation activities and encouraging individuals to follow the employment opportunities should also be closely monitored.

There is a need for establishing electronic data exchange between the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy and the Employment Service Agency of the Republic of North Macedonia during the preparation of the Individual Plan for activation of beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum assistance and continuation of the efforts for enhancing the cooperation between these two institutions in providing services for counseling and support within the CaM (Counseling and Mentoring) program (psycho-social support service and mentoring support service).

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SOCIAL WORK PERCEPTION, EMPATHY AND SYSTEMATIZATION IN CHILDREN WITH AUTISTIC DISORDER SPECTRUM

Social workers are a valuable resource for families struggling with raising an autistic child. They can help with the initial diagnosis and help assess the individual needs that each family faces. Social workers with the proper education can work directly with children in a school setting to help with the special behavioral and social needs of autism.

The purpose of this study is to compare the results of the empathy assessment and the systematization assessment conducted on children with autistic spectrum disorder with those obtained from children with typical development of the same age.

The Empathy and Systematization Questionnaire for Children was administered to 60 parents of children with autistic spectrum disorder and 60 parents of children with typical development. The estimation was made between January 2020 and March 2020.

Social workers with knowledge of autism can be valuable contributors to client- and family-centered healthcare services. Interviews with 14 social workers highlighted perceptions of the needs of families of children with autism in the hospital and challenges and benefits related to the role of social work with these families. Results suggest that pediatric social workers may benefit from opportunities to develop autism-relevant knowledge and skills.

During the research, the evaluation technique was applied using the Children's Empathy Quotient (EQ-C) and Systemizing Quotient (SQ-C).

Children with autism show significantly higher scores in the SQ-C and significantly lower scores in the EQ-C, with which the hypothesis being confirmed.

Relying on this research paper we can conclude that girls are better than boys in identifying feelings and dealing with them. While systematization (the desire to analyze, investigate, and construct a system) is generally considered stronger in men. The same results were obtained in children with autistic spectrum disorder.

Both men and women know that there is a stereotype that women are more caring than men and that they are more likely to express emotions, so they may respond to research questions by seeking to confirm that stereotype.

Girls are brought up to be caring, empathetic to other people, to understand their condition, personality traits, and moods, while boys are being raised to uphold the principle of fairness, which means that there is a different emotional socialization among children.

The purpose of this research was to focus on autism, raising people's awareness of these people's problems, a brief description of its characteristics, and a deeper elaboration of empathy and systematization in children with autistic spectrum disorder.

Social work perception, empathy and systematization in children with autistic disorder spectrum

It is known that children with autism are insufficient in building empathy. A part of the difficulties in social interaction may originate from the lack of empathy.

As early as 1962, psychologists described children with “autistic psychopathy” as being “unable to achieve empathy.” An empathy deficit has since become a core feature in many conceptualizations of autism, including the theory of mind (or mind-blindness) model and the empathizing-systematizing model. Researchers have distinguished between cognitive empathy (or theory of mind; the capacity to understand another person's perspective or mental state) and emotional or affective empathy (the capacity to experience affective reactions to the observed experiences of others), asserting that autistic individuals have deficits in the former, but not in the latter. Even this position, however, has been widely criticized by autistic individuals in online forums. For example, purported deficits in cognitive empathy may be a problem of experiencing too much emotional empathy or of needing more time to process empathy's cognitive aspects. Or they may be due to a breakdown in mutual understanding between people who experience the world differently (and may apply just as much to neurotypical people failing to empathize with autistic people as

it does in the opposite direction). Autistic adults often argue that the notion that autistic individuals lack empathy or theory of mind is dehumanizing and perpetuates dangerous stereotypes and oversimplifications.

The social work profession has not yet taken a leadership role in addressing the myriad of challenges that individuals on the autism spectrum encounter across the lifespan. In this paper, we argue that social workers are well equipped to engage in research and practice aimed at promoting full and meaningful inclusion in society, as well as social and economic justice, for individuals on the autism spectrum. We highlight short- and long-term goals that provide the social work profession with a framework to engage in research, practice, education, and advocacy aimed at supporting individuals on the autism spectrum and their families.

In this article, we highlight the contributions of social work research to date that increase the field's knowledge about autism spectrum disorder (ASD). Using a life course perspective, we argue that the social work profession must make a commitment to engage in research in order to educate a workforce prepared to advocate for a more just and inclusive society for individuals on the autism spectrum. Social workers who support individuals on the autism spectrum and their families engage in research, practice, education, and advocacy aimed at supporting individuals on the spectrum and their families, and to help communities enhance their awareness. By extension, social work researchers have a key role in investigating the diverse experiences of people on the spectrum, with an eye towards developing and testing a continuum of multisystem interventions, confronting social injustices, and promoting the full and meaningful inclusion in society for those on the autism spectrum.

Social workers with knowledge of autism can be valuable contributors to client- and family-centered healthcare services. This study utilized a qualitative design to explore pediatric hospital social workers' experiences and perceptions when working with children and youth with autism and their families. Interviews with 14 social workers in highlighted perceptions of the needs of families of children with autism in the hospital and challenges and benefits related to the role of social work with these families. Results suggest that pediatric social workers may benefit from opportunities to develop autism-relevant knowledge and skills.

Although social workers often work in clinical environments, their training allows them to practice in many other settings, providing services such as mental health diagnostics, program implementation, individual counseling,

and group therapy: all of which can benefit people on the autism spectrum. Additionally, because social workers are trained to provide individual and group therapy services, they make effective social-cognition coaches, who can help an increasing number of adults with autism learn to cope with the ambiguous and sometimes-frustrating world of workplace social interaction. Given their increasing presence on autism treatment teams, social workers have shown that they can play a key role in improving social functioning, addressing behavioral issues, and increasing the well-being of individuals on the autism spectrum – whether at school, in a clinic, or at a workplace.

A social worker that specializes in autism is often employed by a government agency, disability agency or self-help group to provide assistance and support to parents, children and adults with autism.

Social workers are trained in complex problem solving, as well as counselling, monitoring wellbeing and family support.

If you suspect you or someone you love has autism, or if you are undergoing the early stages of assessment, the diagnostic process can be challenging, as such it's important to seek support where possible.

Social workers operate as a trusted friend or family member might – assisting you with filling out forms and paperwork, advocating on your behalf with doctors and specialists, seeking out information, and putting you in touch with specialist agencies and services.

Social workers offer a broad range of services to people with autism and parents and careers of autistic children, including:

Counselling

Undertaking personal and family counselling, or arranging therapy services through a relevant professional.

Information

Accumulating and presenting easy to understand information about relevant support services and options.

Coordination

Helping you or your family to coordinate various specialists and health professional appointments, arranging travel and accommodation and managing care and respite.

Advocacy

Acting as a personal representative and counsel for you or your family when dealing with complex government and community services.

Case managers

Linking parents and families with agencies and programs that can help them in times of need.

School Assistance

A school social worker can assist where assessment is required to support a child with behavioral and social challenges. They can also assist children with autism to build relationships with other students.

Group work

Social workers can be skilled at bringing together people with similar life challenges and facilitating group sessions that provide support and understanding.

What services are offered by the social work providers?

- ♦ ***Individual Therapy:*** Individual treatment designed to target specific areas of concern (i.e. anxiety, mood, attention and emotional regulation) for children, ages 4-17
- ♦ ***Group Therapy:*** Small-group, short-term treatment for children, adolescents, and parents that seeks to increase awareness and improve specific skills to achieve participants' goals.
- ♦ ***Family Therapy, with the patient:*** Counseling designed to support overall family functioning, building on family strengths and attachments, and/or cope with recent changes or ongoing areas of difficulties
- ♦ ***Family Therapy, without the patient:*** Supportive treatment for caregivers to develop new routines and strategies to respond to their child's emotional, behavioral, social, and medical needs. Caregivers may also wish to meet together to address concerns and work on problem-solving, in order to enhance the caregivers' ability to parent their child.
- ♦ ***Care Coordination:*** This service involves working with caregivers to plan, seek, and advocate for required resources that will support the family in caring for their child.

Some individuals while they are still in high school should be encouraged to take courses at a local college in drafting, computer programming or commercial art. This will help keep them motivated and serve as a refuge from teasing. Families with low income may be wondering how they can afford computers for their child to learn programming or computer aided drafting. Used computers can often be obtained for free or at a very low cost when a business or an engineering company upgrades their equipment. Many people do not realize that there are many usable older computers sitting in storerooms at schools, banks, factories and other businesses. It will not be the latest new thing, but it is more than adequate for a student to learn on.

Bad Jobs for People with High Functioning Autism or Asperger's Syndrome:
Jobs that require high demands on short-term working memory

- ♦ Cashier -- making change quickly puts too much demand on short-term working memory
- ♦ Short order cook -- Have to keep track of many orders and cook many different things at the same time
- ♦ Waitress -- Especially difficult if have to keep track of many different tables
- ♦ Casino dealer -- Too many things to keep track of
- ♦ Taxi dispatcher -- Too many things to keep track of
- ♦ Taking oral dictation -- Difficult due to auditory processing problems
- ♦ Airline ticket agent -- Deal with angry people when flights are cancelled
- ♦ Future market trader -- Totally impossible
- ♦ Air traffic controller -- Information overload and stress
- ♦ Receptionist and telephone operator -- Would have problems when the switch board got busy

Good Jobs for Visual Thinkers

- ♦ Computer programming -- Wide-open field with many jobs available especially in industrial automation, software design, business computers, communications and network systems
- ♦ Drafting -- Engineering drawings and computer aided drafting. This job can offer many opportunities. Drafting is an excellent portal of entry for many interesting technical jobs. I know people who started out at a company doing drafting and then moved into designing and laying out entire factories. To become really skilled at drafting, one needs to learn how to draw by hand first. I have observed that most of the people who draw beautiful drawings on a computer learned to draw by hand first.

People who never learn to draw by hand first tend to leave important details out of their drawings.

- ♦ Commercial art -- Advertising and magazine layout can be done as freelance work
- ♦ Photography -- Still and video, TV cameraman can be done as freelance work
- ♦ Equipment designing -- Many industries, often a person starts as a draftsman and then moves into designing factory equipment
- ♦ Animal trainer or veterinary technician -- Dog obedience trainer, behavior problem consultant
- ♦ Automobile mechanic -- Can visualize how the entire car works
- ♦ Computer-troubleshooter and repair -- Can visualize problems in computers and networks
- ♦ Small appliance and lawnmower repair -- Can make a nice local business
- ♦ Handcrafts of many different types such as wood carving, jewelry making, ceramics, etc.
- ♦ Laboratory technician -- Who modifies and builds specialized lab equipment
- ♦ Web page design -- Find a good niche market can be done as freelance work
- ♦ Building trades -- Carpenter or welder. These jobs make good use of visual skills but some people will not be able to do them well due to motor and coordination problems.
- ♦ Video game designer -- Stay out of this field. Jobs are scarce and the field is overcrowded. There are many more jobs in industrial, communications business and software design computer programming. Another bad thing about this job is exposure to violent images.
- ♦ Computer animation -- Visual thinkers would be very good at this field, but there is more competition in this field than in business or industrial computer programming. Businesses are recruiting immigrants from overseas because there is a shortage of good programmers in business and industrial fields.
- ♦ Building maintenance -- Fixes broken pipes, windows and other things in an apartment complex, hotel or office building
- ♦ Factory maintenance -- Repairs and fixes factory equipment

Good Jobs for Non-Visual Thinkers: Those who are good at math, music or facts

- ♦ Accounting -- Get very good in a specialized field such as income taxes
- ♦ Library science -- reference librarian. Help people find information in the library or on the Internet.
- ♦ Computer programming -- Less visual types can be done as freelance work
- ♦ Engineering -- Electrical, electronic and chemical engineering
- ♦ Journalist -- Very accurate facts, can be done as freelance
- ♦ Copy editor -- Corrects manuscripts. Many people freelance for larger publishers
- ♦ Taxi driver -- Knows where every street is
- ♦ Inventory control -- Keeps track of merchandise stocked in a store
- ♦ Tuning pianos and other musical instruments, can be done as freelance work
- ♦ Laboratory technician -- Running laboratory equipment
- ♦ Bank Teller -- Very accurate money counting, much less demand on short-term working memory than a busy cashier who mostly makes change quickly
- ♦ Clerk and filing jobs -- knows where every file is
- ♦ Telemarketing -- Get to repeat the same thing over and over, selling on the telephone. Noisy environment may be a problem. Telephone sales avoids many social problems.
- ♦ Statistician -- Work in many different fields such as research, census bureau, industrial quality control
- ♦ Physicist or mathematician -- There are very few jobs in these fields. Only the very brilliant can get and keep jobs. Jobs are much more plentiful in computer programming and accounting.

Jobs for Nonverbal People with Autism or People with Poor Verbal Skills

- ♦ Reshelving library books -- Can memorize the entire numbering system and shelf locations
- ♦ Factory assembly work -- Especially if the environment is quiet
- ♦ Copy shop -- Running photocopies. Printing jobs should be lined up by somebody else
- ♦ Janitor jobs -- Cleaning floors, toilets, windows and offices
- ♦ Restocking shelves -- In many types of stores
- ♦ Recycling plant -- Sorting jobs

- ♦ Warehouse -- Loading trucks, stacking boxes
- ♦ Lawn and garden work -- Mowing lawns and landscaping work
- ♦ Data entry -- If the person has fine motor problems, this would be a bad job
- ♦ Fast food restaurant -- Cleaning and cooking jobs with little demand on short-term memory
- ♦ Plant care -- Water plants in a large office building

Bonnie Auyeung and colleagues conducted a study to find out the gender differences between children with autism spectrum disorder and children with typical development in the Empathy and Systematization Questionnaire. Children's Empathy Quotient (EQ-C) and Systemizing Quotient (SQ-C) was administered to 1,256 parents of children with typical development aged 4–11 years. As expected, girls scored higher on empathy questions while boys scored higher on systematization questions. The same sample was conducted on 265 parents of children with ASD, where children with ASD showed lower results for empathy and higher results for systematization. In terms of gender, both groups showed the same results.

It is generally accepted that males and females show significant differences in their neuroanatomy, cognition, and behavior from an early age (Baron-Cohen et al. 2005). Baron-Cohen (2002) suggests that in addition to traditional concepts of verbal and spatial ability, the dimensions of 'empathy' and 'systematization' may also help in understanding human gender differences. Empathy (desire to identify the other person's emotions and thoughts and respond to them with appropriate emotion) is generally considered stronger in women, while systematization (desire to analyze, explore, and construct a system) is generally considered stronger in men.

From birth, it has been observed that female babies show a stronger preference for social stimuli in the first 24 hours after birth. Girls also have greater eye contact after birth (Hittelman and Dickes 1979), at 12 months of age (Lutchmaya et al., 2002) and at 2 and 4 years of age (Podrouzek and Furrow 1988). Girls also show better quality of social relationships at 48 months (Knickmeyer et al. 2005).

Using measures that directly assess aspects of empathy, girls outperform boys in assessing the feelings and intentions of characters in a story and distinguishing the reality of emotions (Banerjee 1997).

Game testing studies suggest that boys show more interest in mechanical and constructive play and prefer to play with toy vehicles or construction kits,

while girls are more likely to choose to play with dolls, animals (Berenbaum and Hines 1992; Lis 1979; Servin et al. 1999; Smith and Daghli 1977). Boys also achieve higher scores for tasks that require systematization, such as the use of directional cues when reading maps and making maps, physics (Lawson, Baron-Cohen, & Scottright 2004), and math. They also show greater spatial capabilities and spatial visualization.

The autism spectrum disorder is characterized by disorders of social interaction and communication, along with unusually limited, repetitive, stereotyped patterns of behavior, interests, and activities. Two studies in the United Kingdom estimate the prevalence of ASD to be 116.1 per 10,000 and 94 per 10,000 (Baird et al., 2006; Baron-Cohen et al., 2009). This condition has a strong neurobiological and genetic component. There is also a clear incidence ratio estimated at 4: 1 for men and 10.8: 1 for people with Asperger syndrome (Gillberg et al. 2006).

The latest study examines gender differences in terms of empathy and systematization. Questionnaires EQ and SQ were adapted for parental report and completed by parents ($n = 1,256$) of children with typical development. In addition, adapted versions of the questionnaires were completed by parents ($n = 265$) of children with ASD. The questionnaires were completed by mothers of children between 4 and 11 years old and the research consists of 2 groups: Group 1 consists of mothers of children with typical development with $n = 1,256$ (675 girls, 581 boys) who participated in a large epidemiological study on social and communication skills in primary schools in Cambridge, UK (Baron-Cohen, 2009). Group 2 consisted of $n = 265$ (46 girls, 219 boys) children with ASD, diagnosed by a psychiatrist or appropriate clinician (for example, clinical psychologists). Respondents are mothers of children with ASD through the Cambridge Autism Research Center the questionnaire was conducted online. From the obtained results it can be concluded that the girls achieved higher results in the assessment of empathy and the boys higher results in the systematization. No significant differences were observed in the assessment of empathy and systematization in boys and girls with autism spectrum disorder. The results show poor results on empathy questions in children with ASD unlike their typical developmental peers. The questionnaire is capable of detecting poor empathy typically associated with ASC. Children with ASD showed higher scores on the systematization questionnaire than their peers with typical development. And the boys were more successful in this area.

Research

The subject of this research is the assessment of empathy and systematization in children with autism spectrum disorder.

The aim of this study was to compare the results obtained from the assessment of empathy and the assessment of systematization conducted in children with autism spectrum disorder with the results obtained from children with typical development at the same age.

The Customized Empathy and Systematization Questionnaire for Children was administered to 60 parents of children with autism spectrum disorder and 60 parents of children with typical development.

The questionnaire contains 55 items, with 4 possible answers to each question. The parents answered to what extent they agree or disagree with the given statements (I agree, I completely agree, I do not agree, I completely disagree). The 55 items are divided into 27 questions related to empathy in children and 28 questions on systematization.

Relying on the obtained data we can conclude that girls are better than boys in identifying feelings and dealing with them, while systematization is considered to be generally stronger in men.

The same results were obtained in both groups.

Conclusion and recommendations

Relying on this research paper we can conclude that girls are better than boys in identifying feelings and dealing with them. While systematization (the desire to analyze, research, and construct a system) is generally considered stronger in men. The same results were obtained in children with autism spectrum disorder.

Both men and women know that there is a stereotype that women are more caring than men and express more emotions, so they may answer research questions in an effort to confirm that stereotype. Girls are brought up to be caring, empathetic towards other people, to understand their condition, personality traits and moods, while boys are brought up to respect the principle of justice which means that there is a different emotional socialization between children.

The aim of this research was to focus on autism, raising awareness among people about the problems of these people, a brief description of its characteristics and a deeper elaboration of empathy and systematization in children with autism spectrum disorder.

Recommendations

- ♦ Increasing the awareness of the local government and their greater involvement in finding solutions
- ♦ Greater community support
- ♦ Safer environment, social inclusion of children with autism spectrum disorder
- ♦ Early assessment as a prerequisite for edge intervention and early inclusion
- ♦ Applied health care, rehabilitation and continuous, mandatory and intensive treatment
- ♦ Using methods and strategies to stimulate empathy and systematization in children with autism spectrum disorders.

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IDENTIFICATION OF PERSONS WITHOUT PERSONAL DOCUMENTS DURING MIGRATION: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Abstract: *The condition of statelessness of one or more persons at the level of a territory, city, region or the whole country, is the most general, and at the same time, the biggest problem in exercising the basic social and economic human rights. For this notion to be more complicated, in the twenty-first century all countries in the world, including the Republic of North Macedonia, have persons without personal documents, but at the same time their country of residence is not recorded – they have no proof that they exist, that they were born, simply they do not possess an ID card or any identification document. These people are simply among us, but they do not officially exist. At the same time, they have problems, they experience everyday hardships, have bad and endangering life stories, and their basic human rights are broken, or worse - their criminality - again - does not exist. Often these people are without formal education or with only a minimum of basic working skills, which is exacerbating their prospects for a normal and dignified life. It is precisely the aforementioned guarantee of the dignity of human socio-economic life that makes the country a key factor in identifying those persons, preventing such persons being unregistered in the future, but also, integrating the identified persons into the society. In North Macedonia, most of the mentioned activities are performed by social workers, along with the members of the Ministry of Interior units and from Ministry of Justice units, responsible for identifying and registering these persons in the system. In addition, in February 2020, North Macedonia adopted the new Law on Registration of Unregistered Persons, which provides to the persons without any documents four guaranteed rights, including the right to be obligatorily entered in this registry. This paper aims to assess the capacities and experiences of social workers in their work with unregistered persons, as well to provide an overview of the main challenges of treatment of unregistered persons in North Macedonia*

Key words: social workers, undocumented people, demographic factors, migrant crisis, social and economic rights, inclusive development.

1. Introduction

People usually automatically acquire their nationality at birth, either through their parents or the country in which they were born. Sometimes, however, a person must apply to become a national of a country. The interna-

tional legal definition of a stateless person is “a person who is not considered as a national by any other country under the operation of its law”. In simple terms, this means that a stateless person does not have a nationality of any country. A person’s citizenship and nationality may be determined based on the laws of a country, where an individual was born or where their parents were born. A person can also lose citizenship and nationality in a number of ways, including when a country ceases to exist or a country adopts nationality laws that discriminate against certain groups. Whatever the cause, statelessness has serious consequences for people in almost every country and in all regions of the world. The status of a stateless person under national law must reflect applicable principles of equality and non-discrimination. Countries can extend their temporary permission to stay where admission/readmission or reacquisition of nationality does not materialize. Thus, recognition of statelessness plays an important role in the enhancing respect for the human rights of stateless persons, particularly through access to a secure legal status and enjoyment of rights afforded to stateless persons.

Social workers play the main role in the support of individuals and their families through difficult times and ensure that vulnerable people, including children and adults, are safeguarded from harm. Their role is to help improve outcomes in people’s lives. They maintain professional relationships and act as guides and advocates. They sometimes need to use their professional judgment to make tough decisions that might not always be well received by those they are trying to help. Social workers can work in both statutory and non-statutory roles. In a statutory position, the role of the social workers is to adhere to the laws that exist to protect the vulnerable clients. In non-statutory roles, social workers still work with a similar client group, but are not specifically responsible for enforcing the law, such as providing support for drug and alcohol abusers, homeless people, people without documents, and people with mental health issues.

Finally, the right to work, and the right to social inclusion in the community, at least in principle, is considered a fundamental human right of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. More importantly, the right to decent work is also widely seen as an important factor of human dignity and self-esteem. For that reason, people without personal documents and stateless persons should be provided with direct and automatic access to the labour market and should be assisted extensively in their pursuit of employment through individualized support services, including

mentoring and skills assessment, which would greatly enhance their social inclusion, as well as their chance of self-reliance in the long term.

2. Challenges of locating, communicating and integrating persons without personal identification documents and stateless persons: the example of North Macedonia

For significant number of people who live in the Republic of North Macedonia, the lack of personal identity documents presents a serious problem to their enjoyment of basic social and economic rights. For the majority of these people, poverty, marginalization and discrimination is a “standard” part of their everyday life. Most affected are the children without any nationality who grow up believing that basic rights are a luxury given to many, but not to them. Also, statelessness causes a lack of registered civil status. Ultimately, by the issue of childhood statelessness in the national context and showing that addressing statelessness is a vital step in ensuring that children can build a better future, on the national level strategies are created that aims to contribute to breaking the often-intergenerational cycle of that marginalization in the country. The implementation thereof brought about the introduction of the first amendments of the domestic citizenship law, which introduced several news, among which, most importantly acquisition of nationality by certain children born on the territory of the country who do not acquire another nationality at birth. In 2008, the second amendment of the Law on Citizenship introduced facilitated acquisition of Macedonian nationality for stateless persons and recognized refugees who lawfully and habitually reside within its territory. Ever since, no other laws or measures for implementation in practice were produced about the issue of locating and integrating the persons without personal documents, stateless persons, or refugees. For that reason, the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia and all others key factors that were included in the process, starting in 2018, exerted strenuous efforts to prevent and reduce statelessness caused by lack of personal documents, which includes:

- ♦ Creating awareness of statelessness and identifying stateless populations;
- ♦ Creating universal birth registration and other forms of civil documentation;
- ♦ Increasing access to naturalization or citizenship by:

- ♦ eliminating discrimination in nationality laws, and
- ♦ building administrative capacity for civil registry.

Republic of North Macedonia has an obligation to ensure birth registration for all persons born on the territory of the country regardless of the status or nationality of the child, or the parents. The Law on Registry Records governs the procedures for birth registration and it distinguishes between registration of the fact of the birth of the child in the country's territory, and registration of the personal name of a child. In practice, the following documents are required to be presented for the registry: valid documents for identification of both parents; marriage certificate; medical documentation issued from the hospital where the birth took place, or valid identification documents of the two witnesses; statement issued by a gynecologist that the mother has given birth; and immunization cards for the child. In practice in some cases, where there has been several years from the birth of a child, the parents need to obtain DNA analysis as evidence, which presents an additional and financially costly evidence, and some Roma people without personal documents are not able to afford this. The procedure/documentary evidence required for children born out of the country is somewhat more complex in that requires the presence of both parents, who must produce their own birth certificates. When the child was born abroad, the parents need to submit the child's birth certificate from the country where he/she was registered and their personal documents: ID cards and marriage certificate.

In addition, in our country a most burning problem in that issue, is the fact that some people are still born without the opportunity to inherit the identity from their parents, because they do not have personal identification documents. The most typical examples of such domestic persons are prisoners, drug addicts, homeless persons and others. Namely, some prisoners who have served several years in prison and have been released, have not renewed their ID cards and passports. They don't have personal documents and therefore can neither receive social assistance, nor obtain health insurance. Most of them are drug addicts treated with methadone therapy. While they were in prison, they were receiving therapy, but when they are released from further serving, due to the lack of valid personal documents they are not able to obtain their rights to treatment with the mentioned therapy. The procedure for obtaining new personal documents of persons who are in prisons begins and ends through the institution where the person is placed to serve a prison sentence.

For example, first of all, it is necessary for the person serving a prison sentence to address the competent management of the institution where he/she is serving the prison sentence. Then that person should contact the Department of Civil Affairs where the procedure for obtaining a similar document begins. Convicts, who are serving prison sentences after serving their sentences, due to their own inertia and due to insufficient care of the institutions, (in this case the prison administrations) have ignored the administrative needs of the prisoners. Just for that after being released from prison, those people are without documents for personal identification. Several of them who did not want their names to be mentioned, said that it created huge problems for them in their re-socialization in the society. They cannot communicate with institutions, banks, social services, health care services, and other services. But it is not just former prisoners who had "lack of identity". In our country, not a small number of ordinary citizens are also without proper identification documents. They are somehow ignored by the society, because they neither have a home, nor personal documents. Among them, beside homeless, the largest number are members of the ethnic Roma community. For them, the start from undocumented parents, finishes with children who are also born undocumented. In another worlds, new-borns cannot be registered in the state registry, due to the fact that their parents do not have it either.

3. The role of social workers in overcoming challenges

Social work is a deeply rewarding profession that allows to each individual who works in social work and social protection, to say at the end of each day: "I made a difference in someone's life". However, there is no "one size fits all" for social work. For example: for a therapy plan for abusive persons – there are always two treatment plans, and the clients are not the same. The mentioned above is crucial in mental social and health care, and only a qualified social worker with a degree in mental health care can provide good practices. According to the national statistics, in our country there are over 6,000 people (from different institutions which employ the social workers, the NGOs, and internationally bodies) who chose to dedicate their lives and careers to this field, and there is an incredibly rapid 19% growth rate between 2012 and 2020. On a daily basis social workers' challenges are with a wide range of positive and negative stressful activities such as: supporting parents with the emotional challenges of adopting a child, helping a professional navigate a new career, or working with someone who's trying to exit an abusive relationship,

overcome an addiction, or contemplating divorce. Treatment plans generally include continued one-on-one individual sessions to help the client move towards their desired goal. Flexibility in treatment plans is necessary. As goals are met, new problems can make themselves known, or the crises can erupt.

Just for that reason, the social work can also include referring clients to other resources that may help them, such as medical professionals, or support groups. Social workers may also refer clients to medical professionals for further treatment, support groups specifically geared to their client's issue, job-placement recruiters, and child-care resources to help them. For instance, sometimes the treatment plan needs to be changed according to new problems or information presented during treatment, if goals have been done, or if a crisis erupted along the way. The key is to remain flexible in helping the client move towards their goals in the most effective way. Being a client's advocate and in some cases maybe a single support for some persons, is often what social workers make this work their life profession. Whether they think of their profession on a micro, mezzo, or macro level – being a direct advocate for an individual tet-a-tet level, advocating within organizations and communities, or engaging in advocacy at the policy making and policy researching level. For that reason, they have a strong calling to make the world a better place by representing those who cannot effectively represent themselves, or who need some professional social assistance in some period of their lives. On an individual level, social workers stand for another person, often in complex situations. For instance, they will provide necessary interventions when a child is in an abusive home, working with the family, or police, to provide immediate and continued safety for the child. On the mezzo and macro levels, social workers function within groups, within community organizations, and amongst policymakers to develop or improve: programmes, services, policies, and social conditions that will benefit individuals and the whole field of social work at local, regional, and national level.

In practice, in relation to the mentioned issues, social workers have the role of a direct communicator with the persons without personal identification documents, as well as with the stateless persons who also do not possess personal documentations. They first notice them in the field and record them quantitatively. Then with the competent services from the registry office from the Ministry of Justice, as well as with the police services, research and see if those people are really like they said that they are. Then, the work begins with the direct access to those people by the social services. In the field

most often, persons without personal documentation are minors or children. Stateless children born out of our country, are mostly issued incomplete birth certificates, containing only details of the mother. On the other hand, for the domestic people, the access to birth registration is challenging due to the fact that parents often belong to marginalized groups who are encountering problems in meeting the evidentiary requirements, and the fact that full registration is not automatically conducted once the authorities first learn of the birth of the child. Additionally, the requirement for parents to provide valid identification documentation firstly for them, and then to complete the registration of a child can be impossible for some who meet this requirement for the first time in their life. Sometimes it can perpetuate the cycle of undocumented parents transferring their problems with documentation to the next generation. However, the absence of the mother's proof of identity, in most cases completely blocks the registration. This shows that even though not prescribed by law, in practice it is essential that the mother of the child is properly documented for the birth registration to take place.

4. The legal framework for undocumented persons and their fundamental freedoms and rights in North Macedonia

Regarding the previous mentioned reasons, the Government and its bodies (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Centres for social work, social workers, Employment agencies and etc.) has started to solve the problem of undocumented persons. Many of them are most often also the people from the most vulnerable social categories and those who most need access to social services. For that purpose, the Law on Registration of Unregistered Persons in the Birth Registry was adopted, which regulates the procedure for collecting and recording personal data on persons not registered in the birth registry, the type of data to be registered, the conditions for registration in a special birth registry, the conditions for registration in a special registry of deaths, the issuance of a birth certificate, an identification document and the additional entry of these persons in the birth registry.

The purpose of this law is for the persons not registered in the birth registry to be registered in a special birth registry. Also, the main purpose is to obtain a temporary birth certificate for such a person, and an identification personal document in order to obtain the right to: education, health care, social protection and employment with compulsory social insurance, until the time for additional entry in the birth registry and obtaining the first offi-

cial birth certificate. This Law applies to persons who live and/or were born on the territory of the Republic of North Macedonia, and are not registered in the birth registry and do not have the status of a foreigner with regulated residence in accordance with law, and are registered in accordance with the public call published on the website of the Ministry of Justice - the Registry Office, and the website of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy from April 1, 2018 to November 1, 2018. In addition, this law also applies to the persons for whom a procedure for additional registration in the birth registry started before the announcement of the public call is underway, and to children that were born after the end of the public call.

Working according to the rules, a person registered in the special birth registry in accordance with this law, after receiving an extract from the special birth registry and identification document, can exercise four minimum rights: the right to education, health care, social protection, and employment with compulsory social insurance, under the same conditions as the citizens of the Republic of North Macedonia. On the other hand, the Ministry of Interior, based on the request of the person registered in the special birth registry and submitted excerpt from the special birth registry, issues an identification document to the person, which is not in biometric form, no later than 15 days from the day of the submission of the application and the birth certificate. The identification document mentioned above, contains the special registration number for the person not registered in the birth registry and is issued with a validity period of five years, with the possibility of extension until the additional entry in the birth registry.

