

## SECURITY STUDIES IN AND ON NORTH MACEDONIA: THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE

Islam Jusufi<sup>54</sup>

Researcher

**Abstract:** Security studies, as a discipline, has had a limited history in and on North Macedonia. No assessment has been made as to the extent of security research conducted in or on North Macedonia. The assumption is that there has been limited research conducted, which in turn has negatively impacted the visibility of the country in academic research in this field. In order to help fill the void, this article, relying on a dataset designed for this purpose, first offers an analysis of randomly selected articles published by scholars from North Macedonia between 1991 and 2022. These studies appeared in academic journals designed for the publication of scholarly works prepared by experts in their fields. The articles outline the theories and methods applied by the scholars and their geographical areas of interest. The aim is to generate previously unexplored findings on the solidity and impact of relevant research. Secondly, the article offers an analysis of randomly selected articles published between 1991 and 2022 in academic journals by foreign authors that included North Macedonia as a case study. This section aims to identify the areas in which foreign security scholars work, and the theories and methods they apply when researching North Macedonia.

**Keywords:** North Macedonia, security studies, discipline, research.

### Introduction

The discipline of security studies has enjoyed increased interest among academic and research circles in North Macedonia with a growing number of publications written by the country's security studies researchers. Although a new field for many scholars of the country, security studies has been propelled to prominence with the emergence of North Macedonia as a leading country case study in the security studies worldwide.

In recent years, there has been ever more discussion about security studies scholarship, and the trends in its development (Baele & Jalea, 2022; Wibben, 2014; Bilgin, 1999; Kolodziej, 1999; Morgan, 1999). Security studies scholars have produced numerous reflections on the state of the discipline globally. In addition to the epistemological, theoretical, and methodological debates within security studies, many national security studies communities have produced analyses of the state of the art of the discipline, the prevailing theoretical and methodological approaches, and the broader organisational culture of specific national and/or regional security studies contexts. In this context, a number of articles offering analyses of the state of the discipline in different countries and regions have been published. Literature continues to emerge on the specificities that the discipline has attained in different national contexts (Wimmer & Duncan, 2020; Calcara & Vittori, 2019;

---

<sup>54</sup> Contact address: islam.jusufi@gmail.com

Czaputowicz & Wojciuk, 2016; de Larrinaga & Salter, 2014; Rubinoff, 2006; Peou, 2002; Sullivan, 1995; Gow, 1993). Additionally, numerous research projects around the world have been devoted to documenting the state of security studies in different countries and regions. These research projects have used different methods for studying the state of the art of the security studies discipline in different national contexts. While there has been an examination of the content of the study programmes and survey research with relevant stakeholders, the main method has been mapping and assessment of the publications' records of national security studies communities. The findings of these investigations present the existence of diverse topics and theoretical and methodological approaches employed by scholars across different countries as a result of differences in the contexts. However, the community of scholars in North Macedonia, with some exceptions, has not yet taken part in these debates and has not yet diagnosed its strengths and weaknesses.

In North Macedonia, the focus of the existing research has been on the national academic community's ability to critically reflect on security developments (Vankovska & Kirkova Taneska, 2017). The quality and shape of the security studies scholarship in a given country are dependent upon the political culture, university system, institutional and organisational culture of the discipline, available national and international incentives, professional associations, and, last but not least, the way in which it is influenced by the main discourses, practices, and customs within the social sciences (Calcara & Vittori, 2019; Czaputowicz & Wojciuk, 2016). The aim of this article is to contribute to this tradition of research by providing an overview of the security studies discipline in North Macedonia. The article provides a contemporary overview of the discipline in North Macedonia by mapping the scholarly articles in international journals, thus placing scholars from North Macedonia and scholars from outside the country whose studies include North Macedonia in a wider context. A search for publications in international journals is especially important because many of North Macedonia's security studies scholars aspire to publish in international peer-reviewed journals as per requirements for their work contracts, for gaining national academic titles, and for increasing their academic visibility and relevance nationally and internationally. The aim of the article is to evaluate what has been published and by whom, including their topics as well as their theoretical and methodological approaches, as indicators of the preferences of an emerging scholarship of security studies in and on North Macedonia.

During the Cold War, security studies scholarship in North Macedonia was limited as most of the research in the field was conducted in Belgrade, the capital of then Yugoslavia, of which North Macedonia was a part. The overall Yugoslav scholarship in the field of security studies began to emerge at the time Yugoslavia was nearing dissolution. Under socialism, universities in the former Yugoslavia, including in its constituent federal republics, concentrated on teachings often tainted by indoctrination rather than research. The break-up and transformation of Yugoslavia in 1991 into several new and independent republics made it possible for the adaptation of security studies by the existing universities, and to introduce it into their study programmes and curricula. The establishment or adaptation of universities, faculties, departments, and study programmes and their internalisations as well as their participation in the European and global networks, laid a basis for the emergence of security studies in general and of the community of security studies scholars in North Macedonia over the course of the next few years. Yet, with few exceptions, this has not fully translated into prominent national research scholarship with international relevance in the

field of security studies. It has been difficult for scholars in North Macedonia to integrate closely with the international research community in the field. Indeed, there have been a limited number of quality academic research publications available which specialise in the field. Also, the majority of scholars from North Macedonia have remained confined within their institutional academic community. Nevertheless, there has been a growing awareness among North Macedonia's scholars concerning the attributes of quality research, and this has prompted North Macedonia's security studies scholars to make an effort to conform to those standards and publish.

In a separate development, North Macedonia as a country has become a major case study in security studies globally. Several prominent publications have published articles written by foreign scholars that include North Macedonia as the only case study or as one among many cases researched for the purposes of comparative analyses. Thus, while North Macedonia itself has been of high interest to security studies globally, domestic research has lagged behind. Academic publications may be regarded as an important indicator of the state of an academic discipline. Publication requires the adoption of international quality standards in research and may indicate to what extent scholars of any given country contribute to the development of the discipline nationally and internationally, and to what extent foreign scholars have contributed to the emergence of the country as relevant in the discipline. Such publications are important for documenting empirically the major features of a scholarship. In this context, this article aims to highlight the related gaps by providing a broader assessment of the writings of North Macedonia's scholars and of foreign scholars who specialised in North Macedonia from 1991 to 2022 using a dataset established for the purposes of this article (Jusufović, 2022).

This article is driven by the following questions: What is the state of security studies scholarship in North Macedonia? To what extent have North Macedonia's security studies scholars joined the international community of security studies researchers and become active participants in the academic debates? What has been the status of North Macedonia in the security studies scholarship globally? Which topics of security studies have been studied and what theories and methodologies have been applied? By addressing these questions, this article is expected to provide four main contributions to the existing academic literature. The first contribution is the mapping of North Macedonia's security studies scholars and publications that generated previously unexplored findings on the solidity, interest and impact of North Macedonia's security studies research both in North Macedonia and abroad. Second, the identification of foreign security studies scholars who study North Macedonia and their published articles that highlight the issues, events, and institutions surrounding North Macedonia that are of greatest interest to security studies globally. Third, this work contributes to the debate on the present and future status of the security studies discipline in North Macedonia and abroad. Fourth, this work may contribute to the more general debate on the quality of the security studies research in and on North Macedonia.

## **Methodology**

A dataset has been designed by the author for the purpose of this research. The dataset is labelled with the same title as this article and published as open access at the data repository Mendeley Data (Jusufović, 2022). It is also attached to this article as supplementary

data. The dataset is based on a search of journal articles in bibliographic databases such as Taylor & Francis, ScienceDirect, and Wiley Online Library. These bibliographic databases specifically include references to publications in international peer-reviewed journals and are indexed in locations such as Clarivate Analytic's Web of Science and Scopus. The search for publications was conducted from 1 March to 30 May 2022.

The dataset includes two sub-datasets. While the first sub-dataset relates to security studies articles written by scholars from North Macedonia, the second sub-dataset relates to security studies articles published by foreign authors that include North Macedonia as a case study. The dataset for each publication possesses full bibliographic information including author(s), year, title, journal name, volume and issue numbers, page numbers, and DOI number. In addition to bibliographic details, the dataset provides topics researched, theoretical and methodological approaches for each article and it also separately identifies authors in accordance to their gender and their affiliation. By providing these details, the dataset aims to identify different categories of information for the purposes of this article, but also to provide the basis for other research to be conducted by the author and/or by other authors.

This article considers publications in international peer-reviewed and indexed journals only. Books in general and national journals have been excluded. There are several important reasons for these exclusions. First, journal publications provide a direct indicator for the assessment of existing national scholarship. Journal articles play a gate-keeping role in the communication of scientific knowledge because the editors and reviewers make the decisions regarding what research to disseminate (Waever, 1998). Journal publications increasingly affect material payoffs such as promotion and career trajectories in the political economy of modern academia (Kristensen, 2018). Second, the author nonetheless is aware that publication in scientific journals is not the only way to assess scholarship in a discipline, particularly as social science research in North Macedonia has traditionally been book-oriented. Therefore, based on the limited availability of national and international indices and databases that would provide an opportunity to scan existing books, the decision was made to exclude them. Third, despite the availability of a prominent national journal on security studies, "Bezbednosni Dijalozi" ["Security Dialogues"], no journal in the field of security studies from North Macedonia is indexed in Clarivate Analytic's Web of Science or Scopus. Therefore, the choice was clear to include only international peer-reviewed and indexed journals as the basis for this analysis.

