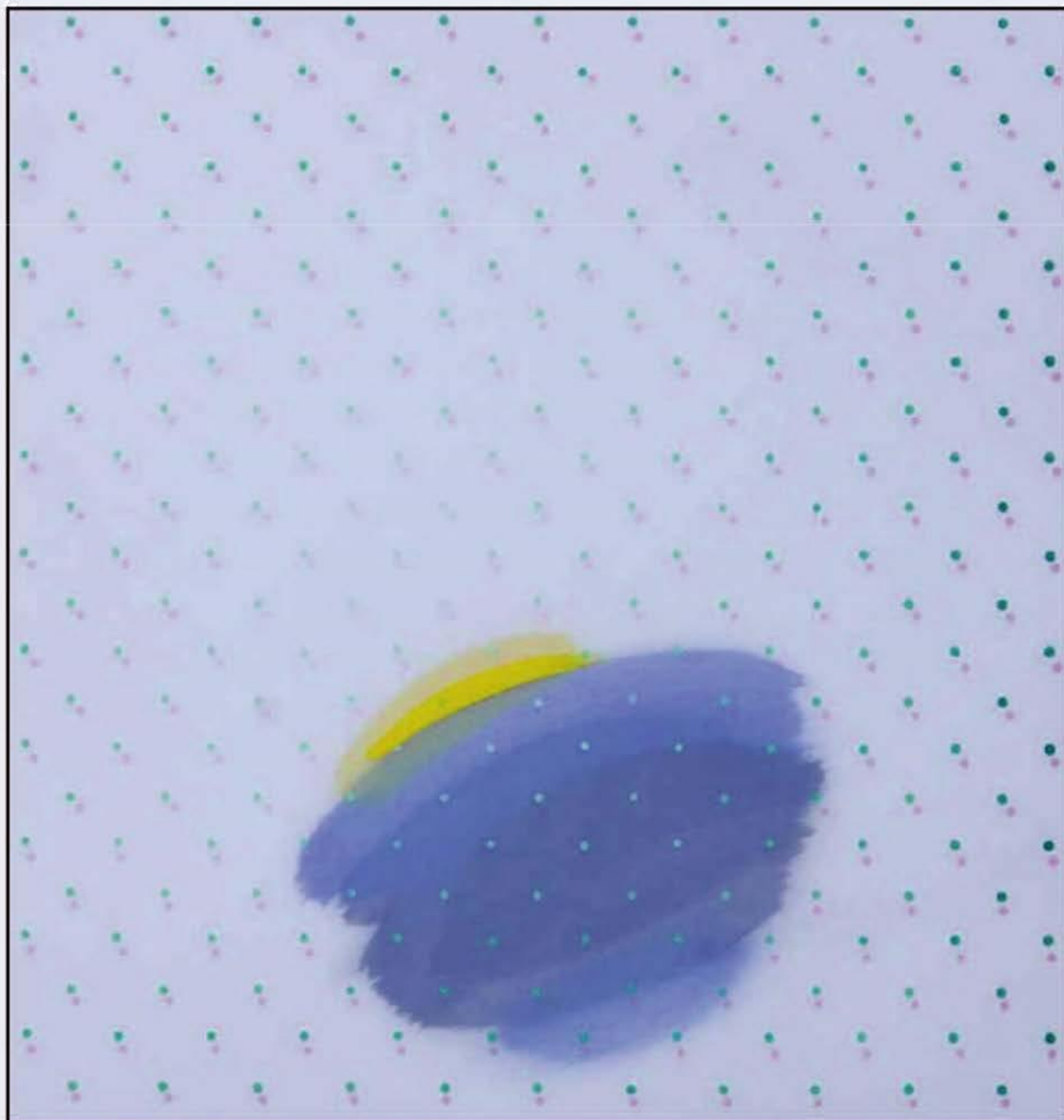


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New movements and tendencies of foreign direct investments

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Abstract: The motive for writing the paper is to answer the question of how foreign direct investment has moved in the financial markets to date, despite the great turbulence with the Covid crisis. But, also to indicate whether and to what extent FDI had a positive impact on overall socio-economic and financial relations in markets around the world during the Covid crisis. This paper connects the issues of the relationship between foreign direct investment on the one hand and on the other hand, monitoring and analyzing the movements of national finances of a large group of countries, the so-called developing countries and emerging market economies. Different motives are the reason for the international tendencies, changes and effects caused by the Covid crisis.

The main research question is what tendencies and movements FDI faced in conditions of great market turbulence, uncertainty and crisis. On the other hand, an attempt is made to predict what will happen in the coming years in the post-crisis Covid period. The main focus now should be on the process of economic recovery. But, the question is not just about reviving economies, but how to make a better recovery that will be more sustainable and more resilient to future

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shocks. For this purpose, this paper is generally divided into qualitative studies that draw conclusions.

The purpose of this paper is to show the structure and dynamics of the FDI movement as they go through a process of crisis, especially in developing countries, underdeveloped countries and developed countries. The paper highlights the advantages and disadvantages of foreign models for stimulating foreign investment in times of crisis. In addition, the paper aims to highlight the causes of the turbulence, as well as to indicate possible future directions for action.

The following results are expected from the research: greater proper conception of a strategy for attracting FDI, with their constant monitoring of the situation, by regulating the international movement of capital on a global, and especially at the regional level. However, according to the constant analysis, to remove the restrictions for greater attraction of FDI in countries where they are necessary. Also, the flow of capital should be directed from highly developed countries to poorly developed and developing countries, which will ensure the stability and efficiency of their real economies.

Keywords: foreign direct investment, foreign experience, international capital movement, economic development.

JEL Classification: F21, F62, F63, F65

Introduction

According to the current state of the pandemic crisis, foreign direct investment, international capital movements, portfolio investments, financial derivatives approaching all major stock exchanges in the world, as well as other investments that provide access to foreign credit markets, have largely determined the future of international economy. At the same time, it was not so much the movement of capital that determined the state and the perspective, on the contrary, its dynamics influenced the flow of capital. On the other hand, today many emerging economies have made important decisions in accessing and managing capital flows. They did so in order to facilitate capital inflow requirements, and in order to easily attract FDI.

This type of asymmetric interdependence is explored in this paper, along with other aspects of international capital flows.

Therefore, this paper, in many ways, warns of the danger of the fact that in this crisis and turbulent period, the world economic situation is in great search for a new balance. Such scale and development was given to foreign direct investments for easier location of the desired countries. This enabled greater volume and speed of transfer of goods and capital from one place to another, with the aim of fostering balanced economic growth in the high-risk countries affected by the crisis.

The subject of the paper is the presentation of the new movements and tendencies of the countries that quickly created a favorable business climate for FDI in the crisis period. In this regard, they sought national and international regulation with a new role in the world and regional institutions responsible for the flow of capital. One of the basic criteria for the successful economic transformation in the poorly developed economies from the crisis period was the share and size of FDI for each country separately. Namely, for poorly developed and

developing countries, FDI today is one of the most favorable forms of engaging foreign private capital.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to cover the new movements in the process of the new stages of the development of foreign direct investment in conditions of pandemic crisis. But this goal is far more complex and as such should be subject to a good financial market system in an extremely complex and risky environment.

Namely, the purpose of this paper is to identify the impact and movement of FDI on economic growth in developing countries and emerging market economies from those that negatively affect the global investment activity of the systems.

Therefore, this paper explores the role and importance of foreign direct investment in national economies, which primarily became more visible in the key macroeconomic moments of the Covid crisis period.