5. Social workers and profiling of persons without identification

The practical work of social workers in profiling persons without personal documents, or stateless persons, includes activities related to the provision of services for their protection, enabling them access to social rights etc. Everyday problems that stateless persons and persons without personal documents face are recorded by the interviews that were made in presence with social workers and the state administration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. Many people have a similar story. For that, in addition two extremely different stories will be explained, first for a domestic person without any personal documents, and second for a non-domestic stateless person who lived in our territory for many years.

The first example from the interview is Badema's story:

From her speech, can be notice that Badema is a 26-year-old ethnic Roma woman who was born in Italy. Also, she never knew her father and believes that her mother was of Macedonian origin. Her mother took her to Macedonia as a baby, but left her with her grandparents when she was three or four months old. She lived with her grandparents until she was three years old when they placed her in a Centre for abandoned children. In 2015 year, Badema started to live in a common law marriage with a Macedonian citizen, with whom she now has three children. None of the children's births were registered, due to her lack of documentation. The security services in Macedonia are still going to research about her – a process to the full approval and full document recognition. Meanwhile, her residence permit expired and she failed to extend it. Like others in her situation, Badema doesn't possess any personal documents, she has no legal identity, and she cannot get officially married or registry her children. Still in 2018, she lives in extreme poverty in an informal settlement with one room, begging on the streets for money. Her story demonstrates how one legal obstacle leads to several more. Moreover, the length of the procedures and the various forms of proof required lead to discouragement and frustration among many of the Roma population, further pushing them into poverty and marginalization. Currently, Badema is expecting the new reforms from the "Law on Registration of Unregistered Persons in the Birth Registry" and is in a procedure for obtaining another temporary residence permit. Now she obtained the four civil rights, i.e., she now lives in a small house near Kumanovo. Naturally, she has work insurance, and she is insured from heath and from injury and safety at work. But, in our own conversation, she complained a little that she is still obliged to report daily to the regional centre for undocumented persons.

The second example from the interview is 8-year-old Ebru's story:

According the Ebru's words, he was born in a hospital in Veles, Macedonia. Although Ebru's father is Macedonian, Ebru's birth has not been registered, due to the fact that the Macedonian authorities require the mother of a child to possess a valid identification document in order to be able to registry the child's birth. As a consequence, Ebru's father cannot legally recognize her and Ebru – who has now spent 8 years without a legal identity, being at risk of statelessness. Ebru's mother Fikret still does not have an ID card. Fikret

was born in Bundzikje, Turkey and she is of Macedonian-Turkish ethnicity. Her parents came from Serbia to Macedonia before her birth. In order for Fikret to be issued an identification document she has to obtain a certificate firstly from Turkey, and then from Serbia that she does not possess Serbian citizenship. Ebru does not have medical insurance and his parents can't receive social financial assistance, because they cannot provide identification documents to the Centre for social work. Fortunately, even though Ebru doesn't have a birth certificate, he goes to elementary school in Demir Kapija (where they currently live in a grey zone) and he was issued a certificate that he finished the first grade. His mother Fikret received information about the free of charge legal aid provided by the Roma Information Centre, part of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. She is currently in the process of collecting all documents necessary to apply for a foreign residence permit, because with the new law - it is approved, and she hopes that next year she will officially become a Macedonian citizen. The social workers in the Centre for Social Work will try to obtain a certificate of non-possession of Serbian citizenship, because Fikret already possesses the Turkish certificate. Once Fikret, now pregnant with her second child, obtains a residence permit, she will be able to regularize her stay in Macedonia, conclude her marriage with Ebru's father and registry Ebru's birth. Besides that, Ebru now enjoys the right to go to school. Also, Ebru with the new rights from the law on registration of unregistered persons in the birth registry, has a regular health insurance, and he regained (through his mother) the common social and economic benefits as other children at his age.

6. Conclusion

Social workers are guided by a number of rules when dealing and working with categories of persons who are socially, emotionally, financially challenged and who are in life-threatening situations. With the new reform of 2019, social workers are divided into teams that work, both on the field and in their own institutions with specific categories that are allocated to them. In addition, each team has a case manager who oversees the case, i.e., the person for whom the team of social workers is working. Each team should have a psychologist or a person with work engagements for a psychologist.

The same principle of work is maintained by social workers in the work with all, but in this case with persons without any personal documents. The team must include representatives from: NGOs, the Ministry of Justice and

the Ministry of Interior. Also, they must work under the coordination of the Ministry of Justice, which has the largest role in the transfer of the four listed social rights, as well as the entry of persons in the temporary registry of births. It is then up to the social workers to take care of the well-being of the people they work with, while at the same time beginning to guarantee them the previously stated rights.

Namely, the case manager must determine according to the previous profiling of the person and decide to which programme the person will be referred, in order to be integrated in the society and the local community in which it is located. Most often, these people are redirected to the educational process, as well as to work. Besides that, the person without personal documents who does not have a permanent residence address, must be registered in the regional centre for social work with a home place, and that person with that registration is obliged to report there every third day. Thereby, the competent team of social workers can registry the activities in the integration into the society for each person, individually.

However, because the training of social workers includes peaceful working conditions, in the area of a possible new migrant crisis, social workers still do not have guidelines and regulations on how to act, of course in coordination and under the Ministry of Interior, and even the Ministry of Defence (if there is a need for their engagement).

Therefore, although the work of social workers in terms of working with these persons is at an extraordinary level, however in a new major migrant crisis, it would be insufficient. Learned from the lessons of the past from 2014 and 2015, when a huge number of migrants passed through North Macedonia, there is a need, especially in the part of the exchange of key information, to be more efficient and accurate.

Finally, the increased cooperation of the social workers and the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Justice employees is more than desirable and necessary in order to avoid unwanted consequences when entering persons without a background check in the registry of persons in the temporary birth registry. In this, the most important factor is the integration of divided competencies and rules of work among all stakeholders in the process.

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PRESENCE OF VISUAL DEFICITS IN DYSLEXIA

Abstract: *Dyslexia is a learning difficulty that primarily affects the skills for accurate and fluent reading of words and spelling. When defining it, the dominant deficits in people with dyslexia are also indicated. Because of this, there are various theories about the causes of dyslexia: phonological theory, rapid auditory processing theory, cerebellar theory, visual theory, and magnocellular theory. Visual deficits are present in two of the above theories (visual and magnocellular). An analysis of the data published so far shows the existence of visual deficits that involve symptoms in visual perception and visual processing.*

Key words: dyslexia, theories of dyslexia, visual deficits.

Introduction

Dyslexia is the most common learning difficulty occurring in 5 to 10% of school-age children (Roongpraiwan et al., 2002; Brown et al., 2001) in cases when intelligence is not affected. The British Dyslexia Association (2009) defines dyslexia as a learning disability that primarily affects the skills of accurate and fluent word reading and spelling.

Spafford and Grosser (2005) define dyslexia as the inability to read words effectively, with particular difficulty in fluency and the phonological components of language (such as phonological awareness). They also state that dyslexia has a neurological basis, and the disorder is incompatible with other cognitive abilities and access to effective teaching.

International Dyslexia Association (2003) provides a broader insight into the learning difficulty of dyslexia. According to the association dyslexia is a specific learning disability that is neurological in its origin. It is characterized by difficulties with accurate and/or fluent word recognition and by poor spelling and decoding abilities. These difficulties typically result from a deficit in the phonological component of language that is unexpected in relation to other cognitive abilities.

It is evident that there are many types of definitions trying to explain the essence of dyslexia. Considering this, back in 1995 Miles found that different definitions serve different purposes. The same author also states that definitions based on psychological or neurological findings will differ from those focused on education. Therefore, even if there is a single definition of dyslexia, it would not be appropriate in every situation.

Regarding the definitions, it is also noticeable that in some of them, in addition to the explanations of dyslexia, some of the main deficits that occur in dyslexic individuals are listed. This is another reason why the definitions needed to be included in the introductory part of this paper. According to the definitions being stated, the main deficit in dyslexia is the phonological deficit. The dominance of the phonological deficit is the base of the *phonological theory of dyslexia*. According to this theory people with dyslexia have a problem in representing, memorizing and recalling of speech sounds. This explains the occurrence of the reading difficulty in people with dyslexia, given that when learning the reading process, it is necessary for the person to understand the grapheme-phoneme relationship (Ramus et al., 2003; Landerl & Willburger, 2010; Prestes & Feitosa, 2017). If there is a phonological deficit, reading will be directly affected.

Support for the phonological theory stems from the evidence that people with dyslexia show exceptional problems when working on tasks that require phonological awareness, ie conscious segmentation and manipulation of speech sounds (Ramus et al., 2003).

Methodology

Although there are indications that people with dyslexia really have difficulty recognizing speech sounds in words and remembering phonemes, the main aim of this paper is to investigate whether in addition to this type of deficit, people with dyslexia have other deficits of visual origin.

In order to achieve the research goal, two main research objectives were set:

- ♦ To be determined if there are theories about the causes of dyslexia that support the existence of visual deficits.
- ♦ If determined that such theories do exist, what are the most characteristic visual deficits in dyslexia.

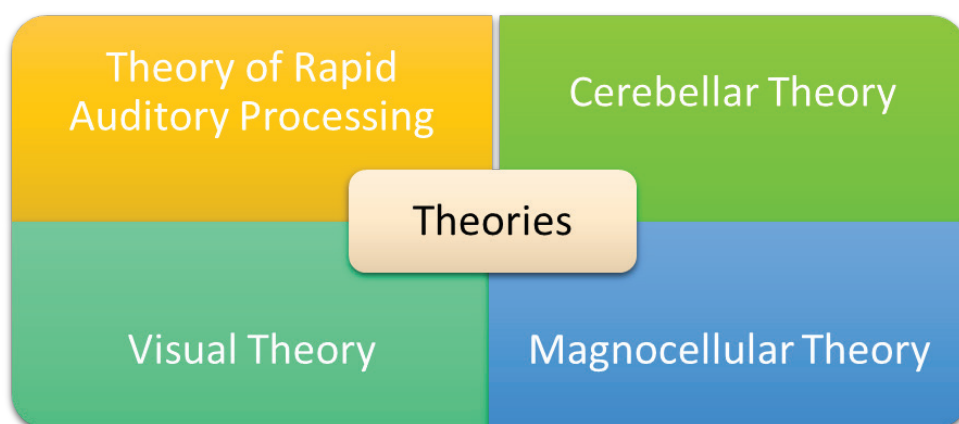
The data for the research are gained through a desk research (secondary research). Given that desk research represents a research method that uses

existing and publicly available data (Sis International Research, 2020), it was the most appropriate method to draw some conclusions about the existence of visual deficits in dyslexia, based on previous research from other authors. The obtained results can be used as a solid base for further research in the field.

Regarding the research character, this is a descriptive study. The goal is to be explained the existing visual deficits that persons with dyslexia have and why they affect their reading process.

Results

Regarding the first research objective, in the literature review, there are other theories that deal with the most significant deficits and the occurrence of dyslexia. Due to the fact that there are a number of such theories, only the most dominant ones are stated in this paper. Picture no. 1 gives a visual insight into the most dominant dyslexia theories.



Picture no.1. Most dominant theories of dyslexia

Ramuse et al. (2003) write about the *theory of rapid auditory processing*. Unlike the theory that was mentioned previously, the theory of rapid auditory processing suggests that phonological deficit is secondary to other underlying auditory deficits. According to this theory, the deficit in people with dyslexia lies in the perception of short and rapidly varying sounds. Supporting evidence is the poor performance of people with dyslexia in a variety of auditory tasks, including frequency discrimination. This theory does not support presence of visual deficits in dyslexia.

Another theory mentioned in the literature is the *cerebellar theory*. According to this theory, deficits in motor skills as well as problems with skill automation, indicate a problem in the cerebellum (Fawcett & Nicolson, 2004).

This theory, that the cerebellum in people with dyslexia does not work quite well and therefore causes numerous cognitive difficulties, is also stated by Pop-Jordanova (2011).

Authors quite often write about the *visual theory of dyslexia* (Ramuse et al., 2003, Поп-Јорданова, 2011) which has existed for quite a long time. This theory suggests that people with dyslexia have difficulty processing letters and words in a given text. They find it difficult to distinguish between words, experience visual clutter, and have unstable binocular fixation. What is important about this theory is that it does not rule out a phonological deficit. Besides the thing that this theory goes in favor of our research aim, it does not limit the dyslexia deficits in only one area. Quite the opposite, it acknowledges that visual deficits exist and dominate, but there are phonological problems as well that also make reading difficult.

The theory that is gaining ground among the theories about the causes of dyslexia is *the magnocellular theory*. According to this theory, the primary cause of dyslexia is a deficit in the magnocellular visual processing. There are some findings that the magnocellular system is abnormal in people with reading difficulties. As a result, problems arise in certain aspects of visual perception and binocular control, resulting in reading difficulties. Impaired development of the magnocellular part of the visual system, which is responsible for processing rapid temporal information, leads to visual confusion. The letters are blurred or look like they are moving. (Farrell, 2012; Stein, Talcott & Wittin, 2001). This theory suggests the existence of magnocellular dysfunction that is not limited to the visual pathways only, but is generalized to multiple modalities (visual, auditory, as well as tactile and motor). The theory unites all known manifestations of dyslexia through one biological cause (Goswami, 2014; Stein, 2014; Поп-Јорданова, 2011; Iles, Walsh & Richardson, 2000; Ramuse et al., 2003).

When analyzing the most frequently mentioned theories of dyslexia in the literature, it is evident that two out of five theories, visual and magnocellular theory, support presence of visual difficulties which affect the reading process in dyslexia. The outlined theories also suggest that visual deficits should take part in the explanation of the causes of dyslexia.

Regarding the second research objective, authors state many different visual deficits in persons with dyslexia. In accordance with the magnocellular theory, some people with dyslexia have difficulty performing certain visual tasks, such as the perception of movement. This is also confirmed by the

findings of Schulte-Körne, Deimel and Remschmidt (2004). These authors tested the hypothesis that children with dyslexia have specific magnocellular deficits and found evidence to support this view, in terms of the perception and processing of fast-moving stimuli.

Table no.1. Most common visual deficits in dyslexia

Skill	Difficulties
Visual discrimination	No difference between similar objects
Visuospatial skills	Difficult orientation in the reading space Reverse letters, numbers or words
Visual memory	Difficulties recalling visually presented material Remembering letters
Visual attention	Reduced attention span Multi-object array processing
Convergence insufficiency	Double vision
Visual accommodation	Loosing of visual focus Blurred vision

Another very important aspect which is affected in dyslexic readers is the visual perception. Visual perception can be thought of as a cognitive component of the interpretation of visual stimuli, or simply an understanding of what is being seen. Visual perception is an extremely important component of a child's learning. Children with visual perception problems have difficulty recognizing, remembering, and organizing visual images in order to understand the written and pictorial symbols used for learning. They often have difficulty learning to read, and might also have difficulty understanding the symbols used in learning other subjects, including diagrams, maps, or graphs (Kurtz, 2006). Visual perception is important in the planning of motor activities, in the sequencing of letters and numbers that are visually represented, as well as in distinguishing between different representations of the same object (Colarusso & Hammill, 2015). Having in mind that while reading should be recognized the individual letters or words on the page, it is quite obvious why visual perception problems can make the reading process difficult.

Children with visual perception problems are most easily identified by the fact that they do not make age appropriate discrimination:

- Between two letters that look similar (such as "F" and "E" in Latin alphabets, or "Д" and "Л" in Cyrillic alphabet);
- Between the same letter, but in a different format (example: "M" and "м").

- ♦ The second difficulty indicates a problem in the visual segmentation. This means that the person misses some parts of the word or transmits them to the next one (Farrell, 2012).

In addition to visual perception deficits, there are indications that people with dyslexia experience other visual difficulties such as convergence insufficiency and accommodation difficulties. Accommodation deficits cause blurred vision when approaching text, loss of focus on certain words, difficulty maintaining clear vision when reading, and problems shifting focus from far to near (Daum, 1983; Hennessey, Iosue & Rouse, 1984; Levine, 1985). Because of such findings from authors in the past, Raghuram et al. (2018) propose an assessment of convergence, accommodation, and eye movement within the initial assessment of children with dyslexia.

In addition to the above, as a visual dysfunction in people with dyslexia there is a reduced visual attention span. The span of visual attention can be defined as the amount of visual information that is retained during a brief sensory input disturbance (such as during blinking or during a saccade) (Goswami, 2014). In people with dyslexia, the capacity for visual attention is reduced, and it is this primary impairment of the ability to process arrays with multiple objects that limits reading acquisition (Bosse, Tainturier & Valdois, 2007; Bosse, & Valdois, 2009, 2001).

Deficits in visual-spatial abilities are also seen in people with dyslexia (Lipowska, Czaplewska, Wysocka, 2011). The authors point out that the intentional transition from letter to letter is significantly slower in people with dyslexia (Hari, Renvall, & Tanskanen, 2001). That is, the brain of dyslexic people cannot move smoothly from letter to letter while performing the decoding of the written text into sound.

Conclusion

According to the data presented, it can be concluded that different visual deficits occur in people with dyslexia. The same is confirmed by some of the theories about the causes of dyslexia. However, what is important is that none of these theories that point to visual deficits, emphasize only the deficits of visual type. They rather show the complexity of dyslexia and the combination of deficits (visual, auditory, motor) that affect the reading process all together. The reason why it is important to take into account the visual deficits in dyslexia, is because of the organization of the treatment in people who are

dyslexic. The treatment needs to be multisensory, same as the deficits that are present in dyslexia.

It is of great importance additional research in this area to be conducted. That will help to get a complete picture of the visual functioning of people with dyslexia.

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INCLUSION OF CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN TURKEY

Abstract: *Inclusion process in Turkey has developed as a reflection of the 'education for all' approach to enable the education of students with special needs in the least restrictive environment. The least restrictive environment is a place that best meets the educational needs of the children with special needs and enables them the highest possible level of education together with their peers (Batu, Kircaali- Iftar, 2011).*

In Turkey, inclusive education was first implemented in 1983, with the law "Children with Special Needs Act" numbered 2916, fourteen years later, in 1997, "Decree Law on Special Education" was accepted and then "Special Education Services Regulation" came into force in the 2000 (Yaziciođlu, 2018). The Inclusive Education in this country is available in three models: full-time inclusion, half-time inclusion and additional classroom for supporting inclusion. However, the inclusive education practices in Turkey are mostly carried out in the form of full-time inclusion (Özgür, 2015). The categories of children with special educational needs that can be part of the inclusion process in Turkey are: intellectual disability, hearing impairment, visually impairment, physical disability, autism, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, language and speech impairment, learning disabilities, behavioural disorders and gifted children (Özgür, 2015).

For every child with special educational needs included in regular school, the school team is preparing Individual Education Plan. The members of this team are: school principal, special educator, guide teacher, primary school teacher, teachers attending additional classes, students' parents and (if possible) the student. This plan includes the long term and short term aims in students' curricula during the school year (Eripek, 2002). At the same time, these students are attending individual classes in Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers after the classes in their school, at least twice a week (Çavkaytar, 2017).

The aim of this study is to analyse the process of inclusion in Turkey, explaining the inclusive models, the Individual Education Plans and the Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers for all categories of children with special educational needs.

Key words: Inclusion models, Children with special needs, Primary Education, Individual Education Plans, Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers.

Introduction

Since 1986, the approach of children with special needs to receive education in pre-primary and primary schools with their peers has gained importance in

Turkey. In order to ensure the education rights of students with special needs, to achieve the intended results in their education and to be successful, their school environments and restructuring as well as their needs should be recognized and appropriate educational processes should be provided (Özgür, 2015). Considering individual differences in the education-training process is one of the leading topics of education. The most basic right for students with special needs is to receive education according to their individual characteristics.

There is no single definition of inclusion within the early education context. According to Odom et al (Johns Hopkins School of Education, 2012) the definition should contain several characteristics: 1) Inclusion should imply active participation of children with disabilities and children without disabilities in the same preschool classroom; 2) For the children with special needs, additional services should be provided, based on an assessment and an action plan constructed by professionals and the parents; 3) These services should be provided by collaboration of experts from different fields; 4) The effect of the placement and the curriculum is evaluated by determining the progress towards the goals set by the parents and the professionals. In order to implement inclusion, or the inclusive process in preschools in one country, the policy makers should address several problems like the lack of a clear definition, lack of studies in ordinary settings and lack of a systematic solution (Karovska Ristovska A et al, 2014).

The idea of inclusive education has been gaining ground all over the world in response to the changing and increasingly diverse needs of heterogeneous student populations (Ferguson 2008; Savolainen et al. 2012). It is based on the belief that the right to education is a basic human right, and all children regardless of their individual characteristics and difficulties, should have access to schools in their communities (UNESCO 2001). Recently, the consensus view has been established as one that goes beyond school enrolment and ensures full participation of all students in school life (Erkilic and Durak 2013). Overall, developing inclusion in an education system involves positive attitudes in the community, strong educational frameworks that improve inputs, processes and environments to enhance learning both at the student and systemic level, completion of full cycle of education, and meaningful outcomes from educational experiences that target learning and the development of students (UNESCO 2009).

Education system in Turkey

The Turkish education system consists of two main parts: 'formal education' and 'non-formal education'. Formal education is considered the regular education system provided to individuals in specific age ranges in schools. Formal education encompasses pre-school education, primary education, secondary education, and higher education institutions. Non-formal education includes academic education and vocational training provided to citizens who have never received formal education or dropped out of school at any level (Akkok, 2001; Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (MEB), 2006a).

There are two institutions that control all educational activities in Turkey: the Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (Ministry of National Education) and the Yükseköğretim Kurulu (Higher Education Council). Both public and private education in pre-schools, secondary schools, high schools, and special education programs are under the control and responsibility of the Ministry of National Education (MEB, 2006a).

With the 4+4+4 education system launched during the 2012-2013 academic year, primary education, which previously lasted for eight years, was molded into a 12-year compulsory period divided into three stages. The first stage is designed to be a 4-year primary school (1-4 classes) period, the second stage a 4-year secondary school (5-8 classes) period, and the third stage being high school (9-12 classes) (Turkish Ministry of Education, 2012a).

Special Education in Turkey

Special Education Regulation (No. 573), published in 1997, defines the basic principles of special education, and emphasizes the importance of including students with special needs in regular classrooms. According to these principles: (1) special education is considered an indispensable branch of general public education; (2) all children with special education needs should be provided with special education services irrespective of the severity of their disabilities; (3) early intervention is a crucial step for special education provision; (4) children with special needs should receive individualized educational programs addressing to their unique needs; (5) children with special needs should be educated in the least restrictive environments with their non-disabled peers; (6) vocational education and rehabilitation services should be provided without interruption for children with special needs; and (7) for all levels, education services for children with special needs should be planned

by the relevant institutions (Donmez, 2000). These principles mandate the provision of special education services for children with disabilities who are a part of the public education system in Turkey. Since this regulation strongly promoted inclusion of students with disabilities in regular education, the number of students with special needs has steadily increased in mainstream education settings succeeding the enactment. However, because of resource deficiencies in terms of fiscal scarcity and a lack of trained professionals in the special education area, these principles have not always been adhered to and implemented completely (Ataman, 2005).

Up until now, most of the educational services provided to students with disabilities have been provided in special education schools designated by various disability classifications. Beyond these special schools, educating students with disabilities in regular public schools with their peers has gained strong attention and support from the Ministry of National Education. In the last decade, the Turkish government has emphasized the importance of inclusion of students with special needs into regular education classrooms, and encouraged schools and families throughout the country to embrace inclusive education and the principles behind it (Melekoğlu et al, 2009).

Since 1960s, policies relevant to special education practices have existed in the Turkish education system; however, special education has gained more attention in Turkish society during the last decade (Melekoglu et al, 2009; Sucuoğlu and Kargın 2010). In particular, following the Special Education Services Regulation enacted in 2006, definitions of special education categories and related terms were updated, and a comprehensive provision of special education services was thoroughly outlined (Diken and Batu 2010; MEB, 2006).

The Special Education Services Regulation of Turkey describes inclusion as the education of students with special needs with their peers without special needs in a regular education environment. Students can participate in full-time or part-time inclusion. During part-time inclusion, students receive some classes in a separate classroom alongside students with special needs, and other classes with their peers without special needs in a regular classroom. Special education regulations require schools to develop an Individualized Education Program for each student with special needs, regardless of being educated in inclusive settings or not. It is important to point out that inclusion is not a place or a service-delivery model. In fact, inclusion is an educational approach in which all students have the right to be valued and make progress in the curriculum (Çakiroğlu and Melekoğlu, 2013).

Although the term inclusion has existed in laws and regulations relevant to special education since 1983 (Sucuoğlu and Kargin 2010), considerable efforts have been made in the last five years. One reason for this rapid increase is that the improvement of special education services and the dissemination of inclusion in elementary and secondary schools have become prominent educational policies of the Ministry of National Education of Turkey (Melekoglu, Cakiroglu, and Malmgren 2009; Sucuoğlu and Kargin 2010). Even though there is a tendency towards inclusion, the impact of recent policy shifts regarding inclusion is not clear. Specifically, we do not know how the recent policy improvements in special education have impacted on the inclusion of students from different special education categories into regular education.

Number of students with special needs in inclusive settings

In Turkey, however, the number of students in inclusive education in each special education category is still unknown. In the 2010–2011 school year, 65.4% of students with special needs have been educated in inclusive classrooms in Turkish elementary and secondary schools. However, statistical details of students from different special education categories are not published in Turkey (MEB 2011a). Although substantial developments have been made in the special education policies of Turkey, recent figures regarding the prevalence of students with special needs in each special education category, and the overall trends of recent years, are still unknown. The inclusion data is available only from the 2004–2005 school year for elementary school level, and from 2005–2006 for secondary school level (MEB 2011b). The number of elementary school students with special needs in inclusive classrooms has been 40,050 in 2004–2005.

In the 2010–2011 school year, the total number of students in inclusive settings has increased to 92,355. Of these, 84,580 (27,444 male and 57,136 female) have been in elementary schools, and 7775 (4816 male and 2959 female) in high schools. Data analysis on each special education category has showed that 45,430 students with multiple disabilities (15,313 male and 30,117 female), 20,740 students with emotional and behavioral disorders (6529 male and 14,211 female), 12,146 students with intellectual disabilities (3800 male and 8346 female), 2120 students with speech and language disorders (562 male and 1558 female), 1626 students with hearing impairments (539 male and 1087 female), 1374 students with physical disabilities (402 male and 972 female), 460 students with visual impairments (138 male and 322 female), 373 students with autism

(70 male and 303 female), 263 students with specific learning disabilities (79 male and 184 female), and 48 gifted students (12 male and 36 female) have been taught in inclusive elementary classrooms during 2010–2011 (Çakıroğlu and Melekoğlu, 2014).

Models of inclusive education

The Inclusive Education in this country is available in three models: full-time inclusion, half-time inclusion and additional classroom for supporting inclusion. With full time inclusion the student with special needs is registered and attending classes in regular school all day long, and the primary school teachers are responsible for their education. At the same time support and additional services are provided for these students. In the half time inclusion method, the registration of the student with special education needs is in special class, still the student is attending regular classes for the lessons that student can be successful at. In the third model, additional classroom for supporting inclusion, the students with special education needs are registered in regular class, and at the same time they receive support for the lessons they have difficulties with, from the special education teacher in the additional classroom. However, the inclusive education practices in Turkey are mostly carried out in the form of full-time inclusion (Özgür, 2015).

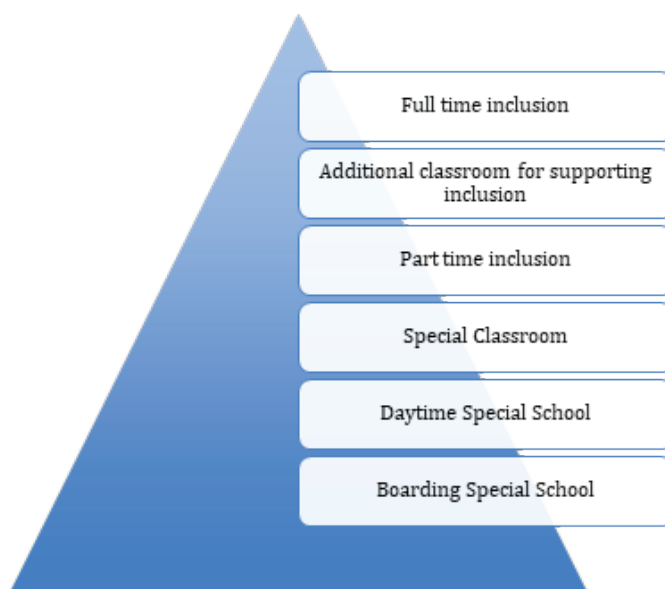


Chart 1. Order of educational environments for students with special educational needs.

The order of the educational environments, for students with special education needs, from the least restrictive to the most restrictive is as follows (Salend, 2001):

The **full time Inclusion** is a model of inclusion where the student with special needs is included in the regular classroom, during the whole day, with a classroom teacher, responsible for this student's education. In this model, the classroom teacher is responsible for meeting all the student's needs in the classroom. However, depending on their individual needs, the student can benefit from support and additional services. In addition, the education program is implemented individually, and the necessary arrangements are made. Special education support services, special equipment and educational materials are provided for the students with special educational needs to be educated in the same class and socially integrated with their peers in preschool, primary, secondary and non-formal education institutions. The training program is individually implemented and the necessary physical arrangements are made. The numbers of students in each class do not exceed 14 students in pre-primary education institutions and 30 students in primary education institutions. Maximum of two students with special educational needs can attend the classes in each classroom. **Additional classroom for supporting inclusion** is a model of inclusion where the student with special needs is registered in the regular class, and for the lessons where the student needs support; they get support from the special education teacher in additional classroom. In this case, the student with special needs gets additional support in the areas they have trouble to understand. In this way, the special educator completes the missing topics and problems that may arise in the regular classroom due to the student's educational needs. The **part time inclusion** is a model of inclusion where the student with special education needs is registered in the special class, and at the same time the student is attending regular classroom for the classes where the student can be successful. In addition to the academic benefits of the student with special needs, it is aimed to provide social benefits, too. The benefit of this type of inclusion is the development of social skills and the acquisition of new social skills. In the **Special Classroom** the student with special education needs is registered in the special class and all the students needs are met in the special class. In this case, it is possible for the student with special needs to benefit from support or additional services outside the school hours when needed. Since the students with special education needs are in the special class, they can

share activities in the school building and garden with their peers outside the classes. The other two models are not inclusive, and will be explained as part of the Special Education system for students with special educational needs. With the **Daytime Special school**, the registration of the student with special educational needs is in the special schools and the student is attending classes with students from the same disability group. Here, the educational needs of the students are met at the special school, providing support or additional service when needed. In the **Boarding Special school**, the student with special education needs is registered in the special education school. Students with disabilities receive education with students from the same group of disabilities, and they are staying in the dormitory of the school at night.

If we consider only the inclusion with peers, the least restrictive of these educational environments is full-time inclusion, while the most restrictive is the boarding special education school (Özgür, 2015).

Inclusion according to type of disability

On the rank from the most restrictive to the least restrictive education for students with **intellectual disabilities**, we can see that it is ranked from home education, to boarding institutions and boarding schools, special school, special class, additional classroom and normal classes. In recent years, we see that efforts have been made for individuals with intellectual disabilities to move from special schools and boarding institutions to more inclusive environments. The majority of students with intellectual disabilities consist of individuals with mild mental disabilities. These individuals can gain skills in basic courses such as reading, writing and mathematics. For this reason, it is recommended and advocated for these individuals to receive education by providing support services in normal classroom settings and thus to benefit from inclusion (Çiftçi- Tekinarslan, 2009). Individuals with moderate intellectual disabilities are generally taking part in special class and special education schools. We know that individuals with severe and very severe intellectual disabilities have been excluded from the education system until recently, now they are educated in daytime and boarding special schools (Eripek, 2003). The majority of students with **hearing impairment** in Turkey are educated in boarding special schools. In addition, special education institutions serve at pre-primary and primary level. The inclusion options for students with hearing impairment in this country are in the form of special classrooms or inclusion in general classroom within government schools. **Visually impaired**

students are educated in boarding schools for visually impaired affiliated with the Ministry of Education. In recent years, they continue their education in general classrooms in the primary schools in Turkey. Primary and secondary education of students with **orthopedic disability** is provided in special schools or with in general classes within the scope of the education in government schools, together with their peers. Children with **autism spectrum disorders** are the group with the highest incidence in school settings in terms of inclusion practices in Turkey. The **gifted and talented students** are educated in Special schools for gifted children or included in regular schools with additional classes in special institution (Özgür, 2015).

