The Fragmentation of the Ethnic Segments in Plural Societies –the Macedonian Case

Doc. Dr. Qashif Bakiu

Prof. Dr. Ylber Sela

Faculty of Law, State University of Tetova, R. Macedonia

Abstract

In cases where different parts of society live in geographical proximity, but in social aspect separated, the appearance of segmentation is one of the characteristics. Establishing the segments is done mainly on the ethnic grounds, but there are religious, linguistic, and racial based cases as well. Such a social phenomenon is present in Macedonia, wherein this phenomenon is more reflected in the relation between two major communities, the Macedonian and Albanian communities. If merely on social indicators researched so far, we can conclude that the ethnic communities are fragmented to a very high degree, that the same have no common ground, especially the one of political – party common ground. The previous conclusion is the presence of ethno-party pluralism. In this paperwork, in practical terms, our aim is to prove the high degree of fragmentation of ethnic segments in political action plan, respectively that of political party, as well as to determine the lines of expectations of the process flow, in view of the partisan multi-ethnic interaction or inaction. The measurement level of the fragmentation of segments is done by two sociological surveys (with approximately 1,000 respondents) specific to this case, for both ethnic communities, having involved the other ethnicities as well. Meanwhile, apart from other age groups, a special approach is made to the youngest age group, defining the two target groups of 18-25 and 25-30 years. Other reasons influencing the stagnation of partisan inter-ethnic cooperation have been part of this treatment as well.

Keywords: plural societies, ethnic communities and segments, fragmentation, political party, multi-ethnic interaction or inaction

Introduction

In heterogeneous societies, influenced under ethnic differences and religious, cultural and linguistic, inside of it are created separate groups, among which each of them trying to save its own characteristics?[1] Because of the division in the respective bases, these groups live side by side, but differentiated within unit general political. This type of society presents a pluralistic society.[2]

Internal heterogeneity expressed in suitable form organizational defining common sign of pluralistic societies. Reasons for differences can be religious, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, etc. These differences are present in many countries at a lower level or higher. However, to achieve a pluralistic society it is necessary to organized communities to get involved and accepted as carriers of differences, to get accepted - of regarded as belonging to certain groups - "familia spiritus" which is politically organized political party or political movement. Pluralist society is structured by those political organizations, where each one defends the specific interests of its members. Even though despite the heterogeneity target different social groups are not organized politically then we are not dealing with a plural society. The Republic of Macedonia is an example of a plural society. On the one hand, as highlighted population includes various ethnic communities, and recognized by the Constitution. On the other hand any other ethnic community, again under the Constitution has the right to organize political parties. So in organizational plans, according to the Constitution the pluralistic political system is well organized.

The Republic of Macedonia is a typical pluralistic society. Divisions along ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, even racially, are present and combined in different combinations. This condition, to a certain extent, contributes to the segments although they are side by side, live in divided societies.

In demographic terms, the structure of the Republic of Macedonia is a multiethnic. Official data show that in 60 percent are Macedonian population, while over 25 percent Albanian population (the number of Albanian community accepted with reservation because always claimed to be much higher, 30 percent respectively), about 10 percent of Turks, Serbs, Vlachs, Bosnians etc. As noted above, the ethnic communities living in the center is not homogeneous, while the population in most

---

[1] The definition for this research was born as a continuation of some research, mainly theoretical early on, which are published in several scientific journals Diskutime magazine, RM, RM Journal CRC, Ruse University Scientific Conference, R. Bulgaria 2008, 2009, 2014, Science Conference UNSS, R. Bulgaria.

[2] See. A. Lijphart, Democracy in plural societes; 1977, translation, publication in k. L.D. Macedonian Frchkovski, p. 17.

of the territory, in the settlements, is mixed. This mixture becomes even more complex when we consider that some ethnic communities belong to two or more religions.