The selection of journal bibliographic databases and indices was arbitrary and they may not be a perfect indicator of the existence of journal articles, but they are considered internationally as a transparent and consistent method of scanning journals. Regarding the temporal span of the mapping of the articles, the focus was on the interval between 1991 and 2022. It is important to note that the search was conducted between March 2022 and May 2022. To categorise publications, the author relied on the information provided for each article in the relevant online bibliographic databases; where information was not available, it was tracked through internet search engines. In this way, the essential details about the articles and the authors were accounted for and documented. The articles were numbered and coded in descending order, as they were displayed in relevant online bibliographic databases, after entering a search of keywords such as "North Macedonia", "Security", "Defence", "Police", "Army", "Conflict", "Peace", etc. The relevant information

was obtained by a review of abstracts and keywords. Analysis of the entire document was conducted in instances where all necessary information did not appear in the abstract.

To understand the status of the discipline of security studies in and on North Macedonia, this article proceeds by briefly examining the history and contemporary status of the discipline in North Macedonia and its development, as well as the current organisational setting. Next, it presents the findings from an empirical analysis of the contents of articles published by North Macedonia's scholars, as this can stand as a good proxy for the state of the discipline in the country. Here it compares North Macedonia's security studies scholarship concerning the main areas of research, theories and methods applied, geographical areas of interest, and the gender of the authors. Then, the same approach is applied to the study of foreign security studies scholarship on North Macedonia. In the conclusion, it discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the discipline of security studies in and on North Macedonia.

### **The security studies discipline in North Macedonia**

Security studies as a subfield of political science or of international relations came into existence in North Macedonia much later than in the West and in the other states of Central and Eastern Europe. The most prominent university in the country, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University located in Skopje established the Institute of Security, Defence and Peace in 1975. Today, the University offers study programmes in the fields of security, defence, peace and private security, with degrees awarded at the Bachelor's, Master's, and PhD levels. The Faculty of Security at the University St Kliment Ohridski Bitola was established in 1973. After several transformations, the University today offers security study programmes at the Bachelor's, Master's, and PhD levels.

Entering the late 1990s, the universities began to pay more attention to security studies due to security developments within the country, in the wider region of the Balkans, and in response to global security events. The Military Academy was established in 1995 initially as part of the Ministry of Defence, later becoming an integral part of the University Goce Delchev – Shtip. The Military Academy continues to offer studies for future army officers as well as studies in related fields in three cycles. In addition, other private and non-profit universities and research institutes with a focus on security issues were established. Textbooks, academic books and journals on the issue were published and a number of academic conferences were organised to further solidify security studies as a serious field. Many students and scholars from North Macedonia went abroad to study and research and many Western scholars came to teach security studies at universities in North Macedonia. The academic exchanges and faculty training programs with the West in security studies became more active. At the same time, security studies scholars in North Macedonia also gained greater access to academic publishing. There are three groups of security studies scholars: (1) university professors; (2) researchers in universities and institutes; and (3) researchers in non-governmental organisations. The first group focuses on more general and theoretical teaching and research. The second group conducts basically theoretical and policy-oriented research. The third group provides policy reports to the public.

Despite these initial successes, the discipline of theoretical security studies in North Macedonia has suffered from a severe lack of critical mass, institutionalisation,

influence and visibility both abroad and in the country itself, partly for reasons which are unique to North Macedonia. More specifically, the limited institutionalisation of security studies in North Macedonia is demonstrated by the lack of economies of scale due to the small and continually declining population. The shrinking population has resulted in the availability of fewer professors and researchers, the equally limited number of theoretical study programmes in security studies, and the limited availability of North Macedonia's security studies literature abroad. However, recent efforts and publications have provided for the birth of a profile of North Macedonia's security studies discipline. We can say that security studies are by now an emerging subject within the social science landscape of North Macedonia as shown by the greater numbers of security studies programmes, scholars and students. Investigating the security studies-related articles published in the international journals provides an overview of the topics researched and the weight of North Macedonia's security studies contributions. North Macedonia was previously a marginal topic in the journals. However, both North Macedonia as a country and its security studies scholars lately have gained much more space and impact in the journals.

The field of security studies in North Macedonia has made great progress since the turn of the century, but the situation remains far from satisfactory. The overarching constraint is structural, due to the social setting in which the study of security in North Macedonia takes place. There is a deficiency of qualified academic scholarship. Most of the existing national security studies scholarship publications focus on policy-oriented issues; very few of them are academic or theoretical in nature. In addition, national and international research projects remain challenging to undertake. There is limited national funding available. Accessing international funds is a difficult endeavour as North Macedonia's community of scholars is involved in collaboration with European researchers on a limited basis. There have been very few international research projects concerning security studies conducted in partnership with Western research institutions. Published papers are rarely the final result of long-term research conducted by scholars. Although there have been an increasing number of conferences organised in the field of security studies, there have been limited theoretical dialogues or communications between national scholars and foreign scholars. There have yet to be in-depth discussions in the area of security studies theorisation. There is limited space for publishing in the country; only a few journals are published in North Macedonia. There does not yet exist an association of security studies, international relations or political science scholars. Also, contemporary security studies scholarship in North Macedonia remains an eclectic set of different approaches; the research field combines contemporary history, sociology, law and political science. The lack of firm grounding in theory and methodology has deprived national security studies scholarship of the deeper roots necessary to build quality research and to offer distinct insight into the current reality of security studies. Western scholars who have worked in Central and Eastern European countries also point out the low level of theory and methodology teaching, which has resulted in the weakness of the social science disciplines (Guzzini, 2007).

Some positive recent developments should be pointed out, mainly owing to the strong incentives for publications coming from higher education policy focused on introducing internationalisation standards. A positive impulse may come from the recent reform of research policy, which is introducing new standards for the evaluation of

research activities and pushing scholars out of their comfort zones. The new system, even if frequently criticised by the academic milieu, is becoming more similar to the Western system by using international benchmarks and forcing scholars and research institutions to internationalise. The fundamental diagnosis is that, in the contemporary world, it is impossible to conduct research detached from the international context, placing much more emphasis on the quality of research, measured in large part by publication in peer-reviewed journals. Academic titles are awarded based on publication productivity. The new system of granting academic degrees encourages scholars to internationalise their research. There is a strong incentive to publish more in English and to introduce peer-review standards. There is also a group of Macedonian scholars, or individuals of with origin from North Macedonia, who work in the West. These reforms and developments may help and encourage scholars to publish abroad, improve the quality of academic publications, and establish international research collaboration. Yet, North Macedonia's security studies scholars face difficulties in adjusting to the prevailing model in the English-speaking world. Very few working in North Macedonia have papers published in internationally-renowned journals or see their books published by reputable international publishing houses.

### **Empirical analysis of the publications by scholars from North Macedonia**

The dataset that provides a mapping of the existence and number of publications in the field of security studies by scholars from North Macedonia and analysis of their content identifies the issues that receive the attention of security studies scholars from North Macedonia. It describes which topics are of greatest interest, which paradigms are used in research and which methods are employed. It highlights the geographic regions that receive the greatest focus and attention from researchers. It also provides the bibliographic details as well as the gender and affiliation of the scholars.

As per the number of articles published in international peer-reviewed and indexed journals is concerned, the dataset identifies, in total, 17 articles in the field of security studies published by scholars from North Macedonia. There were no articles published in the 1990s; all of the articles were published after the year 2008. In terms of where these articles appeared, there is an equal distribution between subject-focused journals and journals which focused on a particular region, i.e., Europe or the Balkans.

Regarding the topics of interest, the dataset illustrates that scholars from North Macedonia are more interested in conflicts, state-building, mythology, and foreign policy. In analysing the security studies theories studied and applied in North Macedonia's publications, the dataset illustrates that the articles published in North Macedonia's publications rarely refer to any theoretical frameworks. The majority of the texts can be classified as descriptive and not rooted in the theories of security studies. Nevertheless, for the most part, the paradigms applied are related to human security, conflict management and prevention, and peace-building. Referring to the methods applied the dataset shows that the qualitative method dominates and North Macedonia's scholars usually apply single case studies. None of the North Macedonia's publications included in the dataset has used quantitative methods. One can see a continued lack of sophistication in theories and methods. It is common to find qualitative-based and descriptive papers.

The home country – North Macedonia – is the most frequently covered country in the research, as the dataset demonstrates. The articles in North Macedonia's publications are primarily focused on North Macedonia itself as a country case study, which, in part, can be explained by the fact that there are numerous articles on single case studies, while there are relatively few theoretical papers. A dominant drive towards a North Macedonia-centred approach remains. There is no clearly original specialisation that North Macedonia's scholars can be proud of, although anecdotal evidence says that European Studies, and especially Balkan Studies, are a strong point.