This paper also aims to explore several important goals of the significant factors that influence the attraction of FDI. Thus, according to the conducted empirical studies in the labor, it is indicated that the size of the market and the growth potentials are significantly indicated by the inflow of FDI. In this regard, the following factors that influence the attraction of FDI can be singled out: market size and potential, institutional and regulatory quality, trade openness, infrastructural quality, economic and political stability, quality and labor costs, etc.

This is the basic hypothesis of labor, that foreign direct investment, the global financial system and financial markets today, face new challenges and risks. The reason for this is the complex situation in international economic and financial relations caused by the Covid crisis. In the globalized era, these relations continue to aspire to improve the situation in the international financial markets and as such deserve special analysis, monitoring and control.

As a problem, it can be pointed out that if countries do not have a properly conceived macroeconomic policy to attract FDI, it can come from increased trade tensions and reduced competitiveness between companies. Furthermore, developing countries and emerging market economies are forced to provide special benefits to foreign investors, taking into account the cost that the state makes lower than the profit it will have from foreign investment.

The ultimate goal is to gain knowledge for overcoming the crisis period as a whole, with resolved numerous problems and risks faced by foreign investors to date. As well as gaining knowledge about financial stabilization. New economies also need to close the gaps with advanced economies to reap the benefits and experiences of international trade and the mobility of labor and capital markets, as well as the latest technological advances available worldwide.

1. Foreign direct investment generator of economic development in the crisis Covid period

According to many analyzes of capital flows and credit processes, as well as their movement, indicate that in recent years there have been significant changes in the financial architecture. Special emphasis is placed on the role played by international financial centers.

Namely, the integration of the world economy enabled foreign direct investment (FDI) to attract a lot of attention and interest in all countries in the world. Hence, each host country began to advocate for the promotion and attraction of foreign direct investment due to their contribution to the development of the economy.

Thus, today FDI received a special intensity of development during the Covid crisis. The characteristic for them was that they focused on the development of poorly developed and underdeveloped countries. In this context, the role of FDI as a catalyst during the crisis period was most promoted: integration in international trade, enabling industrial specialization of jobs,

job creation, training of employees that would lead to increased productivity, competitiveness between companies, access to new markets, creation of modern management and so on.

The competition in attracting FDI is huge, all countries, rich and poor, big or small want investors because they bring economic growth, higher employment, rising living standards, but also many other effects of spill over”).²

Another argument that is beneficial for FDI is their greater resilience during the economic crisis, ie they do not withdraw easily due to the size of the invested capital, compared to portfolio investments or borrowings.

Whereas, in the current Covid crisis period, they moved directly through capital inflows or indirectly through: technology transfer, managerial, production and organizational know-how, by strengthening competition and restructuring economies.

The fact is, however, that governments cannot influence the influence of the external environment and global processes. This was shown by the analysis of FDI movements that were growing in the period before the pandemic crisis. But during the Covid period crisis, foreign investors at times refrained from investing even in their own countries, and even more so from investing abroad. Due to the turmoil in the international economic scene, each country sought to protect its investors not to invest in other countries, but to provide them with favorable conditions to invest in their own countries. Another reason for such a phenomenon can be seen from the economic arrangements of the societies for which they pay a high price, when the citizens do not trust the leaders of the public and private sector. Such mistrust leads to political polarization, general concerns about the future, and uncertainty about states' internal affairs and

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their international relations. These conditions, in turn, further exacerbate the loss of confidence of foreign investors.

International capital movements have also become very erratic in recent years. Due to the Covid crisis, gross capital inflows fell very quickly and later returned to an upward intensity. Fluctuations in capital net flows were sharper in newer emerging market economies compared to already developed economies.³

Thus, the key challenge facing governments is to anticipate capital flows in the face of low global interest rates and low risk versions. But also to answer the question whether capital flows will be an obstacle for larger developed economies?.

In this regard, if we take into account the last 2-3 years, we can obviously see that net inflows have decreased from foreign portfolio investors in the markets, with special emphasis on underdeveloped economies. It is more than clear that at the moment the markets need the return of foreign investors who would be the catalyst for a new dynamic.⁴

On the other hand, due to the Covid crisis, there are companies that are present in the market, but on a much smaller scale than before, with frozen positions at higher price levels and with a strategy of anticipation. But, also with a quick way out in some other future destabilization. Of course, a new upward price trend can cause new earnings ambitions. Compared to traditional lending financing, the cost of capital has remained an important deciding factor in financing decisions. This can be expected to stimulate the demand for alternative sources of funding.

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A second important factor, which is in favor of lending, can be determined, that is the speed of the financing process. FDI, on the other hand, was somewhat more stable and sustainable than debt portfolio flows, banking and other private flows in some emerging economies. This situation has called into question the sustainability of net flows, which was generally said to be low and marginally higher in developed countries compared to developing countries. There are no significant differences on this issue, especially between economies.

However, what is happening today with FDI, compared to the financial crisis of 2008, shows the same decline in capital inflows in developing economies. It is considered that the fluctuations that existed then are identical to today that make FDI "problematic" in supporting economic growth in these conditions of crisis. Such falls and turbulence in such a short time can cause a serious blow to economies.⁵

Characteristically, this low was last seen in the 1990s and is more than 30% below investment in the 2008 global financial crisis.⁶

This may mean that the reaction of the international financial markets with the onset of the Covid crisis followed the pattern of previous economic crises. The reasons for this were several: increase in uncertainty, increase in interest rate risk premium, increase in inflation, escape to safe low-risk securities, large turbulence in stocks, bonds and stock markets, as well as a decrease in the movement of capital in developing countries.

It is important to note that there are further challenges to global FDI flows that may be under increasing pressure in the coming years as a result of the Covid pandemic. The reason for

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⁶ <https://unctad.org/news/global-foreign-direct-investment-fell-42-2020-outlook-remains-weak> accessed on 07.12.2021

this was that these vital resources fell sharply from \$ 1.5 trillion in 2019, compared to the global financial crisis.⁷

⁷ Доклад мировых инвестиций 2021, Конференция организации объединенных нации (ООН) по торговле и развитию 2021 год. https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2021_overview_ru.pdf. 01-02 pg. accessed on 10.12.2021

Table No.1 Dynamics of internal and external flows of FDI at the level of countries around the world 2014 – 2020

