ПРЕДИЗВИЦИТЕ ЗА ЧОВЕКОВАТА БЕЗБЕДНОСТ ВО РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА: НИЗ ПРИЗМА НА СОЦИО-ЕКОНОМСКАТА И ПОЛИТИЧКАТА КОМПОНЕНТА
HUMAN SECURITY IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: THROUGH THE PRISM OF SOCIOECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COMPONENT

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Апстракт

Република Македонија и по 25 години од осамостојувањето и почетокот на процесот на транзиција се уште се карактеризира со висок степен на човекова несигурност. Главните безбедносни закани во Република Македонија, како и во останатите земји во развој потекнуваат во рамките на националните граници и се изразени во економската ранливост и слабата држава. Имајќи го во предвид широкиот опсег на прашања кои ги покрива концептот на човекова безбедност, овој научен труд ги истражува и анализира предизвиците на човековата безбедност во земјата со посебен осврт на социо–економската и политичката компонента. Целта е да се идентификуваат клучните предизвици за човековата безбедност со кои се соочуваат македонските граѓани и во таа насока да се предложат релевантни јавни политики кои ќе овозможат зајакнување на слабата држава, воспоставување на државата како снабдувач на човекова безбедност и нејзино интегрирање во европските и евроатланските структури.

Резултатите од истражувањето се добиени со примена на анализа на содржина на стручна литература, научни трудови, извештаи и списанија, како и со анализа на официјални статистички податоци преземени од релевантни меѓународни институции. Тие ќе покажат дека процесот на транзиција се уште не е завршен поради комплексната политичка и економска ситуација што не наведува на заклучокот дека целите на

транзицијата, а тоа се економски просперитет и стабилна демократија се уште не се постигнати. Основната претпоставка на овој труд е дека предизвиците на човековата безбедност се потенцијален безбедносен ризик кој може да биде веројатна причина за обновување на конфликтите и дестабилизација на земјата главно поради неправдата. Претпоставката се заснова на фактот дека слабите демократски институции, оспорениот идентитет и бавниот економски раст се безбедносен предизвик за земјата.

Клучни зборови: човекова безбедност, Република Македонија, невработеност, сиромаштија

Abstract

Republic of Macedonia even 25 years after its independence and the beginning of the transition process is still characterized by high level of human insecurity. In developing countries such as Macedonia, primary threats to security are coming from within the national borders, expressed in economic vulnerability and weak state. Taking into consideration wide scope of issues covered by the human security concept, this research paper explores and analyses human security challenges in the country with particular reference to socio - economic and political component. With the aim to identify the key security challenges the country is facing and in view of that to propose relevant public policies that would enable strengthening of the weak state, establishing the state as a provider of human security and integrating it into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.

The research results are based on the application of content analysis of specialized literature, academic papers, репортс and media as well as analysis of official statistical data undertaken from relevant international institutions. They will show that the transition process is still unfinished due to complex political and economic situation, implying that economic prosperity and stable democracy are still not achieved. Main assumption of this paper is that human security challenges are potential security risks and might be probable cause for renewing conflicts and destabilizing the country due to injustice. The assumption is because weak democratic institutions, contested identity and slow economic growth are security challenge for the country.

Keywords: human security, Republic of Macedonia, unemployment, poverty

Introduction

Balkan Peninsula as one geographical unit is separate, peripheral part of Europe, which is at the same time it is poorest, most undeveloped and marginalized region. This region is specific according to its historical, demographic, cultural, socio-economic and political characteristics. The end of the cold war that coincides with the beginning of the globalization era was followed by many shocks that created new global socio-economic environment (Kaldor 2007, 131). At that period, Balkans was facing yet another war that followed the disintegration of former mutual federation of Yugoslavia. These wars (1991 in Slovenia, 1991-92 in Croatia, 1992-95 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1999 in Kosovo and in 2001 in Macedonia) left big trauma to the peoples of the Balkans and they are still feeling fear and insecurity (128). Today military forces from North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU) are still present in the West Balkans (in Bosna, Herzegovina, and Kosovo) in order to guarantee the regional peace and stability.

Today after long period of war and conflicts in the Balkans, a wider range of non-military is gradually replacing the dominant military security threats and challenges once. Prolonged transition that was strongly influenced by EU, United States of America (USA) and international financial institutions had serious impact upon the economy and consequently upon the social welfare, politics and the society as whole. In that way were created weak and permanently unstable states that are characterized with continuous tensions, weak political institutions, wide spread corruption, inefficient judiciary, political irresponsibility, entanglement of politics with organized crime, undeveloped civil sector and political passiveness of the people.