Individual Education Plans

Individual education plan is a document prepared by a "team" for students with special educational needs who are "selected as appropriate to benefit from special education services" at the end of the "detailed evaluation process" carried out by the "educational evaluation and monitoring team" in guidance research centers. Different features are emphasized in different definitions of Individual Education Plans, which was developed for students with special needs and approved by their parents (Olson and Platt, 2004).

The Individual education plan is taking into account what the student with special educational needs can do in the fields of intellectual, emotional, social, language and communication, indicating the behaviours to be gained, where, how, by whom, by which methods and for how long, includes the necessary support education services, It is a written plan prepared by a team that includes the family members of the child (Diken, 2017). Individual Education Plan is also a legal requirement. Turkey initially in 1997, has expressed it in the Law No. 573 as a legal requirement in the decree, then in 2006 the preparation of Individual Education Plans entered into force on Special Education Services for each child identified as student with special educational needs in the Eighth Section of the Regulations, Chapter One, Article 69 defined as "Education Programs" (MEB, 2006).

The Individual Education Plan is prepared by a team at the school where the student is placed. The Individual Education Plan development unit is chaired by the school / institution director or a deputy director and:

- ♦ Special Education Teacher who performs duties by traveling,
- ♦ A guidance counsellor,

- ♦ Teacher tasked for preparing an Individual education plan,
- ♦ Student's classroom teacher,
- ♦ Related field teachers teaching the student's during other classes,
- ♦ The parent of the student,
- ♦ The student, if possible.

The participation of a member of the special education evaluation board during the development of the Individual Education Plan is ensured when necessary (MEB, 2006).

The content of the Individual Education Plan prepared for students with special educational needs includes the following items:

- ♦ Student's current level of educational performance,
- ♦ Long-term goals to be gained by the student at the end of an academic year (annual goals),
- ♦ Short-term goals consisting of measurable intermediate steps, which are among the long-term goals to be achieved with the determined performance level of the student.
- ♦ Teaching methods and materials that will be used in achieving the determined goals,
- ♦ Starting and ending dates of the time required to reach the short-term goals,
- ♦ The evaluation method and criteria that will be used to determine whether the specified goals have been achieved,
- ♦ Determining where, when, by whom and for how long additional special education services will be provided for the student with special educational needs (MEB, 2006).

Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers

Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers are institutions that are established and provide services to help individuals who are unable to comply with the requirements of normal life due to their disabilities such as intellectual, physical, social, emotional, speech, vision and auditory, and to acquire skills that enable them to be self-sufficient in society. These institutions aim to develop new service models and contribute to this field according to the results obtained within the framework of the examinations, determinations and researches for those who need special education. These services are provided in environments that are specially and purposefully created. These environments are the places where the information and behaviour patterns

prescribed by the training programs are taught, daily life activities and skills are gained, the existing ones are developed, the motor functions are increased and the applications are performed. Techniques, methods and materials developed in these Centers are prepared in accordance with special education, with the opportunity to develop them.

The Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers obtain written and visual materials related to special education and rehabilitation and use them in order to improve the education of children with special needs (Diken, 2017).

The Centers are also aiming at the continuous development of the individual in all aspects, form their programs in a way that includes family education activities. Thanks to these programs, in the negative changes and balances experienced in the family, the family is constantly provided with psychological and social support so that family members and especially children can survive these periods with less harm (Almkurt, 2008).

The Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers are private institutions that can be opened by the person who meets the requirements set by the Ministry of Education. After that, the expenses for the classes selected in the child's report are covered by the Ministry of Education. One child with Special educational needs can attend mostly two individual classes, one group class and two physiotherapy treatment per week (MEB, 2011).

Additional classes, if necessary, are covered by the parents. The inclusive child is attending these classes after his classes in the government school. It is a part of the special education and rehabilitation process to create suitable environments for disabled people to act independently without being humiliated and to communicate and interact with individuals living in the community due to their physical and mental characteristics, and to ensure that they secure their future (Daşbaş, 2013).

BILSEM

In Turkey, gifted and talented children are also listed as Children with Special Educational needs. For those, with high IQ there are Special Science and Art Centers (BILSEM- Bilim ve Sanat Merkezleri). In these Centers, gifted and talented children are attending additional classes after their classes in the government school in order to improve their skills (Kaya, 2013).

The most common institution in Turkey for education of gifted students are Science and Art Centers, the first of which was opened in 1995 in Ankara. It was planned to serve gifted students outside of school time, with a planned

education program. In the selection of students to BİLSEMs, intelligence tests are applied and students whose intelligence quotient are 130 and over are accepted. There are 63 BİLSEMs in Turkey in 57 cities (Sezginsoy, 2007).

Özkan (2009) surveyed the effectiveness of BİLSEMs according to the opinions of the administrators, teachers, parents and students. This study reveals lack of institution identity of BİLSEMs. A study which determined the guidance needs of gifted students in elementary schools according to the views of their parents and teachers in BİLSEMs, revealed that gifted students need guidance services in academic, social and emotional fields (Akar, 2010).

Şenol (2011) surveyed the views of teachers in BİLSEMs about education programs of gifted students. As a result of research teachers' perceptions about education programs were positive, but the majority of teachers stated that they encounter problems about the physical environment in BİLSEMs.

Inclusion models according to expert's cooperation

One of the most important elements of effective education and successful inclusion is collaboration between experts. In order to obtain a good cooperation, each collaborator must work towards a common goal, use communication skills effectively, and the parties must implement them by making joint decisions (Smith et al, 2008). The school decides how the cooperation between experts will be achieved and which cooperation model will be applied, the selected model has to be adopted and implemented by all experts. When choosing a model, it is necessary to choose which model fits the school structure more, experts can obtain more efficient results and ultimately increase students' success (Smith et al, 2008).

The **cooperation model** is a model that requires the classroom teachers and special education teachers to work closely together. In this model, the classroom teacher, the special education teacher and, when necessary, other specialists are suggesting the ongoing situations in the classroom and implement these suggestions in the classroom. The responsibility for ensuring the cooperation can be only teachers or it can be shared among the experts involved in the model. Many benefits of the cooperation model can be listed:

1. An ongoing process of programming, planning, evaluation and adaptation is ensuring the success of inclusive environments.
2. Cooperation enables classroom teachers to meet the needs of the students in the classroom in new and engaging ways.
3. Cooperation enables professionals in different fields to support each other personally and professionally, as experts in their field.

4. Cooperation enables all participants involved in the model to develop personally and professionally.
5. By cooperating with each other, all experts can generate more ideas to increase students' success (Diken, 2017).

Another way to support students in the inclusive classroom is the **collaborative teaching model**. In the collaborative teaching model, it is aimed to achieve the goals of the student's with special educational needs, individual education plan by providing the necessary adaptations. It means that two or more teachers or other staff in the school are cooperatively and regularly responsible for students in the classroom. An important point here is that while the classroom teachers determines the team members, they know the competencies and specialties of the staff in the School and distributes the tasks to the relevant people. The better collaborative professionals understand each other and work together, it is more likely that students in the classroom will have higher success.

A number of staff is needed to successfully implement inclusion. However, it may not always be possible to find all the personnel together. In such cases, the **peer support model** emerges as a very useful inclusion model. It is known that students do not learn everything they know from school, only from their teachers or other adults. Their peers' behaviours is also extremely influential on learning. So, applying the peer support model in schools, especially in inclusive classes, can provide benefits for both students with and without disabilities. In order for peer support to be provided correctly, the peers who will provide support must be trained to be able to implement this support correctly. Then, during the inclusion process, the teacher is checking the students frequently and providing feedback to ensure the correct implementation of the peer support. Generally, there is benefit for the teacher and the inclusive student when volunteers take part in the peer support model.

In some cases, the students included in regular classes are supported by **teacher assistants** during all lessons. Teacher assistants who supports the student with special educational needs individually are well-educated in subjects such as special education, children with special educational needs, special education methods and techniques. Having such assistants in the classroom makes the inclusion much easier, but still, there are also disadvantages such as the students developing dependency on a assistant. Considering the aims of the inclusive student's placement in the inclusive class, the student should spend time with his / her friends and share the same environment and con-

ditions with them at the highest possible level. When there is a adult next to the student in the classroom, the other students may not be able or may not need to get close enough to the student with special needs. This is the reason why this model of inclusion is not very common in Turkey (Diken, 2017).

Conclusion

Since 1997, the Special Education Regulation emphasized the importance of inclusion for the students with special educational needs in regular classrooms. The inclusive education in this country is controlled by the Ministry of National Education. The new 4+4+4 education system allows the children to study in inclusive environment and gain knowledge together with their peers. The data from 2010-2011 school year, shows that 92.355 students with special needs have been included in government schools in Turkey.

The Inclusive Education in this country is available in three models: full-time inclusion, half-time inclusion and additional classroom for supporting inclusion. Student that can attend classes with some of these models is a child whose special educational needs has been documented by a committee report from the government hospital; visually impaired, hearing impaired, orthopedically disabled, language and speech impaired children, children with learning difficulties, children with adjustment difficulties, children with Autism, children with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, gifted and talented students. For every student with Special Education Needs, a team of experts is preparing an Individual Education Plan that includes all the behaviours that should be gained during one school year, as well as where, how, by whom, by which methods and for how long. This document also includes the necessary support education services that should be provided for this student as an additional supportive education during the process of inclusion.

There are two types of supportive institutions; one of them is the Special Education and Rehabilitation Centers which are providing support for students included in regular schools with the process of inclusion due to their disabilities and to acquire skills that enable them to be self-sufficient in society. And the other Institutions are the Science and Art Centres, where gifted and talented children are attending additional classes as a support for their education in government schools.

There are four models of inclusion according to expert's cooperation in Turkey; cooperation model, collaborative model, peer support model and teacher assistant's model.

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CORRELATIONS BETWEEN BEHAVIOR AND PRAGMATIC ABILITIES IN ADULTS WITH AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDERS

1. Introduction

Pragmatic competence involves the skills that enable a person to integrate information during conversation and to monitor the mental states of the interviewee, such as: adequate use of language for various purposes, adaptation of language to context characteristics, adherence to conversational and narrative rules, reasoning, imagination, existence of communicative intent, adequate use of prosody, and the ability to match the message to the mental states of the interviewee. Discourse skills reflected in respect for social conventions and the ability to use linguistic and non-linguistic skills to begin and maintain a theme, to adapt the meaning and form to the listener, and to make appropriate use of non-verbal cues (Van der Lely 2003). Pragmatic abilities give us insight into the speaker's intentions, assumptions, and goals (Ivšac and Gaćina 2006). This phenomenon is particularly addressed by the Theory of Cognitive Pragmatics, (Bara 2011).

Pragmatics deficits in people with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) is related to deficits in the field of theory of mind. They are manifested by inability to adapt to the communicative situation, inadequate exchange of information during the conversation, ignorance of the rules of what role the speaker and interlocutor play in communication, atypical prosody, and literal interpretation of the transferred meanings (Martin and McDonald 2003). Also, research shows that people with ASD indicate difficulties in using pragmatic markers of time and space, reduced expression of mental states (Baron-Cohen 1988), use of inappropriate utterances and idiosyncratic gestures during storytell-

ing (Loveland, McEvoy, Tunali and Kelley 1990), and reduced complexity and number of causal statements (Terzić and Drljan 2011). People with ASD may be unsuccessful in adapting the story to the listener, may speak in the same manner with both friend and stranger, make irrelevant comments, and have difficulty interpreting indirect expressions (Tager-Flushberg and Sullivan 1995), difficulty in continuing conversations, insensitivity to other people's opinions, staying on one topic for too long, or being too embarrassed by small things (Attwood 1997). Difficult participation in social interactions and understanding of the world around them can lead to the manifestation or intensification of behavioral problems. Behavioral problems are often a reaction to environmental factors. The causes of negative emotions are cognitive and communication difficulties that limit the expression of feelings and the understanding of a stimulus. Difficulties in establishing an adequate relationship with the environment and understanding the world around them, as well as a sense of social inadequacy, can lead to the manifestation or intensification of behavioral problems (Beirne-Smith, Patton and Hill 2006).

Behavioral problems of people with ASD are one of the more significant problems. These problems impedes the acquisition of new adaptive skills and adversely affects the person's interaction with the environment. (Radovanović 2009).

2. Research methodology

2.1. Subject of research

The subject of our study is the impact of pragmatic competencies on behavioral problems in adults with ASD and whether sociodemographic characteristics such as gender, age, education, and residential type, as well as specific characteristics of respondents, influence their association.

2.2 Objectives of the research

The aim of the study was to examine pragmatic competencies and behavioral problems in adults with ASD, as well as the existence and nature of the relationship between the development of pragmatic language level and the occurrence of behavioral problems in this population. The extent of the presence of behavioral problems and the development of the pragmatic level of language were examined first, as well as the predictor role of pragmatic competencies, respondent characteristics and sociodemographic characteristics in relation to behavioral problems in adults with ASD.

2.3. Research procedure

The consent of the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Novi Sad was obtained, as well as the institutions where the parent / guardian's research and consent for the participation of their child/ protege were conducted.

Special education teachers of adults with ASD who have known the subjects for a minimum of 12 months was conducted Assessment of the development of pragmatic competencies, assessment of behavioral problems, and completion of the General Questionnaire on Socio-Demographic/Socioeconomic Characteristics of the family by subjects. Data on the specifics of the subjects condition were obtained on the basis of data available from the documentation of the institution. All respondents had an associated intellectual disability. People with other comorbid disorders were excluded from the study.

2.4. Sample description

The sample consisted of 50 subjects with autism spectrum disorders, from 24 to 45 years, with a slightly higher percentage of the sample being men (78%). The mean age of the sample was 34.5 years (SD = 5.65). Majority of the sample (66%) have primary school, 10% have no school. The highest percentage of respondents belongs to the category of moderate intellectual disability (54%). The largest percentage of respondents live in an institution (54%), the remaining respondents live with parents. When it comes to parental education, 68% of respondents say they have a high school diploma while the rest have a college or university degree. About 52% of respondents are non-verbal.

2.5. Research instruments

- *The Pragmatic Profile of Everyday Communication Skills in Adults* (Dewart and Summers 1996) was used to assess pragmatic competences. The instrument contains 28 questions, grouped into 4 areas: Communication Functions, Communication Response, Interaction and Conversation, and Contextual Variations. Each item scores with respect to the frequency of occurrence of grades 1 to 5, where a score of 1 indicates that a certain behavior never occurs, while a score of 5 indicates that a certain behavior always occurs, indicating greater severity of pragmatic functioning problems.

The Communicative Function area gives an insight into the primary expression modules of communicative functions, whether a person communicates in a number of different ways or if only one module is present.

The Communication Response area tells us whether a person responds to a communication or some aspects of communication present difficulties in understanding them.

The area of Interaction and Conversation is about participation in social interactions, how to initiate and maintain communication.

The Contextual Variation area provides information about the circumstances in which a person is most likely to communicate, or in which he or she has the most difficulty.

The instrument has been constructed as an integrative method for the assessment of pragmatic competencies in adults with aphasia, learning disabilities, autism spectrum disorders, hearing impairment, mental health problems and other groups such as dementia. By calculating the Kronbach's alpha coefficient, the Pragmatic profile of everyday communication skills proved to be excellent $\alpha = 0.977$.

- ♦ *The Behavior Problem Checklist* (Tyrer, Nagar, Evans, Oliver, Bassett, Liedtka and Tarabi 2016) is intended to assess the behavior problems of persons with intellectual disabilities. The questionnaire is completed by professionals (special educators) who have been involved in working with respondents for more than 12 months. It is divided into seven areas:
- ♦ personal violence, violence against others and includes verbal and physical forms of violence;
- ♦ objective violence, destruction of material inventory;
- ♦ self-harming behavior, stereotypical behavior, skin damage, to serious self-harming behavior;
- ♦ sexually objectionable behavior, directed at others or towards oneself, verbal and physical forms;
- ♦ defiant behavior, from verbal negativism to pronounced defiant behavior;
- ♦ demanding behaviors, ranging from less disturbing (often attention-grabbing) to more disturbing behaviors,
- ♦ running away.

Each of the aforementioned areas is rated 1 to 5 and a higher grade also implies a higher degree of behavioral problems. Reliability The behavior checklist is excellent, $\alpha=0.967$.

- ♦ General questionnaire

The general questionnaire was created for this research with the purpose of obtaining general information about the respondents: age, gender, residential type, education of the respondents, education of parents, data on intellectual abilities from the documentation of the institution.

3. Results

3.1. Results of the assessment of pragmatic competences

The results show that for both the total score and the subdomains of the questionnaire used, the distribution corresponds to a normal distribution. The results of analysis of variance for dependent samples show that there are statistically significant differences in the expression of different pragmatic competences. Posthoc analysis shows that, with respect to the remaining three competencies, the best competencies are related to contextual variation ($F=45,124$; $p=0.000$).

3.2. Results of behavioral problems assessment

The analysis conducted indicates that for the total score and within the subdomain of the questionnaire used, the distribution corresponds to a normal distribution (values below ± 1.5). From the results obtained, it is concluded that behavioral problems are mild in persons with ASD. The results of analysis of variance for dependent samples show that there are no statistically significant differences in the expression of different behavioral problems. All tested aspects of behavioral problems were equally represented ($F=2,085$; $p=0.074$).

3.3. Results of examining the predictive role of pragmatic abilities on behavior problems

To examine whether pragmatic competencies are a significant predictor of behavioral problems in adults with ASD, Pearson's correlation was conducted and the results show that the association between these variables is significant and negative ($r=-0.34$, $p=0.01$). Multiple regression analysis was applied to determine more precisely which part of the variance in behavioral problems can be explained by the variance of different pragmatic competences. The set of predictors consisted of four pragmatic competencies, and the criterion variable consisted of the total score on the Behavior Problems Scale.

Multiple correlation analysis showed that 78.1% of the variance in behavioral disorders can be explained by a disorder in pragmatic competences.

Significant individual contribution to prediction is achieved by the variables Communicative Functions, Interaction/Conversation, Contextual Variations.

All relationships are negative, with a slightly higher individual contribution to prediction (beta coefficient), the interaction/conversation variable. Thus, individuals with more of these three pragmatic competencies have less pronounced behavioral problems.

3.4. Examination results of the predictor role of sociodemographic factors in relation to pragmatic competences and behavioral problems

There are no gender differences even when looking at subscales. The same results were obtained when it comes to differences between respondents living with parents and those placed in institutions ($t=1,001$; $p=0,322$).

Pearson's linear correlation coefficient was applied to determine whether there is a correlation between age and level of intellectual ability with pragmatic competencies and behavioral problems. The results show that there are no statistically significant correlations between pragmatic competencies and behavioral problems with respondents' age. When considering the relation between pragmatic competences and behavioral disorders with the degree of intellectual disability, there are three statistically significant correlations of moderate to high intensity, correlation with behavioral disorders ($r=0.604$; $p<0.00$), with the domain of interactions/conversations ($r=-0.334$; $p<0.01$) and the domain of contextual variation from the pragmatic competence framework ($r=-0.449$; $p<0.01$). Such results suggest that the more severely impaired a person is, the greater the degree of behavioral problems and poorer pragmatic competences in the domains of contextual variation and interaction/conversation.

4. Discussion

The results of our research show that people with ASD exhibit significant problems in the field of pragmatic functioning, most in the area of Interaction/Conversation, Response to Communication and Communication Functions, while the best results are achieved in the field of Contextual Variation.

Various authors (Tager-Flushberg, Paul and Lord 2015; Young, Diehl, Morris, Hyman and Bennetto 2005) argue that persons with ASD have the most problems with language skills that require the use of language in a flexible, rational manner in all communicative circumstances, and confirm that the main problem with persons with ASD is in the field of pragmatic language.

Some authors state that people with ASD have the most difficulty starting and holding a conversation, as well as knowing how much information

to share with others (Tager-Flushberg, Paul and Lord 2015; Volden, Coolican, Garon, White and Bryson 2009). In their research, Baron-Cohen, Wheelwright, Skinner, Martin and Clubley (2001) stated that they had the most difficulty with ASD in the field of narrative discourse. These results are consistent with ours, which showed that our respondents exhibit the most problems exhibiting on the Interaction / Conversation subscale, which is exactly what the area of narrative discourse implies.

Nagai, Hinobayashi and Kanazama (2017) state that people with ASD share less emotion with other people, avoid eye contact, and have difficulty predicting the future. These behaviors are contained in the Communication Functions subscale of the profile we used, where respondents showed significant discrepancies.

Various authors (Happe and Charlton 2012; Loukusa, Leinonen, Kuusikko, Jussila, Mattila, Ryder, et al. 2006) state that persons with ASD have difficulty understanding metaphors, jokes, ironies, indirect speech acts, and conversational interferences. We have also examined these domains, which are contained in the Response to Communication subscale, and our findings confirm that persons with ASD exhibit problems in this area.

Hermann, Haser, Van Elst, Ebert, Muller-Felmedth, Riedel, et al. (2013) compared adults with ASD and their neurotypical peers in understanding metaphors and stated that there were no statistically significant differences. This result differs from our results, but the authors included persons with high-functioning autism in their sample, while in our work, the sample was mostly composed of persons with moderate intellectual disability in addition to ASD. This confirms that the coefficient of intelligence is a significant predictor factor in the manifestation of pragmatic competences.

Various authors (Chow and Wehby 2018; Boones, Majjars, Lambrechts, Zink, Van Leeuwen and Noens 2014) report that adults with ASD have more behavioral problems than people in the general population. It has been observed in adults with ASD that the most common problems are anxiety and depression, obsessive-compulsive disorder, attention problems and hyperactivity, and defiant behavior (Skokauskas and Gallagher 2010). Numerous studies indicate that age plays a large role in manifesting behavioral problems in this population (Talijan 2015; Wise, Smith and Rabins 2017). Our results show mild behavioral problems in the subjects. However, 90% of our respondents have associated psychiatric illnesses and take medication, which in turn results in less manifestation of psychopathological symptomatology. Also, the

difference between our results and others can be explained by the fact that our respondents are either on institutionalized type of accommodation or regularly attend a social welfare institution where experts are employed, who are continuously providing them with the necessary support. These results support the results of Weiss, Smith and Rabins (2017), whose sample reduced behavioral problems through one year of rehabilitation support.

4.1. The influence of pragmatic competences on behavioral problems

The results of our study show that the level of development of pragmatic competences plays a significant predictor role in the manifestation of behavioral problems. Variables Communicative Functions, Interaction/Conversation, Contextual Variations have a significant individual contribution to prediction, with a slightly higher individual contribution to prediction being the Interaction/Conversation variable, which proved to be the most damaging in our respondents. In his research on the pragmatic profile of people with low-functioning autism, Talijan (2015) states that 48.9% of respondents exhibit some form of maladaptive behavior as a form of expressive communication. Also, almost half of the respondents exhibited behavioral problems in distressing or incomprehensible situations to other people.

That pragmatic difficulties are associated with externalized behavioral problems is supported by studies showing that individuals with ASD spectrum who have problems with pragmatic functioning have a greater tendency to act aggressively than those with better pragmatic competencies (Boonen, Majjars, Lambrechts, Zink, Van Leuween and Noens 2014; Chow and Wehby 2018; Nagai, Hinobayashi and Kanazama 2017).

Matson and Cervantes (2014) state that communication and behavioral problems are causally related, that is, communication deficits affect a person's ability to interact socially with others, and that reductions in social interactions lead to an inability to learn and practice new pragmatic competencies.

In their study, Rodas, Eisenhower and Blacher (2017) explain the mechanism of anxiety development by the fact that children with pragmatic impairments may misunderstand others in the social setting, which may cause difficulties in achieving social goals, and consequently lead to anxiety. One of their findings is that individuals with better pragmatic competencies have less anxiety and fewer behavioral problems, and that pragmatic competency-oriented interventions and functional communication training can also help reduce behavioral problems (Rodas, Eisenhower and Blacher 2017). Limited pragmatic compe-

tence competences affect behavioral problems and, by reducing self-control capacity, those frustrated by language constraints may become aggressive and depressed when unable to understand others and express themselves, develop problems in emotional and psychosocial adjustment.

4.2. Predictor role of sociodemographic factors

Sociodemographic factors whose predictor role was examined by gender, age, housing status, respondents' education, parents' education, and respondents' intellectual abilities. The results of our study show that the strong predictor factors were the level of intellectual disability and the level of education of the respondents.

In their study comparing gender differences in pragmatic competence in persons with ASD, (Conlon, Volden, Smith, Duku, Zwaigenbaun, Waddell, et al. 2019) found that there were differences in individual segments, such as narrative production, where female persons were observed to be more fluent and give more relevant comments from the male, as well as paying more attention to the speaker's intentions, are more skillful at maintaining focus and making their stories more comprehensible. However, they emphasize that there is no difference in overall achievement related to pragmatic competencies, which is consistent with our findings and those of numerous other studies (Kauschke, Van der Beek and Kamp-Becker 2016; Pisula, Pudlo, Slowinska, Kawal, Strzaska, Banasiak and Wolanczyk 2017). However, it has been found that there is a significant gender difference in behavioral problems. Females exhibit more internalizing problems in the field than males and (Solomon, Van Wijngaarden, Van Eeten, Groen, Van Deurzen, Osterling and Van der Gass 2014). In our results, statistically significant differences in the expression of behavioral problems with respect to gender in persons with ASD were not observed, both on total and on individual scores.

When it comes to the impact of the age of people with ASD on behavioral problems, the results of numerous studies vary. Some studies report that younger adults with ASD exhibit more externalized behavioral problems than older adults, with some proving the opposite (Fortuna, Robinson, Smith, Meccarello, Bullen, Nobis and Davidson 2016; Wise, Smith and Rabins 2017). These results are inconsistent with our results, which is that age does not appear to be a statistically significant predictor of pragmatic functioning and severity of behavioral problems, which is consistent with the results of individual studies (Kats, Payne, Parlier and Piven 2013).

Numerous studies indicate that behavioral problems are not only one of the key problems in people with ASD, but are significantly associated with a degree of intellectual disability and show that persons with a higher degree of intellectual disability exhibit more behavioral problems (Matson, Hess and Boisjoli 2012). These results are consistent with the results we obtained. Hull, Mandy, and Petrides (2017) review the theoretical framework for these results and state that intellectual impairment is a significant predictor affecting the manifestation of all key symptoms of autism spectrum disorders, most notably those related to communication and behavioral problems. Deficiencies in cognitive functioning also explain the heterogeneous nature of difficulties in pragmatic functioning (Martin and McDonald 2003).

The results of our research also show that educational attainment is a significant predictor when it comes to behavioral problems, since people involved in the educational process have more opportunities to learn acceptable behavior patterns, interact more with peers, and broaden their social circles. They are taught to respect authority and social norms. Woodman, Smith, Greenberg and Mailick (2016) also found that education and family context were the most significant predictors of behavioral problems for people with ASD, as well as many other authors who have dealt with this type of research (Chowdhury, Benson and Hillier 2010; Matson and Horovitz 2010).

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the research results we can conclude the level of development of pragmatic competencies is a significant predictor of the manifestation of behavioral problems in adults with ASD. Variables Communicative Functions, Contextual Variations have a significant individual contribution to prediction, with a slightly higher individual contribution to prediction being the Interaction/Conversation variable. Educational attainment and intellectual disability are significant predictors of behavioral problems in adults with autism spectrum disorders. These results suggest that screening for lifelong behavioral problems in the population of people with ASD is needed, both for those with intellectual disabilities and those without, and for providing adequate support and rehabilitation programs.

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AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER – EMPOWERING AND SUPPORTING TEACHERS (ASD-EAST): DEVELOPING TEACHER EDUCATION ABOUT ASD FOR PRIMARY TEACHERS

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Summary

Effective education is a crucial intervention for children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) and it is vital that teachers are confident and appropriately skilled. However, a significant shortfall has been identified regarding teacher confidence and skills, both globally and more specifically regarding Central/Eastern Europe and the Balkans. To begin to address this shortfall, a two-year multinational project was established to develop, deliver and evaluate teacher education in ASD in three countries: Croatia, Poland and the Republic of North Macedonia. Following extensive scoping, a 12-hour training programme was developed and delivered to 259 mainstream and special school teachers across these countries. The programme was evaluated using both quantitative and qualitative methods. This paper describes and

discusses the project and presents findings regarding the Republic of North Macedonia. Problems regarding knowledge and confidence are discussed, and benefits of the ASD-EAST programme are identified. It is argued that effective, ongoing teacher education must be provided to ensure aspirations and policy decisions regarding educational inclusion are realistic, and so that teachers may have the knowledge, skills and confidence to turn rhetoric into reality.

Introduction

Children and young people with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) have specific, special needs due to their characteristic communication and social difficulties, inflexibility and sensory processing issues. Education is a key intervention, and meaningful access to effective education is crucial (Simpson *et al.*, 2011). However, due to the diverse nature of ASD, no one educational intervention or approach is effective for all individuals and teachers need a range of skills and strategies (Iovannone *et al.*, 2003) at their disposal.

Problems exist regarding skills, knowledge and expertise of educators supporting children with ASD across both mainstream and special education settings (Marshall and Goodall, 2015; Sekušak-Galešev *et al.*, 2015). A particular shortfall exists within Central/Eastern Europe and the Balkans, where recent legislation is promoting fully inclusive education (Bukvić, 2014; Starczewska *et al.*, 2011; Trajkovski, 2017). While undoubted good practice exists, there are also significant training and developmental needs.

The ASD-EAST project

To begin to address these needs, a multi-national partnership established the *Autism Spectrum Disorder – Empowering and Supporting Teachers* (ASD-EAST) project. This two-year project (September 2018 – August 2020) was funded by the European Commission's Erasmus+ programme to develop, deliver and evaluate education in ASD to specialist educators from mainstream and special education primary schools in Croatia, Poland and the Republic of North Macedonia. The partnership comprised universities, schools, trainers and non-governmental organisations from Croatia, Poland, the Republic of North Macedonia, Belgium and the United Kingdom, and was coordinated by the University of Northampton, UK. The project's objectives were:

- ♦ to scope good practice and areas needing development with regard to the educational inclusion of children with autism in Croatia, Poland and the Republic of North Macedonia

- ♦ to develop a model training programme and materials for specialist educators supporting the educational inclusion of children and young people with autism in these countries
- ♦ to use the materials to pilot the training programme with specialist educators from mainstream and special schools across Croatia, Poland and the Republic of North Macedonia
- ♦ to evaluate the appropriateness and effectiveness of the materials and the impact of the training, sharing findings with key stakeholders and policy-makers.

Methodology

To assess the project, a rigorous mixed methods, evidence-based project and programme evaluation methodology was utilised (Palaiologou *et al.*, 2016; Royse *et al.*, 2016), incorporating quantitative and qualitative methods. Initial scoping was undertaken by means of a review of the literature; an internet search regarding (a) training regarding ASD and (b) policy and practice in Croatia, Poland and the Republic of North Macedonia; a survey of specialist educators in the three countries; and focus group interviews with specialist educators in Zagreb, Kraków and Skopje. The programme, materials and pilot training workshops were evaluated via pre-training, post-training and follow-up questionnaires completed by teachers who attended the workshops, and individual interviews with a sample of teachers from each country. Quantitative data were subjected to statistical analysis using SPSS; qualitative data from the focus groups and individual interviews were subjected to content analysis utilising a matrix approach (Gillham, 2000). Further data for project evaluation were collected from attendees at the project's virtual online conferences, training teams in the three countries, project partners, and the project's expert reference group.

Scoping activity: knowledge, skills and confidence regarding ASD

Initial activity focused on reviewing training models and policy, reviewing the literature regarding teacher education in autism (Lessner Lištiaková and Preece, 2019) and obtaining the perspectives of special educators in Croatia, Poland and the Republic of North Macedonia about their knowledge, skills and confidence regarding ASD via a survey and focus groups.