Regarding the affiliation of the authors from North Macedonia, the dataset shows a predominance of scholars working in North Macedonia's universities and research institutes, with few working in European or North American institutions. As far as the gender of the authors is concerned, approximately 50% of the authors were females.

### **Empirical analysis of the foreign author publications on North Macedonia**

The dataset also provides a mapping of the publications in the field of security studies by foreign scholars on North Macedonia. It describes which topics are of greatest interest, which paradigms are used in research and which methods are employed. It also provides the bibliographic details and details such as gender and affiliation of the foreign scholars.

As per the number of articles published with a focus on North Macedonia in international peer-reviewed and indexed journals by foreign security studies scholars is concerned, the dataset identifies, in total, 46 articles. North Macedonia caught the attention of foreign scholars as a country of great interest beginning in the mid-1990s and continues unabated to date. In terms of publication, there is an equal distribution between subject-focused journals and journals with a focus on a particular region.

Regarding the topics of interest, the dataset shows that foreign scholars when researching North Macedonia are primarily interested in conflict. In analysing the security studies theories studied and applied in these publications, the dataset illustrates that the articles published on North Macedonia often refer to paradigms related to conflicts, including conflict management and prevention, reconciliation, and peace-building. Referring to the methods applied, the dataset shows that, with the exception of one article, qualitative and ethnographic methods dominate the foreign scholarship, and generally North Macedonia is either a single case study or is one of many case studies researched.

Regarding the affiliation of the foreign authors, the dataset shows a predominance of scholars working in universities and research institutes in North America and the UK, with some working in continental European institutions and Australian universities. As far as the gender of the authors is concerned, approximately 50% of the authors were females.

### **Conclusions**

Through the construction of a database that includes international peer-reviewed and indexed journals, this article aimed to map and assess the impact of foreign and North Macedonia's domestic scholarly production in security studies and to evaluate who is publishing and where. In scrutinising the extent of North Macedonia's exposure to security studies academic publishing, this study makes a contribution to the empirical literature



on the assessment of the state of the art of the discipline in and on North Macedonia. This mapping and assessment detailed the progress that North Macedonia's scholars had achieved and sought to identify their impact. It also reviewed the tendencies of research of global security studies on North Macedonia. Thus far, North Macedonia has been able to lay down the main pillars of its security studies discipline. Academic publishing has been part of the efforts to further the development of the discipline at home and abroad. Examining the content of the publications gives insight into the tendencies in the field.

The productivity of North Macedonia's scholars as measured by the number of publications registered in the dataset appears to be low and the interest to publish internationally seems to be quite recent. Most of North Macedonia's security studies scholars are affiliated with home universities and institutions. The research shows that among North Macedonia's publications the descriptive and qualitative approach with North Macedonia itself as the main case study has been the predominant approach with limited attempts for theoretical generalisations. With few exceptions, no work has been done on other countries as case studies.

The trends in North Macedonia are similar to the international trends as per the topics of the research, as most of the research is on conflict management and prevention and peace-building. Also, the results suggest that there is no structural gender gap in both North Macedonia's and foreign scholarship. There is a relatively equal share of female-authored publications in both North Macedonia's and foreign publications. However, the number of articles published by foreign scholars is far higher than those written by North Macedonia's scholars. There is co-authorship among foreign and North Macedonia's scholars; although few in number, it is an emerging phenomenon. North Macedonia as a case remains of high interest to foreign security studies scholarship. While the qualitative methods remain the dominant approach in foreign scholarship, there is a tendency to include North Macedonia as part of quantitative studies. An interesting finding is that scholars from continental European institutions have demonstrated less interest in researching North Macedonia than scholars from institutions in North America and the UK.

This article, aside from developing an innovative working method and generating unexplored findings on North Macedonia's approach to security studies, aims to provide potentially new and fruitful avenues for future research. One avenue would be to expand the methodological approach proposed in the article and in the database, in terms of the types of publications to be considered and it can be extended to include international books. It would be interesting to extend the database to include books, allowing us to make a comparison between published articles and books. Another avenue can be to expand the database with nationally published articles and books. A third avenue can be to complement the methodology with other techniques in analysing the dataset. This article and potentially future related research on this topic would allow for the development of a more complete picture of the status of the security studies discipline in North Macedonia, North Macedonia's approach to security studies, as well as changes in the focus and areas of interest of research in and on North Macedonia in security studies globally.

Dataset

Sub-dataset 1: Authors in/from North Macedonia

**Table 1:** Bibliographic data

No in Dataset	Author/s	Year	Title	Name of Journal/ Publisher	Vol/ Issue/ Pages	DOI
1	Zhidas Daskalovski	2008	The Independence of Kosovo and the Consolidation of Macedonia - A Reason to Worry?	Journal of Contemporary European Studies	16:2, 267-280	10.1080/14782800802310035
2	Anastas Vangeli	2011	Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: the origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia	Nationalities Papers	39:1, 13-32	10.1080/00905992.2010.532775
3	Islam Jusufi	2018	Reconceptualising the security in discourse: inclusive security and popular protests	Journal of Multicultural Discourses	13:4, 362-376	10.1080/17447143.2018.1552701
4	Biljana Vankovska & Rina Kirkova Taneska	2017	The Study of Things Military in the Republic of Macedonia (1991–2015): Flying in Place	The Journal of Slavic Military Studies	30:3, 381-398	10.1080/13518046.2017.1341770
5	Biljana Vankovska	2007	The Human Security Doctrine for Europe: A View from Below	International Peacekeeping	14:2, 264-281	10.1080/13533310601150891
6	Biljana Vankovska	2020	Geopolitics of the Prespa Agreement: Background and After-Effects	Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies	22:3, 343-371	10.1080/19448953.2020.1739880
7	Zoran Ilievski & Dane Talevski	2009	Was the EU's Role in Conflict Management in Macedonia a Success?	Ethnopolitics	8:3-4, 355-367	10.1080/17449050903086955
8	Marija Milenkovska & Frosina Taševska Remenski	2016	Macedonia after the 2001 conflict: towards social cohesion and reconciliation?	Southeast European and Black Sea Studies	16:3, 447-459	10.1080/14683857.2016.1204731

9	Cvete Koneska	2017	On peace negotiations and institutional design in Macedonia: social learning and lessons learned from Bosnia and Herzegovina	Peacebuilding	5:1, 36-50	10.1080/21647259.2016.1264919
10	(Nevena Nancheva) & Cvete Koneska	2015	Europeanization Without Europe: The Curious Case of Bulgarian-Macedonian Relations	European Politics and Society	16:2, 224-240	10.1080/23745118.2014.996325
11	(Iztok Prezelj) & Teodora Tea Ristevska	2022	Intelligence scandals: a comparative analytical model and lessons learned from the test case of North Macedonia	Intelligence and National Security		10.1080/02684527.2022.2065616
12	(Edward P. Joseph) & Ognen Vangelov	2018	Breakthrough in the Balkans: Macedonia's New Name	Survival	60:4, 37-44	10.1080/00396338.2018.1495426
13	Ognen Vangelov	2019	The Primordialisation of Ethnic Nationalism in Macedonia	Europe-Asia Studies	71:2, 203-224	10.1080/09668136.2018.1562043
14	Ana Tomovska Misoska	2014	Giving children space to express themselves: exploring children's views and perspectives of contact programmes in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Macedonia	Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education	44:5, 778-800	10.1080/03057925.2013.792665
15	Ana Tomovska Misoska & (Rebecca Loader)	2021	The role of school-based contact in reducing social distance: qualitative insights from Northern Ireland and the Republic of North Macedonia	Journal of Peace Education	18:2, 182-208	10.1080/17400201.2021.1927685

16	Risto Karajkov	2008	Macedonia's 2001 ethnic war: Offsetting conflict. What could have been done but was not?	Conflict, Security & Development	8:4, 451-490	10.1080/14678800802539333
17	Islam Jusufi	2018	Aid and its impact on domestic change: The case of police reforms in Macedonia	Development Policy Review	36:6, 743-758	10.1111/dpr.12343

**Table 2:** Approach data

No in Dataset	Area studied	Theoretical approach	Methodological approach
1	Conflicts	European integration	Qualitative
2	Mythology	Nation-building	Qualitative
3	Protests	Security studies	Discourse analysis
4	Academic studies	Military studies	Qualitative
5	Peacekeeping	Human Security	Qualitative
6	Foreign Policy	Geopolitics	Qualitative
7	State-building	Conflict Management	Qualitative
8	Conflicts	Reconciliation	Qualitative
9	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Qualitative
10	Foreign Policy	Europeanisation	Qualitative
11	Intelligence	Intelligence studies	Qualitative
12	Foreign Policy	Conflict Management	Qualitative
13	Mythology	Nation-building	Qualitative
14	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Ethnographic
15	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Ethnographic
16	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
17	State-building	Police reform	Qualitative

**Table 3:** Affiliation data

No in Dataset	Gender of author	Affiliation of author
1	Male	University of Kliment Ohridski, Skopje, North Macedonia.
2	Male	Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw, Poland
3	Male	Researcher, Skopje, North Macedonia (Epoka University, Tirana, Albania)
4a	Female	Institute for Security, Defence and Peace Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, North Macedonia