FDI outward flows								FDI inward flows							
In USD millions	2 014	2 015	2 016	2 017	2 018	2 019	2020 ^a	2 014	2 015	2 016	2 017	2 018	2 019	2020 ^a	
OECD ¹	887 836	1 354 182	1 242 470	1 172 009	546 851	825 047	425 184	681 977	1 280 295	1 478 061	978 728	1 017 546	791 007	388 782	
Australia ²	18 184	- 9 340	2 266	5 932	6 361	5 397	12 127 (A)	58 505	29 584	48 291	45 300	68 033	36 151	23 098 (A)	
Austria*	- 665	6 915	- 1 323	10 679	5 680	11 041	- 3 036	4 800	1 295	- 8 401	14 926	5 409	846	- 17 250	
Belgium	26 189	57 563	36 337	29 634	39 474	1 581	10 204	- 41 191	- 70 573	59 185	- 708	30 801	2 886	8 418	
Canada	60 273	67 467	69 518	76 179	57 405	78 886	48 653	59 008	43 853	36 062	22 764	38 232	47 829	23 822	
Chile*	10 847	15 171	8 070	3 558	1 940	9 904	11 583	22 793	20 508	12 249	6 129	7 736	12 499	8 386	
Colombia ²	3 899	4 218	4 517	3 690	5 126	3 219	1 966	16 169	11 724	13 848	13 837	11 535	14 314	7 690	
Czech Republic	1 620	2 488	2 182	7 557	8 663	4 128	3 142	5 492	465	9 814	9 518	11 010	10 109	6 292	
Denmark*	8 249	9 424	10 112	10 025	- 370	11 404	4 395	4 680	3 617	235	3 771	1 199	3 587	1 151	
Estonia	42	182	486	879	58	1 987	218	684	36	1 058	1 938	1 497	3 091	3 149	
Finland	1 743	- 16 080	24 252	- 575	11 448	4 865	6 588	18 548	2 110	8 576	2 858	- 2 170	13 455	2 569	
France	49 785	53 206	64 785	35 908	105 570	38 663	44 137	2 669	45 355	23 055	24 780	38 162	33 964	17 947	
Germany	83 968	99 003	63 599	86 333	86 190	139 274	34 870	- 3 200	30 534	15 618	48 538	62 034	54 061	35 570	
Greece	3 015	1 578	- 1 665	168	477	642	701	2 683	1 268	2 762	3 477	3 971	5 019	3 564	
Hungary*	3 854	- 16 118	- 8 272	1 220	3 022	2 849	4 282	7 967	- 14 545	- 5 439	3 514	6 410	3 885	4 169	
Iceland*	- 257	- 31	- 1 147	- 208	76	465	- 276	447	709	- 427	- 41	- 382	- 301	- 811	
Ireland	41 182	168 443	30 055	- 2 043	9 613	- 16 634	- 49 361	48 186	217 820	39 377	52 722	232 723	81 102	33 349	
Israel ^{2,5}	4 526	10 969	14 579	7 624	6 087	8 598	5 860	6 049	11 336	11 988	16 893	21 515	19 047	24 759	
Italy	26 327	21 640	16 165	24 478	32 797	19 786	10 333	23 224	19 631	28 441	23 996	37 659	18 145	- 386	
Japan	129 157	128 698	155 923	164 563	143 075	226 573	115 716	10 622	- 2 251	19 357	9 354	9 255	14 548	10 255	
Korea ²	19 994	18 490	30 508	51 044	45 232	35 239 (A)	32 480 (A)	- 917	3 076	7 415	12 699	13 299	9 634 (A)	9 224 (A)	
Latvia	541	70	159	133	205	- 104	270	896	739	254	708	968	875	867	
Lithuania	59	377	43	80	704	143	- 285	- 133	1 055	302	1 019	976	1 169	478	
Luxembourg*	41 379	59 766	27 304	10 987	- 7 238	34 471	126 798	19 778	31 408	81 378	- 23 157	- 76 414	14 791	62 003	
Mexico*	7 507	10 672	193	3 988	8 365	10 985	6 528	30 462	35 436	31 069	34 200	33 730	34 097	29 079	
Netherlands ²	62 419	261 283	190 570	43 484	- 12 828	74 869	- 157 454	53 487	191 560	65 276	40 990	120 238	42 238	- 112 057	
New Zealand	472	- 59	196	227	426	- 172	880	2 437	- 309	2 844	2 429	2 397	4 278	4 219	
Norway	32 939	30 947	3 092	- 7 415	11 405	4 035	- 6 635 (A)	19 504	- 2 515	- 3 900	- 5 922	226	6 698	- 6 852 (A)	
Poland	4 701	3 172	12 389	1 908	1 239	1 404	320	17 612	13 063	16 596	9 537	16 376	10 991	8 579	
Portugal*	- 3 260	4 810	879	- 928	1 374	3 720	2 545	4 560	9 180	5 684	6 912	7 175	11 979	6 332	
Slovak Republic	43	6	95	1 323	291	153	233	- 512	106	805	4 008	1 643	2 449	- 1 925	
Slovenia	275	267	290	338	281	389	554	1 050	1 675	1 245	896	1 383	1 227	528	
Spain	36 743	41 917	43 902	55 926	37 710	19 671	21 373	22 571	8 557	31 538	41 877	53 462	8 514	8 908	
Sweden	9 162	13 045	4 703	27 367	17 839	15 553	31 016	4 032	8 449	19 153	15 903	4 218	10 115	26 111	
Switzerland	- 47	91 551	166 901	19 522	43 491	- 43 722	16 765	9 352	84 327	150 512	110 722	- 68 312	- 79 075	- 47 164	
Turkey	6 681	4 813	2 953	2 625	3 602	2 971	3 161	12 973	18 978	13 653	10 962	12 846	9 290	7 887	
United Kingdom	- 151 368	- 66 827	- 37 587	142 443	41 415	- 6 080	- 33 422	24 704	39 189	258 570	96 401	65 285	45 445	19 732	
United States	347 658	274 486	305 441	353 356	- 169 354	118 893	117 954	211 985	483 849	480 016	314 977	243 424	282 053	177 093	
Total World ^{1,3}	1 434 291	1 786 953	1 662 897	1 618 212	880 557	1 183 521	681 122	1 524 660	2 111 438	2 183 758	1 714 941	1 745 198	1 530 492	1 010 520	
European Union (EU) ¹	306 899	744 795	479 673	492 323	367 576	379 927	87 088	282 731	581 157	674 889	409 042	632 759	420 805	112 428	
European Union – 27 count	458 267	811 622	517 260	349 880	326 161	386 006	87 088	258 027	541 968	416 320	312 641	567 475	375 359	112 428	
G20 countries ¹	815 989	817 607	919 268	1 167 303	567 769	883 637	500 314	866 367	1 133 821	1 288 499	978 082	1 014 600	960 694	693 972	
G20-OECD countries ¹	598 166	602 309	673 764	946 849	360 659	670 946	392 537	430 036	747 232	961 546	643 971	621 957	585 218	353 321	
G20-non OECD countries ¹	217 823	215 298	245 504	220 454	207 110	212 691	107 777	436 332	386 589	326 953	334 110	392 643	375 475	340 651	
Argentina ²	1 921	875	1 787	1 156	1 802	1 539	1 234	5 065	11 759	3 260	11 517	11 873	6 663	4 123	
Brazil	- 3 261	- 11 643	- 5 901	19 040	- 16 336	19 031	- 25 808	63 846	49 961	53 700	66 585	59 802	65 386	24 778	
China	123 130	174 391	216 424	138 293	143 027	136 910	109 922	268 097	242 489	174 750	166 084	235 365	187 170	212 476	
India ²	11 686	7 514	5 047	11 090	11 418	13 141	11 569	34 577	44 009	44 459	39 966	42 117	50 610	64 351	
Indonesia	7 077	5 937	- 12 215	2 077	8 053	3 352	4 467	21 811	16 641	3 921	20 579	20 563	23 883	18 581	
Russia	64 203	27 090	26 951	34 153	35 820	22 024	6 311	29 152	11 858	37 176	25 954	13 228	32 076	9 676	
Saudi Arabia ²	5 396	5 390	8 936	7 280	19 252	13 547		8 012	8 141	7 453	1 419	4 247	4 563		
South Africa ²	7 671	5 744	4 474	7 366	4 074	3 147	- 1 973	5 772	1 729	2 235	2 007	5 447	5 125	3 106	
*Data excludes SPEs. Corresponding data below including SPE's ⁴ :															
Austria	- 2 586	- 1 783	- 32 783	6 677	- 33 099	- 10 103	- 4 952	29	- 7 577	- 34 917	10 017	- 35 189	- 17 562	- 16 876	
Chile	12 090	15 456	8 236	3 599	1 292	9 278	11 583	22 848	20 404	12 072	6 203	7 742	12 525	8 386	
Denmark	6 862	7 536	17 401	8 551	3 526	- 8 431	4 948	3 586	2 237	7 184	2 112	5 205	- 16 176	1 625	
Hungary	5 198	- 31 123	45 343	- 153	- 76 722	64 902	89 084	9 192	- 28 167	48 347	2 115	- 72 833	65 145	89 474	
Iceland	- 295	- 29	- 1 122	- 3 224	78	465	- 276	439	670	- 402	- 3 058	- 381	- 301	- 811	
Luxembourg	244 607	738 984	147 117	209 947	- 396 948	- 159 812	- 68 555	208 957	622 283	188 441	69 966	- 404 144	- 137 848	- 45 711	
Netherlands ²	114 406	391 063	290 251	280 425	- 312 114	77 957	- 195 896	116 527	322 856	238 811	228 492	- 374 146	35 711	- 161 591	
Portugal	- 3 722	5 225	871	- 749	798	3 344	2 283	4 891	7 628	5 061	7 735	7 110	12 084	6 311	