Methods

The survey tool (a closed questionnaire) and focus group schedule were developed by partners from the Universities of Kraków, Northampton and

Zagreb and Autism Macedonia Blue Firefly. Tools were translated into Croatian, Polish and Macedonian and piloted in November 2018. Following minor amendments, both tools were finalised. Questionnaires were distributed (electronically and hard copy) to specialist educators from both mainstream and special school settings in the three countries between November 2018 – February 2019. At the same time, focus groups were held in Zagreb, Kraków and Skopje gathering qualitative data about the challenges faced by these educators. Ethical approval for the scoping exercise, research tools and accompanying documentation was obtained from the University of Northampton. In total, 560 questionnaires were distributed and 340 returned. Following data cleansing there were 294 usable responses: 103 from Croatia, 118 from Poland and 73 from the Republic of North Macedonia. Sixty teachers participated in focus groups: seven from Croatia, 42 from Poland and 11 from the Republic of North Macedonia. In this paper, we focus on data collected from specialist educators in the Republic of North Macedonia during initial scoping and the evaluation of the programme, materials and training.

Findings

Inaccurate understanding of ASD

Analysis of the quantitative data showed that many teachers held narrow, stereotypical or sometimes factually inaccurate understandings regarding ASD. With regard to the North Macedonian respondents:

- 60% (n = 44) thought children with ASD preferred to be alone
- 59% (n= 43) thought children with ASD could not make eye contact
- 45% (n = 33) thought children could grow out of ASD
- 21% (n =15) thought ASD could be cured
- 19% n = 14) thought children with ASD were good communicators
- 12% (n=9) thought children with ASD had no emotions.

Ambivalent attitude towards inclusion

North Macedonian teachers held contradictory attitudes regarding the educational inclusion of children with ASD. Ninety percent (n= 66) acknowledged that children with ASD benefit from playing and interacting with their non-disabled peers; and 70% (n = 51) stated that children with ASD can be educated alongside their non-disabled peers. However, a similar number (69%, n = 50) said that children with ASD needed to be educated in special schools. This suggests an ambivalence towards inclusion that has been noted amongst

professionals more widely, e.g. in literature from the United Kingdom (Male, 2011) and the United States (Ross-Hill, 2009).

Common approaches in ASD: confidence and use

Regardless of where children are educated, almost three-quarters of respondents (73%, $n = 53$) felt children with ASD required specialist approaches. A number of such educational approaches and interventions are considered as 'good practice in ASD' (Parsons *et al.*, 2009) and are in common use internationally. These include behavioural approaches such as Applied Behavioural Analysis (ABA) (Lovaas, 1987); structured teaching (Mesibov *et al.*, 2005); Social Stories™ (Gray, 1994); augmentative communication approaches (AAC), e.g. Picture Exchange Communication System (PECS) (Frost and Bondy, 2002); as well as interactional and peer-mediated approaches (Greenspan and Lewis, 2005; Laghi *et al.*, 2018). The survey identified that few North Macedonian respondents had received training in such approaches or felt confident in their use. However, despite this lack of training and confidence, such methods were in frequent use in North Macedonian classrooms. Table 1 shows that the approaches identified above were in use in the majority of North Macedonian classrooms. The overwhelming majority of teachers were using these approaches without training or confidence in what they were doing – often after watching English language videos on YouTube or based upon their reading – and the gap between knowledge and practice was stark. Without appropriate training, approaches may be incorrectly applied resulting in ineffective practice and poor outcomes for teachers and children (Scott and Condillac, 2018; Suhrheinrich, 2011).

Table 1. Training, confidence and use of 'good practice' approaches

Approach	Received training		Confident in use		Using approach in practice	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Applied Behaviour Analysis	5	7	12	16	56	77
Augmentative communication	3	4	11	15	61	84
Structured teaching	0	0	4	6	53	73
Social Stories™	4	6	7	10	53	73
Interactional approaches	1	1	4	6	43	59
Peer-mediated approaches	0	0	2	3	37	51

Confidence in meeting the needs of children with ASD/need for training

North Macedonian respondents expressed low confidence in supporting children with ASD in many key areas of need (see Table 2), with fewer than a third feeling able to help children effectively access learning. It is unsurprising that 95% of North Macedonian respondents (n = 69) identified a need for further training.

Table 2. Teachers' confidence in supporting children with ASD

Area of need	N	%
Children's sensory needs	28	38
Children's expressive communication	27	37
Managing challenging behaviour	26	36
Dealing with children's anxiety	26	36
Learning and curriculum access	23	32
Children's social understanding	20	27
Accurate understanding of ASD	13	18

The ASD-EAST teacher training programme

A training programme and materials were developed between spring and autumn 2019 addressing six key domains identified within the scoping activity: communication, emotional understanding, social skills, sensory needs, modifications/adaptations and challenging behaviour. These were differentiated for mainstream and special school settings and translated into Croatian, Polish and Macedonian. Participants were recruited within the three countries, and workshops of 12 hours' duration (delivered by practitioner and academic partners) were held between October 2019 and January 2020 in Zagreb, Kraków and Skopje. Separate workshops were held for mainstream and special school staff. ASD-EAST training was provided to 259 teachers: 121 from mainstream and 138 from special schools.

Three workshops were held in Skopje, one for mainstream and two for special school teachers. A total of 112 teachers from across the Republic of North Macedonia attended workshops – 66 from mainstream and 46 from special schools. Participants came from across the country (Bitola, Gostivar, Kavadarci, Kumavova, Negatino, Novo Selo, Ohrid, Prilep, Skopje, Strumica, Sveti Nikole, Tetovo, Valandovo and Veles) and included teachers from all special schools in the country.

Evaluation methods

Pre-training, post-training and follow-up questionnaires and interview schedules were developed, translated and piloted; and ethical approval was again obtained. All participants completed pre-and post-training questionnaires. Follow-up questionnaires were distributed 2-3 months after training. In total, 139 were returned (54% response rate); 30 North Macedonian teachers (27%) responded. In addition, 10 teachers were interviewed three months after the workshops – five from mainstream and five from special schools.

Evaluation findings

Analysis of post-training questionnaires identified that attending ASD-EAST training significantly improved both mainstream and special school teachers' confidence across all topics covered by the programme.

Data from the Republic of North Macedonia showed that:

- ♦ training fulfilled expectations of 92% of participants (n = 97)
- ♦ 92% felt there was the right amount of theoretical information to support practical strategies (n = 97)
- ♦ 91% learned strategies they felt they could put into practice straight away (n = 96)
- ♦ 94% would recommend the training to their colleagues (n = 99).

Follow-up questionnaires and interviews provided evidence that teachers were making practical use of strategies and approaches from the workshops. Particular use was made of strategies to support learning and access the curriculum (80%, n = 24), supporting communication (70%, n = 21), managing challenging behaviour (60%, n = 18) and supporting social interaction and peer relationships (53%, n = 16).

Interview participants identified benefits from across the programme; and the fact that training was provided by experienced practitioners, who understood the challenges that teachers experienced, gave the ASD-EAST programme credibility and authority.

“I especially liked that the trainers worked out the topics by sharing practical examples and personal experiences in working with children with ASD”.

Teachers had taken the ASD-EAST materials back to their schools and shared what they had learned with their colleagues; and it was noteworthy that not only did teachers feel calmer and more confident, but that positive changes were also identified in the children they taught.

“I shared the acquired knowledge with my closest associates, colleagues with whom we work directly in the same department, and the parents themselves notice the positive changes in their children.”

Conclusion

The ASD-EAST project has identified key barriers to the inclusion in education of children with ASD across both mainstream and special school settings regarding teacher knowledge, confidence and skills. It has also demonstrated that even just 12 hours of targeted and appropriate training, built upon evidence-based practice and delivered by credible practitioners, can impact in these areas and lead to positive outcomes for learners with ASD. The Republic of North Macedonia’s recent adoption of its new Law on Primary Education (Government of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2019) has firmly established the principle of full inclusion of all pupils. Research elsewhere in Europe has shown that putting such policy into practice requires not only systemic change (Smyth *et al.*, 2014) but also the understanding and acceptance of professionals (Alekhina, 2016). We argue that effective, ongoing teacher education must be provided to ensure that aspirations regarding inclusion are realistic and achievable, and to ensure teachers have the knowledge, skills and confidence to meet the needs of all children, turning rhetoric into reality.

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FINANCIAL CHALLENGES OF FAMILIES WITH DISABLED CHILDREN

Introduction: *Families of a disabled child face a number of challenges that greatly change the expected course of family functioning. Depending on the type and degree of disability, a child has different needs than a typical child and the family faces a range of financial, emotional and life challenges. In many countries, families of disabled children live in poverty, actually they have been described as “the poorest of the poor.” Within these constrained financial circumstances, families have to meet costs for bringing up a disabled child, which are estimated to be three times those of bringing up a non-disabled child. Unlike in other families, paid work is not the potential solution. The child's care needs, multiple appointments with healthcare professionals, and lack of support for child care affect parents' ability to work.*

Methodology: *The aim of the research is to determine the socioeconomic status of families of a disabled child. Variables of the research are the level of education, employment status, monthly income and monthly expenses related to the rehabilitation process of a child with disabilities. The sample of the study consisted of 46 families with a child with disability.*

Results: *Results of the survey point out the significant low socioeconomic status of families of disabled children. In terms of the employment rate of the parents, we would add that in our sample 11 families have one employed member, while 21 families (43%) do not have any employed family member. Results from our research showed that 23 children (50%) receive monthly medications therapy which costs an average of 4.064 denars per month. While during the previous year (2019), 8 children from the sample needed special medical intervention with an average cost of 59.500 denars.*

Comparing the results with similar research conducted 10 years ago, allowed us to review any changes in the socio-economic status of the families, that is whether the quality of life of these families has begun to improve.

Key words: socioeconomic status, children with disabilities, families of disabled child

Introduction

The impact of poverty on families of children with disabilities has received considerable attention in the literature (1). A potential contribution to the relationship between poverty status and disability is the increased financial strain placed on families as they care for their child's needs. Poverty status also has been found to increase the likelihood that families of a child with disabilities will not possess adequate health insurance, thereby reducing the family's access to adequate medical services for their child (2).

An extensive literature documents the direct and indirect costs to families associated with childhood disabilities. Direct monetary costs include expenditures on health care, therapeutic, behavioral, or educational services; transportation; caregivers; and other special needs services. Indirect costs consist primarily of reductions in parents' ability to sustain paid employment. This loss of productivity could relate to additional time that is required to care for a child with a disability combined with high costs or unavailability of adequate child care (3).

A number of studies analyze the socio-economic status of families with a disabled child, as well as the factors that influence this status. We would single out two cohort studies that follow the lives of children and young people over time: the Millennium Cohort Study and the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England. The findings show that disabled children are more likely to experience socioeconomic disadvantages in family circumstances, whatever measure of disability is used, and in both early childhood and adolescence. The risks of disadvantage appear to increase during early childhood but become more stable in adolescence (4). Stabile and Allin examine several studies that, taken together, show that having a child with disabilities increases the likelihood that the mother (and less often the father) will either curtail hours of work or stop working altogether. Researchers also find that having a child with disabilities can affect a mother's own health and put substantial strains on the parents' relationship. In the longer term, disabilities also compromise a child's schooling and capacity to get and keep gainful employment as an adult, according to the studies Stabile and Allin review. Negative effects on future well-being appear to be much greater, on average, for children with mental health problems than for those with physical disabilities (3).

Methodology

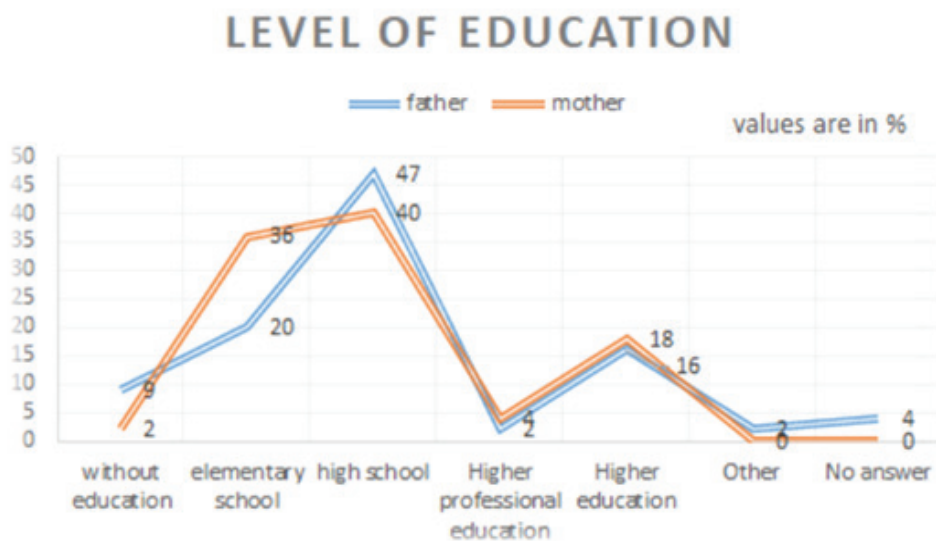
The aim of our research was to determine the financial challenges of families with disable children in Republic of Macedonia.

Therefore, we analyzed four variables:

- ♦ level of education;
- ♦ employment status;
- ♦ monthly income;
- ♦ monthly expenses related to the rehabilitation process of a child with disabilities.

The sample consisted of 46 families with a child with intellectual or combined disability. They all come from an urban environment. The questionnaire was distributed through the special primary schools (SES Zlatan Stremac and SES Idnina) which these students attend. The data were analyzed using frequency, percentage, t-test and chi square for determination of the correlation between the variables.

The results of the study were compared with a similar research conducted 10 years ago. In that research we have analyzed the socio-economic status on a sample of 104 families of child with intellectual disability (5).



$t = 0.0000$ $df = 12$ standard error of difference = 3.974

Figure1: Level of education of the parents

Results In terms of level of education

Figure 1 shows the level of education of mothers and fathers in families. According to the t-test analysis, we determined that there is no statistically significant difference in the degree of education between mothers and fathers. In the sample, most of the parents have completed secondary education (40% of mothers, 47% of fathers), then primary education (36% of mothers, 20% of fathers). The lowest percentage of parents has no education at all (2% of mothers, 9% of fathers).

Our further analysis was focused on comparing the data with the level of education in the general population, as well as comparing the results with the research conducted 10 years ago. Figure 2 provides an overview of this analysis.

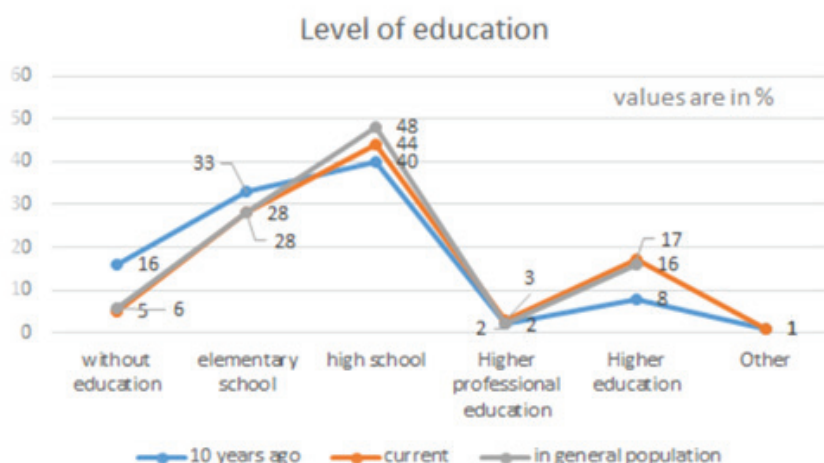


Figure 2: Comparison of the level of education of the parents with disabled child and the general population, as well as research conducted 10 years ago

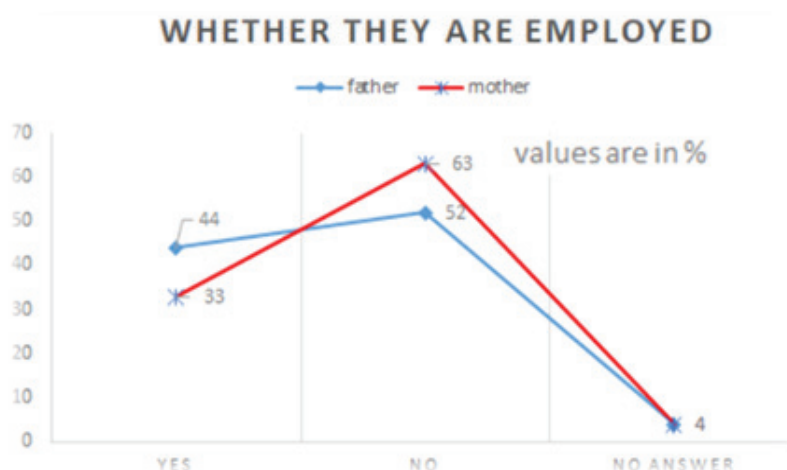
In Figure 2 we can see that the level of education of the parents in our sample is very similar to the level of education in the general population. The biggest difference is in the percentage of parents with completed secondary school (44% in our sample, 48% in the general population).

The other comparison with the research conducted 10 years ago, gives us very interesting data. In this analysis we can see a drastic decline in the percentage of parents without education from 16% (10 years ago) to 5%, as well as decline in the percentage of parents with primary education from 33% (10 years ago) to 28% in the current research. On the other hand, we have an increase in the percentage of parents with secondary education, from 40%

(10 years ago) to 44%, and in particular the percentage of parents with higher education, from 8% over 10 years increased to 17%.

2. Employment status of the parents

Regarding the employment of parents, our analysis shows that we have a difference between mothers and fathers. That is, by 11% we have a higher employment rate of fathers than mothers. However, according to the result of chi square there is no statistically significant difference between the employment rate of mothers and fathers.



$$\chi^2=1.186 \text{ df}=1 \text{ p}= 0.276141$$

Figure 3: Employment rates of parents

In terms of the employment rate of the parents, we would add that in our sample 11 families have one employed member, while 21 families (43%) do not have any employed family member.

Improving educational status inevitably leads to the assumption that we have an improvement in the percentage of employed parents compared to a survey conducted 10 years ago. In Figure 4 we can see that we have a minimal increase of 3% of employed parents with disabled children. But if we compare the data with the percentage of employees in the general population, then we come to a serious difference. Namely, according to the Statistical Office in the second quarter of 2020, 83% of the working age population is employed versus twice less than the parents of our sample (6). The statistical analysis is illustrated in the following Figure 3.

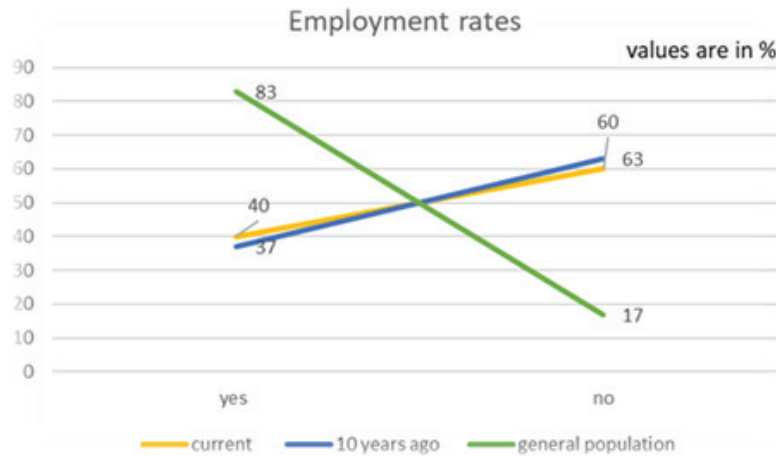


Figure 4: Comparison of the employment rate of the parents with disabled child and the general population, as well as research conducted 10 years ago

3. Average incomes in families

The analysis of average income was necessary to obtain a realistic picture of the financial challenges faced by families. According to the analysis, the average salary of employed parents is 18.000 denars, which is 9.206 denars (34%) lower than the average salary in the general population (27.206 denars - data refer to February 2020 when the survey was conducted) (7). We have had a similar situation 10 years ago, when the difference in monthly income was 5.217 denars (25%) (5).



Figure 5: Comparison of the average incomes of the parents with disabled child and the general population, as well as research conducted 10 years ago

Further analysis regarding the income of the families showed us that 10 (22%) families have incomes from other sources, the average value of those incomes is 10.125 denars.

In terms of place of living, 35 families live in their own houses, 3 families live in rented accommodation, 4 families live with relatives, and the same number of families live in an institution.

In order to improve the socio-economic status of families, the state provides social benefits. Those benefits are define in the Law of Child Protection and Law of Social Protection. In terms of social benefits, according to the data, most families use special allowance (73%), then free public transport (19%), a small number of families use reimbursement of part-time job and specific medical interventions.

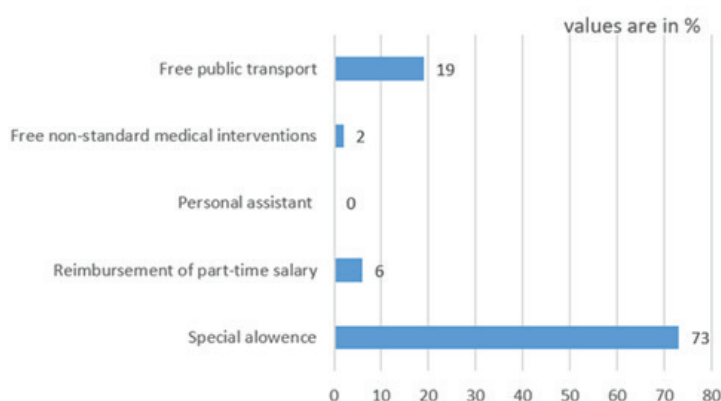


Figure 6: Social benefits for disabled child and his/her family

High percentage of families, i.e 79% of the sample, are not satisfied with the effects of the social benefits and think that they do not meet their daily financial challenges. About 14% of the families are partially satisfied with the social benefits, and 7% are completely satisfied with them.

4. Monthly expenses for the needs of the rehabilitation process of the child with disability

No matter what kind of disability is, no matter from which aspect we define it, it is always treated as a condition, which means that as a condition it always exists. The rehabilitation process can improve the condition, but cannot cure it. So, the child with a disability will be involved in the rehabilitation process for many years, and his/her family will have to financially support this process in all those years.

Results from our research showed that 23 children (50%) receive monthly medications therapy which costs an average of 4.064 denars per month. While

during the previous year (2019), 8 children from the sample needed special medical intervention with an average cost of 59.500 denars.

Our analysis went a little bit further in order to examine which medications therapy is most commonly used in this population and how much they cost. In table 1, we can see that some medications don't cost anything, or family pays co-payment, those medications are on a positive list on the Health Insurance Fund, that means the state provides these medications. The other medications are not on the positive list, so the family pays full amount. The most used drug is the antiepileptic Depakine, and as the most expensive drug we would single out Artane which decreases muscle stiffness. Many of the medications are highly concentrated vitamins, which are not on the positive list of drugs, and are especially important for the development of these children.

Table 1. Medications used by children with disabilities

Therapy	No. of children	Monthly payment
artane	1	6000
karnozin	1	2700
omega 3	4	2500
espriko	3	1300
olive oil	1	1200
azolar	1	1140
Insulin	2	1000
keppra	1	600
vitamini	5	600
Depakine	8	300
prazine	4	260
ariprizol	1	0
deanol	1	0
respiridone	2	0
riset	3	0
trileptal	1	0

In addition to medications therapy, a child with a disability often attends a series of rehabilitation treatments that enable improvement of his/her development or maintain the condition unchanged. These treatments according to the recommended frequency usually range from 2-3 times a week, and sometimes more often. These include the treatments of a special educator

and rehabilitator, speech therapist, physiotherapist, etc. Children from the families in our sample, most often visit a speech therapist with a frequency of 2.7 times a week, and that costs them an average of 1.604 denars per week. The most expensive treatment they receive is the treatment by a psychologist with an average cost of 2.350 denars per week, with a frequency of 3 times a week. The following table 2 shows the results in details.

Table 2: Monthly rehabilitation therapy that children receive:

Type of therapy	N of children	weekly f	weekly cost
special ER	5	3.5	2100
speech therapist	13	2.7	1604
physiotherapist	4	2.75	1862
psychologist	2	3	2350
swimming therapy	1	2	1500
homeopathic therapy	1	1	3000

Table 3: Parents wish list for additional therapist

Type of therapist	N of children
special ER	10
speech therapist	15
psychologist	1
physiotherapist	3
behavioral therapy	1
Sensory room and hyperbaric treatment	1

Further, we were interested whether families, for financial reasons, could not afford any treatment that they considered to be extremely important for the development of their child. According to the results, even 67% of the parents answered positively on this question, most of them or 33% thinking that they have an additional need for a speech therapist, and 22% have an additional need for a special educator and rehabilitator.

Discussion and comparison of results

In terms of education in our sample there is no statistically significant difference in the degree of education between mothers and fathers. With the further analysis we conclude that the level of education of the parents in our sample is very similar to the level of education in the general population. Similar percentage of those two groups brings us to the assumption that the birth of a child with a disability does not affect the level of education of the parents. The disconnection between these two variables could be due to the fact that parents decide to have a child after completing their educational process. When we compared the obtained results with the research conducted 10 years ago, we got a significant difference in the data. As a general conclusion regarding how the time factor affected the level of education, we would point out that the level of education of parents with disabled children has drastically improved, approaching very close to the statistical indicators of the general population. Additional analysis would show us which factors or stimulative measures influenced the improvement of this variable.

In terms of employment status of the parents, there is mild statistical tendency for a better employment rate among fathers. This corresponds with other researches, which indicates that more often mothers give up their professional engagement and career in order to take care of their child with disabilities. The situation regarding the employment rate has not improved in the last 10 years, the percentage of employed parents of a child with a disability is twice lower compared to the general population.

Analogous to the low employment rate, these families have *lower monthly incomes* than the general population, the average salary of our sample is 9.206 denars (34%) lower than the average salary in the general population.

As we can see in the results, the most used social benefit is the special allowance provided by the Law of Child Protection. This social benefit is provided as a compensation intended for children with disabilities up to 26 years of age, and it is given by the proposal of a commission for assessment of the functional abilities of the child.

The last change in relation to this allowance was made in 2018, when the special allowance of 4.202 denars per month increased to 5.096 denars.

The potential beneficiaries of the special allowance are defined according to the Standards for categorization of persons with disabilities. In this list of

beneficiaries of special allowance persons with mild intellectual disability are missing.

People/children with mild intellectual disability are the most numerous in the category of people with intellectual disability (89%), and on the other hand, according to a number of researches, these people most often live in worse socio-economic conditions compared to families with children with severe intellectual disability.

The category of person's potential beneficiaries also includes children with Down syndrome, which according to the Standards for categorization of persons with disabilities, are not a special category of persons with disabilities, but depending on their characteristics they may be included in the category of persons with intellectual disabilities or persons with combined disabilities. Therefore we believe that it is inappropriate for this category to stand as a separate category of beneficiaries of special allowance. Separation of children with Down Syndrome as a special category of beneficiaries is a kind of discrimination against other children who have their disability as a result of other conditions and diseases. According to these Standards of categorizations, if a person has Down Syndrome and has a mild intellectual disability, he can use a special allowance, but if the mild intellectual disability is because of another reason, then the person is not entitled to a special allowance (8).

Considering the category of children with sensory problems, we can point out that the compensation also is not provided for a visually impaired child and child with hearing loss. If the child has visual impairment of up to 97%, or hearing impairment of up to 80dB there is no possibility to use the allowance. In this case the decision is left entirely to the quantitative impairment of the senses without regard to the functional quality of the person, but in practice the degree of senses impairment is not directly proportional with the ability of functioning of the person (8).

In terms of monthly expenses for the needs of the rehabilitation process of the child with disability, the results of our research indicate serious costs for monthly drug therapy (in 50% of the respondents), as well as for medical interventions (in 17% of the respondents). A large part of the family budget is allocated for additional rehabilitation treatments, and in 28% it is for a speech therapist. However, there is a high percentage of families (67%) who think that their child need an additional therapist (usually a speech therapist in 33%, and special ER in 22%), but can not afford it.

Conclusion and recommendations

The results of the research confirm that families with a child with disabilities face intense financial challenges, which largely affect their daily lives as well as the opportunities for adequate, quality and continuous rehabilitation treatment of their child.

Retrospectively, we have an improvement in the level of education of parents compared to the research conducted 10 years ago, but no other component indicates an improvement in the socio-economic status of these families. We still have worryingly low employment rates, low incomes and high daily costs. In 2019 a new Law on Social Protection was adopted, with new social changes aimed at improving the quality of life of persons with disabilities and their families. But, results of the research indicate the need to review the effectiveness of these measures.

Our proposal regarding the social measures necessary to improve the socio-economic status and quality of life of families is to follow the individual needs and financial situation of each family. During this period in our country a system for functional diagnosis is being implemented that makes a complete assessment of the functionality of the person. We suggest to include another new member in this team of experts who will assess the ability of the family to financially cover all treatments and therapies proposed by the functional assessment team. Whenever we make a revision of the functional assessment, we should also revise the social benefits provided for the family. This increases the individual approach of working with families.

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FOCUS ON ABILITY: CHANGING AGRICULTURAL ATTITUDES IN PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

Abstract: *Most people with disabilities are very poor in North Macedonia. Although they are entitled to various government supports, the question of disability has not yet been integrated into general development programme.*

Most persons with disabilities live in rural areas and, as such, it has become necessary to identify income-generating opportunities for them so they can become self-reliant while remaining within their community. Persons with disabilities have long been treated as social outcasts and were offered little support in becoming self-sufficient and capable of taking care of themselves and their families. However, things are changing and persons with disabilities are now being recognized as individuals capable of doing.

Rights activists say that the agricultural sector can be one of the best ways of improving their economic condition. Agricultural sector includes crops, livestock, fisheries and forestry. People with disabilities can be engaged in agricultural works like rearing of domestic animals, beekeeping, mushroom cultivation, fish farming, kitchen gardens and running shops for selling fertilizer, seeds and other agricultural products.

Within the project, From Disability to FoodAbility, several field visits were conducted to 30 previously selected persons with disabilities in order to perform site analysis for successful establishment of food gardens. The analysis included evaluation of their Functional Independence by FIM questionnaire which is an 18-item measurement tool that explores an individual's physical, psychological and social function. The tool was used to assess a person's level of disability as well as possibility to work in agriculture.

Tasks that are evaluated using the FIM include bowel and bladder control, transfers, locomotion, communication, social cognition as well as the following six self-care activities: Feeding, Grooming, Bathing, Upper Body Dressing, Lower Body Dressing and Toileting.

The FIM measures what an individual can perform and not what that person could do under certain circumstances.

The FIM score was just one of additional tools that we have uses to determine independence and amount of assistance needed in doing agriculture.

Nevertheless, the FIM score was used in a variety of reasons, including:

- ♦ *setting improvement goals for rehabilitation program*
- ♦ *evaluating the amount of assistance people may need in daily agricultural activities*
- ♦ *tracking the progress*

We have conclude that most of the farmers with disabilities do not have the capacity to provide food for their family due to their weak position. They face problems in producing and then selling their agricultural produce in the market. They have limited linkage with market actors, lack of information about market and storage facilities. As a result, disabled farmers are facing a number of problems in their agricultural production and marketing including a very limited access to information relating to agricultural support services from the government or non-government organizations, lack of ease of access to or availability of a special corner in the markets for them, as well as lack of bank loan, etc.

To involve farmers with disabilities in the agricultural production system and thus improve their livelihood, priority should be given to them regarding all government support services in the agricultural sector.

If the SDGs “No poverty” (SDG 1), “No hunger” (SDG 2) and “Reducing inequalities” (SDG 10) are properly executed, farmers with disabilities in the country would be benefitted and thus they would be able to lead a hunger free healthy life and take part in the development of the country rather than being considered as “burden” of the country.

Key words: people with disabilities, functional independence, self-care activities, attitudes, rural areas, agriculture

Introduction

Individuals with a disability who work in an agricultural setting face challenges that can impact their productivity, mental and physical health, and quality of life. While research on the quality of life (QOL) levels of farmers and ranchers with disabilities is growing, research focused on interventions that improve their behavioral health is almost nonexistent.