4b	Female	Institute for Security, Defence and Peace Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, North Macedonia
5	Female	Institute for Security, Defence and Peace Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, North Macedonia
6	Female	Institute for Security, Defence and Peace Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, North Macedonia
7a	Male	St Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, North Macedonia
7b	Male	Researcher, Skopje, North Macedonia (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary)
8a	Female	Faculty of Security – Skopje, University St. Kliment Ohridski – Bitola, Skopje, North Macedonia
8b	Female	Faculty of Security – Skopje, University St. Kliment Ohridski – Bitola, Skopje, North Macedonia
9	Female	Researcher, North Macedonia (St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK)
10	Female	Researcher, North Macedonia (St Antony’s College, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK)
11	Female	Researcher, North Macedonia (University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia)
12	Male	Researcher, North Macedonia (Queens University, Canada)
13	Male	Researcher, North Macedonia (Queens University, Canada)
14	Female	University American College Skopje, Skopje, North Macedonia
15	Female	University American College Skopje, Skopje, North Macedonia
16	Male	Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, Skopje, North Macedonia
17	Male	Researcher, Skopje, North Macedonia (Epoka University, Tirana, Albania)

**Sub-dataset 2: Authors from outside North Macedonia**

No in Dataset	Author(s)	Year	Title	Name of Journal/Publisher	Vol:Issue, Pages	DOI
1	Robert Hislope	2003	Between a bad peace and a good war: insights and lessons from the almost-war in Macedonia	Ethnic and Racial Studies	26:1, 129-151	10.1080/01419870022000025306
2	Robert Hislope	2002	Organized Crime in a Disorganized State: How Corruption Contributed to Macedonia’s Mini-War	Problems of Post-Communism	49:3, 33-41	10.1080/10758216.2002.11655987

3	Robert Hislope	2004	Crime and Honour in a Weak State: Paramilitary Forces and Violence in Macedonia	Problems of Post-Communism	51:3, 18-26	10.1080/10758216.2004.11052166
4	Vasiliki P. Neofotistos	2004	Beyond Stereotypes: Violence and the Porousness of Ethnic Boundaries in the Republic of Macedonia	History and Anthropology	15:1, 1-36	10.1080/027572004200191046
5	Dawn Walsh	2019	Constitutional courts as arbiters of post-conflict territorial self-government: Bosnia and Macedonia	Regional & Federal Studies	29:1, 67-90	10.1080/13597566.2018.1511980
6	Idlir Lika	2021	Nationhood cleavages and ethnic conflict: A comparative analysis of post-communist Bulgaria, Montenegro, and North Macedonia	Mediterranean Politics		10.1080/13629395.2021.1980263
7	Fabio Mattioli	2012	Conflicting Conviviality: Ethnic Forms of Resistance to Border-making at the Bottom of the US Embassy of Skopje, Macedonia	Journal of Borderlands Studies	27:2, 185-198	10.1080/08865655.2012.687214
8	Max Holleran & Fabio Mattioli	2022	From modernism to kitsch: the aesthetics of corruption and nationalism in Bulgaria and Macedonia	Urban Geography	43:1, 81-100	10.1080/02723638.2020.1840120
9	Gus Xhudo	1993	Macedonia: The trouble from within	Terrorism and Political Violence	5:4, 311-335	10.1080/09546559308427231
10	Stuart J. Kaufman	1996	Preventive peacekeeping, ethnic violence, and Macedonia	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	19:3, 229-246	10.1080/10576109608436007
11	Alice Hills	2004	Macedonia and Albania	The Adelphi Papers	44:371, 59-76	10.1080/05679320412331340507
12	Fabian Schmidt	1998	Enemies Far and Near: Macedonia's Fragile Stability	Problems of Post-Communism	45:4, 22-31	10.1080/10758216.1998.11655796
13	P. H. Liotta	2000	The 'future' Republic of Macedonia: The last best hope	European Security	9:1, 68-97	10.1080/09662830008407440
14	P. H. Liotta & Cindy R. Jebb	2002	Cry, the imagined country: Legitimacy and the fate of Macedonia	European Security	11:1, 49-80	10.1080/09662830208407524

15	P. H. Liotta	2003	Spill over effect: after-shocks in Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia	European Security	12:1, 82-108	10.1080/09662830412331308016
16	Alex J. Bellamy	2002	The new wolves at the door: Conflict in Macedonia	Civil Wars	5:1, 117-144	10.1080/13698240208402497
17	Maria Koinova	2009	Why Do Ethnonational Conflicts Reach Different Degrees of Violence? Insights from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Bulgaria during the 1990s	Nationalism and Ethnic Politics	15:1, 84-108	10.1080/13537110802672412
18	Pavlos I. Koktsidis	2014	How Conflict Spreads: Opportunity Structures and the Diffusion of Conflict in the Republic of Macedonia	Civil Wars	16:2, 208-238	10.1080/13698249.2014.927703
19	Pavlos I. Koktsidis	2013	Nipping an Insurgency in the Bud—Part I: Theory and Practice of Non-military Coercion in FYR Macedonia	Ethnopolitics	12:2, 183-200	10.1080/17449057.2012.705070
20	Pavlos I. Koktsidis	2013	Nipping an Insurgency in the Bud—Part II: The Success and Limits of Non-military Coercion in FYR Macedonia	Ethnopolitics	12:3, 290-306	10.1080/17449057.2012.713206
21	Pavlos I. Koktsidis	2019	The Decision to Use Violence: Opportunity Structures and the Albanian Insurgency in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Ethnopolitics	18:4, 383-405	10.1080/17449057.2019.1614310
22	Pavlos Ioannis Koktsidis	2014	From deprivation to violence? Examining the violent escalation of conflict in the Republic of Macedonia	Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict	7:1, 1-29	10.1080/17467586.2013.876505
23	Eli Stamnes	2004	Critical security studies and the United Nations preventive deployment in Macedonia	International Peacekeeping	11:1, 161-181	10.1080/1353331042000228508
24	Sabrina Petra Ramet	1995	All Quiet on the Southern Front? Macedonia between the Hammer and the Anvil	Problems of Post-Communism	42:6, 29-36	10.1080/10758216.1995.11655647
25	Dawn Tankersley	2001	Bombs or Bilingual Programmes? Dual-language Immersion, Transformative Education and Community Building in Macedonia	International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism	4:2, 107-124	10.1080/13670050108667722

26	Justin L. C. Eldridge	2002	Playing at peace: Western politics, diplomacy and the stabilization of Macedonia	European Security	11:3, 46-90	10.1080/09662830208407538
27	Karin Dyrstad, Halvard Buhaug, Kristen Ringdal, Albert Simkus & Ola Listhaug	2011	Micro foundations of Civil Conflict Reconciliation: Ethnicity and Context	International Interactions	37:4, 363-387	10.1080/03050629.2011.622627
28	Kristen Ringdal, Albert Simkus & Ola Listhaug	2007	Disaggregating Public Opinion on the Ethnic Conflict in Macedonia	International Journal of Sociology	37:3, 75-95	10.2753/IJS0020-7659370304
29	Ulf Brunnbauer	2004	Fertility, families and ethnic conflict: Macedonians and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia, 1944-2002	Nationalities Papers	32:3, 565-598	10.1080/0090599042000246406
30	Arianna Piacentini	2019	"Trying to Fit In": Multi-ethnic Parties, Ethno-Clientelism, and Power-Sharing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia	Nationalism and Ethnic Politics	25:3, 273-291	10.1080/13537113.2019.1639426
31	Alice Ackermann	2002	Macedonia in a post-peace agreement environment: A role for conflict prevention and reconciliation	The International Spectator	37:1, 71-82	10.1080/03932720208456963
32	Alice Ackermann & Antonio Pala	1996	From peacekeeping to preventive deployment: A study of the United Nations in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	European Security	5:1, 83-97	10.1080/09662839608407255
33	Radoslava Stefanova	1997	Preventing violent conflict in Europe: The case of Macedonia	The International Spectator	32:3-4, 99-120	10.1080/03932729708456786
34	Suzette R. Grillot & Rebecca J. Cruise	2014	Building trust and a sense of community in the Western Balkans: they shall overcome (their violent pasts)?	Southeast European and Black Sea Studies	14:4, 508-529	10.1080/14683857.2014.967943



