

State Building and Societal Security

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Abstract:

In this paper, attention is directed to the theoretical analysis of the concept of societal security. In that regard, in accordance with theoretical analysis of broadened concept of security through the sector of societal security, the paper aims to find out what are the paradigms of security of Macedonia on its way to consolidating itself as an independent state entity and what are the opportunities and challenges that it faces from a broader and widened theoretical approach.

Concept of societal security for the first time appears in the eighties by the author B.Buzan who presented five sectors of security on which he based the concept of contemporary security analysis. For the purpose of this paper we highlight the sector of societal security that exceeds beyond the traditional known concepts of security that discusses only the security appearance of military capabilities of the state and between states in the international system. In Buzan's work Societal Security is closely linked to the political sector of security and as such represents the political identity of the state and social balance within it. Differences of identity of various ethnic or cultural groups bring with them perceptions that influence security policy development and what should be securitized within the state and when.

Introduction

Since its independence Macedonia has faced continuous threats to internal escalations of ethnic clashes and at times those of socio ideological ones. Macedonia as a society is divided along ethnic and religious lines that further fragment the country into a territorial and geographical context. While Macedonians live in central and eastern parts of the country, Albanians are a distinct ethnic group and reside in the northwestern part of the country.

Relations between the two ethnicities have been in continuous freeze since the time of Milosevic's nationalist policies won the support and prominence in the eighties that resulted in eventual brake up of Yugoslavia. The relations between the two dominant ethnic groups remained strained even after the declaration of independence in 1991. These relationships have been the result of inherited status of ethnic and social interaction since the federation of Yugoslavia, and they continued to be so in the newly reshaped relationships as a result of political actions in the wake of the declaration of independence of the new state. As an outcome of these actions and developments we have interethnic relations in the country that were generating new dilemmas of what actually represents the security for the state and the population that lives in it. In those conditions we have the domestic political discourse that determined the development of events in the following years.

In order to better understand these dynamics one has to look beyond the traditional concepts of state building and security. This especially in current global setting where the range of threats includes means that do not necessarily imply military response. As International Relations that we have known continued to change so do nature of threats and sources of contention. These changes were reflective in all levels of analysis starting from a global perspective and continuing into a regional and local one. The concepts of security based on state and power and their focus on the military aspects of security threats failed to take into account various nonmilitary concerns that began to appear as a result of these changes. The breakup of many multinational states

brought to the forefront other concerns such ethnicity and identity and were affecting mostly the newly independent and weak countries.

In this relation we have the Traditional theories that focus on the military aspect, power and peace and in the other hand there are the more contemporary schools that distinguish their approaches on complex social interactions. If for the realists the state in all its appearances is everything when it comes to security, Constructivists see security as the result of historical experience on which society reacts. Whereas further on the Copenhagen school analyses security in a more expended areas and hence the paper will focus on the comprehensive sectoral analysis that it offers.

The reason for applying this approach for our analysis is that it gives an opportunity in identifying security dilemmas and opportunities of Macedonia in a more extensive and comprehensive way. With this approach we will have the opportunity to examine the complex dynamics of security developments in Macedonia from a point of view that enables analysis of several sectors and the impact they have on the security of societies within it. This is because as any reflection on security the analysis may differ from one country to another or from one region to another and in such conditions it is expected that security considerations produce arguments and counterarguments. To have this in consideration one has to as well look at the security environment that surrounds the referent object and what is the political system that legitimizes it. This becomes even more valuable in understanding more clearly the dynamics of resolving these challenges from different perspectives and considering the complexities facing the state as a whole, but also the societies that make it in particular.

With the comprehensive approach of the Copenhagen school and more specifically through the sector of societal Security the paper examines the effect that the State Security Policy has on ethnic groups and whether they are justified in reaching the goal and how they affect the political discourse within the state.

Societal Security

State security and sovereignty in the traditional schools was the main referent object in which the discourse on security was focused. But as the debate on broadening the concepts of security

studies ranged so did the referent objects of security that could be analyzed. This is largely because in the traditional terminology of security the state as referent object of analysis has its own territory formalized by national borders and legitimacy through political and institutional system. But given the fact that many countries do not pose an ethnic singularity the concept of identity therefore appears to be very important in future debates.