Source: The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), <https://www.oecd.org/investment/FDI-in-Figures-April-2021.pdf> accessed on 18.11.2021

According to Table 1, it is evident that in 2020, global FDI flows fell by 38%, or 846 billion US dollars, which is a larger decrease compared to 2019. The reason for this was the pandemic that accelerated the steady decline and contributed to a greater reduction in global FDI flows. Negative debt flows between companies further highlighted the decline in total FDI flows.

There has also been a drop in investment in Europe. Flows in Europe fell by two-thirds to (-4 billion dollars). For example, in the United Kingdom, FDI fell to zero, and declines were observed in other major recipients. But in Europe the situation with FDI was not so bad because in many countries flows were observed. In Sweden, for example, it doubled its flows from \$ 12 billion to \$ 29 billion. FDI in Spain also grew by 52%, thanks to several acquisitions, such as US private equities Cinven, KKR and Providence, which acquired 86% of Masmovil. Among other developed economies, inflows to Australia fell (-46% to \$ 22 billion), but increased for Israel (from \$ 18 billion to \$ 26 billion) and Japan (from \$ 15 billion to \$ 17 billion).⁸

It should be noted here that the Covid crisis has also put central banks to new temptations, how to further adjust monetary policies in conditions of negative interest rates in highly developed countries and avoid the rate of excessive indebtedness of the private sector. Meanwhile, the use of the new wave of unconventional monetary policy instruments was under pressure from the resilience of financial markets and institutions. The goal was to increase the capacity of capital markets to absorb budget deficits.

Data on announced greenfield FDI projects from the Financial Times FDI Markets database show that the effects of the greenfield pandemic on investment have been felt more strongly in EMDE than in advanced economies. With which, in 2020, capital expenditures decreased by 15% in advanced, compared to 2019. However, for the period 2019-2021, the

⁸ <https://unctad.org/news/global-foreign-direct-investment-fell-42-2020-outlook-remains-weak> accessed on 20.11.2021

distribution of sectors shows that capital expenditures in production, services and infrastructure have decreased by about 43% in each sector and by 85% in the extractive industries. The rise in world oil prices can also be singled out here.⁹

The recovery in international activity, which began in the second half of 2021 in advanced economies, could boost FDI capital and aggregate flows and begin to recover in 2022.

Namely, it can be emphasized here that, at the beginning of 2022, the global economic-financial situation continues to stabilize, especially between advanced economies and developing countries with low incomes.

Trends and movements of Foreign direct investment in the crisis Covid-19 period

Economic studies have shown that open economies tend to grow faster than closed economies and that the primary condition for foreign investors is an open investment policy, complemented by strong guarantees to protect investors and their investments. One such example is the European Union's investment policy, which provides legal stability and a predictable environment for foreign investors.

What is characteristic of FDI movements within the EU is that investment movements between EU member states have dominated in the past. While, in comparison with the current situation, it is indicated that many countries have faced an unprecedented decline in the volume of net capital flows.¹⁰

The European Union has significant natural resources of a developed industry. Its most important sector was the service sector, and key sectors for foreign direct investment were:

⁹ <https://www.oecd.org/investment/FDI-in-Figures-April-2021.pdf> pg.8

¹⁰ https://www.ek-inst.ukim.edu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/APLICIRANA-LEKTURA_1-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf accessed on 10.01.2022

automotive industry, biotechnology, information and communication technology, nuclear research, engineering and others, but there is no limit to FDI in any sector. Characteristically, the European Union during the pandemic was aimed at ensuring stability and legal certainty for investors. With the tendency of development in the crisis period, it made the EU to keep the first place in the world in the inflow of foreign direct investments, and at the same time to remain one of the largest world investors in other countries.¹¹

This contributed to the largest volume of FDI flows in the crisis period to move in Europe between developed industrial countries. It should also be noted that regional economic integration and FDI were positively correlated, as both FDI and growth respond endogenously to fundamental change in the world economy and European integration.

Thus, Europe during the coyote crisis remained the most attractive for domestic investment. Of all the major European countries, more than half of their external FDI moved to other European countries. In most cases, this regional orientation has grown. Also important was the transformation of the political situation in Eastern Europe, which played a leading role in the growth of FDI in these economies. However, of the world's domestic FDI by 2018, only 10% were located in Eastern Europe, unlike in 2008. The data show that 10 developing countries absorb 70% of all FDI in developing countries. With that, FDI climbed to a staggering 11% of global GDP, with more than 80 million jobs worldwide. Today, there is more potential than ever for developing and transition countries to reap the benefits of job creation and investment opportunities by attracting FDI.¹²

¹¹ https://www.ek-inst.ukim.edu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/APLICIRANA-LEKTURA_1-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf pg.7 accessed on 12.01.2022

¹² <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/pdfscache/20431.pdf/https://ek-inst.ukim.edu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Economic-D.-no.3-2019.pdf> pg. 61 – 71

Greater economic integration also means greater growth and more jobs.

This means that in order to achieve the desired growth rates in underdeveloped countries, it is recommended that they must increase their productivity by exploiting markets with greater regional and international integration. In that direction, we must act with greater assurance of macroeconomic stability. Thus, strengthening economic integration will enable those countries to accelerate growth and experience the benefits of the global economy. It is precisely this intensification of regional economic integration and the increase of trade and economic cooperation, for example, that will bring the countries of the Western Balkans closer to the EU countries.

Because of this, it can be emphasized that investment flows should not be influenced by the policy of a country, but have more and more economic cycles.

Namely, it can be noted here that the impact of the pandemic increased the vulnerability of over 83 countries and their structurally weak, vulnerable and small economies, which fell by 15%, ie about 35 billion dollars, which is only 3.5% of the global figure for 2021. Therefore, despite all efforts to overcome the shock of the crisis for 2022, FDI inflows in all those small economies are projected to remain low.¹³

Compared to this, the cumulative FDI inflow to the 46 developing countries remained virtually unchanged at around \$ 24 billion for 2021, an increase of 1%. However, most countries registered smaller FDI.¹⁴

According to this, it can be determined that in conditions of long-term pandemic conditions and crisis, it is necessary to redefine the policy for attracting FDI in order to select

¹³ https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2021_overview_ru.pdf pg 15

¹⁴ https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2021_overview_ru.pdf pg. 15-16

those foreign companies that will generate the greatest direct and multiplier effects. This is especially important for underdeveloped and emerging economies. Namely, so far the policies for attracting FDI have looked only at the direct effects that can be delivered by foreign companies in terms of the amount of investment and the number of newly created jobs. However, no attention was paid to how much these companies would create added value in the economy through induced channels. This, in underdeveloped market economies, has resulted in low integration of companies in their supply chains and very little domestic value added in their exports. This implicitly imposed the need for in-depth sector analysis and studies.