35	Jenny Engström	2002	The power of perception: The impact of the Macedonian question on inter ethnic relations in the Republic of Macedonia	Global Review of Ethnopolitics	1:3, 3-17	10.1080/14718800208405102
36	Miroslav Baros	2003	The Macedonian Conflict and International Law: Self-Determination or Self-Defence?	International Peace-keeping	10:3, 60-78	10.1080/13533310308559336
37	Giuditta Fontana	2016	Religious education after conflicts: promoting social cohesion or entrenching existing cleavages?	Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education	46:5, 811-831	10.1080/03057925.2015.1099422
38	Giuditta Fontana	2021	Does Education Help the Transition out of Power-Sharing in Plural Societies? A Comparative Study	Ethnopolitics	20:4, 385-405	10.1080/17449057.2019.1595909
39	Giuditta Fontana, Markus B. Siewert & Christalla Yakinthou	2021	Managing War-to-Peace Transitions after Intra-State Conflicts: Configurations of Successful Peace Processes	Journal of Intervention and State building	15:1, 25-47	10.1080/17502977.2020.1770479
40	Giuditta Fontana	2016	Educational decentralisation in post-conflict societies: approaches and constraints	Third World Thematic: A TWQ Journal	1:6, 857-878	10.1080/23802014.2016.1338921
41	Erich Frankland	1995	Struggling with collective security and recognition in Europe: The case of the Macedonian republic	European Security	4:2, 354-379	10.1080/09662839508407223
42	Dean Katsiyannis	1996	Hyper-nationalism and irredentism in the Macedonian region: Implications for US policy, part I	European Security	5:2, 324-360	10.1080/09662839608407270
43	Dean Katsiyannis	1996	Hyper-nationalism and irredentism in the Macedonian region: Implications for US policy, part I	European Security	5:3, 470-512	10.1080/09662839608407281
44	John Marks & Eran Fraenkel	1997	Working to Prevent Conflict in the New Nation of Macedonia	Negotiation Journal	13:3, 243-252	10.1111/j.1571-9979.1997.tb00130.x

45	Nikolaos Zahariadis	2003	External Interventions and Domestic Ethnic Conflict in Yugoslav Macedonia	Political Science Quarterly	118:2, 259-279	10.1002/j.1538-165X.2003.tb00394.x
46	Loring M. Danforth	1995	Transnational Influences on National Conflict: The Macedonian Question	PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review	18: 19-34	10.1525/pol.1995.18.1.19

**Table 2:** Approach data

No in Data-set	Area studied	Theoretical approach	Methodological approach
1	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
2	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
3	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
4	Conflicts	Inter-ethnic relations	Ethnographic
5	Conflicts	Power-sharing arrangement	Qualitative
6	Conflicts	Nation-building	Ethnographic
7	Conflicts	Inter-ethnic relations	Ethnographic
8	Conflicts	Nation-building	Ethnographic
9	Conflicts	Terrorism	Qualitative
10	Conflicts	Peacekeeping	Qualitative
11	Border security	Security studies	Qualitative
12	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
13	Conflicts	Security studies	Qualitative
14	Conflicts	Security studies	Qualitative
15	Conflicts	Security studies	Qualitative
16	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
17	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
18	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
19	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
20	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
21	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
22	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
23	Conflicts	Peacekeeping	Qualitative
24	Conflicts	Security studies	Qualitative
25	Conflicts	Inter-ethnic relations	Ethnographic
26	Conflicts	Security studies	Qualitative
27	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Ethnographic
28	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Ethnographic
29	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Ethnographic

30	Conflicts	Power-sharing arrangement	Qualitative
31	Conflicts	Conflict studies	Qualitative
32	Conflicts	Peacekeeping	Qualitative
33	Conflicts	Conflict prevention	Qualitative
34	Conflicts	Conflict prevention	Qualitative
35	Conflicts	Inter-ethnic relations	Ethnographic
36	Conflicts	Peacekeeping	Qualitative
37	Conflicts	Inter-ethnic relations	Ethnographic
38	Conflicts	Power-sharing arrangement	Qualitative
39	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Quantitative
40	Conflicts	Peacebuilding	Qualitative
41	European security	Security studies	Qualitative
42	European security	Security studies	Qualitative
43	European security	Security studies	Qualitative
44	Conflicts	Conflict prevention	Ethnographic
45	Conflicts	State-building	Qualitative
46	Conflicts	Conflict prevention	Ethnographic

**Table 3:** Affiliation data

No in Data-set	Gender of author	Affiliation of author
1	Male	Union College, USA
2	Male	Union College, USA
3	Male	Union College, USA
4	Female	University at Buffalo, USA
5	Female	University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland
6	Male	Istanbul Gelişim University, Istanbul, Turkey
7	Male	University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia
8a	Male	University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia
8b	Male	University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia
9	Male	University of St Andrews, UK
10	Male	University of Kentucky, USA
11	Female	University of Leeds
12	Male	Researcher
13	Male	US Naval War College, USA
14a	Male	US Naval War College, USA
14b	Female	US Military Academy, West Point, USA
15	Male	US Naval War College, USA
16	Male	University of Queensland, Australia
17	Female	Dartmouth College, USA

18	Male	University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus
19	Male	University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus
20	Male	University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus
21	Male	University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus
22	Male	University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus
23	Female	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway
24	Female	Norwegian University of Science & Technology, Norway
25	Female	Researcher, USA
26	Male	Researcher, USA
27a	Female	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
27b	Male	Peace Research Institute Oslo, Norway
27c	Male	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
27d	Male	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
27e	Female	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
28a	Female	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
28b	Male	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
28c	Female	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway
29	Male	University of Regensburg, Germany
30	Female	EURAC Research, Bolzano, Italy
31	Female	George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, Garmisch Partenkirchen, Germany
32a	Female	George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, Garmisch Partenkirchen, Germany
32b	Male	Researcher
33	Female	Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, Italy
34a	Female	University of Oklahoma, USA
34b	Female	University of Oklahoma, USA
35	Female	London School of Economics and Political Science, UK
36	Male	Sheffield Hallam University, UK
37	Female	University of Birmingham, UK
38	Female	University of Birmingham, UK
39a	Female	University of Birmingham, UK
39b	Male	TU Munich, Munich, Germany
39c	Female	University of Birmingham, UK
40	Female	University of Birmingham, UK
41	Male	University of Oklahoma, USA
42	Male	Researcher
43	Male	Researcher
44a	Male	Researcher
44b	Male	Researcher
45	Male	University of Alabama at Birmingham, USA.

Sources: Taylor & Francis Online, <https://www.tandfonline.com>; ScienceDirect, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/>; Wiley Online Library, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/> (Period of search: 1 March – 30 May 2022)

## References

- Baele, Stephane J, & Diana Jalea. (2022). Twenty-Five Years of Securitization Theory: A Corpus-Based Review. *Political Studies Review*. DOI: 10.1177/14789299211069499
- Bilgin, Pinar. (1999). Security studies: Theory/practice. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 12(2), 31-42. DOI: 10.1080/09557579908400239
- Calcara, Antonio, and Vittori, Davide. (2019). Italians do it better? The Italian approach to the international relations. *European Political Science*, 18(2), 669-694. DOI: 10.1057/s41304-019-00207-3
- Czaputowicz, Jacek, & Anna Wojciuk. (2016). IR scholarship in Poland: the state of the discipline 25 years after the transition to democracy. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 19(3): 448-474. DOI: 10.1057/jird.2014.21.
- de Larrinaga, Miguel, & Mark B. Salter. (2014). Cold CASE: a manifesto for Canadian critical security studies. *Critical Studies on Security*, 2(1), 1-19. DOI: 10.1080/21624887.2013.864911
- Gow, James. (1993). Yugoslav studies and security studies: The future. *Journal of Area Studies*, 1(3), 169-176. DOI: 10.1080/02613539308455697
- Guzzini, Stefano. (2007). Theorising International Relations: Lessons from Europe's Periphery. *Danish Institute for International Studies, Working Paper 2007/30*.
- Jusufi, Islam. (2022). *Security Studies in and on North Macedonia: the state of the discipline*. [Dataset]. Mendeley Data, V1. DOI: 10.17632/2pfdd856bb.1. <https://data.mendeley.com/datasets/2pfdd856bb/1>.
- Kolodziej, Edward A. (1999). Security studies for the next millennium: Quo vadis? *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20(3), 18-38. DOI: 10.1080/13523269908404229
- Kristensen, Peter Marcus. (2018). International Relations at the End: A Sociological Autopsy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(2): 245-259. DOI: 10.1093/isq/sqy002.
- Morgan, Patrick M. (1999). Liberalist and realist security studies at 2000: Two decades of progress? *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20(3), 39-71. DOI: 10.1080/13523269908404230
- Peou, Sorpong. (2002). Realism and constructivism in Southeast Asian security studies today: a review essay. *The Pacific Review*, 15(1), 119-138. DOI: 10.1080/09512740110110882
- Rubinoff, Arthur. (2006). The State of Political Science and Security Studies of India in the United States: Increased Importance but Declining Academic Attention. *India Review*, 5(1), 62-90. DOI: 10.1080/14736480600742635

- Sullivan, David. (1995). The poverty of Australian defence and security studies: The 'secure Australia project' and its critics. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 30(1), 146-157. DOI: 10.1080/00323269508402329
- Vankovska, Biljana & Rina Kirkova Taneska. (2017). The Study of Things Military in the Republic of Macedonia (1991–2015): Flying in Place. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 30(3), 381-398. DOI: 10.1080/13518046.2017.1341770.
- Waever, Ole. (1998). The sociology of a not so international discipline: American and European developments in international relations. *International Organization* 52(4): 687–727. DOI: 10.1162/002081898550725.
- Wibben, Annick T.R. (2014). Researching feminist security studies. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 743-755. DOI: 10.1080/10361146.2014.971100
- Wimmer, Andreas, Duncan Bare & William B. Duncan. (2020). Austrian Intelligence Reform: do intelligence and security studies have a future in Austria? *Journal of Intelligence History*, 19(1), 92-102. DOI: 10.1080/16161262.2019.1697540

## THE EFFECTS OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

**Zoran Vasileski**<sup>55</sup>

PhD candidate

**Stojanche Masevski**<sup>56</sup>

PhD candidate

**Abstract:** As of June 2021, the pandemic has killed over four million people and continues to impact healthcare systems, the economy and governance. Though the pandemic has affected all world regions, it has significantly impacted the most impoverished and vulnerable.