Barry Buzan's book *People, States and Fear* more specifically elaborates that security may appear in many other areas outside that of military and political sector. He argues that the concept of security in a realistic approach is too narrow and as such does not reflect the security challenges faced in a contemporary context. For Buzan, security has to do with defense of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to protect their independent identity and functional integrity against forces of change that they see as hostile. The essential purpose of security is survival that also reasonably includes a range of concerns about the conditions of survival (Buzan, 1991)

The Copenhagen School in the light of the broadening of security analysis signifies the connection between societal security and identity. If the state regards the threat to the sovereignty of the state as its main objective, the society as such may view any threat to its collective identity as a perception that its survival is in the need protection. Societal Security in this regard has to do with the sustainable development of traditional norms, culture, language and other identifiable collective commonalities of the society that is referred. The main referent object in this regards is the collective identity that is able to identify itself with we and in this group fall the ethno political collectivities (Buzan, 1991).

When Identity is concerned the Copenhagen School drifts towards a Constructivist approach in which connects Security as an historical experience that continuously builds the content of the interests of the state and, according to the manner it determines the behavior of the state in global politics. In this framework, identities are defined as relatively stable or collected allowing the analyst to explore the "why" states have the same behavior, the way in which appears a reasonable connection between identity and interests. Peter Katzenstain works regarding identity and security represent a framework of analysis that are important in approaching cultural dynamics that become important in the formulation of national policies and their

institutionalization. The cultural aspects of formulation of policies of the state do enable the formulation of the state identity and may have significant results on national security (Katzenstein, 1996).

The approach of Copenhagen School through the level of analysis at the Societal Sector highlights the relations that deal with the society as an organized community with enough of identity features and with sufficient capacity to invoke emergency measures against any perceived threats to its well-being. In this regard the approach of Copenhagen School has a neorealist approach as it places the referent object at the level of analysis and at the same time positions the Society with a given right to be analyzed as a referent object of analysis not as individual but as an organized entity that is able to mobilize actions in defense of its organized identity. Such a combination of sectors and levels of analysis enables one to have a broader and deeper approach in analyzing security paradigms and a more comprehensive analysis of the internal dynamics of a country and how they reflect in determining the policy priorities of security (Waeber, Buzan, Kelstrup, & Lemaitre, 1993).

According to what was said earlier the next lines will aim to explain the security concerns that communities in Macedonia have raised and the dynamics of perceived threats to the survival and sustainable development of the collective identity, culture and language. How the policies of the post independent Macedonia were perceived by the other ethnic group and how they were explained to the respective audiences and to what extent they constitute existential threat and insecurity to the society?

State Building Dilemmas

Up to 2001, the internal situation in Macedonia was one of the greatest threats, due to the ethnically mixed composition of the population. It faced internally an Albanian population request for equal share in government-provided opportunities ranging from educational as well as socio-economic ones. The possibility of joint participation in building the newly independent states faced antagonism by the majority Macedonian ethnic groups. Albanian population was largely excluded from participation in government provided opportunities and felt that the country was heavily influenced by the policies of ethnic divide.

The identity and state security dilemmas in Macedonia are indistinguishable and ever since independence, it has faced the process of responding to them simultaneously. The identity security dilemma for Macedonia has derived from the dispute of the existence of identity of Macedonian ethnic group as a separate identity. Although the name issue that is contested by Greece is well known as a state problem, the disputed existence of Macedonian language by Bulgaria is equally exerting pressure to the Macedonian ethnic political elite. The pressure is visible when it comes to making decisions at domestic level as well as when those pertain to foreign policies. As consequence independence of Macedonia was based around the construction of single ethno cultural state through which civic liberties were pushed aside. The perceived external security dilemmas that it faced in the early 1990's, served as a justification for the leadership of the country to exclude a relatively important segment of society internally (Janev, vol. 93, January 1999).