In large cities and rural areas, people with disabilities usually have the opportunity to attend special technical schools and/or professional training centres where they can acquire skills that are appropriate for various types of employment. After several years of attendance at such centres, skilled people with disabilities may be able to engage in a servicing or producing activity that provides them with a continuous source of income, allowing them to live independently. Rural PPD, on the other hand, rarely have such opportunities, since they live in villages with no, or very little, access to technical schools and training centres. Rural people with disabilities who live within families that

are engaged in agricultural activities are often obliged or willing to collaborate with their families in farm activities. In many cases, however, people with disabilities have not received any appropriate training and are not skilled in any profession, so they cannot participate actively in farming activities and are forced to remain relatively useless. The main problem facing rural PPD is that they have no, or poor, accessibility to the special training schools, professional centres and agricultural and rural extension agencies that would help them to acquire appropriate technical knowledge. This means that they are unable to assume a responsible and useful role within their families or to contribute to independent farming operations.

From Disability to FoodAbility Project aim is to provide general resources that address farming and ranching with a disability.

This project focuses on the personal stories of users where each describes the circumstances that led them to disability, how they expect the Program to help them, and the ways that they have gone on to prosper and provide hope to others.

Many such families, particularly those living in the rural provinces are just about managing to get by and often fear the future. This sense of isolation is compounded by the fact that the general public is very reticent to engage with older people with disabilities.

Around the world, there are many people born with disabilities who, together with their families, live a full life. So how can the situation be improved in North Macedonia?

Relevant research

Fetsch , R., Jackman, D. and Collins, C. (2018) have conducted a research where the objectives of the current study are threefold: first, to assess overall pretest-posttest changes in the ILW and QOL levels of AgrAbility participants; second, to focus on the behavioral health changes of AgrAbility participants; and third, to compare those changes in a group of AgrAbility participants to those of a no-treatment comparison group. AgrAbility treatment group participants (N = 273) included farmers and ranchers from 14 states with various disabilities who participated in AgrAbility and no-treatment comparison group participants (N = 100) from 17 states. Both groups completed ILW and McGill Quality of Life surveys. These results show that participation in the AgrAbility Project was associated with significant improvements in behavioral health when compared to the no-treatment group which experienced

no significant change in their behavioral health. The current study makes an initial contribution to the search for an evidence-based intervention for improving the physical and behavioral health of farmers and ranchers with functional limitations.

Methodology

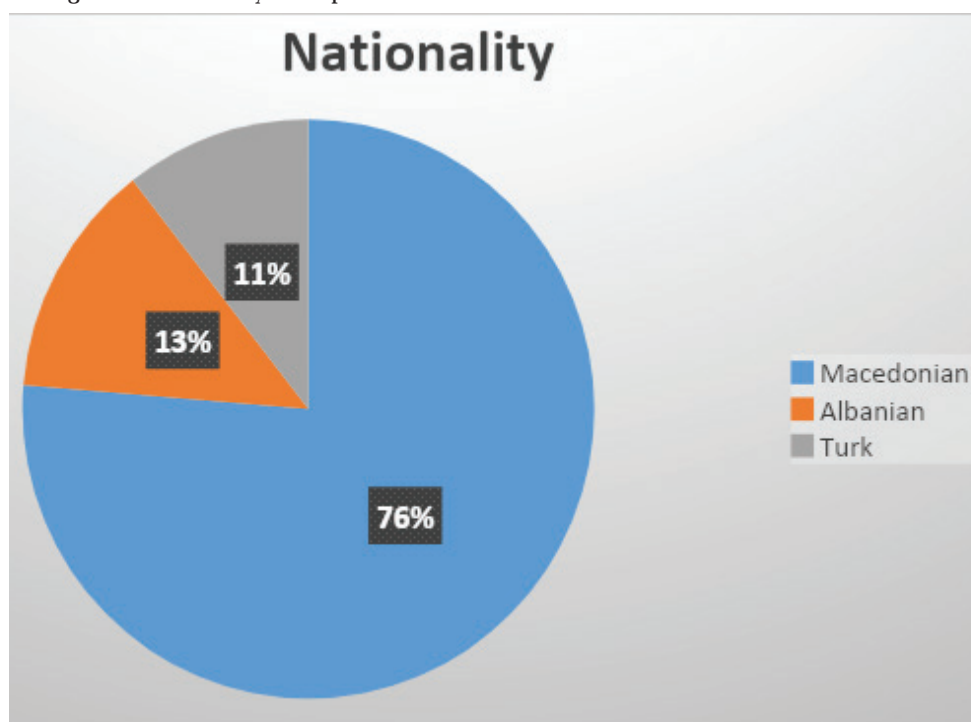
Sample

In the field research 38 families were included from which 60,5% were male and 39,5 were female from more than 30 villages in Macedonia.

The average age of the sample is 32 years.

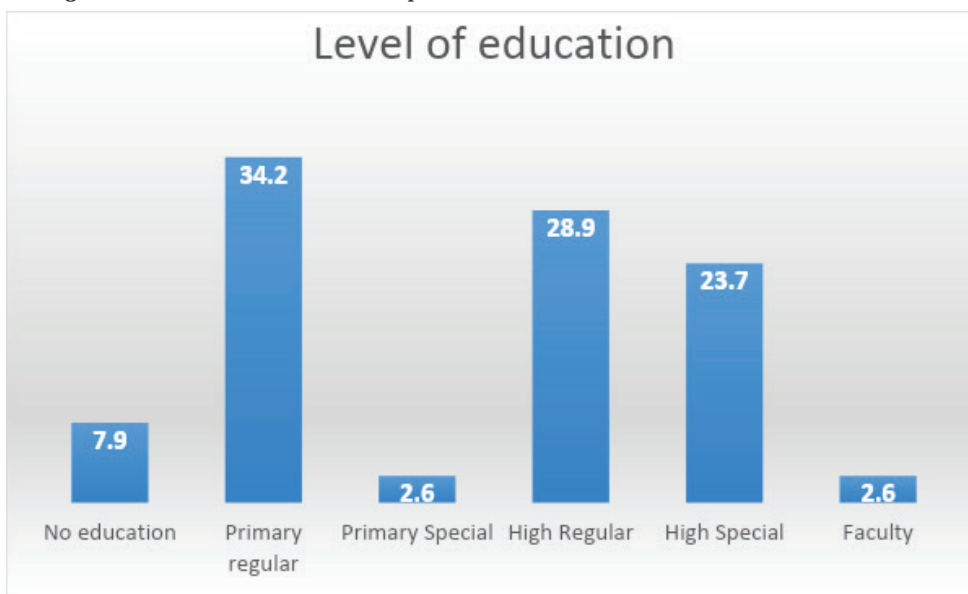
We have tried to include people from different setting according to the demographical data, so our sample is consisted from Macedonian, Albanian and Turk people.

Figure 1: Nationality of respondents



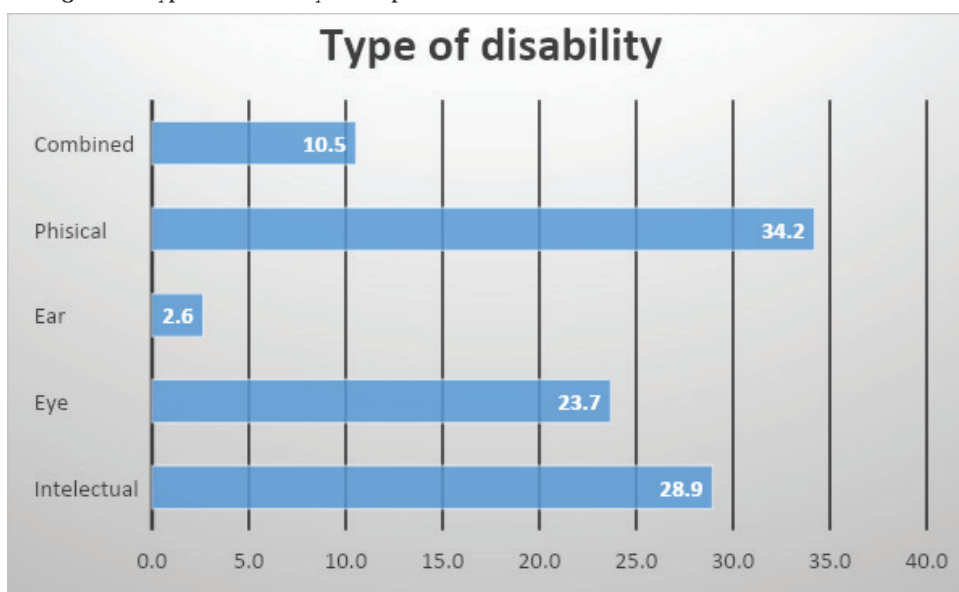
According to the level of education we can see that 34,2% from the sample have finisher or are currently enrolled in regular primary school and 28,9% in regular secondary school but unfortunately are not employed.

Figure 2: Level of education of respondents



When it comes to type of disability, majority of the sample has physical disability (34,2%), and intellectual (28,9%).

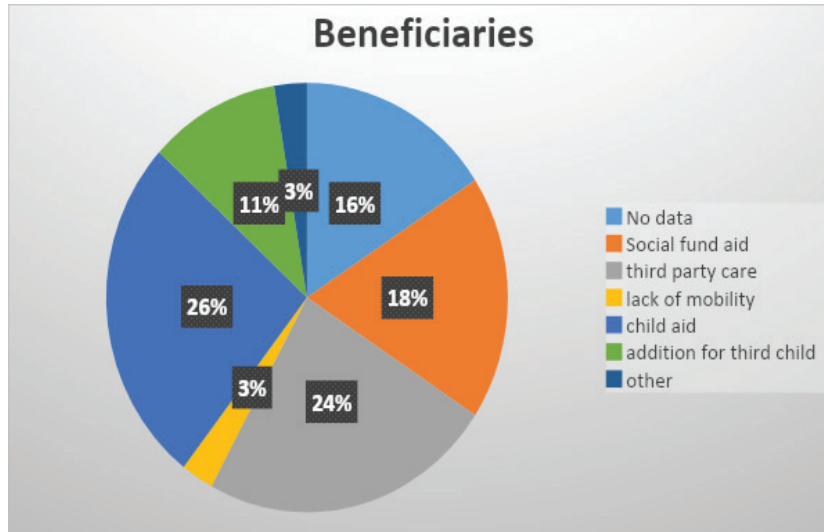
Figure 3: Type of disability of respondents



Another data we have counted as reliable is the way of living – more than half of the sample are living with their families (parents and children) and only 2 of the participants (5,3% of the sample) are leaving alone.

It is worth to be mentioned that 42,1% have been involved in the employment sector in the past, and 71,1% are currently on the evidence list in the Agency for Employment services.

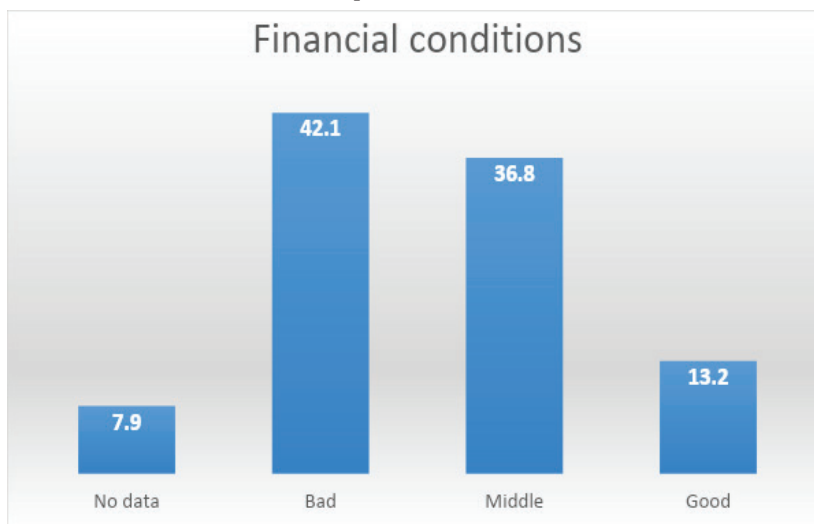
Figure 4: Beneficiary services of respondents



When it comes to Fund beneficiaries, it seems that most of the users are having Third party care and child aid.

As it was expected, most of the families (around half) are living in extremely bad financial conditions with average incomes around 10.000 mkd.

Figure 5: Financial conditions of respondents



What was important for the aim of the project – 60,3% have yard place where can be done agricultural activities, and 36% have additional place so only 1 of the sample is not eligible to have agricultural activities.

Mobility was important factor for those people to be involved in our activities so our data are showing that:

- ♦ 81% can move alone
- ♦ 81% have good coordination with arms
- ♦ 55% have good coordination with legs
- ♦ 37% can transfer objects on their own
- ♦ 71% can take care for their own
- ♦ 63% can take care for home activities.

It is obviously that the level of education, factors of socialization has teach them to be directly or indirectly involved in the agricultural activities so almost all of them know to count fruit and vegetables, know how to raise them.

On the other hand, most of them do not have hobbies and having some agricultural activities in their yard will improve their quality of life.

Also we have conduct The Functional Independence Measure (FIM) is an 18-item measurement tool that explores an individual's physical, psychological and social function. The tool is used to assess a patient's level of disability as well as change in patient status in response to rehabilitation or medical intervention.

The FIM is used by healthcare practitioners to assess and grade the functional status of a person based on the level of assistance he or she requires. Grading categories range from "total assistance with helper" to "complete independence with no helper". Irrespective of the use of any assistive device, the person is considered complete independence.

Tasks that are evaluated using the FIM include bowel and bladder control, transfers, locomotion, communication, social cognition as well as the following six self-care activities:

- ♦ Feeding
- ♦ Grooming
- ♦ Bathing

- ♦ Upper Body Dressing
- ♦ Lower Body Dressing
- ♦ Toileting

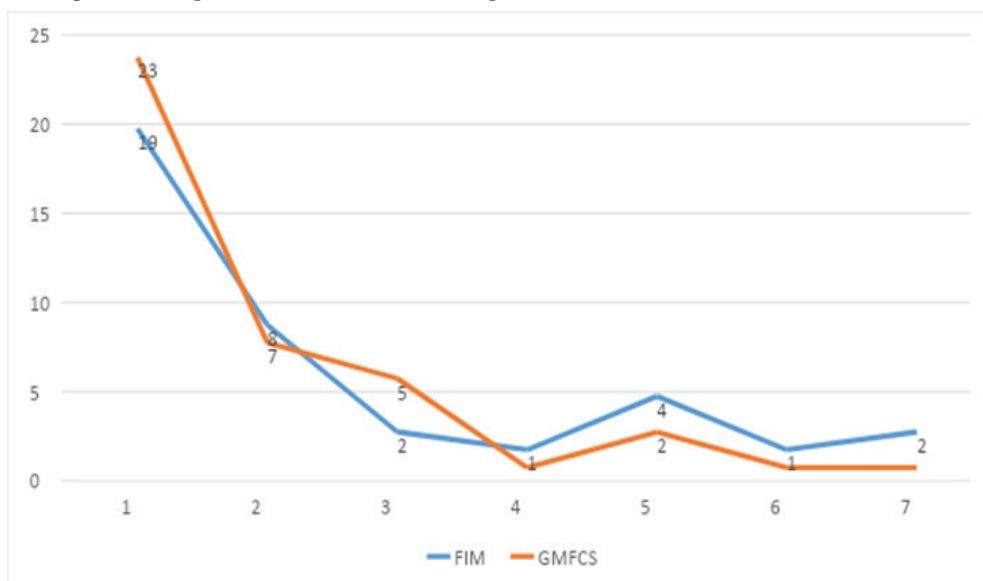
The FIM measures what an individual can perform and not what that person could do under certain circumstances.

The results are divided on a scale from 1 to 7 and given below.

1. Complete independence
2. Modified independence (using of device)
3. Modified dependence with supervision by other person
4. Minimal assistance
5. Moderate assistance
6. Maximal assistance
7. Complete dependence

In the Graphic below are the results and frequencies of the people on the 7 point scale of FIM and GMFCS.

Figure 6: Frequencies on FIM scale of respondents



Conclusion

The Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) uses a broad definition of disability: “Persons with disabilities include those

who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others". One in five of the world's poorest, is a person with a disability and it is estimated that 82 percent of persons with disabilities live below the poverty line. When compared to men, women with disabilities face significantly more difficulties in feeding their families. All of these statistics are a concern.

In most developing countries, agriculture is the main form of economic activity in rural areas. The most vulnerable people are often the first to be excluded from access to water, land, and essential information about agricultural management, thereby facing immense challenges in agricultural activities. An "infrastructural barrier" in many developed nations can mean not having a wheelchair ramp. In many nations it means not having a wheelchair. Being excluded from agricultural activity means being excluded from community and the opportunity to earn a living. People with disabilities are thus at greater risk for hunger and poor nutrition, as well as resulting secondary conditions.

As we talk about disabilities, it is important to differentiate among people with disabilities: physical and cognitive, those who were born with medical conditions, and those who became disabled due to disease or accidents. As a matter of fact, because agriculture is mainly a physical pursuit, it is important to pay special attention to able bodied farmers who, as the result of farming accidents, exposure to harmful agents, or age, have become either temporarily or permanently disabled during the course of their agricultural work. How can agricultural opportunities be accessed by this wide variety of people with disabilities?

However challenging, these hurdles are not insurmountable. Now is the time to address the financial, physical, and cultural barriers to involving people with disabilities in the agricultural realm. As developing nations continue to expand their economies and education opportunities, they should also expand opportunities for the disabled. The needs for agricultural production are beginning to explode and the potential for people with disabilities to make a substantial, enduring, and fulfilling impact on the agricultural sector remains largely untapped, and must be explored.

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SOCIAL AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ASPECTS OF MISSION DRIVEN ORGANIZATION, THE CASE OF FOOD FARMING BY PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN NORTH MACEDONIA

Abstract: *Social enterprises are organizations that pursue a social mission using market mechanisms. From a societal perspective, they are an important organizational form to ensure longevity, financial viability, and sustainability of mission-driven organizations. Social enterprises are neither typical charities nor typical businesses but combine aspects of both, using commercial activities as means toward social ends.*

The aim of this paper is to identify and apply key success factors for social enterprise establishment and sustainable growth through multidisciplinary views of social impact and business management.

The conducted research and analysis within the Project, From Disability to FoodAbility identified 30 people with disabilities and their families (at least 240 people) as beneficiaries of the food gardens and animal farms. They will start production of agricultural and gardening products potentially offered on the market within, plastic tunnels, greenhouses, and animal farming.

The basic assumption in this paper is that the limitations in productivity and production economy of scale has to be compensated by an efficient branding and communication model that will be the cornerstone of sustainable growth and will influence consumer perceptions and buying behavior. The limitations are elaborated through the business concepts of consumer analysis, branding, communication for raising awareness and interest and establishment of sales channels.

The business concepts are applied based on consumer responses to a particular social entrepreneurship initiative and the balance between the consumer choices of utilitarian value compared to the desire to help the disabled persons as the primary motivation for purchase.

Based on the findings of the Project, From Disability to FoodAbility, wide literature review and the application of inductive and deductive research methods the paper will present management and marketing concepts applicable to social enterprises in North Macedonia.

Key words: Social entrepreneurship, people with disabilities, consumer choice, marketing strategy

Introduction

Social entrepreneurship makes increasing contribution to a nation's social, economic and environmental wealth, identified as an innovative way of tackling unmet socio-economic needs. The Social Entrepreneurship Initiative (SEI) based at Stanford University has developed a description of social enterprise that reflects their diversity. Social entrepreneurship is not a new phenomenon, it describes those individuals who establish enterprises primarily to meet social objectives rather than generate personal financial profit.

More recently, as Sullivan et.al (2003) elaborates the emerging marketing/entrepreneurship interface paradigm stresses the need for marketers to research entrepreneurship, from the perspective of establishment of new social enterprises and the continued innovation in existing ones in order to improve their sustainability over time. Humankind faces persistent social challenges that no single organization or individual can solve. Social entrepreneurship provides an innovative management perspective for addressing these problems by seeing them as an entrepreneurial opportunity (Zeyen et.al, 2014).

This paper conceptualizes the key success factors of social enterprises established by persons with disabilities and the application of multidisciplinary views of social impact and business management for their sustainable growth. According to Halberstadt and Kraus (2016) social and commercial entrepreneurship are often said to be two contrasting disciplines that are, at best, only tenuously related. Even though there is a lack of consensus on how to define both social and commercial entrepreneurship, most definitions of social entrepreneurship commonly state that solving social problems demands a narrow, specialized focus, whilst commercial entrepreneurship is often seen as a more conventionally 'business'-like activity. They also stress the economic importance of innovative social business ideas highlight the importance of social entrepreneurship, and that social and commercial entrepreneurship are highly interrelated phenomena, which should not be treated as separate disciplines.

Social entrepreneurship as model for work integration

Spear and Bidet (2005) elaborate that the development of social enterprises is a rapidly emerging trend in Europe and one sector where they have found a particularly important place is in work integration, addressing some of the more difficult problems of social exclusion in labor markets. It is argued

that this form of social enterprise has proved effective and is an important innovation to address problems of more marginalized groups and individuals, but there remain issues about how to sustain and promote the good models and good practices developed.

The conducted research and analysis within the Project, From Disability to FoodAbility, in 2019 in North Macedonia, identified 27 people with disabilities and their families (at least 240 people) as beneficiaries of the food gardens and animal farms. The aim is that they start production of agricultural and gardening products within, plastic tunnels, greenhouses, animal farming with the products potentially offered on the market. Two challenges are essential, funding and training for start of the production capacity and implementation of marketing and sales capacity in order to generate market, sales, revenue and sustainability over time.

The expectations are increased social response and financial return from the implemented activities not to see the activities of the producers suffers from lack of operational sustainability. From this reason, it is important to establish form of enterprising initiative that is selfless, social problem oriented and capable to maintain operational sustainability, widely getting popular as social enterprise.

From this perspective, social enterprises are drawing increased attention from the entrepreneurship and marketing area. Lee (2015) argues that there have been a significant number of studies in the management and operational side of social enterprise, but without overarching theoretical framework of the business model for social enterprise. The available theoretical frameworks of the business models does not adequately take into consideration the unique characteristics of social enterprise and the context within which they must operate.

In continuation of the paper, we analyze the foundations for sustainable business model of the project beneficiaries' production based on: consumer response analysis, branding, communication for raising awareness and interest of the products and sales channels.

The basic assumption is that the limitations in productivity and production capacity economy of scale has to be compensated by an efficient branding and communication model that will be the cornerstone of sustainable growth and will influence consumer perceptions and buying behavior

Consumer response and buying behavior

The key question is how Macedonian consumers respond to a particular social entrepreneurship initiative. The answer lies in the balance between the consumer choices of utilitarian value compared to the desire to help the disabled persons as the primary motivation for purchase. North Macedonia has no available researches on consumer motivations from the aspect of utilitarian value of products and services on one side and helping on the other side as dimensions of exchange.

To explore consumer responses to the social enterprise products, the following questions need to be answered, (Ferdousi, 2017):

- ♦ To examine consumers' prior knowledge about social enterprise products;
- ♦ To investigate their perception and attitude toward social enterprise products;
- ♦ To examine behavioral intention to buy social enterprise products; and
- ♦ To assess their actual buying behavior toward social enterprise products.

The rising social inequality resulted in two groups of consumers; one, wealthy and educated-conscious consumers who expect their purchase will not only make profits but also will create social impact and another group, poor marginalized consumers who are excluded from many goods and service markets due to their limited resources.

The study presented by Hibbert (2005) classifies consumers into the following three segments: ethical, ecological, and rational.

Ethical consumers make purchase decision based on ethical judgments. For example, products made or distributed fairly and/or by autistic, poor, minority or ethnic group, and disadvantaged women would influence ethical consumer to purchase product.

- ♦ Ecological consumers make purchase decision based on environmental performances of the product, such as organic food, recyclable product, renewable energy-related product, etc. that are less harmful for the environment as well as for human beings.
- ♦ Rational consumers make purchase decision based on exchange value/utility. Most of the traditional buying decisions are based on utility (product quality, performance, perceived benefit, etc.).

The production of the social entrepreneurs analyzed within the Project, *From Disability to FoodAbility*, clearly appeals to the first two segments, ethical and ecological consumers.

However, there is no single “ethical consumer” or “ethical market,” but rather a whole range of different ethical consumption demographic groups operating within and across product markets and sectors. Researchers have noted the “30:3 phenomenon,” where more than 30% of consumers declare themselves ethical in surveys, but ethical markets are typically 3% (or less) of total trade by product or sector (Nicholls, 2007).

Therefore, the consumers of the social enterprises project beneficiaries will belong to the intersections of ethical, ecological, and rational consumers’ segmentation and will expect the products bought besides having utilitarian value for money to fulfill a social cause. In addition, stimulation in terms of price, perceived benefit and convenience will also transform some rational consumers to be social enterprise consumers.

The goals should be to raise the intention and actual buying of the products by:

- ♦ Building consumers positive attitude toward social enterprise products.
- ♦ Raising consumer’s knowledge about social enterprise products.
- ♦ Branding and labeling the social enterprise product itself.
- ♦ Stimulating consumers toward social enterprise products.
- ♦ Making products available.

Branding and promotion

In case of social entrepreneurship, branding does not have to be an extensive or expensive endeavor. However, investing financial and time resources into developing a recognizable brand will go a long way (Burtenshaw-deVries, 2018).

Beyond the basic branding activities of choosing a name and creating a logo and color scheme, the best thing to focus on is brand consistency. The messages for all the products created by the beneficiaries of the Project need to be tailored for each platform and its audience and consistent, as most of the customers will encounter the messaging across multiple platforms and mediums.

Creating branded elements, to appeal to customers’ every sense is crucial for not only a cohesive brand identity but also recognition in the marketplace. This will eventually lead to strong and lasting brand loyalty for years to come.

The elements of brand identity include name, logo, color, slogan, image, shape, graphics and typography

Little do we realize, but from the moment you get to know of a brand till the time you actually buy it, companies strategically analyze consumer buying behavior and try to influence it at every stage. This is done with the help of the AIDA model. It helps break down customer journey/ behavior into distinct parts. A brand is then able to plan marketing and advertising strategies of influencing each part so that a consumer is compelled to be engaged with the brand and ultimately buy its product (Upadhyay, 2019). Consumer journey is analyzed by breaking it into four fundamental stages awareness, interest, desire and action.

As we have specific case of low knowledge and productivity operations, the AIDA model we combined with the brand ladder method as described by Social Enterprise London in order to arrive to a base model for communication and sales channel activation.

Table 1. AIDA communication model and customer journey

Stage	Customer journey ladder	Description
Awareness	Suspect	The person (potential customer) hasn't heard of the product or brand before, and don't know what to expect from them. They may have no feelings at all.
Interest	Prospect	The person (potential customer) discovers the product or service being offered, and is persuaded, about the relevance of the product or service to them
Desire		
Action	Customer	The person purchases the product/service for the first time, becoming a customer.
	Advocate	The person is very happy with their relationship with the brand and/or product. They become an advocate when they recommend it to their friends, family and associates

Social enterprises have a good opportunity to utilise the socio-cultural benefits in their marketing strategies. There is definitely a degree of prestige amongst some social groups of buying fair trade, 'green' or sustainable products and services. Due to its popularity and widespread use, social media has been seen as a new platform which can be used as a competitive marketing weapon. Based on Hassan et. al. (2015) strategy for using social media for

business marketing we summarized detailed strategy implementation plan for communication with the public and customers of the social enterprises project beneficiaries.

Table 2: Activity plan based on the AIDA strategy for social media marketing of the Project beneficiaries

STEPS	STRATEGY
Attention	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Create web page and social media accounts b. Advertise on social media sites through the social media gateways and banners. c. Become a follower in other social media accounts to make yourself/business known to others. d. Use tagging in social media properly e. Create a controversy on your product so that people will talk about it. f. Use search engines to locate potential customers. g. Use referrals by existing customers or fans. h. Use traditional marketing strategies flyers, stickers, and newspapers. i. Create cross linkages in all social media and websites to generate visitors. j. Advertise on websites of suppliers and collaborators (affiliate marketing). k. Advertise on specialized agriculture news portals
Interest	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Provide clear information about the products, which include a brief description of their main features, price, and pictures. b. Pictures of products should be of different angles. c. Provide clear information about the business owner, contact number, and link to the website and SM accounts. d. Provide timely and up-to-date information about products or service offered. e. Once a new product is released, advertise quickly in social media.
Desire	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Give promotions – special discounts, buy one get one, early birds, etc. b. Organize contest and free gifts. c. Update social media “wall” regularly. d. Provide catchy “wall” notes with attractive pictures of products regularly. e. Monitor the comments and feedback from followers and responding quickly.
Action	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Clear ordering process. b. Clear information on payment options (e.g. bank in directly,etc) c. Delivery options (self-pickup/delivery) d. Call for referrals and recommendations

Sales proposition

What social enterprises try to accomplish is simplified into four key questions as elaborated in the basics of marketing social enterprises What are we selling?; Why are we selling it?; Who are we selling it to? (REDFworkshop, n.d.).

- ♦ Unlike most for-profit consumer businesses, many social enterprises don't start their businesses by creating a product that is filling an unmet consumer need. For most social enterprises, the starting point is the mission. As long as the product or service works with their training

- and support program, and can generate sufficient revenue, it almost doesn't matter what the product is. For many employment focused social enterprises, the purpose is therefore some variation on the axiom: "We don't hire people to make a product, we make a product to hire people".
- ♦ Since the product and brand are intertwined with the cause, when it comes to defining the "unique selling proposition" (USP), a social enterprise has already got a leg up on the competition. The social enterprise project beneficiaries are not just selling food products, they're also changing the lives of people with disabilities. With effective marketing as explained above, it's the ultimate deal for customers - fulfilling a consumer need and improving world at same time.
 - ♦ In order to successfully market the products, we need to know who is most likely to buy it and focus efforts on selling to them. As with most things in life, in order to be successful, you have to focus and perhaps, in turn, give something up. This is particularly true with many social enterprises where resources are limited.

Mapping the products with sales channels

Farmers producing agricultural products are scattered in remote villages (in our Project analysis, villages around Sveti Nikole, Veles, Resen, Gostivar, Kocani, Negotino, Strumica, Tetovo, Makedonski Brod, and Skopje) while consumers are in semi-urban and urban areas.

This products has to reach consumers for its final use and consumption. There are different agencies and functionaries through which these products pass and reach the consumers. A market channel or channel of distribution of a product is the route taken by the ownership of goods as they move from the producer to the consumer or industrial user.

Factors affecting agricultural products sales channels and the sales itself are:

- ♦ Perishable nature of produce .e.g. fruits, vegetables, flowers, milk, meat, etc.
- ♦ Tobacco Bulk and weight-tobacco, bulky but light in weight.
- ♦ Storage facilities.
- ♦ Weak or strong agencies
- ♦ Distance between producer and consumer. Whether local market or distant market.

Some of the typical sales/ distribution channels applicable to products produced by project beneficiaries are:

- ♦ Producers–consumer (village sale/ farmer market sale)
- ♦ Producer–retailer–consumer (local sale)
- ♦ Producer–Trader–retailer–consumer.
- ♦ Producer–trader–food processing factory - consumer
- ♦ Producer–commission agent–retailer–consumer

These channels have great influence on marketing costs such as transport, commission charges, etc. and market margins received by the intermediaries such as trader, and retailer. Finally, this decides the price to be paid by the consumer and share of it received by the farmer producer. That channel is considered as good or efficient which makes the products available to the consumer at the cheapest price also ensures the highest share to the producer.