The COVID-19 outbreak forced peace and security actors to quickly adapt to a 'new normal' and reorganize their work to continue operating in this new context. Some of the sudden adopted changes initially meant to be temporary seem to be destined to remain in place and have the potential to reshape the sector in the medium to long term. The COVID-19 health crisis has a direct impact on many aspects of the civil dimension of security especially on human security, health security, food security and economic security. The economic and political implications of the pandemic will ripple through the world for years. The pandemic is raising geopolitical tensions, and great powers are jockeying for advantage and influence. States are struggling to cooperate and in some cases are undermining cooperation to respond to the pandemic and its economic fallout.

The post-coronavirus world could be a world of intensified nationalist rivalries on the economic revival and political influence. However, strengthening cooperation among nations at different levels will lead to the growth of health, economy, and security. While much remains uncertain, it is clear COVID-19 is both a multidimensional crisis and an opportunity for change.

**Keywords:** effects, COVID-19, peace, security

### 1. Introduction

The scale and global impact of the COVID-19 pandemic highlights the severity of the threat that phenomena and situations falling outside the traditional military security paradigm can pose to international peace and security. Already the COVID-19 pandemic (and the responses and reactions to it) has had an adverse impact on traditional security issues.

---

<sup>55</sup> Contact address: zorvas74@gmail.com

<sup>56</sup> Contact address: Stole\_k2@hotmail.com

Existing geopolitical tensions have been heightened and State-sponsored actors appear to be exploiting vulnerabilities created by the health crisis to intervene in other States and create destabilizing effects by spreading coronavirus-related disinformation and carrying out cyber-attacks (Pobjie, 2020:4).

Several crucial themes have been identified for the special issue on COVID-19. These include the state apparatus, governance, peacebuilding and security; state instability and fragility amidst COVID-19; securitization of COVID-19 pandemic; democracy and elections amidst the spread of COVID-19; gendered experiences, perspectives and responses to the pandemic; and impacts of Covid-19 crisis on conflicts and politics. Other themes include, but are not limited to, countering violent extremism in an era of Covid-19; traditional media representations of African agency and responses to Covid-19; social media reactions to, and mis-representation of COVID-19 treatments; and the need to build resilience in health care system, post-COVID-19 (Oriola and Knight, 2020:112-113).

COVID-19 rapidly elevated health security as a human, national and global security threat. Responses can partly be explained through securitization theory and particularly the existential language coupled with unprecedented extraordinary measures taken. Overall, COVID-19 has probably impressed upon decision-makers how a previously peripheral threat perception rapidly became pivotal in global and national security debates and forced leaders to introduce responses beyond normal politics in order to deal with an existential threat to all societies. The ripple effect across societies is unpredictable and this is visible in how leaders react, containment measures and the will to enforce decisions with police, and even military agencies. As the world recognizes that health insecurity anywhere is a threat to security everywhere, we need to make common cause with all the nations in the world as a collective to accept extraordinary measures to serve the common good of humanity.

The key rights affected by the COVID-19 emergency were the rights to freedom of movement and assembly. Hybrid democracies with weaker institutions and lower public trust toward the government demonstrated certain risks to democracy and human rights in their implementation of emergency measures. As the executive expanded its power, the legislature and the judiciary were limited in their ability to oversee the measures and their implementation (Skendaj et al., 2021: 41).

Also, the Security Council's characterisation of the COVID-19 pandemic as an endangerment and threat to international peace and security and not a 'threat to the peace' under article 39 of the Charter gives rise to important legal implications (Pobjie, 2020:1).

## **2. United Nations and COVID-19**

In Resolution 2532 (2020), the UN Security Council characterised the COVID-19 pandemic as an endangerment to international peace and security and, for the first time, demanded a general ceasefire and humanitarian pause in armed conflicts across the globe (Pobjie, 2020:1).

Peace operations across the world began swiftly adapting to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 disease. Missions have been forced to take unprecedented steps to cope with the coronavirus pandemic. These efforts may be just the beginning, and much more significant reductions and changes in the way these operations function may be needed over the coming months (De Coning, 2020:1).



The SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus has forced United Nations peacekeeping missions to reassess which of their activities are essential for carrying out their mandated responsibilities. Missions have also had to adapt operations to minimize the risk of spreading the virus to both the people the UN is tasked to protect, and to the peacekeepers themselves. Some of these new practices are specific to the pandemic and will change over time in response to the severity of the risk the virus poses. Others are likely to be more lasting, including a more essentialist approach to mandate implementation and adaptive approach to planning and mission management. (Ibid).

The COVID-19 pandemic is prompting shifts in security priorities for countries around the world. As militaries face growing calls to cut budgets, gaps are emerging in UN peacekeeping operations; military training and preparedness; counterterrorism operations; and arms control monitoring, verification, and compliance. These gaps are likely to grow without a quick end to the pandemic and a rapid recovery, making managing conflict more difficult particularly because the pandemic has not caused any diminution in the number or intensity of conflicts. COVID-19-related disruptions to essential health services such as vaccinations, aid delivery, and maternal and child health programs will increase the likelihood of additional health emergencies, especially among vulnerable populations in low-income countries. As examples, the pandemic has disrupted HIV/AIDS treatments and preventative measures in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as measles and polio vaccination campaigns in dozens of countries. World populations, including Americans, will remain vulnerable to new outbreaks of infectious diseases as risk factors persist, such as rapid and unplanned urbanization, protracted conflict and humanitarian crises, human incursions into previously unsettled land, expansion of international travel and trade, and public mistrust of government and health care workers (Annual threat assessment of the US intelligence community, 2021: 17-18).

### **3. Human security and COVID-19**

The spread of infectious disease (ID) in catastrophic proportions, such as in endemics and pandemics, is a threat to national and international security. In fact, the threat to human security and biosecurity should be included along with other perceived security threats such as conventional warfare and terrorism. Unlike ISIS, al-Qaeda, and the Taliban, ID has no natural enemy; it cannot be stopped by policy, borders, or alliances. Yet it gets less treatment in the literature and by policy wonks than do more traditional security threats (Albert et al., 2021: 83).

In the midst of this crisis, the role of the various aspects of the civil dimension of security and the impact of the pandemic on the latter could appear as secondary. Yet, fundamental freedoms and democratic principles, access to verified and unmanipulated information, migration, women's rights, and participation, as well as the protection and education of children, are all at the core of this crisis. Indeed, some even have a catalytic effect on the pandemic.

While certain aspects of the civil dimension have been instrumental in the evolution of the health emergency, in turn the crisis could have long-term repercussions in many areas related to the civil dimension. The COVID-19 pandemic threatens to cause a lasting global challenge to certain liberal principles (Maylam, 2020: 1-2). The COVID-19 health crisis has a direct impact on many aspects of the civil dimension of security. Indeed, the health crisis is

characterised by a confrontation between democratic principles and the authoritarian model, an escalation of disinformation and propaganda, and a threat to the values of inclusiveness and solidarity. For now, these elements have overshadowed and continue to overshadow the emergence of a comprehensive and coordinated global response to the pandemic, which knows no state boundaries and affects – albeit to varying degrees – every country in the world (Maylam, 2020: 17-18).

COVID-19 pandemic therefore has seriously threatened food security. The risks in food security are compounded when one examines the impact of the pandemic on the 3 basic elements of food security (food availability, physical access to food and economic access to food) (Caballero-Anthony, 2021:2).

With the onset of COVID-19 Pandemic, the global education system is going through an unprecedented disruption though different mode and strategies of learning by different countries have resulted in an almost balanced continuation of the learning process but has not been fruitful for all levels of students. According to UNICEF, in South Asia, almost 430 million children are affected by school closures and are at risk of dropping out of the education system due to the economic impact on their families (Barua, 2020:1).

In the case of COVID-19, although the virus infects people regardless of gender, its impacts are nonetheless gendered. With women comprising of the bulk of the world's frontline health workers, both formally at work and informally at home, they are at significant risk of infection. This is further heightened by the chronic shortage of personal protective equipment (PPE) endangering health workers worldwide. Domestic violence is another indirect impact of COVID-19. With the combination of increased tension, stress and confinement conditions in the household during times of crisis, rates of domestic violence also tend to rise (Nanthini and Nair, 2020:3-4).

While coronavirus pandemic is unquestionably in the focus of worldwide attention, specific influences on the magnitude of negative psycho-socio-economic fallout of COVID-19, which depends on a constellation of pre-pandemic, peri-pandemic and post-pandemic factors in each country and region, deserve particular attention. (Ćosić *et al.*, 2020: 28).