Ethnic communities are fragmented to a high level. If added to the differences in religion between them, they have no meeting point between them. The degree of social division can be seen from the low (rather nonexistent rate) of the marriage bond between members of the segments. Segments have different schools, while in cases where it is common educational base they support learning in different shifts or school buildings are separated. Despite the physical separation there is high pressure, which often goes into massive physical clash.[1]

Segments also have various sports clubs and recreation. Heavy clashes between segments come exactly in sports and different games, where the main song (sports fans) is death and disappearance of the other segment. This choreography mostly ends with the burning of the national symbols of other segment.

The division of the segments most commonly reflected in individual plans. Similar to the case of Northern Ireland, the individual who accepts the decision (choice) political another segment, the party that belongs accepted as a man who has accepted ethnicity or religion of the other segment, which in this case is worse than to meet with Indeed another community.

Political parties in Macedonia

Political pluralism in Macedonia begins as a reflection of other federal republics of the former Yugoslav federation. In this direction, it should be emphasized that Macedonia ranks last among the republics of Yugoslavia, which split from the old one-party system, and after Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo[2] which in this period there wasn't the same status with other federal units.

The way for political pluralism in Macedonia, but also beyond in Yugoslavia, legally open changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), respectively amendment 59, which allowed the creation and establishment of political parties. With such a decision, legally was removed the monopoly of League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Macedonia respectively. With this is established legal framework of party organizational pluralism. Despite this, the Constitution of 1974 continues to save the communist ideological monopoly, which appears as a basic factor for not developing political pluralism.

The organization of political parties in Macedonia begins to develop immediately after the declaration of political pluralism in 1990. Characteristic for the first parties in this former Yugoslav republic is that the first parties submitted lacks ideological profile. Unlike party communist successor party, the League of Communists of Macedonia, the Democratic Renewal Party (SKM - PDP), other parties try to be profiled according to alternatives needed for daily or through the current problems. This period corresponds to the nationalist policies of the actors in the Serbian political life, thus the destruction of the SFR Yugoslavia and the creation of the independent state of Macedonia. Under this influence, it conveyed nationalist reflection in Macedonia on a fairly high degree, so that political parties are oriented towards nationalistic policies. Under the pressure of the dissolution of the former federation and artificial circumstances created in the past, shows an excessive dose of distrust between ethnic communities, which earlier existed maybe not in the same proportions. Political elites, in the interests of raising and forming powerful political entities, embody this distrust, respectively use this moment as the main reason for the creation of new political parties.

Segmentations of political parties based on ethnicity

The first political parties in Macedonia are presented as "national defense". This trend is more present in political parties with Macedonian prefix. This is reflected even in their names or their abbreviations. The first political parties that appears in plural Macedonian are: Action Movement for All Macedonian (MAAK), Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM), the Party for

---

[1] Cases of beatings of students in secondary schools in Struga and Skopje, which occur for many years between Macedonian and Albanian students.

[2] It should be noted that the first parties in Kosovo, which appear before the destruction of the Yugoslav federation, do not operate within the system (period of ignorance of the Yugoslav system - Serbian) and as such in court as illegal party. These parties are not registered in the state bodies, bodies that have been controlled by Serbia. Consequently, various elections have been organized parallel bodies, outside the state system Serb - Yugoslavia.

Democratic Prosperity (PDP), VMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE), The Party for Democratic People (PDP), etc.[1]

By abbreviations parties before it is obvious that the Macedonian political block is clear tendency for the creation of political parties with ethnic prefix. As support in this direction is the nationalist rhetoric of the newly established party leaders, but partisan political programs, statutes and other propaganda materials. Such practices, at first glance is not peculiar to the Albanian block parties PDP and PDP, but if you see their staffing structures, political program or statutes, with minor exceptions, it is clear that the basis of political organization and goals these two parties are national issues (ethnic), which affect the Albanian community in the country (Macedonia). However, if we are inside the Albanian community problems, most of them are political, social, economic, cultural and educational spheres. Despite this, the two parties are in a high degree of citizen retain their character (civil), encouraging and supporting coexistence and stability in the country. Civil character is present in the leading structures attended the members of other ethnic communities, even the Macedonian community. This is present in lower structures and their local organizations in regions in which no citizen living Albanian ethnicity.[2]

Of all these can be concluded that the Republic of Macedonia in parallel with the development of political pluralism and pluralism ethno political party place. Additional argument for this is the existence of political parties established exclusively on ethnic and religious grounds.