Transition process in Republic of Macedonia, understood as both political and economic transition, is still unfinished due to the complex political and economic situation. The country is characterized by a widening gap between the rich and the poor and delayed improvement of living standard implying that the transition goals, being economic growth that would provide economic prosperity and stable democracy that would lead to political stability, are still not achieved. The transition process emphasized the importance of human security issues. Human dimension of the security challenges in the country and the region as well could be the most probable reason for renewing the conflicts, thus the human security dimension remains to be potential security risk.

Therefore, in continuation, the research will be presented in three parts and that is description of human security paradigm, exploration and analysis of human security threats in the country and directions for concept implementation.

Human Security Concept

Security is flexible and multidimensional concept that can be understood in many ways. Within the social sciences there is no consensus regarding the meaning of the security concept. The current debate is concentrated on expanding and deepening of the security concept, but there is no consensus regarding its definition. Dominant public notion is that security refers to the state and the military forces, but actually security deals with much wider scope of issues such as political issues, human rights, minority rights, poverty, environment and other social topics. According to the most cited definition of security, proposed by Arnold Wolfers (1962) "security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked".

After the cold war numerous definitions have attempted to answer "what" the term security means in accordance with the ideologies of those defining it and even more important "how" that security is to be achieved (Iglesias 2011). In academic journal article Buzan (1991) explains that security has essential meaning for human life since the base of the security concept is survival, which implys concern for existancial conditions. He defines security as "pursuit of freedom from threats and the ability of states and the societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change which they see as hostile" (432).

Human security concept started being developed since 1994 when the term "human security" was used for the first time in the Human Development Report (HDR) prepared by United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Within the report, human security is defined as "safety from chronic threats as repression, oppression, hunger, disease and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life" (1994). In a way UNDP stressed the need of expanding the traditional security concept that refers to the "territorial security from external aggression, protection of national interests within the international relations and global security from nuclear threat" (UNDP 1994).

UN Resolution (A/RES/66/290) adopted in 2012 describes human security as "the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair". Today human security is the broadest and the deepest concept of security, which is dominating the debate in security theory and policy (Mesjasz 2004). According to the expanded definition of human security, the scope of human security threats i.e. the reasons for human insecurity are widened as well (Jolly and Ray 2006). Therefore, human security implies economic security, food security, health security, ecological security, personal security, societal security and political security. Many internal challenges to human security such as ethnic conflicts, social disintegration, famines, terrorism, pollution and drug trafficking are part of the global environment.

Human security concept provides a base for new way of thinking regarding the security relevant for the 21st century (Helsinki Plus: Towards a Human Security Architecture for Europe 2010). This paradigm offers new perspective to the security issues, because it is based on most progressive ideas and concepts of humanity and the innovation that offers could be found within the changed existential conditions of an individual. (Mitrevska 2012) The main idea integrated within the concept is that the security of an individual, the state and the society are closely interrelated (Jackson-Preece 2011). In many countries, this concept is still relatively new and it is only partly understood.

Human security paradigm is about the need for greater human security of all people and particularly of the most vulnerable category of people, most often expressed by notion "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want". In this regard, human security is public good that belongs to all and cannot be exclusive. "Human security is an empirical and analytic concept that relates to policy issues. As such, human security is concerned with the causal understanding of human conditions. In other words, it is looking at hypothetical relations between causes and effects, and eventually policy measures that should work in real life" (Tanaka 2015). Even so, its defining and implementation are still debatable.

Human security is closely linked to human development and human rights. This concept through protection of basic human freedoms and protection from various non-military threats, recognizes the inter dependence between the development, security and human rights. While human development in the HDR (1994) is defined as a process, which expands the scope of the human choice, the human security means that people can make their choice freely and safely. Contrary to that, limited human development or even absence of human development leads towards general human impoverishment i.e. poverty, famine,

diseases, permanent disparities among individuals, groups, ethnic communities or even different regions thus seriously endangering the human security.

Human security challenges in Republic of Macedonia

Human security issues in Republic of Macedonia, just like in other Balkan countries, are related to some processes, which started right at the end of the cold war when Republic of Macedonia through referendum gained its independence. At that time, the country was faced with two major challenges and those are the transition process that followed and the globalization process. Even though Republic of Macedonia gained its independence peacefully and without any violence, the fear of spilling over the armed conflicts (interethnic conflicts, civil war, NATO bombings) from the neighboring countries was endangering the security of its citizens due to the possibility of potential armed conflict, refugees (mostly from Kosovo), displaced people, illegal weapons, crime, corruption and environment degradation (Георгиева 2008).