Conclusion

The stabilization of the international economy and the strengthening of the process of globalization in conditions of crisis pandemic, caused a change in the attitude towards FDI and their role for the development of the countries. Thus, in the period of crisis pandemic with increasing tendency, countries began to create increasing conditions for attracting foreign direct investment. Significantly, multinational corporate FDI began to be seen as one of the channels through which countries gained access to state-of-the-art technologies, the diffusion of which played an important role in economic growth. It can be determined that, as the largest volume of FDI movement in the crisis period took place between developed countries.

On the other hand, FDI has proven to be a very important factor in boosting economic growth in developing countries. Because developing countries have filled this gap with foreign direct investment as a more important form of international capital flow.

As a conclusion in this paper, it can be determined that large investors should perceive the huge technological and economic potential of the regions in the newly developed and poorly developed economies and thus expect large returns in the near future. Therefore, it can be pointed out that the world trade imbalances that marked the world before the crisis will not clear up on their own.

However, as the most significant conclusions from the latest empirical research mentioned during the paper, they found that FDI is the main generator of economic growth of countries in the last decade. If countries follow the cycle of highly developed economies, they can expect increasing importance of reinvested profits in the future, as a source of capital for the

current and investment needs of companies in their countries. The uncertainty factor was the one that initiated the financial movement that had not been seen for a long time.

In this regard, the growth of international investments has begun and is expected to accelerate. Early indicators of greenfield investment and international project financing, as well as the experience of past FDI declines, suggest that even if companies and financiers are now preparing for capital expenditures, they will still be wary of new foreign investment in manufacturing assets and infrastructure.

What has been said so far in this paper determines the need to write what is expected in the future from new investments in priority areas for growth. Namely, they will be able to channel public funds into larger investment programs for the recovery of poorer countries that rely on alternative sources of finance such as development banks and initiatives to attract foreign capital.

However, it can be determined that most of the funds would be spent especially on the digital economy and the energy transition with their accelerated implementation. These investment priorities should be in line with: investment needs for greater sustainable development; to influence sectors in which public investment plays a more important role in facilitating government activities; and have a high economic multiplier effect, important for stimulating demand.

The purpose of this paper was to analyze the differences in the inflow and outflow of foreign direct investment between countries with a special focus on developments and the impact on their economic growth during the pre-Covid crisis and during the Covid crisis. Namely, the countries that used the benefits of FDI, became an example of economic development and an indicator of external economic confidence in the stability and development of their economies.

It can also be concluded that by taking measures to strengthen the investment position of the countries and by improving the general business climate, direct incentives can be expected from foreign investors.

As an essential problem, it is posed that the FDI turbulences will stabilize and overcome the problems they faced especially during the post-crisis period, in order to create greater benefit to countries and reduce poverty. With that, emerging economies need to close the gaps with advanced economies to reap the benefits and experiences of international trade and labor mobility in financial markets, as well as the latest technological advances available worldwide.

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Tough Talk vs Tough Action*

Tonito Solinas[†] Policymaking and information in the post-Covid era

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ABSTRACT

Following the mid-2017 inbound migration peak of third countries' nationals in Italy, the then Italian Minister of the Interior Marco Minniti signed a Memorandum of Understanding, with the purpose to curb illegal immigration and “liberate our lands from traffickers”. The MoU marked the first step towards a stricter set of national regulations, intensified by the succeeding Minister of Interior Matteo Salvini, and adjusted by the current Minister Luciana Lamorgese. The fight against human trafficking shape the political agenda and steer Italy's public opinion, deepening the gap between those who support the pushback of migrants, on one side, and those who advocate compliance to regulations and treaties, not to mention the respect of human rights. Empirical evidence shows that adopted policies have at least partly achieved their objectives, discouraging irregular migration to a certain extent, but at the expense of migrants' living conditions and their perception by national citizens. The paper provides an overview of the policy instruments deployed by the Italian Government to control the irregular migration wave, and what kind of resistance policymakers have had to confront during the implementation phase from the press and the public opinion. A section of the paper is dedicated to the importance of, and the need for, fair and truthful communication: fact-checking and debunking fake news are presented as necessary tools to inform and guide policymaking in the post-Covid era.

KEYWORDS

migration policy, talk, action, fact-checking, pandemic

1 Foreword

Migration is often a matter of concern for national governments and local administrations, since it has a major impact on both the working and private lives of national and non-national citizens. In order to be tackled effectively, the challenges posed by migration often require the support and intervention of a diverse range of stakeholders, including private organizations and NGOs.

Being so closely connected to the daily routine of every person living within national borders, regulating migration is far from being a “modern” struggle: rules for incoming flows have been a common topic entrusted to the Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs in most of the countries around the globe. Italy is no stranger to it and current regulations governing the migration of non-EU citizens to Italy are informed by a set of laws which combine the control of the inflow of individuals with the fight against irregular immigration.

The first section of this paper offers an overview of the legal framework developed between 1998 and 2020, with particular reference to the rules issued after the 2016 migration peak in Italy, governing inbound migration, with particular reference to the Consolidated Act and the so-called “security decrees”. The second section describes the complexity of public communication, focusing on the critical (and often criticized) role of mass and social media in the construction of public opinion around irregular migration. The third section highlights the inconsistency between the “tough talk” funnelled by some of the media and the (not so) “tough action” implemented by applicable rules and regulations, highlighting the potential of mass and social media to be used as tools to spread truthful, checked information and support integration

policies.

2 Regulations in Italy between 1998 and 2020

This section offers an overview of the current legal framework governing inbound migration in Italy between 1998 and 2020, with particular reference to the Consolidated Act and the so-called “security decrees”.

In Italy, access to the national territory is allowed to those who are in possession of a passport (or an equivalent document) and a visa at border crossings. The State periodically publishes the 'flow-decree', that is, a specific Decree of the President of the Council of Ministers, as provided for Italian Law no. 40/1998¹, setting the maximum number of foreigners who may be granted access to Italy for employment or self-employment purposes. The Law also provides for special employment conditions, such as seasonal contracts.

The State, Regions, and local Administrations, in collaboration with the trade unions and the authorities of the countries of origin, promote the integration of foreign citizens who are regularly present in Italy in the framework of programmes which:

- Provide information on the rights and opportunities for integration or reintegration in the countries of origin
- Promote language, civic, and professional training
- Promote access to the job market.

The Territorial Councils for Immigration, established at each Italian prefecture, monitor the presence of foreigners locally and the level of social and work integration, in order to promote targeted local integration policies, in collaboration with other institutions and private social organizations. These bodies connect the central government and local bodies for all immigration-related issues, securing the consistency of policies for migration management throughout the territory.²

A critical principle underpinning the current immigration regulations is the adoption of measures to combat irregular migratory behaviours, and in particular, on one side, pre-emptive measures aimed at preventing migration outside the official channels (irregular immigration) and, on the other side, repressive measures which punish foreigners who have entered irregularly, the violation of administrative provisions regulating legal stay and, finally, the potential criminal behaviour of immigrants.

In the development of measures and policies to respond to irregular immigration in Italy, a major role has been played by the external constraint exemplified by the adjustment of domestic laws to the Schengen requirements, which resulted in the interruption of internal border checks.