The political organization of the Albanian population in Macedonia, the part of Albanian ethnicity were accepted as logical commitment in defense of the national issue (national) and for creating preconditions for a better future. "What is valuable for political organization is that Albanians in Macedonia understood the party organization as a struggle between ideas and programs, which means the strengthening of general interest themselves. Unfortunately such an attitude to political pluralism and to the Macedonians did not exist ".[3]

Unlike Albanian political space, to Macedonian politic in the first place in relation to political pluralism, which corresponds to the first moments of independence of the state, it is presented a sense of insecurity, which orients political organization strongly nationalist direction. Active political parties and their leaders, pluralism was understood as "war" to monopolize power, and consequently the state, the second community in terms of the total numbers of - Albanians.

"War" goes beyond ethnic borders after mixing of the Macedonian Orthodox Church (MOC), which supported the formation of the VMRO-DPMNE.[4] Unlike COM, the Islamic Religious Community (BIM) in the first years of political pluralism there is no more serious role in the political organization of parties. But this is not peculiar to the second decade where governance structure of this religious organization supports various political parties of the Albanians. Certainly, in this case, political parties have more influence during the election of the Islamic religious leader than himself BIM - the impact on political parties.

Ideological divisions as a pretext for suppressing ethnic division

"The party system in Macedonia has symmetrical bipolar form: the existence of a party in power pole also in the opposition. On the other hand, the same bipolar asymmetric shape: regular coalition ruling party with other opposition parties of the Macedonian and smaller parties of the smaller ethnic communities, and coalition after the election to one of the political parties. ".[5] But after 2008 a new informal practice is set by which the ruling coalition created by the winners of

---

[1] For the Macedonian parties are being used the original abbreviations, which are being used also in ordinary life, as from media also by the citizens.

[2] See. Daily newspaper archives "Flaka"; Press Conference the PDP; date number 13. 05. 1990

[3] Etem Aziri; Political organization of the Albanians in Macedonia; 2004, Skopje, p. 82

[4] Г. Силјановска - Давков; Идеолошкиот профил на политичките партии во Република Македонија; Зборник на Правниот факултет "Јустиниан Први"; Универзитет "Св. Кирил и Методи "; 2010; Скопје; p.313

[5] С. Шкарик; Г. С. Давкова; Уставно право; второ издание; Скопје; 2009 год с. 448

the two ethnic political blocks (Albanian and Macedonian).For this reason, the party system in Macedonia can be defined as' two half-polar system".[1]

Political parties in the Republic of Macedonia can be divided into several grounds: ideological, ethnic, religious, regional, etc.

Classification Euro-Western political parties based on political orientation and affiliation towards supranational groups is present also in the area and in the Macedonian political life. Mainly, the political parties in this country, which emerged from the former Yugoslavia, are divided into the left and the right and center parties. In the space of the right and left are focused on two main parties VMRO-DPMNE and SKM - PDP of re-branded later as the Social-Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM), while the existing political parties in Macedonia, the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA) is calculated as the right party, while the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) as a party of the left. With the right determination was the first Albanian party PDP. As a party of the center is designated National Democratic Revival and New Democracy, the new party on the political scene. And these parties and other parties existing smaller also defined themselves as conservative, liberal, socialist, social democratic, communist, agrarian, and environmental (green), the Christian-Democrat etc. In practice, political parties in Macedonia have ideological nature hybrid, combining ideologies respectively, as a reflection of current needs and general European trend. Elements of some bold ideologies (eg. Social and ecological) are present in most of the political programs of political parties existing in the country.

Despite denials by political elites, most of the political parties in Macedonia are organized on ethnic grounds, as to the existence and also for the operation. In this regard, most of the parliamentary parties in the history of 20 years of political pluralism have been ethnically pure party. With minor exceptions, it continues to work, and considering the current situation and circumstances, such a thing tends to continue in the future. Mainly there are two parliamentary parties political ethnic segments: segment Macedonian Albanian segment. Also other ethnic communities are organized along ethnic lines. Unlike the second community in number - Albanian him, other communities fail to lock their representatives in the legislative body - Parliament only through coalitions and mostly with Macedonian political parties.