Many problems and difficulties such as economic stagnation even economic backwardness, raising unemployment, poverty, inequality, widely spread crime and corruption emerged during the transition process. All these issues seriously threatened the human security of the people. The neoliberal transition model exacerbated already bad socio-economic conditions and created new problems on the top of the existing ones. The absence of a social component necessary to achieve social justice and common good (Bojicic-Dzelilovic и Kostovicova 2006), chosen privatization model and other reforms led to disappearance of the social state and to destruction of the social fabric of the society, thus widening the gap between the rich minority and the poor majority. Unfortunately, the transition process in Republic of Macedonia is still unfinished, which is evident through the lack of stable democracy, fragmented society, reckoning of the past, crime, corruption, high unemployment, strong national concepts, the rights of minorities and lack of political culture.

The armed conflict of 2001, which ended with Ohrid Frame Agreement, initiated the debate regarding the human rights, minority and ethnic rights as well as education in mother tongue in search of answers for reconciliation between the two major ethnic communities in Macedonia (Георгиева 2008). Some authors are on the opinion that the conflict of 2001 is actually result of organized crime i.e. criminal – extremist groups that

were involved in it and are still profiting from it (Tomovska 2008). Macedonian society as multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious might be potential security issue due to intolerance and fragile interethnic relations that indicate high degree of human insecurity.

Although armed conflicts like the one in 2001 are considered main source for human insecurity because they bring victims, suffering and material damages the National HDR on Human security in Macedonia (2001) according to its findings suggests, "The strongest source of insecurity among Macedonians is unemployment followed by low incomes from work". Other insecurities are fear of crime, impeded access to health care and education and political exclusion. The report concludes that a comprehensive engagement in practicing sustainable development may respond to the acute insecurities felt by the population.

Surviving on the margins

Findings from the Survey of Macedonian public opinion conducted on behalf of International Republican Institute by Brima market research group as of June 2015 will be used in order to determine the major reasons for concern of Macedonian citizens. According to the findings the biggest concerns of Macedonian citizens at present are unemployment 53%, poverty/low standard of living 31%, general political situation 20%, economic and financial crisis 17%, low/non-payment of salary or pension 15% and then follow corruption, high prices, poor government performance, security, name of the country etc. Data presented in table 1 are collected from more surveys of public opinion in the country during the period from 2009 to 2015. They show that major problems for Macedonian citizens are unchanged through this period.

Table 1: Most serious concerns of Macedonian citizen (Source: IRI, 2014; IRI, 2015)

CONCERN	Sep. 2009	Sep. 2010	Nov. 2012	Sep. 2014	Jun 2015
Unemployment	46%	40%	42%	44%	53%
Economic issues	15%	17%	17%	6%	17%
Low standard of living/poverty	13%	14%	13%	15%	31%
Name of the country	6%	8%	4%	6%	5%
Low/Non-payment of salary or pension	4%	4%	4%	4%	15%
General political situation	1%	2%	2%	2%	20%
Social issues	4%	2%	3%	1%	-
Corruption	2%	3%	2%	2%	8%

This indicates that the governments of Republic of Macedonia throughout its independence did not succeed to solve the problems of unemployment, poverty and low standard of living as major and long lasting problems for its citizens, which are at the same time most serious threats to human security. It is also evident that the constitutional name of the country, which is subject of negotiations within the UN, is another reason for concern of Macedonians throughout the years. This unsolved dispute with Macedonian south neighbor is creating feeling of insecurity because it is not just technical, but rather identity issue. Macedonians rightfully feel that they have been denied of their basic right of self-determination. Unfortunately, it is not only Greece that has contested the Macedonian identity. After its independence when Macedonia was, struggling for international recognition each neighbor contested some element of Macedonian identity. This sensitive problem is creating serious concerns regarding the survival of the country and has to be properly addressed in due time.

UNDP in its annual HDR has introduced Human Development Index (HDI), which measures the human development rather than economic development, in its three basic dimensions by combining three composite factors and those are life expectancy at birth (access to health), average years of schooling (access to education) and incomes (decent living standard).