The humanitarian and human rights dimension of the COVID-19 pandemic underscores the inconsistent application of sanctions and their impacts on general populations and travel, something that is slowly becoming more recognized in work on mobility and tourism justice (Seyfi *et al.*, 2020:11).

The COVID-19 crisis also has short- and long-term implications on gender issues. The containment measures adopted in several countries in response to the pandemic have led to an increase in domestic violence against women (+44% cases in France). Moreover, the health crisis has led to a worsening of socio-economic inequalities between women and men. To avoid a lasting deterioration in these areas, these elements must be taken into account fully in the short and long-term responses to the crisis and its aftermath. On the other hand, the health crisis has had, and continues to have, dramatic repercussions on the security and future opportunities of children and young people around the globe. The increase in violence against them with, for example, a 30% increase in intra-family violence in France, and loss of access to education during the same period could have serious long-term implications for society (Maylam, 2020: 1-2).

#### 4. Health security and COVID-19

The prevention and detection of disease outbreaks, responding to them in such a way that they do not become emergencies, and the definition of what constitutes a health emergency and/or a pandemic are the principal concerns of global health security. (Harman, 2021:605).

This pandemic is dismantling the foundations for protecting and advancing health. The right to health, health equity, and social justice form a trinity of values that animates the daily practice of global health. This coronavirus has accentuated inequalities on all continents, across all societies. The direct effects of the pandemic have been horrifying.

Border closures, and the lack of basic equipment for front-line health personnel, have revealed how poorly prepared countries have been for such a pandemic. As governments invest heavily in measures aimed at containing the virus and offer socio-economic stimulation packages to their own population, there is a risk that aid budgets, including budgets for funding the WPS agenda and the civil society actors promoting this, will shrink (Osland et al., 2020: 2).

The global shortage of personal protective equipment (PPE) such as surgical masks, N95 masks, respirators, hand sanitizers, gloves, face shields, disposable gowns, etc. for frontline health care workers did not only represent an ethical challenge but also a significant barrier to pandemic preparedness. Ultimately, these shortages posed a significant risk to both national and global health security (Javedl and Chattu, 2020:302-303).

As evident from the spread of COVID-19, the world has paid a high price when a government curbs the free flow of information, particularly risk communication from its health professionals. Major players in global health need to work together instead of attacking each other for achieving the common targets of improving the overall health status of global citizens. In this globalized world, no country can isolate itself. There is a need for a forward-looking view, and change is essential as the road ahead will require alliance-building and safeguarding human rights as they have a significant impact on whether we can achieve health security at the national and global levels health security. Failure of international cooperation would prevent patients from getting the essential health services they need and jeopardize the health of frontline workers and the operation of the entire health care system globally. Nations need to develop and nurture cooperation practices, which serve as the core for mutual strategic trust. The priority for all countries should be to explore and find common resource allocation, common interest, and common operational overlap on development issues (Javedl and Chattu, 2020:302-303).

However, while COVID-19 exposes the fault lines in global health politics, it also demonstrates some of the positive gains made in global health security, including a subtle shift away from dependence on the UNSC and WHO. Institutional change and experience from previous global health emergencies have led to a more dispersed and inclusive form of global health security that is more equipped to respond to global political issues during a major pandemic (Harman, 2020:373).

The global COVID-19 pandemic, along with the implemented social distancing efforts intended to slow down its spread, have brought economies and food systems into disruption at a global and local scale, with wide ranging ramifications in terms of food security. Food insecurity is likely to lead into serious consequences in terms of public health. Public health,

which is largely how the COVID-19 response has been led and initially classified, appears to be insufficient to describe or deal with the consequences of this type of pandemic. Moreover, COVID-19 highlights that the concept of “One Health” covers more than just the emergence of an infectious disease, but also extends to food-related health outcomes. Ultimately, to prepare for future outbreaks or threats to food systems, one must take into account the SDGs and “Planetary Health.” By doing so, we should be able to mitigate the impact of larger societal and political risks such as vulnerability, livelihoods, etc., and their interactions with the natural environment (Mardones et al., 2020: 6).

## 5. Economy and COVID-19

Economic security has become an important priority, although this is not about social protection, but also about supporting strategic sectors of the economy. Balancing on the brink of the need for social protection, on the one hand, and the rise of austerity, on the other, governments opted for severe economic restrictions (Pidyukov et al., 2021: 771).

As a result of the pandemic, poverty has grown and economic disruption has affected people in many countries. The World Bank estimates that in 2020, as a result of COVID-19 and its economic effects compounded by the effects of armed conflict and climate change, between 119 and 124 million people were pushed into extreme poverty (those living on under \$1.90 per day) 16. In 2021 the crisis will continue and is projected to intensify, and those figures will further rise to between 143 and 163 million. Measures to contain the spread of the virus such as repeated lockdowns brought economic disruption which threatened nearly half the world’s workforce with loss of their livelihoods (Di Liddo, 2021: 14).

The national security issues in particular non-traditional security issues such as law enforcement, health, food, supply chain management, industry etc. are severely impacted by the COVID-19 outbreak in all countries of the world. In developing countries, the pandemic has severely been affecting not only the health sector but also the overall socio-economic spectrum (Alam et al., 2021:2). The Covid-19 pandemic resulted in rapid economic decline in the world economy (Caballero-Anthony, 2021:2).

The Covid-19 has the great impact on the economy of the world. It has affected the economy of more than 150 countries. The lockdown during Covid-19 pandemic has affected all service sectors like restaurants, banks, food and beverages etc. The E-commerce sectors also affected due to the pressure of supply chain deliveries (Kapoor and Dubey, 2020:214).

COVID-19 health outcomes cannot be simplistically linked to national incomes or being within the global north or south. Some of the highest infection and fatality rates recorded to date have been in the global economic hegemon – the United States, and in Western European countries. In contrast, the picture is much more mixed in the global South: while some lower- and middle-income countries (e.g., Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico) have become infection hotspots, other countries/regions (e.g. Africa, East and Southeast Asia) have had much lower official fatality rates to date.

The pandemic’s potential to disrupt governance arrangements is partly linked to its having highlighted the fragility of a global economic system that, until now, seemed the only one possible; its having exposed, and compounded, structural inequalities at local to global levels; and its having prompted extensive state intervention to tackle the health emergency

and the resulting economic fallout, potentially reshaping public discourses about the role of state and market for years to come (Cotula, 2021:1).

The economic and political implications of the pandemic will ripple through the world for years. The pandemic is raising geopolitical tensions, and great powers are jockeying for advantage and influence. States are struggling to cooperate and in some cases are undermining cooperation to respond to the pandemic and its economic fallout, particularly as some governments turn inward and question the merits of globalization and interdependence. Some governments, such as China and Russia, are using offers of medical supplies and vaccines to try to boost their geopolitical standing (Annual threat assessment of the US intelligence community, 2021: 17-18).

The economic fallout from the pandemic is likely to create or worsen instability in at least a few and perhaps many countries, as people grow more desperate in the face of interlocking pressures that include sustained economic downturns, job losses, and disrupted supply chains. Some hard-hit developing countries are experiencing financial and humanitarian crises, increasing the risk of surges in migration, collapsed governments, or internal conflict (Ibid). The resurgence in COVID-19 infections early this year may have an even greater economic impact as struggling businesses in hard-hit sectors such as tourism and restaurants fold and governments face increasing budget strains. The effects on developing countries especially those that rely heavily on remittances, tourism, or oil exports may be severe and longer lasting; many developing countries already have sought debt relief. The economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic, along with conflict and weather extremes, has driven food insecurity worldwide to its highest point in more than a decade, which increases the risk of instability. The number of people experiencing high levels of acute food insecurity doubled from 135 million in 2019 to about 270 million last year, and is projected to rise to 330 million by yearend (Ibid).

### 5.1 Digital technologies and economy

The pandemic accelerated the adoption of digital technologies in some areas where uptake had been stalled or was only slowly progressing, such as data collection techniques, e-health online appointments and therapies, online working, learning, and social interconnectedness. New challenges were created, requiring the scaling up of production, fast-tracking of digital supplies, construction of online platforms and video-conferencing products. These transformations did not come without a cost: the pandemic exacerbated existing challenges, demanding government interventions to prevent harm and social exclusion associated with teleworking and social networking on an unprecedented scale. Even before the pandemic, social scientists recognised that technological development and economic growth did not necessarily result in social progress. Their analyses and the questions they raise in this article reveal how the innovative digital solutions embraced during the pandemic to stop the spread of the virus and avoid economic meltdown may also have been used to justify restrictions on personal freedom and forms of surveillance that risk being difficult to reverse (Hantrais et al., 2020:266).