Based on the study of Bruch and Ernst (2010), directly selling farm products to consumers is growing based on the factors driving the increase:

- ♦ More consumer interest in purchasing locally grown products
- ♦ More producers meeting this market demand
- ♦ Diversification of direct market channels for marketing farm products

Table 4: Direct sales channel options for Project beneficiary's products

Type	Advantages	Disadvantages	Options for Project beneficiaries
Farmers markets	no requirements for sales volume, no standard pack or grade, springboard into other market channels, access to market information	face-to-face selling, many small transactions, relatively high marketing costs, potentially grueling market schedules and limited space	Green markets in the cities of Sveti Nikole, Veles, Resen, Gostivar, Kocani, Negotino, Strumica, Tetovo, Makedonski Brod, and Skopje
On-farm retail markets	no transportation costs, no standard pack or grade, an experiential buying experience for the customer and instant credibility for locally grown products	selling face-to-face, customers stretching boundaries, location challenges, liability, many small transactions and the potential to be capital-intensive.	Macedonian legislation offers possibility for registered farmers to sell products on farm

Roadside Stands	no volume, packing or grading requirements; the possibility of serving as a test market for products; the producers' ability to set the schedule; and improvement to a farm's marketing location	location challenges, many small transactions and relatively high marketing costs and selling face-to-face	Viable for farms that are close to busy regional roads
U-Pick/Pick-Your-Own/Cut or Choose Your-Own operations <i>(consumers visit the farm where a product is grown and go to the field to pick, cut or choose their own product)</i>	reduced need for product harvest and handling labor, lower equipment costs, the potential for larger transactions and the ability to sell lower quality products	need for an excellent location or superior advertising, liability risk of having customers on the farm, the need for customer supervision and the potential for crop damage or reduced yield from improper harvesting More applicable to berries, tree fruit, pumpkins and Christmas trees	Applicable to beneficiaries producing fruits
Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) <i>(the farmer sells shares or subscriptions for farm products to customers. A diverse selection of products is delivered to or picked up by customers at designated sites regularly for a specified time period)</i>	reduced grower risk and need for operating capital, reduced customer sensitivity to cosmetic defects of products, building a sense of community and farm brand and a reduced amount of time required for selling during the production season.	intensive marketing to recruit members, heavy reliance on word-of-mouth advertising and potential negative word-of-mouth referrals, and the need for careful crop planning and season extension, season-long agreement entered into with customers.	In North Macedonia there is no CSA experience, but considering the social dimension of the production it can be applicable with initial planning and implementation

Table 5: Indirect sales channel options for Project beneficiary's products

Type	Advantages	Disadvantages	Options for Project beneficiaries
Selling to traders	Guaranteed sale of production	volume, packing or grading requirements, contract signing, accounting	In North Macedonia there are 230 registered trading companies with agricultural product related to Project beneficiaries. Option is to make contract for all beneficiaries with only a few of them

Selling to food processing companies	Guaranteed sale of production	volume, packing or grading requirements, contract signing, reporting, accounting	In North Macedonia the food processing industry is significant part of the industry with input agricultural product related to Project beneficiaries. Option is to make contract for all beneficiaries with only a few of them
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Conclusion

Agriculture and especially food processing industry are among the sectors fostering GDP growth of North Macedonia. Combined with further training and implementation of solutions that increase the productive and entrepreneurial capacities of farmers with disabilities make sound economic sense and are good for personal and rural development.

Like with every business model, our project as well has the side of marketing and sales of the output to provide for sustainable growth in the years to come.

Based on the aforementioned analysis the following recommendations can be drawn:

- ♦ Base activities on research of consumer motivations with focus on utilitarian value of products and services vs. helping as dimensions of exchange.
- ♦ Unified and consistent branding of products
- ♦ Launch an online communication platform for keeping the story alive (interactive web page, app, social media) with possibility to be extended with inclusion of other existing social enterprises
- ♦ Nationwide public campaign to promote project beneficiaries social enterprises production
- ♦ Contracting the most appropriate sales channel for the mid-term (3 years) extendable to long term period including soft sales skills training for the social entrepreneurs

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THE GENDER BUDGETING - AN INNOVATION TO ACHIEVE GENDER EQUALITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Summary: *The management of the state is a complex process, which within its framework necessarily contains the budget system. Economic and political decisions have a strong and irreparable reflection on the overall, not only economic development of a particular country, but also on the citizens. In order to obtain positive and constructive results from the economic and political decisions, which among other things define the budget system, but also affect the economic growth and development of the country, in the modern conditions an important factor is the creation of a gender responsive budget. The application of gender responsive budget in all socio-economic forms of action, its implementation at all levels and segments of the state, means inclusion of all categories of citizens in socio-economic processes. The result of all this is the economic development of the country, by affirming gender equality and creating equal opportunities for all citizens, for their personal and societal action.*

Key words: gender responsive budgeting, economic development, gender equality, equal opportunities, human capital, and human rights.

INTRODUCTION

The basic characteristic of the economic system is that it is an organizational system, with its own purpose which appears as singly - individual and joint - collective. At the same time, it is a historical system, which within the overall social system is one of the most important subsystems, hierarchically arranged and relatively open. What gives special importance to the economic system and gives it an essential role, is that the other societal subsystems such as health, education, science, culture, defence and security are under it, i.e. dependent on it, and its dynamics by which differs from the other subsystems, further affecting their condition.

The main instrument in an economic system is the budget, which shows what the government is doing or what it intends to do in the country. By what the government does, primarily means the goals that the government achieves on behalf of the state in the management of public goods. Hence the conclusion that the budget is a key feature of a country, it affects the overall

economic development of a country, but also because it significantly affects the situation of citizens in a society.

Two types of budget are known: linear and programmatic, and different explanations are given as to why one or the other should be used. In explaining the economic justification in creating a program budget, it is emphasized that several elements are realized through which the general goal of the economic system can be achieved, such as respect for social justice, equality and equity, and achieving economic well-being of people by creating equal opportunities to improve personal and societal standard. The program-based budgeting pays attention to the needs of the citizens, but at the same time concrete results are expected, i.e. performance of the process with allocating funds, budgeting of specific programs, and strives to achieve specific priorities and goals to justify the invested funds.

An integral part of program budgeting is the gender budgeting, which includes an approach that focuses on gender equality. So through the program budgeting, in addition to creating a budget to ensure the needs and interests of all citizens, social groups and marginalized categories of citizens, attention is paid to the individual and common needs of women. This type of program budgeting is supported by the non-institutional theory, which indicates the so-called transaction costs, which are the costs that individuals have or can incur. What budget will be created, i.e. what will be the economic policy, what decisions will be made in terms of what to invest in and how much, imposes the need to provide certain information, data and knowledge, not only for the overall societal needs, but also for the individual needs of the citizens.

Hence the conclusion that the gender responsive budgeting imposes budget innovations, which can be presented in different ways and in different forms.

ASPECTS OF BUDGET INNOVATIONS

The fact that the budget is an economic category whose main function is the economic, the budget innovations should be analyzed and their values measured in terms of how they are reflected in economic conditions and developments. The economic legality are not based on the principles of generality and universality, they are conditioned by other social, political, societal, cultural and other circumstances, including the historical context. Hence, it is quite logical to conclude that the budget of a state, a unit of the local self-government, can be created and undergo changes in accordance with the existing societal-political context. It is quite logical to conclude that

the budget of a state, a unit of local self-government, can be created and undergo changes in accordance with the existing societal-political context. The explanation that the economic science opposes to setting, structuring and changing the budget in relation to the needs of certain categories of citizens cannot be used as a basis for justification.

One of the economic models that can be considered as budget innovation is the investing in human capital, in human resources. The assumption of increasing productivity in a society by investing in the physical capital, although not fully confirmed and poses a kind of risk, in terms of investing in education and skills acquisition of women and girls, including people with disabilities, is quite justified. Investing in the human capital, although it entails costs and risks because it is not known whether there will be some benefit for the state in the future, is an opportunity that the state should take advantage of. The types of costs that the state would have with investing in human capital are not so small, and appear as direct costs, cancelled earnings and physical loss. However, if a certain person or group is educated, i.e. acquires knowledge and skills at the expense of the state, later through a work engagement that requires a skilled workforce, they would contribute to the development of the state. This budget innovation, in addition to including the opportunity for these categories of citizens to use their knowledge and skills for active participation in the labour market, which would mean participating in the economic development of the country through work engagement, also contains the human and moral aspect that arises from human rights and the concept of equal opportunities for all.

The program budgeting is very important for a number of segments of social life, but its benefits are mostly seen in the programs and sub-programs implemented within the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the Ministry of Education and Science.

An example of budget innovation is the introduction of programs and sub-programs that are implemented within the health system, and implemented by the Ministry of Health. Namely, in the past few years, serious initiatives have been made and programs have been created that are related to women's reproductive health, related to initiating and encouraging regular health examinations, providing medical devices, and gynaecological ordinations in most municipalities. Although the implementation of these programs and sub-programs is not complete, and does not meet the demands of women in all municipalities, attempts are being made to implement them.

One of the types of budget innovations is the programs for subsidizing the people who use social assistance. These programs motivate, stimulate and encourage people who use social assistance to acquire certain knowledge and skills, and then use them to be able to participate in the labour market with certain qualifications, i.e. to work.

An innovation would be the so-called child support insurance. Namely, it is not uncommon for children living with one parent not to receive alimony or some other kind of financial support from the other parent, and the efforts of social services to provide alimony payment on a previously made court decision, often have no effect. Sometimes it is a matter of intentional non-fulfilment of the obligations and responsibilities determined by the court decision, and sometimes due to the real lack of financial resources by the parent who is obliged to pay alimony. Budget innovation would be the introduction of budget programs that will have funds for financial support of these children, i.e. for their parent or guardian who raises them, in fact the budget would cover the funds of the parent responsible for paying alimony.

Apart from the national level, budget innovations can also be applied at the local level. In this context, the so-called invisible aid which is a metaphor used to denote the security of both private and public goods. Namely, economic experts on public finances believe that public goods exist and should be used within local governments that take care or should take care of their own local interests, which in turn means less interest in the efficiency of the economy at the central level. Related to this is the use of so-called public goods and resources that the local self-government units provide to certain categories of citizens, through the innovations introduced in the local budget. In order to ensure the economic development of the community at the local level, but also to respect the principle of equity, the local self-government units need primarily to have an insight into the structure of the citizens in their local community, and to make public goods and services to be available to all members of that community.

In the process of creating the budget, local needs must be taken into account, especially the needs of residents who have physical, material, or traditional, patriarchal limitations in the use of local resources. The allocation of the funds is to a large extent important, because it has the capacity and potential to encourage the overall economic development of the local self-government unit, by including the different categories of residents in that community.

If the things be hypothetically placed, the budget innovations at the local level, among other things would mean creating programs and sub-programs for education, training and skills, incentives to start your own business, but also subsidizing the business, or paying the social contributions, through the budget of local self-government, not through the central budget. This would mean that each unit of local self-government would have not only a different amount of funds, but also different programs and sub-programs that would be financed through the local budget.

Such conditions quite clearly and directly are reflecting on the overall economic trends at both national and local level, but also on the individual economic and social conditions of different categories of citizens, and indirectly on the local community in which they live and work.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE APPLICATION OF BUDGET INNOVATIONS

From an economic point of view, budget innovations are a kind of deviation from both the positive and the normative economy, especially if we assume that the positive economy is:

... a theory of behaviour that typically assumes that people respond positively to benefits and negatively to costs. In that sense, positive economics closely resembles Skinnerian psychology, in which behaviour is shaped by rewards and punishments. Rewards in economic theory are tangible and intangible benefits (gain), while penalties are missed opportunities (costs).¹

The assumptions of economic theory about lack of resources and rationality are considered insufficient to justify it. "According to this assumption, individuals and society do not have sufficient resources to meet their needs. Thus, any resource dedicated to meeting one group of needs cannot be used to meet another group of needs, which means that every decision or action implies certain costs."² Rationality as a presupposition of a positive economy is "... that people are rational - they have a goal that they strive for in a reasonable and consistent way. In terms of people, economists assume that the goal they are striving for is to maximize utility, that is, it is assumed that people are striving for a goal that will make them as happy as possible (given their limited resources). Utility is created from the material and intangible dimension of work."³

¹ Ronald G. Ehrenberg and Robert S. Smith, *Modern Labour Economics: Theory and Public Policy*, Magor, Skopje, 2010, p.3.

² *Ibid*, p.3.

³ *Ibid*, p.3-4.

Given that usefulness is created through the work, every society should strive for maximum inclusion of citizens in the labour market, on which to a large extent depends the overall economic development of any modern society. Economic development is unequivocally related to economic decisions, i.e. public policies that the state creates and implements. That is why in the creation of public policies and economic decisions that arise from them, all citizens should be given the opportunity to participate in these processes. Given that economic decisions reflect all citizens and positively or negatively affect their societal status, and the opportunities to benefit from the social, economic, societal, educational and health measures that determine their quality of life, cannot be limited or hinder the participation of citizens in the design of public policies, hence the economic policies that arise from them.

Given that the principle of choice is one of the basic elements of the economy, when creating the budget and allocation of the funds, it is very important what choice will be made in relation to the areas in which the funds will be distributed, including their capacity. It is essential that the state with the measures it takes, and the institutions of the state that implement these measures, influence the efficiency of economic flows. The state should start from the welfare economy, and in addition to the overall welfare of the state, take care of the well-being of individuals. The maximization of the personal and societal standard of the citizen is an indicator for the overall economic development of the society, and it is necessary to be a long-term goal of every state. The budget is an economic category that is legally established, but only in terms of the necessity of its adoption, while how it will be created, what items it will cover, and what their amount will be, depends on the circumstances, needs and goals of the citizens, which is necessary to be determined by the state institutions.

In this context, there is talk of serious, quality and full participation of women in the creation and implementation of all types of economic policies, with special emphasis on tax policies. Such an approach would help to overcome not only the existing discrimination in different social sectors, but would also prevent discriminatory decisions. This can be unequivocally achieved except through legal acts that would prevent or solve the existing discriminatory practices, and with one economic-political measure, that is the gender responsible budgeting.

CONCLUSION

The budget is an extremely important economic instrument with which distribution of the economic resources is performed. At the same time, it is a mechanism that ensures the stability of the economy, and stimulates the economic growth and development of a country. Through the budget as an economic instrument adopted with collective economic activity, economic efficiency can be influenced through correct, economically and legally justified collection of revenues, and their distribution and spending for social, educational, health and other needs. Given that the budget also reflects government policies, it is important that they be based on the principles of efficiency and equity.

The budget as an instrument of economic policy seriously affects the macroeconomic stability of the country because it can financially support a number of plans and activities aimed at the economic development of the country, but also to provide and distribute multi-purpose subsidies for various social needs.

The creation and implementation of gender responsive budgeting will not only strengthen the basic role of the economy, and make the society more efficient and equitable, but will also help promote human rights, and within them, economic rights. The gender responsive budgeting will include women in economic flows, provide them with access to all employment according to their qualifications, but will also enable them to use and control economic resources. It is necessary the countries to start actively implementing this type of budgeting, and through using the available human resources to ensure economic development and overcome gender inequality.

The creation and implementation of the gender responsive budgeting will affect economic development, as it will create a social trinity, a link between the physical, cultural and social capital of a society. It will include the men and women in societal-economic activities, regardless of their social, religious and ethnic background, and thus strengthen the base and improve the conditions for achieving full gender and social equality.

Hence, investing in the human capital, in education and skills training for women and girls, including the people with disabilities and marginalized groups of the citizens, in addition to emphasizing the human and moral aspects of human rights and the concept of equal opportunities for all, will mean at the same time budget innovation that can increase productivity in a society by investing in existing physical capital.

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GENERATIONAL CHANGE AND GENDER ATTITUDES

Abstract: *In this paper, we will examine gender relations in modern society. The main goal of the paper is to show the dynamics of changing gender relations in Europe as well as the shift of the attitudes of Europeans about gender-discriminatory behavior in the private and public spheres. We want to determine which parts of Europe have prospered in the direction of a gender-sensitive society, and which countries have difficulties in understanding and accepting women's emancipation in everyday life. Also, we want to determine the changes in the attitudes of the respondents in favor of or against gender equality, in generational perspective regarding six generations that we identified in the paper, for the data on the respondents collected in 2017/2018.*

Key words: gender equality, private sphere, public sphere, women, gender, gender, generations, Europe, EVS, women's emancipation, household, labor market

Measuring gender relations

To grasp gender equality, it is valid to use the attitudes of respondents about certain behaviors or power relations that are gender-sensitive, and indicative to conclude the perception of women's position in society. Opinions, attitudes, and value orientations are one of the best ways to recognize the flow of understanding and implementation of gender patterns in the intimate-thought structure of individuals, and they are the foundations of behavioral patterns (Slimak & Dietz, 2006). When the goal of the research is to measure the equality of any category of society, attitudes are a satisfactory parameter, in particular, because of the undoubted reflection of the overall social evaluation of equality or equality of a group in the community (McEachern & Seaman & Padel & Foster, 2005). Therefore, gender equality is no different, so we focused on the views on the position of women in the private and public spheres. In the survey research, respondents are categorized by country, so it would be convenient to pay attention to the predispositions and fruitfulness of a certain state in promoting gender-sensitive. Furthermore, since we are talking about a certain Growth and agglomeration of certain attitudes, our approach is focused

on following the trends on this topic. However, comparing research by years around the world is a very ungrateful endeavor, for the simple reason that different research teams use different methods, questionnaires, focused on gender equality. Also, this approach would be inadequate due to multilateral mechanisms of access to information in different countries, and it would not be methodologically appropriate to compare the number of surveys by state, of unequal quality and form. This is the reason why we decided to measure progress using a generational perspective (Bontekoning, 2011). We included six generations in the research. The first generation, which covers respondents born between 1937 and 1950, the second we identified from 1951-1960, the third from 1961-1970, the fourth from 1971-1980, the fifth from 1981-1990, and the last generation includes respondents born in from 1991 to 2000. Therefore, our theoretical goal is to measure gender relations, but our operational goal will be to measure differences in attitudes about gender equality **by comparing identified generations**.

In order to properly meet this goal, it is necessary to present and justify the inclusion of certain generations in research. Generations are markers of a socio-historical period, so we want to measure their attitudes about gender equality and compare them with each other, so that we can finally get to know about gender equality by periods, and understand the trend of changing attitudes about the position of women in public and private sphere of real society (Bešić, 2014). For the data source we choose the last wave of the European Value Survey (EVS) in 32 European countries. The approach in our paper is empirical, and it is about quantification that is the result of using the survey method.

Conceptual and hypothetical research framework

After the end of the Second World War, Western Europe is characterized by significant economic growth, based on the progress of industrial mechanisms, GDP and other economic parameters have become significantly higher, especially in Western Europe. Eastern Europe lags behind the West, and soon after the end of the conflict, it was clear that the West was an economically more fertile ground for future development. This argument often presupposes the development of Western Europe, to a much greater extent than the East, in various aspects, including the understanding of women's rights and the strengthening of the feminist movement. (Feldner & Gorarra & Passamore,

2010). Perceptions of the concept of gender and gender equality mark a 'second date' in the East and the West.

Gender is one of the basic assumptions of the human being, the first self-identification and an indisputable precondition for our further life development with still pronounced differences and possibilities, based on gender identification and self-identification (Annandale & Clark, 1996). We owe the illumination of the captivity of half of humanity to feminism, and to theorists and activists who left a significant epistemological review of the then science, art, and culture, which grew everywhere in the world, based on the patriarchal family and masculine society (Acker, 1987). Feminism, although attempts to form a women's movement have been known since patriarchal society, first gained importance in the Western world, and awareness of gender equality and equality began to develop in this part of Europe (LeGates, 2001).

However, post-communist states significantly later 'saw' the female perspective. Therefore, it is intuitive to assume and expect from the research results a more progressive trend in terms of women's emancipation, rights and equality in the West, compared to the post-communist states of the East, for the same generations (Occhipinti, 1996). On the other hand, one should not forget the very progressive trend in the view of women's rights, especially in the public sphere, in the age of socialist organization of society and the role of individuals (Lišková, 2016). Socialism has significantly changed the phylogeny of patriarchal structures, primarily under the auspices of the traditional division of labor in the primary sphere, accepting female labor in the structure of the Socialist Party, leaving room for female influence on politics, economics and law. Yet socialist feminism in certain respects disputes the effect of socialism in women's emancipation, arguing that women were just another form of labor, which the state could not leave 'unused'. Socialism has therefore suffered similar criticism from the women's movement as political analysts have argued that even Plato laid the foundations of feminist thought, by simply classifying women as material to be used for the prosperity of the state. In this regard, it is important to emphasize that changes in terms of gender equality have different forms, sometimes difficult to detect, and even difficult to theoretically comprehend. Basically, the position of women can be understood from the perspective of gender roles in the private sphere, in the household, within the family and in marital relations. Second, regressive or progressive trends must be observed through the public space of a society,

ie from the perspective of women in the labor market, politics, business and education (Mijatović, 2012).

The importance of the division into private and public spheres has been important for feminist theory since the very beginning of the first women's rights organizations. Many legislative and international mechanisms are aimed at equality between men and women in the public sphere, ie at work, in equalizing opportunities, preventing mobbing, and developing women's capacities. However, mechanisms to prevent discrimination in the private sphere are far milder and more generally defined, so much so that in most countries the prevention of domestic violence against women and the right to alimony (often forgetting about frequent economic violence) are given. On the other hand, this does not necessarily mean that the reproduction of patriarchal patterns at home does not decrease gender inequality in the public sphere (Elstein, 2020). The public sphere is 'more insidious' in hiding forms of discrimination, a diversion in the professional loom of a female being, and it is harder to legally embrace cultural and normative acceptance of non-discriminatory behavior, after many years of ignorance and considering such behavior harmless and natural (Siim & Mokre, 2013).

Measuring attitudes about gender relations

As we have already mentioned, in the research we used the last wave of EVS, which was realized in 2017 and 2018 in 32 countries. The European Values Study is a program that provides insight into the beliefs, preferences, and attitudes of respondents. The program refers to Europeans, and they're thinking about life, family, religion, politics. Based on the data, it is possible to assess their future behavior, beliefs in other fields and understand the social moment in which individuals have acquired primary and secondary socialization. In line with our interest, we have been using items from the EVS questionnaire, which deal with gender roles, since 1981. (Lomazzi, 2017). The data we used were obtained based on an extensive questionnaire with a large number of variables and items for measuring the attitudes and value orientations of individuals. And the battery of questions concerning gender relations was the subject of our analysis. So, the classic ordinal scale of assessment of the liqueur type with four degrees was used to examine attitudes, from completely agree to completely disagree. Methodically, the form of a matrix was used to examine these attitudes.

The views in question are:

1. When a mother does a paid job, the children suffer.
2. Having a job is fine, but most women actually want to take care of the house and children.
3. Overall, family life suffers when a woman has a full-time job.
4. Overall, men are better political leaders than women.
5. College education is more important for boys than for girls.
6. Overall, men are better business executives than women.

The first three questions concern the role of women in family life, ie, gender roles in the family, with children and upbringing, preferences of men and women within the private sphere of activity. We use the other three questions in the research for the simple reason that the information they offer is very indicative of assessing gender discrimination in the public sphere. In Table 1 we give an overview of the distribution of all attitudes at the level of the total variance (therefore, for all European countries).

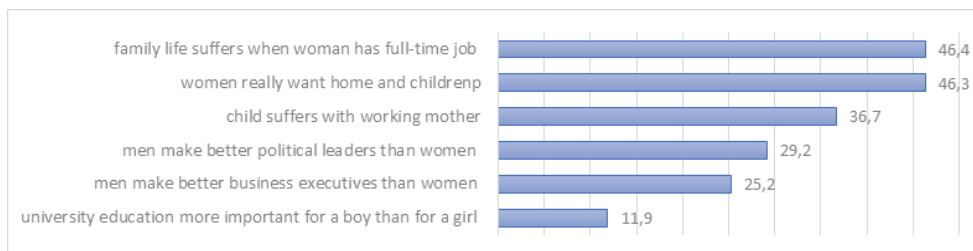
Table 1. Agreeing with the views on gender equality% - total variance

	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
child suffers with working mother	9,3	27,5	44,9	18,4
women really want home and childrenp	12,0	34,3	37,2	16,5
family life suffers when woman has full-time job	12,1	34,3	37,4	16,2
men make better political leaders than women	8,6	20,6	39,2	31,6
university education more important for a boy than for a girl	3,6	8,2	41,9	46,2
men make better business executives than women	6,8	18,5	40,1	34,7

The data we obtained show that the degree of gender equality is at a high level in the 32 countries covered by the survey. We emphasize that the data are inverse at the theoretical level, so a higher degree of agreement with the selected items indicates a lower degree of gender equality, and consequently, a higher degree of gender equality shows less agreement, which is higher on the scale. The highest values, when it comes to gender equality, are noticed on the item concerning education, so the respondents agree at least, that university education is more important for men than for women. Then, respondents agree to a small extent with the claim that women are less capable or significant in business and politics. Thus, we conclude that, when it comes to items that measure gender equality in the public sphere, respondents show gender equality attitudes.

If we add up the values of agreement with the items (agrees completely and agree), we get a hierarchy of attitudes that mostly indicate attitudes about gender discrimination and inequality (Graph 1). So, just under half of all respondents more or less agree with the views that a woman should primarily focus on family life and children, and only then on her job and career. In other words, gender conservatism and the ‘attachment’ of a woman to her family and home is present in all European countries. Then, the items that are the identification of gender inequality in the public sphere are at a significantly lower level. On the other hand, 30% of respondents agree that men do better in politics, and every fourth respondent agrees that men are better business executives than women. Respondents who claim that education is more important for boys than girls account for 11.9% of the total number of people surveyed, or we can say that this is a measure of pronounced gender-discriminatory attitudes towards women in Europe. This data, although it seems to be a low value concerning the rest of the attitudes, indicates a very conservative group of individuals.

Graph 1 Cumulatively agree completely and agree%



A review of the distribution of all the items we used in the research helps us to gain a ‘general’ picture of gender equality in Europe. Based on the distributions, we conclude that gender discriminatory attitudes are very present in Europe, that they are more noticeable in the private sphere than in the public sphere and that, although at a lower percentage than gender-sensitive attitudes, gender discriminatory attitudes can do much harm in everyday life of women, having in mind the percentage of potential discriminators who explicitly expressed their views in the research in front of us.

Reliability of measuring attitudes about gender equality

Based on the already mentioned differences in the public and private spheres for women, and the division of items into those that measure gender equality in the private sphere and those that reflect it in the public sphere,

we want to check the reliability of distinguishing these two concepts and the success of representing the public and private spheres. in the questions in the questionnaire.

Table 2 EFA: Community Extraction

	Initial	Extraction
child suffers with working mother	1,000	,756
women really want home and childrenp	1,000	,647
family life suffers when woman has full-time job	1,000	,781
men make better political leaders than women	1,000	,767
university education more important for a boy than for a girl	1,000	,633
men make better business executives than women	1,000	,799

We checked this based on exploratory factor analysis. For this purpose, we used as a criterion for extraction a matrix of principal components created based on a unique value greater than 1. Also, since we extracted two factors, we used the Promax rotation (Kappa 4), with Kaiser normalization. Table 2 shows the extraction based on which we see satisfactory loads for the items we use in the analysis. Table 3 shows the results of the factor analysis of the basic components, and Table four the results of the analysis after the rotation of the matrix.

Table 3 Matrix of wireless components

	Component	
	1	2
child suffers with working mother	,721	,486
women really want home and childrenp	,739	
family life suffers when woman has full-time job	,740	,484
men make better political leaders than women	,779	-,400
university education more important for a boy than for a girl	,688	-,401
men make better business executives than women	,764	-,465

Based on the Promax rotation, with Kaiser normalization we conclude that there are indeed two factors, more precisely two dimensions that must just be considered separately. The first factor/dimension brings together

attitudes regarding gender discrimination in the private sphere, the second in the public sphere, so the expediency of identifying our two key concepts - gender equality in the private and gender equality in the public sphere - has been confirmed. To avoid terminological misunderstandings, we must name these two factors differently and explain their interpretability.

The factor that measures gender equality in the private sphere is known as gender equality, while the factor that measures gender discrimination in public space will be called, simply, gender discrimination. However, it is necessary to specify the metric characteristics of these factors. First, since the authentic ordinal scales operated on a scale from agree completely (1) to disagree completely (4), this means that agreement with attitudes indicates gender inequality or gender discrimination, and conversely, disagreement indicates gender-equal attitudes.

Table 4 Rotated matrix

	Component	
	1	2
child suffers with working mother		,892
women really want home and childrenp		,734
family life suffers when woman has full-time job		,901
men make better political leaders than women	,853	
university education more important for a boy than for a girl	,799	
men make better business executives than women	,907	

Given the theoretical conceptualization, we want to measure attitudes about gender equality. Therefore, we used an authentic scale for attitudes about gender equality in the private sphere in the formation of scores (the first factor). So, on this factor, the higher the numerical values, the 'higher' gender equality. The second factor, however, again due to the need for a simple and intuitive interpretation as possible, we formed by inverse numbering. Thus, on the second factor in the interpretation of the score that we will form, high values indicate a high degree of agreement with gender discrimination in the private sphere, following the name of the factor itself.

Table 5 Basic statistical characteristics of the variables gender equality and gender discrimination

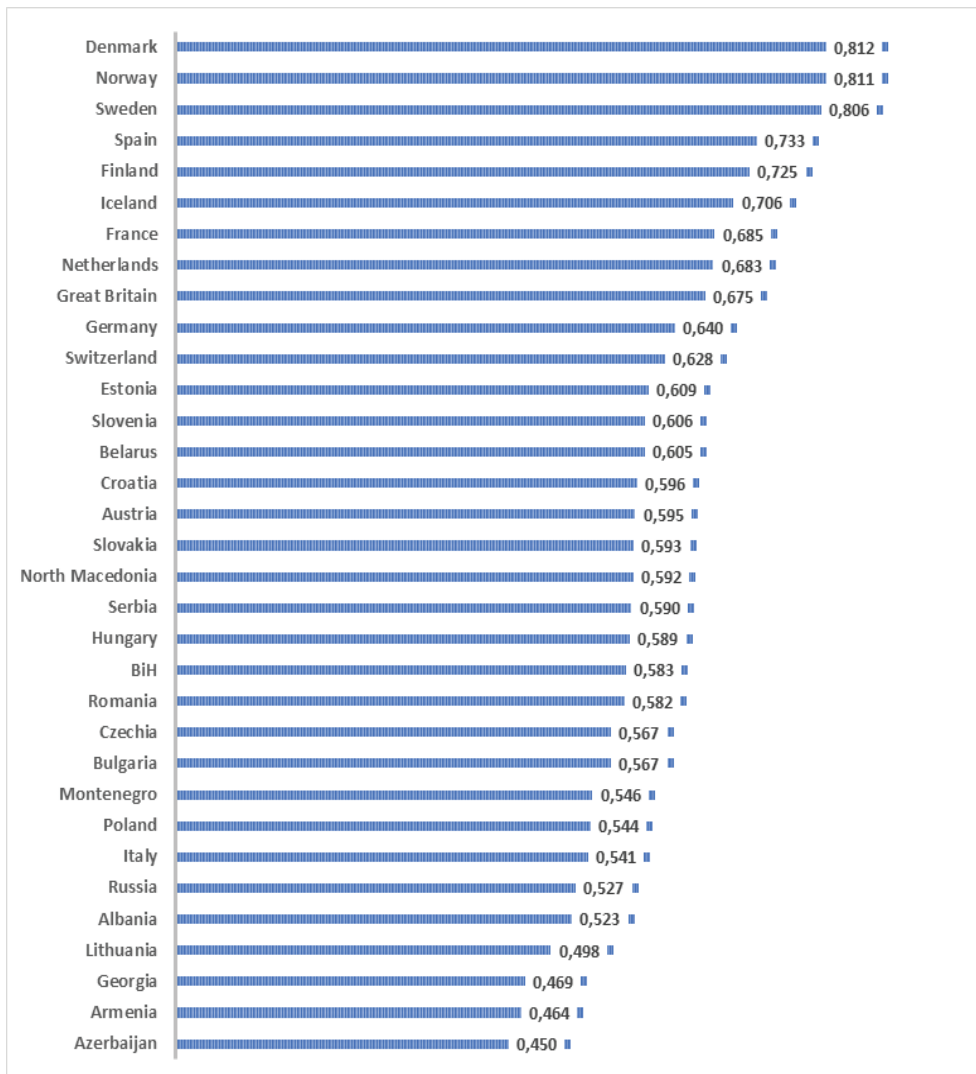
	Gender equality	Gender discrimination
N	55079	54974
Mean	0,613	0,408
Std. Error of Mean	0,001	0,001
Median	0,636	0,455
Mode	0,727	0,182
Std. Deviation	0,219	0,203
Variance	0,048	0,041
Skewness	-0,063	0,573
Kurtosis	-0,565	-0,143
Range	1,000	1,000
Minimum	0,000	0,000
Maximum	1,000	1,000
Sum	33762,755	22454,054
Percentiles 25	0,455	0,182
Percentiles 75	0,727	0,545

From the obtained values and based on the distribution of factors, we can conclude that gender equality is more pronounced than gender discrimination (AS_RR = 0.613 vs AS_RD = 0.408; and M_RR = 0.636 vs M_RD = 0.455)

Review of the distribution of attitudes about gender equality in relation to key analytical criteria and variables

For a closer understanding of the results, we present descriptions of both variables representing gender relations, for the 32 countries we use in the sample. The most progressive countries in terms of gender equality are the three Scandinavian countries - Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Scandinavia in gender sensitivity in the private sphere is followed by the countries of Northern, then Western and Central Europe, the Southeast, and finally Eastern Europe. In Graph 2 we present the results of measuring attitudes about gender discrimination in all countries

Graph 2 Attitudes towards gender discrimination in all European countries

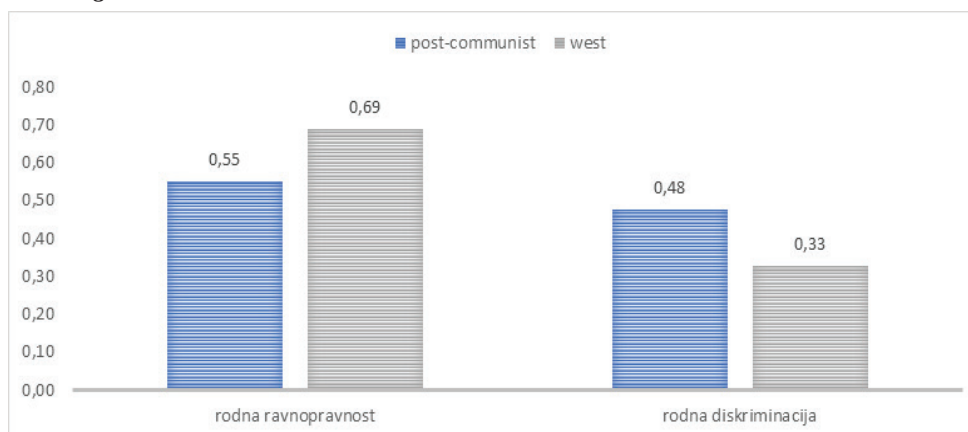


The data, in line with theoretical considerations, show that the values of measured gender equality are at a significantly higher level in Western European countries compared to post-communist countries ($t(55077) = 77.26$, $p < 0.001$), while attitudes towards gender discrimination are significantly more prominent in post-communist Europe ($t(54972) = 92.50$, $p < 0.001$). Table 6 and Graph 3 show the mean values of the variable 'gender equality' and the variable gender discrimination, by country category.