Table 2: HDI for R. Macedonia and its components (Source: UNDP, 2014)

HDI rank 2013	84
HDI value 2013	0,732
Life expectancy at birth 2013 (years)	75,2
Mean years of schooling 2012 (years)	8,2
Expected years of schooling 2012 (years)	13,3
GNI per capita (2011 PPP $) 2013	11,745
HDI value 2012	0,730
Change in rank 2012-2013	1

Table 3: HDI trends in R. Macedonia for a period 1980-2013 (Source: UNDP, 2014)

HDI rank		HDI value									HDI rank change ('08-'13)
2012	2013	'80	'90	'00	'05	'08	'10	'11	'12	'13	
85	84	-	-	-	0,699	0,724	0,728	0,730	0,730	0,732	-3

Table two and three show that Republic of Macedonia with HDI value of 0,732 has high human development, which ranks the country on the 84th position out of 187 countries. Even though there is an improvement in HDI value for 2013, the trend for the country in a period 2008 to 2013 shows negative number which means decrease in ranks (which is not obvious due to certain methodological changes).

Other useful tools within HDR are Gini Coefficient that indicates the discrepancies in the income distribution i.e. inequality and recently introduced multidimensional poverty index that identifies numerous deprivations of the households about education, health and living standard. Tables four and 6 show that Macedonian citizens are justly concerned about the unemployment, which is unacceptably high over too long period, particularly among the young people. Another worrying data is coming from the value of Gini coefficient which is 43, 6 (where zero indicates absolute equality and 100 absolute inequality) and shows high degree of inequality in Macedonian society being highest in the region. Multidimensional poverty in Macedonia shows that one, 71% of its population lives in and two, 4% are near multidimensional poverty. Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line for the period 2002-2011 presented in Table 5 shows that the trend is increasing. For 2011 the ratio indicates that 27, 1% of Macedonian population is living under the poverty line.

Table 4: Human Development Indicators for the West Balkan Countries
(Source: UNDP, 2014)

Country	HDI Rank	HDI value	Gini Coefficient	Unemployment (%)		Multi-dimensional Poverty (%)	GDP per capita (2011PPP$)
				Total	Youth		
Mace-donia	84	0,732	43,56	31	53,9	1,71	11.707,98
Albania	95	0,716	34,51	13,8	22,5	1,20	9.243,37
Serbia	77	0,745	29,62	23,9	51,1	0,26	11.586,78
Monte-negro	51	0,789	28,58	19,7	41,1	3,00	14.039,78
Kosovo	-	0,786	-	30,9	55,3	-	(2005 ppp $) 9.446,00
B and H	86	0,731	36,21	28	62,8	1,70	9.183,52

Table 5: Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line (Source: World Bank, 2015)

Date	2002	2004	2005	2006	2010	2011
Value (% of population)	19,1	18,5	20,4	19,0	27,1	27,1

Table 6: Unemployment (Source: World Bank, 2015)

Date	1991	1995	2000	2005	2010	2013
Value (% of total labor force)	30,1	32,0	32,2	37,3	32,0	29,0

Table 7: GDP growth (Source: World Bank, 2015)

Date	1991	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014
Value (annual %)	-6,2	-1,1	4,5	4,7	3,4	3,8

All these data, specifically high unemployment at around 30%, slow economic growth (table 7) and average monthly salary of 300 Euros i.e. low income, can explain to some extent the massive brain drain from the country, which is potential security issue and shows high human insecurity. Unfortunately, reliable empirical evidence about the extent and the intensity of the brain drain does not exist. European statistics agency EUROSTAT in

its Report on migration said that in a time period from 1998 to 2011 about 230.000 people have left the country, which is more than 10% of its total population of 2, 1 million (Marusic 2013).

European Commission's Progress Reports for Macedonia (2014) was opened with the note that EU accession process for Macedonia is impasse. This is explained with the failure of the Council to open accession negotiations from one side and the failure of the Government to make the necessary reforms even backsliding in some areas, from another side. Even though Commission estimated that the political criteria continue to be sufficiently met, the report points out some serious concerns. Namely, it is noted that increasing politicization of public administration and state institutions combined with government control over the media led to blurring of the state and the governing party thus progressively eroded trust in state institutions. In addition, it is stressed that under the conditions of selective justice, deterioration of media freedoms, absence of public political debate and political dialog in the parliament and divisive political culture there is a renewed political crisis between the government and the opposition. The crisis worsens since February 9, 2015 when the opposition started publishing illegally intercepted communications, which revealed or confirmed systematic problems. Upon European Commission's request, a group of independent senior rule of law experts prepared a rapid analysis of the situation and provided recommendations to address the significant shortcoming identified in the following five areas: the interception of communications, judiciary and prosecution services, external oversight by independent bodies, elections and media (Senior Experts' Group on systemic Rule of Law issues 2015).