Italian Law 40/1998 was then followed by Italian Legislative Decree 286/1998³, also known as the “Consolidated Act of Provisions concerning immigration and the condition of third country nationals”, that highlighted that the most effective instrument to combat irregular immigration is an effective border control aimed at stopping the flow of irregular immigrants and preventing their entry into the country by rejecting them, and, on the other hand, at identifying and punishing those who facilitate the irregular entry of

¹ Italian Parliament (1998), Legge 6 marzo 1998, n. 40 “Disciplina dell’immigrazione e norme sulla condizione dello straniero”. Italian OJ no. 59 of 12 March 1998 – Ordinary Supplement no. 40, <https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/98040l.htm>

² Italian Ministry of Home Affairs (2021), Migration Policies, <https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/politiche-migratorie>

³ Italian Parliament (1998), Legislative Decree No. 286 of 25 July 1998, “Consolidated Act of Provisions concerning immigration and the condition of third country nationals, from the official European Website on Integration – Migrant Integration Information and Good Practices. <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library/doc/legislative-decree-2571998-no-286-on-consolidated-act-of-provisions-concerning-immigration-and-the-condition-of-third-country-nationals>

foreigners, often for profit.

Rejection is essentially a law-enforcement operation aimed at preventing the irregular entry of immigrants, that may be of two types:

- Immediate rejection⁴, carried out directly by the border police against those who show up at border crossings without meeting the necessary requirements for entry into the national territory.
- Deferred rejection⁵, carried out by order of the Chief of Police, that consists of taking the foreigner back to the border, in two different cases: firstly, if the foreigner is found missing the required documents at border crossing but was allowed to enter the territory being in need of assistance; secondly, when the foreigner managed to cross the border without the required documents and was put in detention in the border vicinity.

Rejection is not carried out in case of political asylum, recognition of refugee status, temporary protection of foreigners for humanitarian reasons⁶, or against foreigners who may be subject to persecution in the State of origin⁷.

The Consolidated Act entrusts the function of border control to the Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs. It is up to the Ministers to adopt, for their respective competences, a general plan for the strengthening and improvement of border control measures⁸.

Moreover, Italian Law no. 189/2002⁹ established the Central Directorate of Immigration and Border Police as part of the Department of Public Security of the Ministry of Home Affairs, transferring the competences carried out in the past by the Central Directorate for Road, Railway, Postal, Border and Immigration Police, that was renamed Central Directorate for Road, Railway and Communication Police and for Special Units of the State Police¹⁰ (not included as a novelty in the Consolidated Act).

In this way, the immigration control functions were acquired by a specific and dedicated Department at the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The new Directorate is entrusted not only with the functions of border police and the fight against irregular immigration, but also with the management of public security regarding the entry and stay of foreigners.

At the local level, the Consolidated Act entrusts the Prefects of the Provincial Authorities of border areas and the Prefects of the regional capital cities of coastal areas with the coordination of border controls and maritime and land surveillance, as provided for by the Directives adopted by the Minister of Home Affairs. Moreover, Prefects supervise the implementation of immigration-specific rules and regulations.

Both the Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs may promote agreements, covenants, and pacts with the countries of origin or transit of irregular flows aimed, in general, at collaborating in the fight against irregular migration and, moreover, aimed at speeding up the completion of investigations and the issue of documents related to the procedures provided for by the Consolidated Act (such as expulsion-related procedures). Cooperation agreements may also provide for the free transfer of equipment and means which

⁴ Italian Parliament (1998), Legge 6 marzo 1998, n. 40. "Disciplina dell'immigrazione e norme sulla condizione dello straniero". Italian OJ no. 59 of 12 March 1998 – Ordinary Supplement no. 40, art. 10, par. 1

⁵ Ibid., art. 10, par. 2

⁶ Ibid., art. 10, par. 4

⁷ Ibid., art. 19, par. 1

⁸ Ibid., art. 11, par. 1

⁹ Italian Parliament (2002), Legge 30 luglio 2002, n. 189 "Modifica alla normativa in materia di immigrazione e di asilo". Italian OJ no. 199 of 26 August 2002 - Ordinary Supplement.

¹⁰ Ibid., art. 35

are necessary for the prevention of irregular immigration¹¹.

This was indeed the case for the events that followed the late-2016 immigration peak that affected Italy and called for the adoption of new and stricter measures by the then national Government.

As provided for by Italian Law Decree no. 241/2004¹², the Ministry of Home Affairs could establish special "units" within the territories of the countries of origin, aimed at fighting irregular flows¹³.

The Consolidated Act on Immigration provides for a set of rules which complement the provisions for border controls¹⁴.

Firstly, the crime of aiding and abetting irregular immigration is specifically included to punish those, such as the so-called "scafisti"/smugglers, who irregularly transport citizens coming from non-EU countries into the national territory for a profit.

This is a serious crime for which arrest in *flagrante delicto* and confiscation of the means of transport are mandatory.

Italian Law 189/2002 supplemented the criminal profile considering aiding and abetting irregular migration, but also any other activities facilitating the irregular transfer from Italy to another State (irregular immigration in transit) are crimes, thus implementing EU Directive 2002/90¹⁵, concerning the "definition of aiding and abetting irregular entry, transit and stay".

In addition, Italian Law No.189/2002 reset penalties depending on aggravating factors (such as the initiation of prostitution). Such penalties would then be worsened by Italian Legislative Decree 241/2004, also providing leniency to cooperating witnesses.

In this regard, the redefinition of the crimes of enslavement and trafficking in human beings, as provided for by Italian Law No. 228/2003¹⁶, resulted in the adjustment of some immigration-related provisions of the Italian Penal Code.

A second group of provisions regulates police operations aimed at combating irregular immigration. The Consolidated Act empowers the police forces operating in border areas and at sea to control, inspect and search means of transport during operations to combat trafficking related to irregular immigration, and, if necessary, to seize these vehicles and other assets that may be used¹⁷.

The Consolidated Act on Immigration provides for different types of expulsion of foreign citizens, which can be basically divided into two legal categories:

- Expulsion as an administrative sanction, required by the administrative authority (Minister or Prefect) in case of violation of the rules on entry and stay.
- Expulsion applied by the judge in the context of criminal proceedings (expulsion as a security measure and expulsion as a substitute or alternative sanction to a criminal sanction).

They have two different purposes: the first affects those who violate the procedures established for the entry and residence of foreigners and therefore are necessary sanctions; the second affects the criminal

¹¹ Ibid., art. 11, par. 4

¹² Italian Parliament (2004), Decreto-legge 14 settembre 2004, n. 241, "Disposizioni urgenti in materia di immigrazione". Italian OJ no. 216 of 14 September 2004

¹³ Ibid., art. 11, par. 5-bis, introduced by art. 1-bis of the decree-law No. 241 of 14 September 2004

¹⁴ Italian Parliament (1998), Legislative Decree No. 286 of 25 July 1998, art 12

¹⁵ EU, Council Directive 2002/90/EC of 28 November 2002 defining the facilitation of unauthorised entry, transit, and residence, OJ L 328, 5.12.2002, 17–18

¹⁶ Italian Parliament (2003), Legge 11 agosto 2003, n. 228, "Misure contro la tratta di persone". Italian OJ No. 195 of 23 August 2003

¹⁷ Ibid., art. 11, par 7-8

behaviour of foreigners, regardless of the regularity of their administrative standing. However, some forms of "judicial" expulsion can only be carried out against foreigners who are subject to administrative expulsion.

The Consolidation Act also provides for a series of circumstances for which expulsion may not be implemented¹⁸.

Expulsion and *refoulement*, are prohibited if in the State the foreigner is expected to be extradited to, he or she may be subject to persecution "due to his or her race, gender, language, nationality, religion, political opinion, personal or social conditions".