Table 6 Gender equality of both factors in relation to the category of countries

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GE	Post-communist countries	30108	,5507	,20069	,00116
	West	24971	,6881	,21575	,00137
GD	Post-communist countries	30025	,4765	,20926	,00121
	West	24950	,3266	,16157	,00102

Graph 3 Mean values of both variables that measure gender equality in relation to the categorization of countries



In order to have a complete picture of changes in attitudes about women's emancipation and gender issues across Europe, it is necessary to present our results by generations. Therefore, in Table 7 we want to show the differences in generations, on both dimensions of gender equality. The results are presented in arithmetic means, sorted from the oldest to the youngest generation for easier comparison.

We conclude based on the analysis that the differences between the generations are much more pronounced when it comes to gender equality ($F(5, 54778) = 255,760, p < 0.001$) than when it comes to gender discrimination ($F(5, 54783) = 50,639, p < 0.001$). Thus, it seems that gender equality is easier to achieve in the private sphere than in the public, more precisely, different socio-cultural-economic influences, have managed to significantly affect gender relations at home over time, which includes caring for children and the elderly, balance in household chores and consensus among partners on the distribution of economic duties and household care. The public sphere,

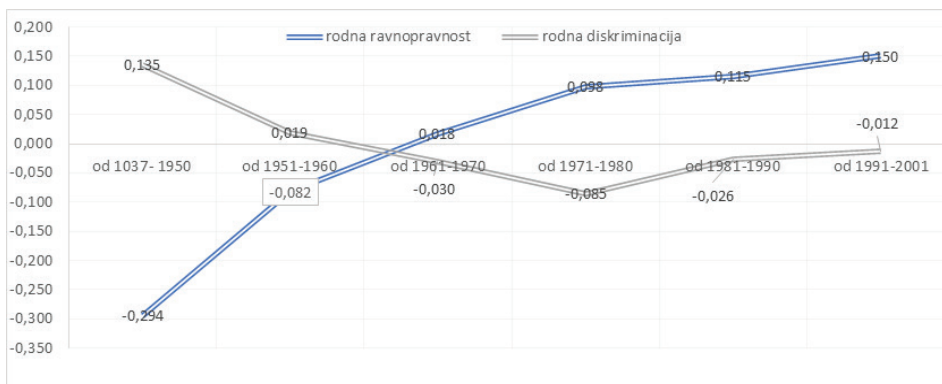
on the other hand, seems to lag behind the intensity of progressive trends in the private sphere. So we notice progress on both dimensions, only the changes in the private sphere are more pronounced. Progressive trends for both dimensions of gender equality (both in the private and public spheres) are represented from the first (1937-1950) to the fourth generation (1971-1980), where stagnation and minor variations in factors are observed.¹ When it comes to the private sphere (ie gender equality), the generation 1981-1990 does not differ statistically significantly from the previous generation, and in relation to the next generation 1990-2001 we see a positive trend that is statistically significant. When it comes to gender discrimination, the 1981-1990 generation shows a statistically significantly higher degree of gender discrimination compared to the previous generation, and the last generation does not differ from the previous one, according to the results of the LSD posthoc test. Graph 4 also shows the arithmetic means of the dependent variables, in relation to the identified generations.

Table 7 Values of two dependent variables in relation to generational affiliation

	Generation	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
GE	od 1037- 1950	9088	0,549	0,203	0,002
	od 1951-1960	8654	0,595	0,212	0,002
	od 1961-1970	10052	0,617	0,216	0,002
	od 1971-1980	9235	0,634	0,220	0,002
	od 1981-1990	9348	0,638	0,223	0,002
	od 1991-2001	8409	0,646	0,222	0,002
GD	od 1037- 1950	9044	0,436	0,203	0,002
	od 1951-1960	8626	0,412	0,202	0,002
	od 1961-1970	10022	0,402	0,200	0,002
	od 1971-1980	9220	0,391	0,199	0,002
	od 1981-1990	9343	0,403	0,205	0,002
	od 1991-2001	8422	0,406	0,207	0,002

¹ Measured by LSD posthoc test

Graph 4 Arithmetic means of dependent variables in relation to generation affiliation



Conclusions

One of the most important findings based on our analysis is the progressive trend in terms of gender equality in the private and public spheres. Thus, in both identified categories of states (East and West), we are noticing significant progress on gender equality. Also, one of the key findings is the fact that we notice statistically significant differences between countries when it comes to both dimensions of gender equality (both factors). The most sensitive gender attitudes were shown by the Scandinavian bloc countries in a broader sense. These countries seem to have reached a significant consensus on social solidarity and social equality. They have been incredibly successful, according to international criteria for the success of social inclusion (Bontekoning, 2011).

However, Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin held a press conference during the European Union summit in Brussels on December 13, 2019, where she noted that women's work and representation in the public sector have significantly improved, and that the prime ministers of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway are women. Also, almost 50% of the Swedish parliament are women. On the other hand, she notes that the private sector is still a problem, and we can conclude that without strict legal and institutional control, all European countries, even the most sensitive ones, have problems with egalitarianism, which seems to be a goal for Scandinavia. Thus, based solely on positions in government positions, we cannot fully understand labor dynamics and discriminatory factors in the labor market. Also, based on whether women are employed or not, we cannot conclude whether they suffer some form of violence at work, whether their opinion is respected, and whether they have equal pay (Kim & Kim & Lee & Sim & Kim & Yun & Yoon, 2020). In general, in our research, Western countries show more gender-sensitive attitudes than

post-communist countries in Europe. We must keep in mind the effect of the economic stability of the state and the income of individuals, given that finances are largely correlated with gender issues. Several analysts point out that economic stability depends on gender equality, and not the other way around, and that countries that have previously started fighting for gender equality are recording significant economic prosperity (Löfström, 2009).

Second, respondents in all countries show more gender-sensitive attitudes towards gender equality at home, so progress in terms of gender equality in the private sphere is more significant than progress in the public sphere. Thus, changes in family relationships are more pronounced from the first to the last generation. Also, there are several economic arguments in this sense that justify the results. Thus, the greater the demands of the market, the more acceptable it is for a man and a healthy relationship within the household to have a man and a woman share household chores to become equally productive in the public sphere (Maceira, 2017). On the other hand, some authors have long explained that with regressive trends in terms of democracy, increasing religiosity, growing populism, gender sensitivity decreases, and the fight against any discrimination, and as the most popular, gender discrimination should taste the bitterness of returning to traditional values. (Crafts, 2012). Therefore, we can conclude that there are indications that gender-sensitive answers in the questionnaire, on the issue of gender equality in the private sphere, we can attribute to the financially oriented population, and not to sincere aspirations towards a society of equals. This is also an argument in favor of our finding of stagnation and minimal shifts in the issue of attitudes about gender equality in both dimensions and both categories of states among generations born after the 1980s. Also, it is not wrong to assume that growing individualism is one of the reasons why the struggle for women has been interrupted (or paused) in the last few decades. After all, there is no room in everyday life for changing habits in favor of another group, and in general for any organization in movements in the name of someone's rights (Halman, 1996). Meanwhile, despite these difficulties, feminism and call yourself a feminist in the media and public opinion in general is colored by a negative connotation, with the belief that everything that could have been done for women was done, and that today they can call themselves fighters for women's rights, only those who expect a lot, exaggerate, want radical change and change power in a way that women become the 'stronger sex' (Roy & Miller, 2007).

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CONTEMPORARY FAMILIES IN NORTH MACEDONIA: TRANSFORMATIONS AND NEW REALITIES

In the last few decades, families have changed as a result of technological development, globalization and the modern way of living. Families have changed in their structure, development and every day dynamics. The common believe that family is an essential community for the development of each individual and society has changed as well. On the one hand, we can talk about the changing role of women and their increasing representation in the labor market. Moreover, the desire for individualization among youth has irreversibly changed the concept of marriage. On the other hand, the complex and unfavorable trends in society, the decline of moral values, vices, domestic violence, unemployment and general poverty, burden the family functioning.

Globally and locally, the most important institution in society faces many challenges. It is inevitable to ask ourselves whether the "family" is in crisis.

This paper aims to address family-related issues in the Republic of North Macedonia. That is, by analyzing the existing indicators of marriage, divorce, fertility and birthrate to determine the current situation in the country. This paper will also present a research which will provide insights into how the family is perceived. It will seek answers to questions such as what are the strengths and weaknesses of the contemporary families. Which family functions are considered important? And what are the biggest changes for Macedonian families?

Key words: family, marriage, family functions, family changes

Introductory remarks

Due to its dynamic nature as one of the dominant characteristics, family could never be studied as a static social category. The numerous transformations and changes in our social life seen through the dynamic way of life, have a huge impact on the family and family relationships. For this reason, in certain periods of time, family has changed completely, or certain phenomena related to it have changed. Primarily, the ideas about love have been changed. In the twentieth and twenty-first century the experience was quite different from the one in the nineteenth century (P. George, Bethke Elshtain, 2013). Namely, while in the traditional society the physiognomy of the family consisted of many people from different generations, in the modern society it is mostly content by parents and children, i.e. the family gets its new structure, the nuclear

family. Changes in the structure and function of the family are recognizable in other areas, such as: separation of sexuality from reproduction, change in the concept and practice of parenting, change in the basic functions of the family. More specifically, replacement of production with consumption function, where the Consumer lifestyle becomes the dominant pattern of life for all families. Also, family roles are changing, domestic responsibilities, equal distribution of power etc., (Acevski, 2013). As a result of the changes over the years, the family no longer enjoys a monopoly, but more models of modern families are present, such as extramarital families, single-parent families, reconstructed, same-sex families, etc.

Those changes have been present in Europe for a long time but nowadays are more and more noticeable in our society. The effects of globalization, as well as the long period of transition, affects a number of changes in the Macedonian family: redefining the roles of family members as well as the family model itself, changing functions and lifestyle in general. From large families living in communities where the man is the head of the family, the families are getting narrower, the woman becomes a respected and affirmed figure, not only in the family, but also in the labor market and in society. New family models, such as single-parent families, reconstructed families, and single-sex families, are now more common in the Republic of North Macedonia. In the past, the family was a pillar from which it originated and in which the process of socialization took place. Families were functioning as a community. Education, socializing, and having fun, were within or between families. Today, the individual is the center of the universe and one computer or mobile phone is enough to socialize. Individuality is new dominant characteristic of new generations. Individualism has tendency to replace the altruism of the past. If big family and many children was representing happiness and wealth, today it has been replaced by individualism which implies greater comfort for men and women, independence, a successful career and so on. That gets the impression that the socializing, as well as the other functions of the family are no longer important, but the individual needs.

The changes are visible in terms of the perceptions about marriage, i.e. the development of the idea of romantic love, which idealizes love and puts it in the first place, primarily as a reason for marriage, as something that is considered to fulfill all desires and expectations. Romantic love is based on the idea of strong attraction of people, and marriage is the community that can best emphasize this condition (Acevski, 2013). Having children and economic

security as reasons for getting married and starting a family are increasingly losing their significance. Young people want to get satisfaction and fulfillment from married life and are not ready to make concessions at the expense of personal happiness (Radulovic and Avirovic, 2014).

The direct effects of industrialization on the family and marriage, as the oldest institutions, are seen in the applied living and working conditions of women and children followed by changes in regulations and social norms, education, status of women, equality, improved living standards of the population, voluntary limitation of childhood in the family, i.e. conscious family planning (Sheran, 1993). If we analyze the data from the independence of the Republic of North Macedonia until today, we will notice that for this period in our country every year 2000 fewer marriages are concluded, we have 1500 more divorces per year, over 10,000 fewer children were born per year, and the age of entering marriage increases and having a first child as well. Also, the number of illegitimate children rose above 13% of the total number of children born, and the fertility rate reached the "black" European average of 1.42 children per woman.

The changes of family values that are considered important are significant to mention. Attitudes toward the family model, marriage, partnerships, having and raising children are largely determined by our value system, which is not exported today when modern times face a moral vacuum. Family values, which were characteristic at the time of the so-called "Socialist morality" (such as respect, mutual understanding and tolerance, love and support, respect and sacrifice for other family members, mutual help and services, hard work for the benefit of the family), stand against possible negative perceptions and practices (materialism, intolerance, rudeness, sharpness and anger, exclusivity, competition between family members, lack of constant communication or intergenerational communication).

In such conditions, the family loses its identity more and more, it becomes unclear what is the role of the family. The Macedonian family today is faced with the challenge of dealing with the effects of change on the one hand, and yet retaining the elements of the traditional Macedonian family, on the other.

Statistical data

If we analyze the data through years, we can conclude that number of marriages is decreasing, whilst the number of divorces increased compared to the previous years.

The contrast in numbers is significant when compared to data from the first census of 1994 with more recent data. In the last decades, the number of marriages has decreased from 15,736 in 1994 to 13,814 in 2019, whilst the number of divorces has augmented from 710 in 1995 to 1,990 in 2019 (Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia). Some of the factors for such trends are alterations of ethical and moral standards, a general predominance of individualism, the emancipation of women, and reduced influence of religion. Furthermore, the increased average age at first marriage, extended studies, postponed employment (due to studies or unemployment), and unresolved housing.

In the period from 1995 to 2019 the number of divorces has increased by 3 times, i.e. in 1995 there were 710 divorces, while according to the data of the State Statistical Office in 2019 there were 1,990 divorces. The analysis of the data shows that the trend of increasing the number of divorces starts in 1997 and is constantly on the rise, except in 2008 and 2009 when a decrease in the number of divorces was registered compared to previous years. But already in 2010 it continues to increase again. In the same period of time, when divorces have been analyzed, the data shows that the number of marriages is decreasing, but with less intensity. That is, in 19 years in Macedonia the number of marriages has decreased by 12% or in 1995 there were 15,823 marriages and in 2019 13,814 couples got married.

According to the data of the State Statistical Office, of 93.1% people that getting married are women and 91.4% men. 7.9% of marriages are second marriages for one partner, and 0.7% are third (Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2018).

The negative tendencies in the marriage parameter also affect the birth rate and reproduction. Since its independence, the Republic of North Macedonia had a continuous decline in the birth rate. According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, in 1995 32,154 children were born, in 2005 26,083 were born, in 2013 23,334 children, and in 2019 19,845. This would mean that in the last twenty years, i.e. since the beginning of the transition, 12,309 fewer children were born per year. The decrease in the birth rate has led to a decrease in the vital index, i.e. a decrease in the number of live births compared to deaths. In 2019, a negative natural increase is observed for the first time.

The total fertility rate during the last decade is slowly decreasing. This number indicates a Macedonian position in the group of countries where

fertility is below the level of replacement. The reasons for such a situation are complex - cultural, demographic, economic, and health-related factors.

The total fertility rate for 2019 (cumulative fertility rate) reached the limit of 1.42 children on average per woman in the fertile period (15-49 years). The minimum for simple reproduction, not population growth, is 2.1 children per woman, a percentage characteristic of the 1994 total fertility rate.

Postponement of marriage also postpones birth. Women later in life have their first child, so if the average age for giving birth to the first child was 23 in 1994, today the birth of the first child is delayed until the age of 30. Women are increasingly deciding to have a child without getting married. In 2019, 13.4% of the total number of children born are from an extramarital union. This parameter also increased by 5 percent compared to 1994 when it was 8%.

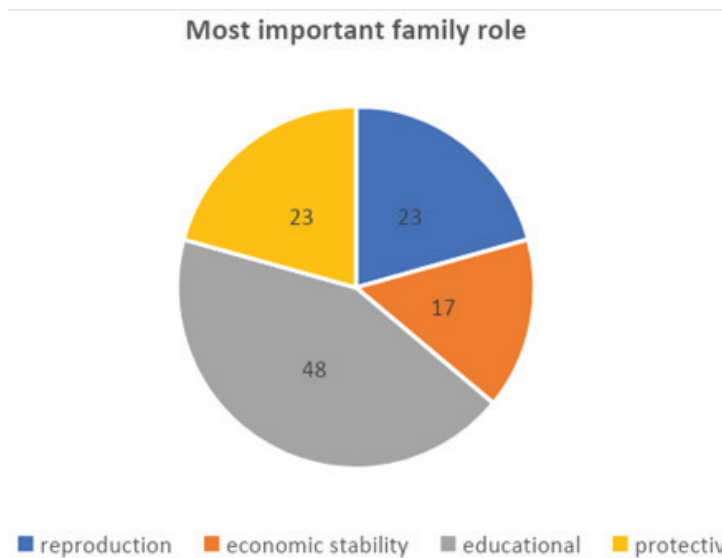
There is still no single legal definition of this term in our legislation lone families. The percentage of mothers with children in the Republic of North Macedonia is 7% while fathers with children is 2%. The total percentage of these types of families (which do not bear a special name, e.g. single families / single-family families), according to the Statistical Office is 9%.

Conducted Research

For the needs of this paper, a research was conducted on the topic "Changes of the Macedonian family". The purpose of this research was to get more clear picture of what Macedonian families are like; which family models they belong to; what are their strengths and what are their weaknesses; Which functions are considered important and most importantly to what extent families have changed. This research was conducted through the GOOGLE FORM platform, on a random sample of 111 respondents who voluntarily and anonymously answered 13 questions. 93 of the respondents are female and 18 are male. 38 respondents are aged 18-35 years, 63 are aged 35-50 and 10 are aged 50-65 years. 87 respondents are married and 24 are not married. 6 respondents belong to a family consisting of spouses, 79 respondents to a family with spouses and their children, 17 respondents to a family that includes spouses, their children and parents of spouses, 7 respondents are single parents living with their children and 2 respondents live in cohabitation without children.

First, respondents were asked "what is the most important role of the family".

Figure 1.

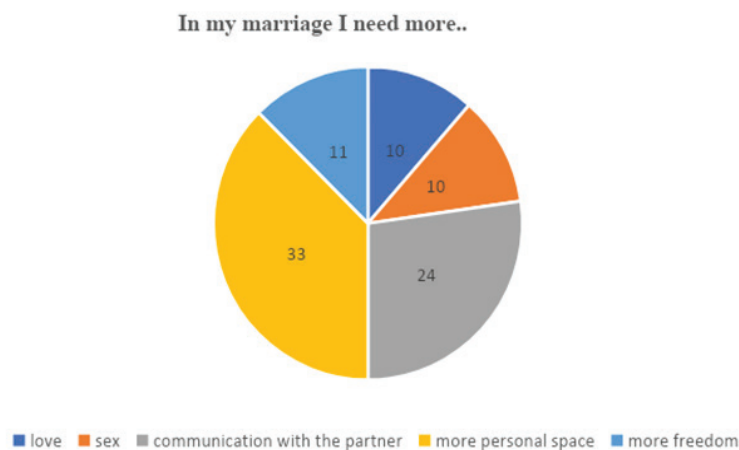


Most of the respondents think that the educational role of the family is the most important (Fig.1).

When asked “what are the biggest problems in your family”, most respondents point to finances (42) and even lack of communication (36). 15 of the members think that the biggest problem of their families is disrespect among the members. Only three of them cite domestic violence as a problem.

Almost all respondents who are married, said that they got married out of love, i.e. 76 respondents, and they also believe that they are happy in marriage. On the other hand, more than half of the respondents stated that they were missing something in their marriage.

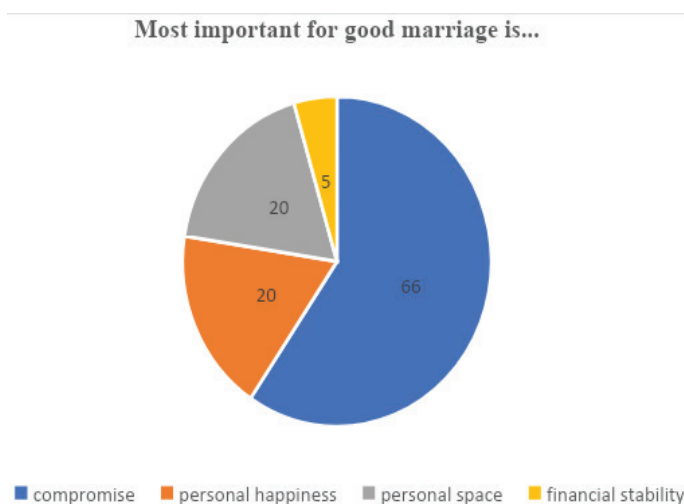
Figure 2



From the graph(Fig.2) we can see that most of the respondents who are married lack more personal space (33) and communication with their partner (24).

On the next question that is, “most important for a good marriage”, most respondents believe that compromise is a recipe for a good marriage, others cite personal happiness and space for personal development, and a small portion of finances (Fig 3).

Figure 3.



Further, the questionnaire contained several closed questions with offered answers *I agree / I don't agree*.

A major part of the respondents agrees with the claim: *Marriage without children is incomplete* (70%).

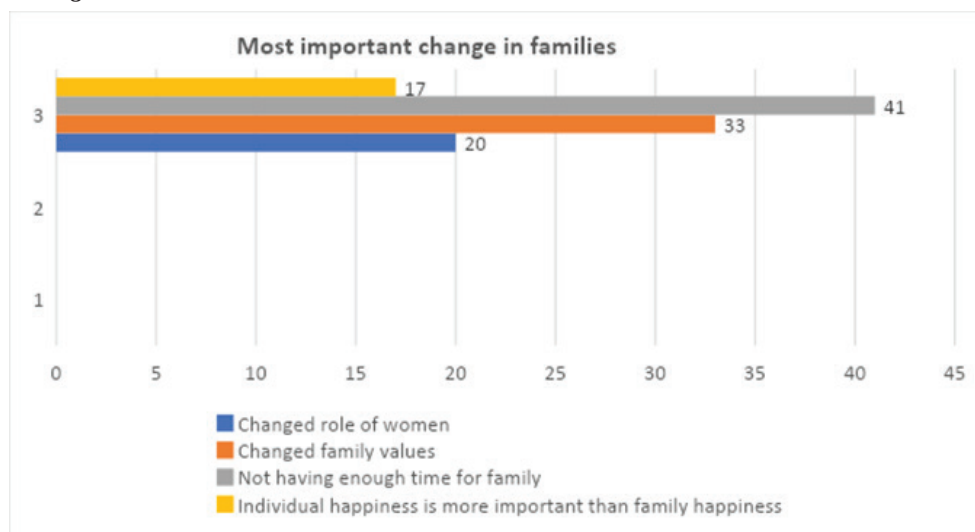
Opinions are divided in relation to the claim the marriage is same as cohabitation. 45% of the respondents agree, as opposed to 55% of the respondents who do not agree.

Largest part, do not agree with the claim: *The roles in your home are strictly divided into men and women* (80%). Others believe that there is a strict division of men and women roles in their home.

The next asked question was *What is the ideal number of children in the family?* 62 considered two children, 38, three children, and the other 11 prefer one child. However, the number of respondents who want multiple families dominates.

At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked, *according to them, which family change is most important?*

Figure 4.



Most of them have chosen change that replace to not having enough time for family (41), 33 changed of family values. Others had point to the changed role of woman (20) and Individual happiness is more important than family happiness (17).

Conclusion

From the analysis of the existing statistical indicators, it can be noticed that in the last few decades the families in the Republic of North Macedonia have changed. Demographic trends related to families show negative tendencies. Analyzes from the early 1990s to the present, point to significant reductions in the number of marriages, the number of born children, and general fertility. On the other hand, the number of divorces is growing, as well as the number of years of couples getting married and having children. The conducted research shows changes in the structure of families. Most of the respondents belong to nuclear families, i.e. spouses and their children. The number of extended families that were characteristic of the Macedonian society before independence is decreasing. The functions of families also changed the reproductive function is no longer primary for marriage and family formation. Almost all respondents stated that they got married for love, and as the most important role of the family they cite the educational, i.e. the upbringing of future generations. The modern way of life and the pressure of everyday life on family and married life can be seen in some of

the answers of the respondents. Many of them consider the lack of communication as the main problem in their family, and the lack of enough time for the family as the most significant change of families today. The striving for individualization and personal fulfillment and happiness can be seen in the answers of the respondents where personal fulfillment, happiness and space for personal development are considered important preconditions for a good marriage, and lack of freedom and healing space for development are stated as something that respondents lack in marriage.

However, in some of the respondents' answers, traditional views regarding family life can be noticed. Most of the respondents are married, only a few are in an extramarital union or single parents. As many as half do not believe that marriage and extramarital affairs are equal, and most think that childless marriage is incomplete. There is still a positive perception of large families, the aspirations for fertility of the respondents are high, they believe that the ideal number of children in the family is two or three.

It can be concluded that the Macedonian family has transformed and is facing the challenges of the new realities. However, in many respects it remains traditional.

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NEW MARRIAGE DYNAMICS IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

Abstract: *The Republic of North Macedonia has faced a difficult transition period as well as deep political and economic transformations since its independence in 1991. Additionally, the processes of globalization, industrialization and individualization have altered the new social reality resulting in major changes of family dynamics and general lifestyle. Current statistics present an increased divorce rate, decreased number of marriages and childbirth, and increased number of informal cohabitation. Young people seem uninterested in marriage as a union and prefer non-marital cohabitation instead.*

This paper analyzes new trends in forming partnership among youth in North Macedonia, with focus on marriage. It will present a research on new marriage dynamics, by analyzing marital and non-marital unions, wedding traditions and celebrations of two generations of people.

Key words: marriage, youth, family, North Macedonia.

Introduction

In contemporary societies, as a result of intense mobility of the population, the processes of urbanization and globalization as well as the continuous technological development, family life and married couples have faced several changes and adaptations. Major modifications regard the decline in the birth rate, marriage and birth postponement and a general decreased value of marriage. De facto couples are increasingly numerous and accepted by society to the extent that they represent an alternative to marriage. Proportionally to the decline in the number of marriages, there is an increase divorce rate, which for decades have no longer been a taboo in European societies as in the past. Finally, the possibility of birth control and the active presence of women in the labor market had an enormous impact on delay of marriage and birth, resulting in marriage not being interrelated to reproduction any longer.

In recent years, Macedonian families have undergone through numerous changes as well: from its structure, forms and values, to gender roles and interpersonal relations. Nowadays, in North Macedonia we can observe an

increased numbers of divorces and cohabitating families, and a continuous decrease in the number of marriages. North Macedonia, as the rest of European countries, was not immune to the changes in the structure and dynamics of the family that occurred as a result of the above-mentioned social processes in addition to a difficult transition period, as well as deep political and economic transformations since its independence in 1991.

Some authors (Nazio 2008) refer to mistrust in the institution of marriage, social acceptance of sexual relations before marriage, increased number of divorces, delay of birth, change of gender roles, as well as significant participation of women in the labor market and their emancipation from men as more specific reasons for the increased number of cohabitating families and diminished general popularity of marriage. Furthermore, recent researches on the perception of cohabitation families in North Macedonia confirm that in recent decades cohabitation is increasingly present in our country, especially in urban areas. This family model is socially accepted and especially popular among young couples: on the one hand, cohabitation offers the benefits of marital and extramarital life at the same time, and on the other hand, it can lead to marriage at any time (АвиРОВИЌ 2017). However, another previous research on the perception of marriage among youth in North Macedonia shows that the majority of young people in our country consent the cohabitating family model, but would prefer a marital union and believe that living with a partner is a phase or transition to marriage. Although social pressure to get married has decreased compared to the past, they would rather be in a union where the level of security and commitment is higher (Avirovic, Radulovic 2016) and this outcome was confirmed again in our qualitative research on marriage dynamics in North Macedonia where young people aged 20-35 have a rather positive attitude towards marriage.

In this paper we seek to analyze the transformation of family life and changing aspects in marriage and married life in North Macedonia by presenting existing statistical data on marriage and divorce in the country as well as the results of our qualitative research on new marriage dynamics, which analyzes marital and non-marital unions, wedding traditions and celebrations of two generations of people.

1. A Brief Historical Viewpoint of Marriage in Europe

Marriage as concept and as legal contract that binds partners together has existed since the period of Antiquity and it is perhaps older than the notion of

family as perceived in contemporary societies. Throughout history, marriage has been influenced by many factors and defined by various conditions. Primarily, laws and norms of each societies have played a major role in shaping the notion of marriage: appropriate age of marriage, dowry, engagement agreements etc. For instance, according to ancient Roman law, the minimal age limit for marriage for girls was 12 years and 14 years for boys, however, in practice boys were ready for marriage in their late 20s whereas girls were married in their adolescence. Roman marriages were arranged by parents or third parties, never by the bride and groom and they were preceded by an engagement agreement called *sponsalia* (Adkins, Atkins 2004). Although each society followed their own norms and legislative regulations, arranged marriages based on political or economic motives, early age of marriage of women and dowry seem to be present in most European cultures.

Additionally, religion and religious beliefs have linked marriage furthermore with procreation and defined its structure from monogamous to polygamous. Due to different interpretations of the Old and New Testaments, Christianity had a rather negative and well-defined attitude towards the human body, sexuality, marriage and the family. Marriage and sexual relations were governed by the principles of reproduction, monogamy, and spouse fidelity, and these marital regulations served to maintain a stable society (Browning, Green 2006, pp. 84-85). With Christianity, marriage became a way to control people's sexuality and reproduction - the main purpose of medieval families. Marriage rules became even more rigid and marital unions were prohibited between close relatives, putting an end to the endogamy of some ancient and Nordic societies. Distinctively, in Medieval Islamic culture, polygyny was accepted, but the number of wives was limited to maximum four women and the husband was obliged to treat every wife equally and provide them with an adequate financial support. However, monogamous marriages were very common among Medieval Muslims in Europe, possibly, due to economic reasons (Mitsell, 2007).