About inter-ethnic situation, which is still estimated as fragile since Ohrid Frame Agreement did not manage to overcome the lack of trust between the dominant ethnic communities, the report suggests that it should be improved by promoting inclusive multiethnic society. In relation to human rights it is stated that there is a need for effective implementation of the existing framework for protection of fundamental rights, mostly regarding the prejudice and discrimination of Roma population and intersex (LGBTI) persons (European Commission 2014). Weak rule of law and insufficient institutional capacities are seriously endangering the human security and are creating other forms of human insecurity such as corruption, personal insecurity, uncontrolled pollution, health insecurity, food insecurity and underdevelopment (Plavsin 2012).

Directions for implementation

The application of the human security concept in Republic of Macedonia will enable the identification of the key security challenges for the country, the reform efficiency assessment and will offer policy proposals for overcoming the most serious and persistent human security problems, which are also interdependent. Key challenges for adoption of human security concept is to develop procedures and institutional capacities, policies and instruments responsible for human security. Another way of achieving human security is to invest in people i.e. in their health, education and capabilities, respect of human rights and disarmament.

Human security approach should be framework for developing a set of public policies that address specific insecurities (such as democratic governance, transnational crime, human rights, poverty and basic needs); and provide protection of people (from external regional conflicts, socio-economic exploitation, and civil unrest stemming from ethnic identities, poverty and public health issues) thus promote security in politics, economy and social environment (Commission on Human Security 2003).

There are two types of possible instruments to cope with a human security threats, those that address the underlying causes of human security threats so that their occurrences and existence can be prevented and reduced; and those that reduce and minimize the damages caused by human security threats once they emerge (Tanaka 2015).

Special report commissioned by UNDP "Human security in South-East Europe" (1999) suggests that human insecurity in the region and therefore in Macedonia too is result of long-term process, which can be explained and confronted in term of "weak state". A weak state is defined "not merely as one with inefficient institutions, but one that is unable or unwilling to enforce rules or to implement consistent policies". Those states as a result are unable to deliver the rule of law, public goods and services. Therefore, one of the consequences is creation of illiberal democracies, which have been used to fuel nationalism and ethnic hatred. These weak states and illiberal democracies are major threat to human security because they are unable to solve social and ethnic problems. For that reason, it is necessary to strengthen the weak state and liberate the democracy, so it will be able to provide human security.

Another important aspect for providing greater human security in the country and the region as well is by introducing European values and harmonizing the domestic standards with the most important European ones within the field of security and

development thus strengthening the state capacity. EU has accepted the human security as a new European security doctrine i.e. security strategy for Europe in the report on the European security capacities, known as Barcelona Report (2004). In that direction, as explained in the report it is necessary to develop institutions and human capital and to introduce an element of civic education to help forge political culture. Improvements in economic security require policies that support productivity, employment creation, enterprise and human resources development. For that purpose, technological innovations are key to entrepreneurship and growth as well as development and modernization of the existing infrastructure (Human Security Agenda for the Balkans 2006).

The state is major agent in providing human security over the areas of its jurisdiction affected by human insecurity, because sovereignty is responsibility to protect its citizens and provide public, social and national security. Considering the transnational character of many human security threats and different capacity of various states in dealing with human security it is necessary to stress the important role of international community (Tanaka 2015). Therefore, the responsibility for human security and its implementation is of the national authorities and international community.

Conclusion

Consequences from the unfavorable economic performance are reflected in the social sphere as unemployment, poverty, inequality and ethnic tensions. They create the socio-economic dimension of human security and if they persist on a long run, which is happening in Republic of Macedonia, they could initiate negative processes, which might lead to a destabilization and further impoverishment of its people.

Regional threats are similar if viewed through the prism of human security. Human security concerns primarily high unemployment and poverty in the region are common. Most countries in the West Balkans are having low or lowest economic, social and development performance in Europe. Taking into consideration the new security parameters, we may conclude that human security concept is relevant and significant for the country and the region.

Since the security concept is dominantly political in its connotation the state, as a primarily political institution must form a referent point for any security paradigm that is to be accepted. (Ayoob 2005). Republic of Macedonia based upon its key strategic documents

has accepted the expanded approach to security. Accepting human security as a paradigm will require a change in attitude towards the state and strengthening of its capacity so the state will be provider of human security.

Human security concept offers an alternative approach for solving these complex problems and reducing the interdependent security threats the country is facing. Weak democratic institutions, contested identity, slow economic growth and prolonged political crisis are serious source of insecurity and threat to both human security and human development. Human security should be underlying principle for development of the country.

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