In addition, only *refoulement* but not deportation is permitted in the following cases:

- Minors, except for the right to follow the expelled parent
- Holders of residence permits, unless there are serious reasons of public order, pursuant to art. 9 of the Consolidated Act
- Person cohabiting with spouse or relatives within the fourth degree of Italian nationality
- Pregnant women or women with children under six months of age

A foreigner may be expelled in the above-mentioned circumstances if an administrative expulsion is implemented by the Minister of the Home Affairs for the purpose of public order.¹⁹

Following the late-2016 inbound migration peak of non-EU nationals in Italy, the then Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni signed a Memorandum of Understanding²⁰ with the Libyan Government of National Accord (GNA) led by Fayez al-Sarraj, with the purpose to curb irregular immigration and "liberate our lands from traffickers", based on the negotiations carried out by the Italian Minister of the Home Affairs Marco Minniti.

Irregular migration had been going on for several years and over 500,000 people had left their home countries in Africa and the Middle East to seek for a job or to the EU fleeing from local conflicts. Migration routes were crossing the African continent and a major role was played by traffickers residing in, or travelling to, Libya. Minniti decided to offer an agreement to Libyan tribal chiefs. The agreement provided that the Italian Government funded and strengthened the GNA that had been established after the civil war, in exchange for the GNA's opposition to the traffickers who were trying to reach the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea to smuggle migrants. The GNA was also requested to improve the conditions of the local refugee camps which had been compared to WWII concentration camps by several international organizations, including the UNHCR.

The Agreement and the set of rules and regulations that followed it, partly achieved the expected results. Regardless of the clear deterioration of the migrants' living conditions across the whole northern African continent, that is not the subject matter of this paper, the number of irregular migrants reaching the Italian shores was severely reduced, thus reaching the quantitative objectives of the Agreement and the following

¹⁸ Ibid., Art. 19

¹⁹ Italian Parliament, "Immigrazione – contrasto dell'immigrazione clandestina", https://www.camera.it/cartellecomuni/leg14/RapportoAttivitaCommissioni/testi/01/01_cap09_sch03.htm

²⁰ F. Gianassi (2017), Memorandum di intesa tra Italia e Libia firmato a Roma il 2 Febbraio 2017, www.osservatoriosullefonti.it

“security decrees”.

Minister of Home Affairs Marco Minniti was succeeded by Matteo Salvini. Being the leader of the far-right wing *Lega* and a champion of the “defence of the nation against the foreign invasion”²¹, Salvini promoted a stricter and stricter approach to migration management focusing on the threat coming from the “invaders” and building consensus on the quantitative results secured by the “closure of ports”. Minniti’s agreement and the “security decrees” promoted by Salvini were later criticized by several political parties and part of the world’s civil society, resulting in an unprecedented polarization of the public opinion, both in Italy and abroad.

3 The narratives

Polarization has characterized the public debate on migration for several years, also due to the peculiar development of both mass and social media.

In 2017, communication was changing rapidly and demanding for “breaking news” on a daily basis, for continuing “crises”, “ultimate solutions”, “victims and wrongdoers”²².

To date, the fight against human trafficking has shaped the political agenda and steered the public opinion, deepening the gap between those who support the pushback of migrants, on one side, and those who advocate compliance to regulations and treaties, and the respect of human rights.

Much research has focused on the role of narratives in migration affairs especially in Europe, both with respect to policymaking dynamics²³ and migrants’ experiences and perspectives.

By presenting the same issue in different ways, media have the power to affect people’s perceptions²⁴ and, therefore, social reality. This is particularly true at a time when there is a wide range of sources of information and an overall promptness and thoughtlessness in sharing “second-hand” information, as the spread of fake news has shown worldwide.

Media can actually set the context where a specific issue is placed and framed. This can help attach a positive or negative connotation to the selected issue, so as to cause “changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations”²⁵. Social experiments have shown that, by emphasizing certain aspects rather than others, media are able to influence how people position themselves in relation to specific issues, such as terrorism or migration²⁶.

Media analyses have fashioned several language registers to speak about migration and related interpretations of justice that only a few years ago were the prerogative of right-wing populist parties such as the *Front National* (National Front) in France, *Lega Nord* (Northern League, now renamed as *Lega*) in Italy or *Fidesz* in Hungary.

Today, the language of polarization is largely used by more moderate parties. As a result, various shades of

²¹ ANSA (2017), https://www.ansa.it/sardegna/notizie/2017/11/26/salvini-500mila-migranti-da-espellere_c9ebdae6-e60e-4c70-b17b-9d9413afafb4.html

²² V. Baù (2017), Ridefinire l’immagine dei bambini e degli adolescenti rifugiati nei media. Impressioni dal fronte italiano, <https://openmigration.org/analisi/ridefinire-limmagine-dei-bambini-e-degli-adolescenti-rifugiati-nei-media-impressioni-dal-fronte-italiano/>

²³ B. Burscher et al. (2015), Owning the Issues of Crime and Immigration: The relation between immigration and crime news and anti-immigrant voting in 11 countries”, DOI:10.1016/j.electstud.2015.03.001

²⁴ M. García-Carmona et al (2021), Migration to the EU: a survey of firstline practitioners’ perceptions during the COVID-19 pandemic. PERCEPTIONS project (Grant Agreement No 833870)

²⁵ S. Iyengar, D.R. Kinder (1987). News that matters: Television and American opinion. University of Chicago Press

²⁶ S. Iyengar et al., Experimental Demonstrations of the “Not-So-Minimal” Consequences of Television News Programs. The American Political Science Review, Vol. 76, No. 4 (Dec. 1982), 848-858

Westphalian justice claims have legitimised restrictive migration measures and even a disregard or a violation of the rights of migrants.

Therefore, one of the core issues related to the public debate on migration-related information is that, due to the complexity of migration and the different interpretations of concepts such as “freedom” or “rights”, part of the debate seems to be an interpretation of partial datasets.

Public opinion does not seem to easily spot “fake” (or “partially fake”) news and the success rate of fact-checking activities is significantly reduced by the uninterrupted involvement of opinion-leaders, columnists, and pundits in both traditional and social media.

The proliferation of “partially fake” or “fake” news is likely to be connected the different perspectives offered by the media “lenses” which are hardly informed by purely objective data.

During the last two years, the information on migrant-related issues funnelled by the media has intertwined with the threats of the pandemic.

Once again²⁷, the threat to public health has given some political leaders a powerful instrument to shift public opinion and exacerbate the debate connected to foreigners and their presence on the national territory.

Just like WWII, migrants (and in particular “unwelcome” individuals, such as irregular migrants coming from poorer countries) started being associated with fear, allegedly justified by the glooming threat of COVID-19.

In 2020, the national press announced that refugees and migrants were “immune” to coronavirus²⁸. The message was later changed, and journalists claimed that migrants were virus carriers, following a release by the National Police Union announcing twenty-five alleged cases of Coronavirus at the Lampedusa Refugee Camp²⁹. The piece of news was later refuted by Mayor Totò Martello, who said: “I categorically deny the presence of Covid-19 cases in Lampedusa. The swabs tested on migrants are all negative. Stop with fake news”³⁰.

The exploitation of migrants as “news material” facilitated an *othering* process among the Italian (and EU) public opinion, associating fear to irregular migration. However, evidence showed that between February and June 2020, only 239 out of 59,648 migrants (0.38%) living in Italian Extraordinary Reception Centres, tested positive for Covid-19, accounting for 0.001% of all the Covid-19 cases reported in Italy during that period of time³¹.