## 6. Lessons learnt

There can be derived seven key policy-relevant lessons by shining the spotlight of COVID-19 on how global sustainability has evolved over recent decades. First, to survive future disasters, the key role of environmental harm must receive even more attention, especially when it triggers dangerous feedbacks between ecological and socio-economic systems. Second, integrated globally-coordinated, long-term solutions are needed to address multiple issues, using multi-disciplinary methods (instead of piecemeal, knee-jerk reactions). Third, individuals need to feel empowered for sustainable development, to help themselves and their neighbours by adopting simple and sensible measures. Fourth, building on the third lesson, key social values like inclusion, empowerment, equality, social justice, unity and consensus building will further strengthen solidarity and resilience against destabilising shocks. Fifth, the pandemic has given fresh impetus towards a transformative BIGG path to sustainable development. Sixth, urban habitats and lifestyles could be redesigned to boost sustainability, by leveraging digital technology (DT). Seventh, better understanding and use of tools for analysing and managing risks is important, especially in handling extreme events. These lessons will help to re-prioritise and re-set sustainable development strategy (Munasinghe, 2020: 1-2).

Analysis reveals the need for development approaches that can anticipate and respond to future, uncertain shocks – whether pandemics, climate change, financial turbulence or something else we have not even thought of. This means both revealing and challenging the structural conditions, power relations and political economic orders that create risks and vulnerabilities in the first place, while also accepting the need for flexible, contingent and negotiated responses in the face of uncertainty and context-specific complexity. Lasting transformations must address fundamental matters of power and politics, including challenging incumbent institutions and interests, at the same time as fostering hopeful, innovative alternatives. Post pandemic transformation also means embracing uncertainty and fostering often unruly, diverse alternatives that allow economic, social and political systems to transform towards more equitable and sustainable development pathways. It means rejecting the illusions of ‘control’, whether via technology, the market or state intervention, and enabling a more caring, inclusive, convivial approach to development; one in which knowledge and learning from diverse people and places have key roles to play and are harnessed to complement formal institutional (Leach et al., 2021:2).

Finally, within the framework of global health diplomacy, critical stakeholders’ nations, individuals, and corporations must together strengthen the efforts of the World Health Organization (WHO) at delivering on its mandate. Everyone will surely benefit from efforts aimed at understanding changes that could impact global health and building capacity to respond to global health risks. This is why collective action for mitigating health emergencies is imperative. As infectious diseases continue to define global epidemiology and affect national security, national priorities must be broadened to include global health concerns, and the frontline role of the WHO in pandemic response demands greater recognition and appreciation. In this context, the rich and strong members of the WHO must invest in building stronger healthcare systems in poorer countries (Oshewolo and Nwozor, 2020: 265-275).

## 7. Conclusion

In conclusion, COVID-19 presents an immense challenge to the global community, highly impacting the capacity of most societies to maintain their well-being and appropriate functioning. As such, understanding its ongoing repercussions, including the characteristics of recovery from COVID-19, require longitudinal studies that will shed light on the varied impacts on individuals, populations, and societies. (Kimhi et al., 2020:6).

This pandemic has severely disrupted the proper functioning of the global community, leading to the closure of schools and academic institutions, partial or complete lockdowns, reduced public transportation and aviation, unemployment and economic hardships, decline of global stock markets, and panic shopping due to widespread concerns about supply shortages (Kimhi et al., 2020:1).

The COVID-19 pandemic has been a threat multiplier (Caballero-Anthony, 2021:2). COVID-19 affects developed as well as developing countries and requires global cooperation and solidarity, including development assistance (Schneider et al., 2021:5). This pandemic has disrupted life worldwide, with far-reaching effects that extend well beyond global health to the economic, political, and security spheres. It is expected COVID-19 to remain a threat to populations worldwide until vaccines and therapeutics are widely distributed.

COVID-19 rapidly elevated health security as a human, national and global security threat. Responses can partly be explained through securitization theory and particularly the existential language coupled with unprecedented extraordinary measures taken. Overall, COVID-19 has probably impressed upon decision-makers how a previously peripheral threat perception rapidly became pivotal in global and national security debates and forced leaders to introduce responses beyond normal politics in order to deal with an existential threat to all societies. The ripple effect across societies is unpredictable and this is visible in how leaders react, containment measures and the will to enforce decisions with police, and even military agencies. As the world recognizes that health insecurity anywhere is a threat to security everywhere, we need to make common cause with all the nations in the world as a collective to accept extraordinary measures to serve the common good of humanity.

## References

- Alam M., Fawzi M. A., Islam M. (2021), "Impacts of COVID-19 pandemic on national security issues: Indonesia as a case study", *Security Journal*, 1-20
- Albert C., Baez A., Rutland J. (2021), "Human security as biosecurity: Reconceptualising national security threats in the time of COVID-19", *Politics and the life science*, Vol. 40, No. 1
- Barua A. (2021), *The impact of COVID-19 Pandemic: Education sector of Bangladesh*, Dhaka, Bangladesh: Bangladesh Institute of Peace & Security Studies
- Caballero-Anthony M. (2021), "Global Health Security: Lessons from COVID-19 in East Asia", *Project for Peaceful Competition*
- Cotula L. (2021), "Towards a political economy of the COVID-19 crisis: Reflections on an agenda for research and action", *World Development*, Vol. 138

- De Coning C. (2020), "The impact of COVID-19 on peace operations", *Norwegian Institute of International Affairs*
- De Coning C. (2020), "Examining the Longer-Term Effects of COVID-19 on UN Peacekeeping Operations", *Global Observatory (IPI)*
- Di Liddo M. (2021), *The impact of Covid-19 on Human Security*, Rome: Centro Studi Internazionali
- Hantrais L., Allin P., Kritikos M., Sogomonjan M., Anand B. P., Livingstone S., Williams M., Innes M. (2020), "Covid-19 and the digital revolution", *Contemporary Social Science*, Vol. 16, Issue 2
- Harman S. (2020), "Covid-19, the UN and Dispersed Global Health Security", *Ethics and International affairs*, Vol. 34, Issue 3
- Harman S. (2021), "Threat not solution: gender, global health security and COVID-19", *International Affairs*, Vol. 97, Issue 3
- Javed S., Chattu K. V. (2020), "Strengthening the COVID-19 pandemic response, global leadership, and international cooperation through global health diplomacy", *Health Promotion Perspectives*, Vol. 10, Issue 4
- Kapoor S., Dubey M. (2020), "The impact and role of media for peace and human security during Covid-19 crises", *Journal of Content, Community & Communication Amity School of Communication*, Vol. 12
- Kimhi S., Eshel Y., Marciano H., Adini B. (2020), "A Renewed Outbreak of the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Longitudinal Study of Distress, Resilience, and Subjective Well-Being", *International journal of environmental research and public health*, Vol. 17, Issue 21
- Kimhi S., Marciano H., Eshel Y., Adini B. (2020), "Recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic: Distress and resilience", *International journal of disaster risk reduction*, Vol. 50
- Leach M., MacGregor H., Scoones I., Wilkinson A. (2021), "post-pandemic transformations: How and why COVID-19 requires us to rethink development", *World Development*, Vol. 138
- Mardones O. F., Rich M. K., Boden A. L., Moreno-Switt I. A., Caipo L. M., Zimin-Vesselkoff N., Alateeqi M. A., Baltenweck I. (2020), "The COVID-19 Pandemic and Global Food Security", *Frontiers in Veterinary Science*, Vol. 7
- Maylam G. J. (2020), "The impact of the covid-19 crisis on the civil dimension of security", *Committee on the Civil Dimension of Security (CDS)*
- Munasinghe M. (2020), "COVID-19 and sustainable development", *Int. J. Sustainable Development*, Vol. 23



- Nanthini S., Nair T. (2020), "COVID-19 and the Impacts on Women", *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*
- Office of the Director of National Intelligence (2021), *Annual threat assessment of the US intelligence community*, Washington: Office of the Director of National Intelligence
- Oriola B. T., Knight W. A. (2020), "COVID-19, George Floyd and Human Security", *African Security*, Vol.13, Issue 2
- Oshewolo S., Nwozor A. (2020), "COVID-19: Projecting the National Security Dimensions of Pandemics", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 44, No, 3
- Osland M. K., Røysamb G. M., Nortvedt J. (2020), "The impact of Covid-19 on the Women, Peace and Security Agenda", *Covid-19 Brief*, Vol. 8
- Piduyukov P.P., Kolb G. A., Batiuk V. O., Kudria H. I., Tarasiuk S. L. (2021), "National security policy: Changing priorities in the face of the COVID-19 threat", *Cuestiones politicas*, Vol. 39, No. 69
- Pobjie E. (2021), "Covid-19 and the scope of the UN Security Council's mandate to address non-traditional threats to international peace and security", *Heidelberg Journal of International Law*, Vol. 8, Issue 1
- Schneider H. S., Eger J., Bruder M., Faust J., Wieler H. L. (2021), "Does the COVID-19 pandemic threaten global solidarity? Evidence from Germany", *World development*, Vol. 140
- Seyfi S., Hall M. C., Shabani B. (2020), "COVID-19 and international travel restrictions: the geopolitics of health and tourism", *Tourism Geographies*
- Skendaj E., Lame R., Gardinier M. (2021), *National Security vs Protection of Human Rights in Emergency*, Tirana: Westminster foundation for democracy
- Ćosić K., Popović S., Šarlija M., Kesedžić I. (2020), "Impact of human disasters and Covid-19 pandemic on mental health: Potential of digital psychiatry" *Psychiatria Danubina*, Vol. 32, No. 1