Political party which unites two major ethnic communities almost does not exist. Rare are the cases where specific individual from each community are party member in another community. This is reflected in the confidence which I take parties by voters. Sociological research shows that it is very little chance that a Macedonian political party gets votes from members of Albanian ethnicity and vice versa - Albanian political parties get votes from Macedonians. This is expressed in the parliamentary elections, unlike the presidential and local elections. In local elections this phenomenon is not constant, because the ruling coalition's flat affect central government, particularly in municipalities where one is minority communities. This is expressed in the vote for Mayor and not on lists for municipal council's adviser.

There is some idea of trying to create a multi-ethnic political party, in which the member would join the two largest ethnic communities, Macedonians and Albanians. The idea first arose from the last representative of the Republic of Macedonia in the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Vasil Tupurkovski, who in 1998 founded the Democratic Alternative (AD). In this party besides known intellectuals, artists were included, athletes, singers, etc., who include some Albanian. This party, despite the successful introduction of the 1998 in parliamentary elections,[2] only after two years was divided into several smaller parties, while in the next parliamentary elections failed to get any seats for deputy.

The second attempt to unite the members of the two largest ethnic communities in a political party was the formation of New Democracy.[3] one thing comes into play especially during the nomination of the leader of the party in the presidential elections of 2009. The attempt of this party was oriented to take advantage of the Macedonian electorate vote through the campaign based on the election campaign of US President Barack Obama. To a certain extent such a thing had success while the ND leader Imer Selmani managed to take about 150 thousand votes, among which over 50 thousand in the regions where the Albanian population lives there. But, on account of this, in the next parliamentary elections the same party managed to get only about 20 thousand votes in mainline, while to Macedonian not that at all, not getting any deputy mandates in Parliament.

---

[1] See. Гордана Силјановска - Давкова; Идеолошкиот профил на политичките партии во Република Македонија; Зборник на Правниот факултет "Јустиниан Први"; Универзитет "Св. Кирил и Методи ";2010; Скопје; с. 304; as well as the structure and Internal Organizational Democracy party in R. Macedonia, Gorex Press, Sofia, 2005, p. 27

[2] AD in these elections took 12 deputies and was part of the ruling coalition for half terms with VMRO-DPMNE and DPA.

[3] New Democracy emerged as a fraction of the DPA, respectively several DPA deputies took the party and formed a new party.

"Political parties across the political spectrum in Macedonia over all are really ethnic and very little in the form of nominal and fictitious they are ideological. Two main Macedonian parties have a basic ideology: in a very careful manner they cultivate Macedonism. SDSM, finally in a systematic way, by personality and institutionally, often quietly, secretly but safely. VMRO-DPMNE roaring, by pushing and continuously, visible and in the challenge way ... The difference between the Albanian parties DUI and DPA, despite statements to the ideological orientation of the left and right, are just a mean and achieved results in the fight for the purposes of Albanianism in Macedonia".[1]

Fragmentation ethnic political party based on a concrete sociological research

To observe the phenomenon of ethnic-based party fragmentation, we realized a sociological research. In order to have easier processing we decided that research to be made by two questionnaires, one for citizens of the ethnic Albanian and one for Macedonian community and for citizens of other community. Despite the fact that in both questionnaires have stayed Graf smaller ethnic communities, in this case their results are not treated, because these are mounted on the two largest communities, the results of smaller parties will be subject to another treatment of a scientific paper. Also in this paper we share only part of the questions, while the rest remain to be addressed also to other works. They surveyed 665 Albanian citizens, and 660 Macedonian citizens. The survey was conducted electronically, initially exposed to the social network Facebook, and for adequate involvement geographic, ethnic, gender and age groups, was conducted via , using the address of citizens from different bases nongovernmental organizations. This sociological research has a potential degree of error of up to 3.5 percent.