The political establishment of the time when building the new state institutions did not take into consideration the fact that more than third of the country's population were excluded to actively participate in building the state security, based on the socio-cultural preferences of their choice. As Macedonia gained independence the state institutions and power were held by the Macedonian ethnic group. This was due to the inherited legacy of Yugoslavia which had a policy of segregation especially directed towards the Albanian ethnic group.

Policy makers of the Macedonian ethnic group justified the argument that Macedonia at the time had to adopt such an approach, primarily due to the external security dilemmas directed to its ethnic, national and state identity. The reasoning of exclusions was additionally backed up by the formulation of the new constitution that gave legitimacy to such exclusions and aimed at retaining the state power in the hands of ethnic Macedonian group. This approach however, was not well absorbed in other domestic communities of the country. Macedonia's quest to establish itself as an ethnocentric state has been source of instability and tension between the two main ethnic communities of its population. The deficiencies of regulating state and community relations produced a negative impact in consolidating the internal state security (Ilievski, 2007).

The constitution proved to be a justifying segment of Macedonian Political elite to undertake a number of policies and actions that will further entrench the existence of the state as ethnocentric

during the period of 1990's. This was done largely in oppressing the political demands of Albanian community through actions that undermined their existence as a community. The tensions between the two largest communities involved all issues pertaining to how Macedonia should look and what path it takes as it declared independence. An example of the tensions between the two communities is the law on local governance in the municipalities where Albanians constituted the majority of population. When the law on local government was finally amended allowing Albanians to be at the helm of the municipalities other problems pertaining to the use of symbols arose. Following the display of Albanian symbols in 1997 two Albanian mayors were imprisoned, four people died while several hundred were injured and imprisoned (Holliday, 2004).

The government's failure to respond to the demands of Albanians was due to the lack of will from Macedonian political elite and under-representation of Albanians in government and public institutions. There was limited number Albanians represented in the governments since the independence. This was particularly true in the first two governments formed post-independence. Apart from the selective laws that aimed at protecting the ethnocentric nature of the state the limitations in the representation through government were putting additional stain to adequately respond to the needs of the Albanian community. The participation in the government not only was limited in numbers but also in the powers that they were given to enact policies. The political representatives after getting involved in the government will find themselves restricted with various administrative regulations that in effect weakened their position in carrying any meaningful approach to problem solving (Ragaru, January 2008).

Problems of this type of government participation became more acute especially when taken in consideration over voting that often occurred in the Parliament. As the government was not able or not willing to respond to the needed adjustment concerning the ethnic issues, Albanian political parties will turn their political activities towards the Parliament. The initiatives will not find any support from the Macedonian political elite as well as the Macedonian political parties represented in the parliament and such legislative initiatives will be over voted. The Albanian political parties were not able to also prevent any legislation that was contrary not only to their interests but also to the basic democratic principles. The notable example is the law that

pertained to electoral districts formulated in 1995. Districts were drawn in a way that an Albanian seeking a parliament election will require half a number of votes more than an ethnic Macedonian seeking to do so (Holliday, 2004).

Educational row for consecutive Macedonian governments may have proved to be an opportunity to improve interethnic relations and building of a coherent and inclusive society. Government's wrong assessment of trying to suppress the desire and need of education in mother tongue created a row that produced a hot political issue between Albanians and Macedonians. The Macedonian students in Skopje University organized themselves and staged demonstrations against the newly established university in Tetovo. This attitude strengthened the perception of Albanian parties that the government was not interested in providing solutions and assistance for their needs and rights to educations in the language of their choice but it was solely interested in keeping them as second class citizens (Reka, January 2008 vol 9).

Conclusions

The presentation of these events was given from a general perspective as glimpse that portrays the concerns and insecurities that endanger the basic conditions of regeneration for the Albanian community in Macedonia. Cases presented cover areas that are closely related to the aspects of threats of the Albanian communities' cultural, linguistic and its community identity.

Macedonia's quest to establish itself as an ethnocentric state has been source of instability and tension between the two main ethnic communities of its population. The deficiencies of regulating state and community relations produced a negative impact in consolidating the internal state security.

Responding to such attitude of the central government, Albanians in the other hand organized their own political activities and in consecutive times were able to raise several issues to a level that would prompt the government to take actions in quest of preventing further fragmentation. .

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