After the Industrial revolution, family in Europe embraced numerous changes: from its structure to interpersonal relations and marriage. In this period, the extended family was replaced by the nuclear family model which continued to represent the basic family model in Europe until the twentieth century. Interpersonal relations begun to change considerably, especially relationship between parents and children and marriage became a private agreement between two individuals based solely on their feelings. The modern

family model was based on a new marriage ideal, where instead of economic, political and social interests, love, mutual sympathy, affection and intimacy between partners became significant. In industrial and post-industrial societies, personal satisfaction became more relevant than respect for norms and interests of the community and the freedom achieved in the professional sphere stimulated the desire to accomplish the same freedom in private life. Romantic love became the basic factor of marriage and young people wanted to choose their partner independently, without the influence of their parents or society, although asking for formal or informal consent for marriage from parents remained a tradition or regulation in some European societies until the twentieth century (Мицковиќ 2008, pp. 142-156).

Arguably, the transformation of gender relations have affected marriage and family life the most. Women in Europe entered the labor market slowly after the Industrial revolution, however, their presence became most visible during the First World War when male soldiers were absent. In the interwar period, nevertheless, men remained the main family workforce in the house, while the presence of women in the labor market became more significant only after the Second World War and the revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, when the emancipation of women and phenomena such as divorce, abortion and cohabitation became accepted by society (Quilici 2010).

During the postwar period, Socialist Macedonia, as part of the Yugoslav Federation, embraced gender equality, particularly in regard to the areas of female literacy, divorce, abortion, maternity leave and the inclusion of women in the labor market. Nevertheless, big discrepancies sustained between rural and urban areas and women continued being unrepresented in leadership positions in the political and socio-economic sphere. Principally in rural areas, women for decades continued to hold the position of housewives and “guardians” of the home and female identity was exclusively associated with motherhood (Ковиловски 2008).

At present, women and men in North Macedonia have equal rights to enter into civil marriage, which is based on the free will of the spouses (Family Law, Article 6). In contrast, religious marriage is not recognized by law (Family Act, Article 30). The legal age of marriage is 18 for both women and men (Family Law, Article 16) and a marriage contracted before the legal age should be annulled. Women and men have, as well, equal rights to initiate divorce, which can be obtained through mutual consent (Family Law, Article 39) or granted on the request of one of the spouses (Family Law, Article 40).

1. Statistical analysis of marriage and divorces in contemporary Macedonian society

According to the last official census from 2002, North Macedonia has 2.020.365 inhabitants and an estimated 564.237 families. 304.577 households represent married couples with children, whilst 92,567 households are composed by married couples without children (Државен завод за статистика на РМ, 2004). Official statistics of marriage patterns in contemporary Macedonian society are showing a constant decrease of the number of marriages, general delay of marriage and birth, as well as acceptance of other forms of unions out of wedlock. In general, Macedonian men enter more often into second marriage (7.4% in 2019) and into third marriage (0.6% in 2019) of the total number of marriages and in comparison to women.

According to the first official census in contemporary Macedonian society from 1994, the number of registered marriages was 15.736 and if we analyze the past decades' available data, we can note a continuous decline in marriage figures and increase of divorce rate. The number of marriages from 1995 to 2008 continued to decline from 15.823 to 14.694 recorded marriages. In the following table we present the numbers of registered marriages in North Macedonia in a period of a decade (2009-2019). The analyzed data show as well a constant decline of the number of marriages from 2009 (14.923) to 2019 (13.814). There are some variations through the years, however the most notable is the increase of the number of marriages in 2015 (14.186 in comparison to 13.813 from the previous year 2014). The number of marriages in 2019, compared to the previous year, increased by 2.4% and it amounted to 13.814. Most marriages, were registered in August and the fewest in February (Државен завод за статистика на РСМ, 2019).

Table 1. Number of registered marriages in North Macedonia (2009-2019)

Number of registered marriages in North Macedonia										
2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
14.923	14.155	14.736	13.991	13.982	13.813	14.186	13.199	13.781	13.494	13.814

Source of data: State Statistical Office of North Macedonia.

In regard to the numbers of registered divorces in North Macedonia in the same period (2009-2019), the figures presented in Table 2 show a continuous increase of the divorce rate. Namely, in 2009, there were 1.287 divorces in comparison to 1.990 divorces which occurred last year. The numbers vary from year to year, with a peak in 2014 (2.210 divorces) and a slight decrease in 2018

(1.620 divorces). As a contrast, in 1994 there were only 612 divorces. From 1995 to 2008 the number of recorded divorces increased from 710 to 1209. According to the duration of the marriage, most divorces occurred in November, in the period from five to nine years after the marriage. The number of divorces in 2019 increased by 22.8 % compared to 2018 and it amounted to 1.990 divorces. (Државен завод за статистика на РСМ, 2020).

Table 2. Number of divorces in North Macedonia (2009-2019)

Number of divorces in North Macedonia										
2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
1.287	1.720	1.753	1.926	2.045	2.210	2.200	1.985	1.994	1.620	1.990

Source of data: State Statistical Office of North Macedonia.

In regard to the median age at first marriage in North Macedonia we can note a general continuous delay of marriage in the past decades. In 1994 the mean age at first marriage for brides was 22,9 years and 26 years for the grooms. The median age at first marriage increased in the following years from 23 (brides) and 26,1 (grooms) years in 1995 to 24,7 (brides) and 27,7 (grooms) years in 2008. In the following table we present analyzed data from 2006 to 2016. In this decade the median age at first marriage for women has increased from 25 to 27 years old, whilst for men it augmented for only one year: 28 to 29 years old. According to the last available data at first marriage from 2019, these figures remain invariable. Namely, last year, the mean age at first marriage was 26.9 years for the brides and 29.7 for the grooms, which represents an increase of 4 and 3,7 years for women and men accordingly since 1994. However, if we compare this data with the mean age at first marriage in other European countries, we can note that the delay of marriage in North Macedonia is not considerable. In average, in 2018, Europeans got married from 27,5 years old in Belarus to 36,7 years old in Sweden (Eurostat, 2020).

Table 3. Median age at first marriage in North Macedonia by gender

Median age at first marriage in North Macedonia											
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Women	25	25	25	25	25	25	26	26	26	26	27
Men	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	29	29	29	29

Source of data: State Statistical Office of North Macedonia

There are many reasons for the postponement of marriage, but the most common are the extension of undergraduate and postgraduate studies by

youth, as well as postponement of employment. Some theorists believe that an unstable career is one of the main reasons for the increased number of cohabitating families, which as a more flexible model of partnership that reflects the changes in the labor market to a certain extent (Авировиќ 2017). Furthermore, economic instability directly affects young family problems, such as housing and parenthood. Finally, current studies shows that modern women have more choices when it comes to planning pregnancies than in the past. In addition to the benefits of contraceptives, today the moral social constraints regarding the age of first pregnancy or pregnancy outside of marriage are further reduced: women are free to plan their reproduction individually or with their partner or decide not to become parents at all (Abela, Walker 2014, p.125).

3. Research on Marriage Dynamics in North Macedonia

In order to have deeper insight on marriage dynamics in North Macedonia we decided to conduct a qualitative research which will optimistically precede a next larger quantitative research. Our study is a research on transformation and perception of marriage in North Macedonia, more precisely on meeting partners, wedding celebrations, and other marriage features, and includes the comparison between two different generations' experiences and opinions. Our hypothesis was that older generations support the idea of marriage more than the youth, while the second assumption was that some traditional marriage features have been transformed or not practiced at all by younger generations.

Our research was conducted from October to December 2019 in the major cities of North Macedonia: Skopje, Kumanovo, Debar, Bitola, Shtip, Ohrid, Kocani, Prilep, Veles, with the largest number of respondents originating from the capital Skopje (43 out of a total of 62 respondents). The respondents were divided into two age groups in order to present a comparative analysis of their opinions and interpretations: (1) first age group from 45 to 60 years old (28 respondents) and (2) second age group from 20 to 35 years old (34 respondents). In the first age group 20 respondents are female and 8 respondents are male whilst in the second age group the gender division is as follows: 24 female versus 10 male respondents. The study was led using a structured questionnaire conducted live or online/by phone, depending on the possibilities for meeting with the respondents. The questionnaire consists of nine topics with sub-questions with the possibility of open answers, and this paper will present the results of the section dedicated to new marriage

dynamics, specifically respondents' experience and perception regarding marriage and married life. The questions were adapted to the different age groups: whilst all respondents from the first age group (45-60) were married, only 6 out of 34 respondents from the second age group (20-35) were wedded, one was divorced. Therefore, the questions of the first age group are focused on their experience, whereas the second age group was asked to give mostly their opinions and express their perceptions.

The first difference between the two age groups is in the ways partners have encountered. The respondents of the first age group (45-60 years) have stated that they usually met their partners in person, through common friends, during their studies, on a night out or at work. Whilst these ways of meeting partners remain practiced even by younger generations, today adolescents tend to meet largely online, using some of the platforms enabled by the development of advanced technology such as Facebook, Instagram, Tinder etc. In this regard, Macedonian adolescents are using these communication tools to reinforce and form relationships, both with friends and romantic partners and follow the general pattern of worldwide youth. However, this question was not evaluated in details, since we consider that this topic requires a separate study and deeper analysis. As far as the duration of the relationship before marriage is concerned, according to our results, it does not depend from the age group, since in both groups of respondents we received mixed responses varying from one month to several years of dating before marriage.

Receiving permission or blessing to get married from parents was a usual and required practice in the past. In fact, until the Industrial revolution, marriage was mainly an economic and socio-political union rather than emotional. Formal or informal parental permission for marriage was required in European societies until the 20th century (Quilici 2010). Therefore, this tradition was still present and informally practiced in post-war Macedonian society as well. The responses of the majority (20 out of 28) of respondents from the first age group, in fact, confirm the occurrence of this tradition. However, most of our interviewees confirmed that the main decision for marriage was made already by the couple itself and the parental permission or blessing was characterized as a rather informal custom. Six respondents, all of which were born in the 1970s, did not ask for blessing at all and one couple did not receive their parents' permission to get married due to their mixed ethnical background and it resulted with a fugitive bride. As a contrast, the opinion of the respondents from the second age group is that this practice is outdated

and should not be practiced at all. None of the married young couples have asked for parental blessing for marriage, nor the rest of the respondents were planning to ask their parents in the future.

When it comes to the wedding ceremony, we can note a larger difference in the responses of the two groups. The majority of couples (22) from the first group of respondents (45-60 years) stated that had a big traditional wedding, usually to please their parents and regardless of their financial savings. Only two respondent had a small wedding celebration, whilst four respondents did not have any celebrations - though had a civil ceremony - due to health and financial reasons. As a contrast, according to the majority (15) of respondents from the second age group there is a tendency towards smaller and more intimate weddings. However, eleven respondents would like to have a traditional big wedding with adapted customs and traditions in accordance to their wishes. Only six respondents have done or would like to have a *“modern non-classic wedding such as rock party, wedding ceremony at the beach etc.”* (Male respondent from Skopje, 22 years old) Two respondents did not express their opinion on the matter.

On the question where did married couples live after being married, as expected, almost half (12) of the respondents from the first age group lived a certain period of time with their male spouse's parents before emancipating and living in a separate nuclear family. Eight respondents continued to live in their extended family and never separated in a distinct house. Only four respondents lived in a nuclear family from the beginning of their marriage and the rest (4) did not specify their housing status. The majority of the respondents pointed out that life in extended family was difficult and challenging. At the same time for the majority of young married couples this way of living arrangement was the only possibility, usually due to financial reasons. Nonetheless, many respondents stated that living with husbands' parents was a tradition in the past and couples accepted it as a standard custom. On this matter, there is a vast discrepancy among the two generation of interviewees, as almost all respondents from the second age group stated that they would not accept living in a form of extended family with their partner. However, out of the six married couples from the second age group, two have stated that lived with their partners' parents after marriage, due to financial reasons.

The final question concerns female Macedonian surnames after marriage and the alterations of this custom. The tradition among ethnic Macedonian requires the bride to take her husband's surname in female form, regardless

of the fact that the Family Law states clearly that both, bride and groom are free to choose their surname after marriage as they please (Family law, Article 31). As most ethnic Macedonian male surnames end in *-ski* and *-ov*, their appropriate female form would end in *-ska* and *-ova*. For instance, a bride marrying Mr. Stojanovski would become Mrs. Stojanovska and a woman marrying Mr. Lozanov would become Mrs. Lozanova. However, in the past years there is a tendency to change this tradition and many women either take their husband's surname in the original male form or add their husband's surname to their maiden name. The second option is widely used, since it seems a reasonable compromise between tradition and modernity and both parties involved are satisfied. Rarely, women keep only their maiden name. This tendency has been entirely confirmed in our research. In fact, all female respondents from the first age group have taken their husband's surname in female form, as the tradition required at the time. In contrast, the majority of female respondents from the second age group have stated that they would prefer to add their husband's surname to their maiden name. Some respondents stated that "*women themselves should decide on which surname will take after marriage*" (Female respondent from Skopje, 22 years old). However, there were some respondents, mostly male, who would prefer to follow the tradition of keeping husband's surname.

As a general conclusion from our qualitative research we can note that major changing aspects of marriage and married life in North Macedonia, including wedding celebrations, family structure and transformation of traditions, have confirmed our particular hypotheses that traditional marriage features have been transformed or not practiced at all by younger generations. However, our main hypotheses that older generations support the idea of marriage more than the youth was not confirmed entirely, since the majority of respondents of the second age group (20-35) had a rather positive attitude towards marriage and married life.

Conclusion

Marriage in contemporary Macedonian society, along with family, its structure and functions underwent changes that affected at large family life and relations. Besides statistical data showing a continuous decline of registered marriages and increased number of divorces, major changes include the revision of gender roles within family, increased employment of women and their active involvement in the family economic function, as well as the

consolidation of the nuclear family structure and general abandonment of the extended family structure, typical from the past.

As a general conclusion from our qualitative research we can note that major changing aspects of marriage and married life in North Macedonia. Namely, there is a general tendency among youth to abandon the old-fashioned face-to-face meeting of partners which has been replaced considerably by the increased practice of online tools of communication. Traditional wedding celebrations have undergone through several transformations as well, nevertheless, young people implement several customs of their choice in their vision of modern wedding festivity. There is a definite abandonment of parental permission for marriage as well as a rejection of the extended family model where newlyweds and their parents live together in the same household. In addition to modifications in wedding celebrations, family structure and general alteration of traditions, younger generations show another feature of transformation of gender roles within family. Namely, the tradition to take their husband's surname in female form is becoming less popular in recent years and women tend to take their husband's surname in the original male form or add their husband's surname to their maiden name.

Finally, we believe that each section we analyzed in our research is complex and deserves special attention and separate study. Additionally, due to limitation in time and space, we intentionally omitted a deeper analyses of the decline of birth rates and increased number of out-of-wedlock births in North Macedonia, which represent very important features of marriage dynamics. Lastly, in order to obtain more detailed information on marriage dynamics in North Macedonia, we believe that further in-depth research with a statistically relevant sample is needed.

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CURRENT ISSUES OF THE SOCIAL STATUS AND PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

Summary: Article 40 of the 1991 Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia stipulates that the Republic provides special care and protection of the family which is, in its way, an integral element of the broader constitutional category that the Republic of North Macedonia is a social state.

When looking at the social rights in the country, provided by constitutional provisions, further elaborated by certain legal acts - it can be concluded that there is a scientific and social justification to elaborate on the permanent and current issues of social status and social protection of the Macedonian family.

At the community level, steps, measures, and actions are taken to determine the social needs of the family as well as to identify them to provide support and assistance. These measures are of broader scope and will be refined in the paper according to the current issues in specific areas.

Key words: family, family pension, social rights, social protection, social protection law.

Introduction and topic relevance

A happy family is but an earlier heaven.

(Bernard Shaw)

Other things may change us but we start and end with the family.

(Anthony Brandt)

In every conceivable manner, the family is linked to our past, and a bridge to our future.

(Alex Hailey)

In the period after 1974 and after the constitutional reforms of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at that time and accordingly, of Socialist Republic of Macedonia, especially after the republic declared its independence in 1991 and adopted the Constitution of a sovereign and independent state – in its manner, the society respected, supported and enticed the autonomous

processes, changes, and relations in the family. In this sense, in a completely spontaneous manner, the concept of family cooperative and other forms of family life was abandoned and the autonomous nuclear family concept was affirmed, democratic relationships in family living were enticed, increased equality among family members was enabled – especially between the man and woman, conditions for increased employability of the woman and her social emancipation were created...

The main trends in family structures and their shifts in the past decades in the European and by that, in Macedonian families as well, are as follows: fertility rates have decreased; giving birth occurs later in life and more frequently, outside of marriage; marriage, as well, is postponed and more frequently inevitable, and relationships – inside and outside of marriage – have become stronger. These changes have led to increasingly complex family relationships and increasing diversity of family forms and relationships during life. New family trends and models are parallel to the shift in gender roles, especially to the expansion of the role of the woman who is included in the economic security of the family and lately, a transformation of the male form can be seen, regarding the man's more intensive involvement in the family obligations with an accent on childcare. It is generally accepted that the family is a dynamic entity, with an increasing complexity regarding adopting decisions in the transition periods during family life and organizing family life. Indeed, the family cannot be simply described as a collection of well-defined roles that are agreed upon on daily basis, built by the interactions of partners on a micro-level and under the influence of macro structures in the political and economic sphere. Work and family life impact each other more and more, women and men exert for earnings as well as caring activities, frequently accompanied by instability in the employment and insecurity. Gender relations and related values and points of view have become easily changeable and the workflow in the aspect of an intermingling of the lines of family and work-life dynamically changes).

Republic of North Macedonia during March of this year, 2020, by a decision of the relevant institutions, received the green light to initiate negotiations for becoming a full and permanent member of the European Union. By this, regardless of the specific procedural acts during the negotiations, a portion of the process refers to family problematics and social policies in the spirit of the new European social policy that has been promoted for almost more than a decade. Such as early childhood care, social policy focused on fostered

children, exercise of parental rights, protection of the rights and interests of children, social care and healthcare for the family, incentives for giving birth, new family models, same-sex partnerships, and same-sex marriages, and adoption of children in these circumstances.

As a result, it is logically productive to analyze the general and specific relations between society and family.

European countries and their ability to adjust to social changes

The most accepted classification is the classification of three groups of countries in Europe (highly developed, developed, and developing countries). The classification and the groups are relevant for this analysis regarding the existence and application of external factors that influence the family.

The first group consists of countries with a high extent of economic indicators, demographic organization, and a high degree of practicing liberties and rights of people and also countries that are open to new occurrences.

A mid-degree related to the first and third groups are noted with the countries whose indicators show sufficient social development and create opportunities for its stimulus and growth with increased velocity whereas the third group is still dealing with existential issues and is slower to introduce modern flows in its social tissue.

The first group is most illustratively represented by the Scandinavian countries and the Benelux, the second group comprises of the countries from the Eastern Bloc that joined the European Union and members of the third group are the Balkan countries and some of the countries from the Socialist lager.

The direct communication between the societies of certain countries with the families living within them will be elaborated on in the part where we speak about extended statistical indicators for certain family issues and conditions.

The historical climate and tradition are factors that can indicate relative or accented differences between the countries because of the dominant practices.

In the highly developed countries, in an economic and democratic sense, there is a general framework for the development of the family but also big changes and major disturbances of the family life and family functioning. The developing countries that deal with resolving basic existential issues mark the existence of families that live in unity, understanding, tolerance but also mark separation and deterioration of families. (A considerable problem in these countries is the abandonment of the country due to economic, developmental and carrier-wise reasons of family members, mostly young married

couples or single young people and the results of this phenomena are changes and disturbance in the family life and problems in the family's existence and development.).

Democratically developed societies such as countries in Western Europe promote a favorable climate for wide public acceptance of new occurrences that are related to various issues, including the family.

The countries that belonged to the socialist system, during the transformation from monopolistic to plural-democratic society demonstrated a layered adapting ability. Part of them demonstrated that they are easily and highly adaptable (such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia), some of them journeyed through a slower adapting process (such as Poland, Croatia, Lithuania), and some remained, in the general sense, conservative societies (such as Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Kosovo, Bosnia, and Herzegovina).

Regarding the family, almost a direct understanding of the new occurrences are noted (same-sex partnerships, adopting children into such partnerships, the definition of marriage), following the extent of democratization and adaptability to new circumstances.

In the function of making the topic relevant and because the Republic of North Macedonia is expecting the initiation of EU accession negotiations, we have created an outline of a few groups of countries that are and shall continue to be examples for our country in terms of policies and practices related to the wider problem of the concept of family.

In this aspect, the modern countries of welfare from the European Union can be grouped as follows:

Firstly, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, and Sweden) who's starting points are the assumptions of the instable marketplace and family mechanisms and following this, develop a sustainable state alternative. The state-funded programs for assistance are very inclusive and are dominant in society. The marketplace and the family are seen as alternative means of obtaining social security, i.e. the formula "both family and marketplace" is applicable.

In the second place, the Anglo-Saxon countries (Great Britain as an EU member state until recently, Ireland) that consider market mechanisms as their pillar, develop private insurance programs and the role of the family and in particular the role of the state are minimized and considered to be residual actors.

The system of measures for state-funded aid, as a rule, is the last alternative and is directed only towards the entities that are the most affected by poverty.

As a third group, the Mediterranean countries (Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italy) wherein certain segments, the neoliberal logic of relying on the marketplace is reproduced whereas in other aspects the principles of universal population scope are valid (healthcare, for example). Family solidarity is an inevitable generator of welfare and has a significant impact on the (no) exposure to poverty.

Fourthly, the continental countries (Germany, France, Belgium, Slovenia, Austria, Luxemburg) that entice the social responsibility of the family and the local community. In these countries, the roles of the marketplace and the state are specifically intermingled in a way that the social insurance programs are available for individuals that are active in the marketplace (and members of their families), and programs for social protection programs are applicable for individuals that are excluded from the marketplace.

As a fifth group, the Eastern-European countries (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia) where the former sub-state systems of social protection are transformed in the direction a neoliberal approach. The relationship between the marketplace and state responsibilities is jeopardized due to financial limitations. In these countries, even the maximum amounts of social aid are relatively low.

According to these constataions, the Republic of North Macedonia is directed to conduct a selection process on the general approach and measures that will be appropriate for the economic growth of the country, the democratic processes as well as the existential needs of the families as well as the needs for growth regardless of the group of European Union countries they were or are implemented in, however, the closes concept is the continental countries concept.

***Social aspects on family protection in the Republic of North Macedonia
(social policies and instruments of social protection)***

The basic assumption for the relationship between society and the family is that it entails deep, entangled inter-relations, permanent and occasional relations between the two concepts of wholeness and inter-influences with a possible or negative impact. (The elaborate in this paper has been based following the defined topic of the scientific gathering in the part titled: “New family structures and Social reality”).

How is the impact that society has on family mirrored, i.e. in which aspects does society affect a family?

- First and a significantly important line and issue with which the society impacts family is the creation of conditions for forming and the existence of a family, affirmation and constant support of the public and widely accepted opinion that the existence of the family as an organized functional unit and securing its status in the society by accepting the roles and functions of the family is a necessity.
- Society, through government mechanisms and ruling, defines the legal status of the family (by constitutional acts, one or more legal acts and other legal regulations) which is practically the most influential factor in the direct sense, of how society (mostly within the framework of one state) sees the family, its roles, protection, key issues, and inter-familial relations. Our state, in the spirit of the modern legislature, has adopted laws, programs, decisions that establish the protection and progress of the family.
- Besides, society conceptualizes, puts in the practice, and values social actions of short and long term character, that are utilized to entice or impede certain processes that are family-related. Entire subsystems of the social policy of a country refer to the family (healthcare protection and insurance, social measures, accommodation, children's rights, etc.). The legal matter in this country is completely oriented towards guaranteeing the satisfaction of the existential needs of the family (social measures, family pension, etc.). To be more specific, society creates conditions for the development of the family (acquiring means for family needs, education, and professional development of the members of the family, for more children in the family, etc.).

In the past decade, the main priorities in child welfare and family policy in the Republic of North Macedonia can be analyzed as following:

Child protection, from all aspects is main priority of many activities and documents: providing a clean and healthy environment (clean air is a significant challenge), protection from child violence, improving of the educational quality and grater enrolment in all educational levels (especially preschool level). Priority groups are children from marginalized groups and children with disabilities.

In terms of family policy, in the last period we were focused on stimulating the birth rate, as well as activities to improve parenting skills.

Through the analysis of the legal framework, national strategies and action plans we would come to the conclusion that North Macedonia has good basis for support of the children, youth and their families. Problems arise during the implementation of those programs.

The main types of family provision and support and key features (e.g. different types of cash support (universal and targeted, work-family reconciliation measures and children's/family services, child care etc)

Cash support to families in general:

1. Allowance for parenting (for a third child)
2. Maternity leave (9 months for single birth, and 12 months for twins)
3. Participation in the costs for attending preschool state institution
4. Scholarships for talented elementary and high school students
5. Scholarships for talented university students
6. Credits for university students

Cash support for social protection of financially unsecured families:

1. Child allowance
2. Guaranteed minimum allowance
3. Housing allowance
4. One-time financial allowance
5. One-time allowance for newborn child
6. Participation in the costs for care and recreation of children in a public institutions for children.
7. Conditional cash transfers for high school students who attend to school regularly
8. Scholarships for orphans

Cash support for social protection of families with disabled child:

1. Special allowance
2. Allowance for disability
3. Allowance for assistance and care from another person
4. Part-time salary compensation
5. Permanent allowance for a foster family
6. Participation in the costs in some medical treatment
7. How does family impact society?

Family as well, has its impact on society, processes, and relations within it, and this is seen as logical and natural.

- ♦ It is a fact that the reproduction of the population, in the most dominant form, it still takes place through the family (this can also be statistically proven).

The reproduction of humans as individuals and also of the entire humanity dominantly takes place in specific families regardless of their model and social/legal status.

In fact, with the legal, ethical acceptance and the acceptance of the idea of single-parent families, regulating the adoption of children, securing contributions and privileges for foster families and granting the family status of single-sex partnerships (including their right to adopt children), a conclusion can be drawn that practically, the family is the only organized system/occurrence/phenomena for the reproduction of life.

(A few years ago, as an example, a campaign titled “ Every child needs a family” was organized and conducted in this country).

- ♦ Furthermore, family engagement helps in the resolution of issues of importance for the promotion of society (family - economic projects - employment and benefits to the society arising from it - payment of contributions to the state’s system for social insurance; introduction of family capital; family traditions of belonging to the society; familial efforts for the legal and political system - loyalty, patriotism, portions of education and upbringing).

The family also appears as an economic subject, especially in the sense of organization, management, and development of social-economic forms - organizations, enterprises, businesses in all parts of the economic functioning (production, trade, banking, craftsmanship). In this manner, the family is part of the social flow, in its important sphere - the economy, and by this, it resolves an important social problem - unemployment.

Simultaneously, these family - economic subjects enter contributions/means in the social budget that are utilized for financing the organization and functioning of state / public activities (defense, protection, public education, culture, healthcare) and state capital projects (infrastructure, objects, systems).

The inside of the family is an environment where a long-term approach that reflects as loyalty towards the educational system, patriotism towards one’s own country, standpoint towards religious and ethical occurrences, processes, and behaviors is built.

The processes of education and upbringing of young generations also take place in the family which also includes the part that specifically belongs to the family but is also a social obligation and concern.

Of course, there are also family difficulties that affect the society: unresolved existential issues, such as apartment, conditions for life, social requests, lack of care and deficit of creating conditions for offspring, its life and development; deterioration of the family life values as a negative example for a reason not to create a family; abandonment of the family members that become a responsibility and burden of the social community. All this practically enables asocial and deviant behavior such as bullying, criminal, deceases. This sort of violence becomes a social problem and asks for the adoption of legal measures in the authority of the police, public prosecution, courts, and shelters for domestic violence victims. These examples also require property security, professional staff, financial, organizational, and other resources.

After outlining the effects that family and society have on each other, the objective conclusion is that family and society pervade.

Challenges for the family in the relationship family – society

A general overview of the modern challenges arising from the influence society has on family:

- ♦ Process of transformation of the family according to new social conditions.
- ♦ Normative and realistic positioning of new family models.
- ♦ Securing existence means in certain insufficiently developed societies.
- ♦ Migrant processes – youth abandoning their native land that deteriorates the family life (here) and in the new residences (countries) raises the question for forming a family in these environments, their mutual communication, co-inhabitation, marriage, conditions for family life – apartment, it's equipping, it's location in regards of distance from work, new family members, their upbringing, adaptation to the surroundings, education, and socialization.
- ♦ Facing the emancipating processes of the family members.
- ♦ Same-sex partnerships and same-sex marriages and adoption of children in these circumstances (facing the involved traditional and conservatives points of view, adaptation of the adopted children and their acceptance in the community), the regulation of their legal status, resistance from the surroundings and their future.

- ♦ Raising an offspring (work engagement of the parents, facing difficulties, stimulation for absences, and other privileges).
- ♦ Whether the existence of the family is under question (stimulus for giving birth – compensation for a second, third child, etc.).
- ♦ What are the challenges that the families face autonomously?
- ♦ Fight between genders as a modern pain and occurrence, the man and the woman on opposite sides and not together and embraced in a warm marriage bed.
- ♦ Conflicts for authority in the children's upbringing, conflicts in terms of financial plans, and intellectual plans between spouses, the occurrence of manly women and feminized men...
- ♦ Different points of view for institutions and forms, services for acquainting and getting closer to their spouses, planning a family, marital advice (before and during marriage and also after divorce), during which process men are the ones who more often decline advice, unlike females...
- ♦ Conflicts regarding the fulfillment of parenting rights after the divorce.
- ♦ An increasingly frequent behavior in which the modern human believes that his/her personality and freedom must be respected, that marriage is not compulsory and that its existence is just for the sake of children and the community, that family is a limitation of freedom, independence, and autonomy.
- ♦ Decisions to enter into marriage are harder to adopt and getting married later in life.
- ♦ Numerous divorces that result in the occurrence of torn apart children.
- ♦ Relations in same-sex marriages and adoption of children.
- ♦ Families who wish to have children but are unable to due to physiological reasons.
- ♦ (Dis)function of the family – torn apart families, dysfunctional relationships, families that are threatened by divorce.
- ♦ Evident family violence (which persons are the victims and which are the perpetrators).

Conclusion

Our country has regularly and systematically followed and supported the movements and changes in family life and reflected this throughout solutions in the form of legal acts, public support of modern tendencies, organization of programs and activities directed towards support and affirmation of the autonomous and democratic family life and its prosperity. Through the analysis of the legal framework, national strategies and action plans we would come

to the conclusion that North Macedonia has good basis for support of the children, youth and their families. Problems arise during the implementation of those programs.

However, in the future, society should value the following processes and act accordingly:

- Changes (shifts) in the relationship society – family;
- Relationships between family members;
- Economy movements: service industry professions, digitalization, development of the pedagogic and social conditions;
- Biological – reproductive processes where families would plan the number of children;
- Inter-relations in the accomplishment of the economic function: will the family be only a consuming entity, or a business – entity as well;
- The dimensions of the moral – educational function, how to maintain it, will the family be the center, i.e. the nucleus of this function;
- Whether the family will be a reservoir of love, happiness, warmth, tranquility, security, honesty, happy childhood;
- The fulfillment of functions that will secure the future of the family especially through reaffirmation of the children's and family's rights.

In this sense, relationships filled with equality, respect, deep emotional connection, stable relations of democracy taking into account the position of each individual, equality among spouses, increased employment and independence of women (even though this can mean over-burdening the women in the workplace and the family) should be advocated for.

Furthermore, efforts for overcoming the alienation of the individual within the family that is also transferable in the society should be made, as well as efforts for eliminating the patterns of abandonment, a lower degree of attention or harassment of the children, i.e. prevent the occurrences of minor delinquency.

The society should take into account those challenges and to adjust the social policies in this context in order to provide better family support.

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