About 10 percent of Albanians (9.8) would have voted for a political party to another ethnicity, the Macedonian case, while 3.2 said that it is highly likely to do so. Meanwhile, 15.5 percent are undecided on the issue, answering the option probably, but such a vote would depend on many factors to 18.6 percent. On the other hand the negative responses are more pronounced, where 30.8 percent responded that it would do so, while 22.1 percent are even expressed in their tendency stating that in no case would vote for one party of another entity.

And the possibility of voting in favor of a political party to another entity (meaning the Albanian ethnicity) Macedonian answered by 34 percent, adding 8 per cent is of the opinion that there is very likely to do so. 16.4 percent said they would probably vote for a party other ethnicity, while 20.7 percent think such a thing depends on many factors. Negatively were answered in this question 16.9, while about 4 percent (3.8) stated that in any case they would not have voted for parties other ethnic community.

	yes	Very likely	Maybe	It depends on many factors	Not	No, never
Albanian	9.8	3.2	15.5	18.6	30.8	22.1
Macedonian	34.3	8	16.4	20.7	16.9	3.8

What is the main factor determining to vote a party of other nationality?

And as the main factors for the vote a party of other nationality to Albanian respondents ranked as follows below:

If there is no candidate from a party of my nationality	*6.2%*
If there are good political platform	*10.5%*
If there are good economic platform	*15.5%*
If it offers solutions to ethnic problems	*25.7%*
Ideological factor	*3.6%*
Other causes	*6.5%*
No, never	*32%*

Macedonian respondents to answer the question the same are:

---

[1] П. Е. Митев, А. Желязкова, Г. Стойковски, Македония на кеърстопът, София, 2008 г. с. 76 и 77

If there is no candidate from a party of my nationality	2.8%
If there are good political platform	20.2%
If there are good economic platform	34.7%
If it offers solutions to ethnic problems	15%
Ideological factor	5.2%
Other causes	8%
No, never	14.1%

To come to the purpose of research, survey questions were submitted in several ways, filed at the same time even in a negative context. In this regard the question "Why do not vote for a party of other ethnic community (another nationality)?"

To Macedonian respondents questioned answers two questions early on. In this respect they give these answers:

Due to the established tradition (Albanians vote for Albanians, Macedonians)	31.7%
Because of mistrust created by the past	29.9%
Because of hatred towards other communities	1.8%
Due to fear that the other ethnic community will prevail over my community	9.1%
Because my community will consider as traitors with	1.8%
The vote of a party other ethnic communities consider as treason	6.1%
Due to fear that the other ethnic community will destroy the state	19.5%

Meanwhile, Albanians responses are as follows:

Due to the established tradition (Albanians vote for Albanians, Macedonians)	18.8%
Because of mistrust created by the past?	47.7%
Because of hatred towards other communities	6%
Due to fear that the other ethnic community will prevail over my community	11.4%
Because my community will consider as traitors with	3.6%
The vote of a party other ethnic communities consider as treason	7.8%
Due to fear that the other ethnic community will destroy the state	4.7%

Conclusions

From research conducted we can reach some conclusions, concrete issues. Although lacking sociological research on this issue, always starting from the reality in Macedonia, we can conclude that there is a negative trend in terms of fragmentation ethno party. In the base case outlined in this paper - the opportunities citizens to vote other political party from other community, we conclude that now we have an increase confidence of citizens of one community to another community for political parties. If for Albanians, such a thing reaches about 10 percent, to Macedonians passes over 34 percent.

Also, the number of undecided voters and those who are defined as having likely to support such a thing is quite high (15.5 or 16.4). However still dominates perception early on, especially in Albanian community for lack of confidence in the Macedonian political parties (about 53 percent would not have voted for Macedonian parties). This is justified by the fact that the Macedonian political parties enjoy a monopoly of power in the Republic of Macedonia, on the other hand have no influence on their political agendas or economic regions in which the Albanian population live. Also the creation of long-term belief discrimination Macedonian party continues to rule the Albanians.

In the absence of data in the past, namely the individual level of trust in political parties other ethnic community as the benchmark will take electoral concrete results. Given the results of the recent parliamentary elections, the results of the

research are almost surprising, especially to the Macedonian community. The fact that in the regions of pure Macedonian population, votes for political parties are nonexistent, then create room for doubt in the fact that about a third of Macedonian citizens may have created confidence in the Albanian block parties. However, this question can fall with the results of the following questions, where especially Macedonian respondents, give answers that actually break down the results of the first question and restore the old traditional attitude to vote on ethnic grounds, and perhaps the answer to the question of The first may be a reflection of the creation of contemporary Macedonian citizen who is coexistence. If the second question for which reasons would have voted for a political party to another ethnic community cannot manage to draw concrete answer, then so we can draw from next question "Why do not vote for a party other ethnic community (another nationality)?". Specifically we learn that about 32 percent of Macedonians are supporters of traditional beliefs do not vote for Albanian parties and 30 percent do not vote due to mistrust of the past. Also worth noting that the Macedonian community about 20 percent continue to think that if they had won an Albanian party then Albanians will destroy the country, or even the fact that 10 percent have fears of domination to the community. Meanwhile, there is also such a thing as a betrayal of its own people. In this case we might come to the conclusion that the Macedonian community continues to be fully expressed in tendency to remaining within ethnic lines, respectively, to preserve the monopoly of power. So that, at least in a faster future cannot expect changes in this regard. This let us understand that the Macedonian citizen fails to come off the traditional nationalist framework.

On the other hand, the Albanian citizens of the research trend slight increase compared to the last parliamentary elections. In view of that low possibility in terms of voting for political parties of other community can say that it is justified in some ways. Initially, though in small numbers in populated settlements with pure Albanian population we have seen, although very low, vote for the Macedonian political parties. Meanwhile, Albanians have regular voters for Macedonian parties. They can be divided into three groups:

1. Albanian voters that vote for the block of Macedonian political party, in parliamentary elections, to which living exposition settlements that in electoral map falls in one Electoral unit where Albanians could not bring not even one deputy . Those voters are election side three and four. Usually this number in both electoral (….) captured about 10 thousand Albanian voters.

2. Albanian voters that vote that Macedonian political party, in local elections, are the voters that lives in municipality where Albanians are minority and they mainly vote only for the Mayor of that Municipality, meanwhile Albanians vote for council of the municipality.

3. Albanian voters that vote Macedonian Political party, which in presidential elections are the voters that vote the Macedonian candidate in the second round of elections.

Also from observable sociological research you can see causes of ethnic party fragmentation. If to a Macedonian voter main reason for not voting the party of another ethnicity is traditional voting for the party of the relevant entity, to Albanians about half of respondents estimate they have lost faith in the past. Meanwhile Albanians show significant signs of derailing the community dominated by another, a feature very evident to the Macedonian community.

But given the complexity of this issue we can never have high degree of safety. Always in this regard it should be emphasized that in plural societies, in the case in Macedonia, only a single event can change the view on a large scale for problems of this nature. These companies are very sensitive and often react based on momentum.

In this regard there is a huge influence of interethnic incidents. Many are tests which claim that inter-ethnic incidents are fabricated because through their ethnic political blocs parties maintain their support to their ethnicities. However, despite indications, such a thing is not ever evidenced.

Literature

[1] Etem Aziri; Political organization of the Albanians in Macedonia; 2004 Skopje

[2] Gordana Siljanovska - Davkova; The structure and Internal Organizational Democracy party in R. Macedonia, Gorex Press, Sofia, 2005

[3] Гордана Силјановска - Давкова; Идеолошкиот профил на политичките партии во Република Македонија; Зборник на Правниот факултет "Јустиниан Први"; Универзитет "Св.Кирил и Методи "; Скопје; 2010

[4] П. Е. Митев, А. Желязкова, Г. Стойковски, Македония на къерстопът, София, 2008

[5]   С. Шкарик; Г. С. Давкова; Уставно право; второ издание; Скопје; 2009

[6]   Daily newspaper archives "Flame"; Press conference the PDP; date number 13. 05. 1990

[7]   The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia since 1991; Official Newspaper; nr. 52, 1991

[8]   Law on Political Parties; Official Newspaper; Macedonia; nr. 76, 2004; 5/2007; 8/2007; 5/2008