Refugees and irregular migrants were required to comply with strict quarantine procedures with an initial antibody test, a 14-day isolation, and a swab test at the end of the quarantine, resulting in the worsening of their living conditions, which are still critical. Among them, those who have been granted a permit of residency by local authorities, have had access to health care and social security services. However, the vast majority of refugees in Italy (around 80%) do not have a residency permit and are, therefore, ineligible for

²⁷ Archiwum Panstwowe w Lublinie, Nazi Propaganda Poster “Jews Are Lice: They Cause Typhus”, <https://perspectives.usmm.org/asset/1366>

²⁸ F. Bernasconi (2021), Il virologo Galli: “Immigrati africani immuni? È solo un'ipotesi”. La Repubblica of 24 March 2021, <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/virologo-galli-immigrati-immuni-unipotesti-1845290.html>

²⁹ Minister of Home Affairs Luciana Lamorgese during an interview to Il Corriere della Sera, Il Giornale and Libero on 28 July 2020, https://www.corriere.it/cronache/20_luglio_27/porto-empedocle-fuga-massa-migranti-tensostruttura-protezione-civile-183bea7e-d013-11ea-b6b4-c1fd88d9cdd9.shtml

³⁰ Lampedusa Mayor Totò Martello during an interview to La Repubblica on 8 August 2020, https://palermo.repubblica.it/cronaca/2020/08/08/news/lampedusa_il_sindaco_martello_contro_le_fake_news_sui_migranti-264135134/

³¹ INMP/NHMP (2020), Indagine nazionale COVID-19 nelle strutture del sistema di accoglienza per migranti. https://www.inmp.it/pubblicazioni/Indagine_COVID-19_strutture_accoglienza.pdf

public benefits³².

The lack of a consistent sharing of information has resulted in a widespread information chaos that has facilitated fear and made misinformation possible.

The media (in particular those affiliated with populist parties and movements) seem to have played a critical role, having exploited key communication platforms to convey this message to the broader audience, trying to win the audience's trust over highly politicized and divisive subjects.

Similarly, the voice of those who stress the importance of taking a humanitarian stance toward refugees and migrants, has risen as well, with particular reference to individuals and organizations championing the protection of all human beings and compliance with UNHCR positions³³.

These two different approaches are the expression of clashing political stances, but also embed a specific view of global political justice.

Seeing world governance as *just* when it is made up of sovereign states whose main moral imperative is to protect their citizens and respect the other's sovereignty is quite different from viewing global justice as putting human beings at the centre of ethical considerations.

Interestingly, the "tough talk" funnelled by the media was rather disconnected from the objective content of applicable rules and regulations, which, despite being rather strict and resulting in major legislative "glitches and side effects"³⁴, still included effective safeguard clauses for the protection of human rights on the national territory, making expulsions extremely hard to be fully implemented if and when safety was not guaranteed for the expelled irregular migrant.

4 Closing remarks

Past and current experiences seem to suggest that, despite the strict policies implemented by the Italian government(s) since 1998, which achieved some major results in the fight against irregular migration, much effort and importance has been attached by policymakers and the media to the narratives connected to such policies.

The *tough talk* presented by the Italian Ministers of Home Affairs have often turned out to be much stricter than the actual actions put in place. Much effort has been made to build a scene where the protection from the "other" or the "public enemy" justified any action implemented or envisaged by the then Minister.

Since interdisciplinary research suggests that the future political debate will be more and more polarized and that the political talk will become tougher and tougher, much effort should be made to make sure that politicians and the press use platforms in an ethical and evidence-based way.

Traditional and, above all, social media are expected to be the main source of information in the future, for both the public opinion and migrants alike.

Several works have shown how the so-called "2015-16 refugee crisis" reinforced the processes of

³² Italian Chamber of Deputies, Servizio Studi, XVIII Legislatura (2021), Emergenza COVID-19: le misure in materia di immigrazione, p. 7, https://www.camera.it/temi/documentazione/temi/pdf/1215466.pdf?_1588825553154

³³ P. Musarò (2019), *Aware Migrants: The role of information campaigns in the management of migration*. SAGE, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323119886164>

³⁴ The so-called "security decrees" promoted by Minister of Home Affairs Matteo Salvini hindered the irregular migrants' access to national healthcare services, thus affecting national health and resulted in President of the Republic Sergio Mattarella's statement addressed to the Italian Parliament, to reconsider the text of the decrees and adjust it to make public health services available to irregular and illegal migrants.

securitisation of migration already underway in European countries^{35,36} and triggered collective securitisation^{37,38}.

In this process, the European Union adopted measures to “save Schengen”³⁹ by strengthening border controls, establishing selective hotspots⁴⁰, and externalising migration policies and border control to third countries⁴¹.

This was the case with the 2016 EU-Turkey “deal”, the 2017 Italy-Libya agreement, and the EU’s prioritising of anti-smuggling over search and rescue.

In order to turn the threats behind contemporary communication approaches and techniques into opportunities, research on social media should further focus on how to improve non-partisan fact-checking and how to build trust around media platforms, making sure they become a force for good and a safe tool to inform and guide policymaking in the post-Covid era.

³⁵ J. Huysmans (2006), *The Politics of Insecurity*. in Huysmans J (2006), *Migration and Asylum in the EU*, Routledge Press

³⁶ K. Ayhan (2009), *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization*, Palgrave

³⁷ V. Moreno-Lax (2018), EU Humanitarian Border and the Securitization of Human Rights: The ‘Rescue-through-interdiction/Rescue-without-protection’ Paradigm. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56: 119–140

³⁸ M. Ceccorulli, S. Lucarelli (2018), Back to Schengen: the collective securitisation of the EU free-border area. Taylor & Francis Online, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2018.1510196>

³⁹ European Commission (2016), “Back to Schengen” EC Communication

⁴⁰ M. Ceccorulli, S. Lucarelli (2017), EU migration terms, definitions and concepts: Perspectives of justice. E. Fassi, S. Lucarelli (2017), *The European Migration System and Global Justice: a First Appraisal*, pp. 67–85, Arena Publisher

⁴¹ Coordinamento Italiano NGO Internazionali (CINI) and Concord Europe (2018), *Partnership or Conditionality? Monitoring the Migration Compacts and EU Trust Fund for Africa*. Concord Europe Publisher

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The importance of IT technologies in education in pandemic time

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of a pandemic is not something new in the world. There also have been pandemics in the past. The global covid 19 pandemics has been around for a long time. People all over the world are slowly adapting to the changes and lifestyles imposed by the Corona virus and after a year and a half of living with that virus they have accepted all the challenges and got used to the new way of life. In the paper we described the functioning of the educational process during the pandemic with Covid 19 virus, more precisely, an analysis of the way the classes we hold during the pandemic is given. Emphasis on the application of IT technologies for successful implementation of teaching and achieving excellent results from students is placed. Finally, a conclusion in which we want to emphasize the importance of the application of IT technologies in education during and after the end of the virus is given, in order to emphasize the advantages of their use. We achieve all this by comparing the educational process in a time of pandemic using IT tools and without IT technologies.

CCS CONCEPTS

• Education • Mathematics • Teaching methodology

KEYWORDS

education, learning, Covid 19, testing.

1 Introduction

The topic of pandemic became especially popular with the appearance of the Covid 19 virus in 2019, more precisely in 2020 in North Macedonia when a pandemic was officially declared worldwide. The high number of people infected and dying from this virus, so has made this pandemic one of the deadliest in world history. All of this has made the goal of much research in many areas, from 2020 to the present day, to be related to the virus Covid -19.

With the advent of the virus changes in life were inevitable. Changes have taken place in education, in the economy, in industry, in the social life of the people, in medicine and so on. People slowly accepted the new challenges and learned to live with them.

Education with the proclamation of the world pandemic had to undergo immediate changes. The changes that needed to be made were big. In higher education, both professors and students knew that they had to adapt to the newly created working conditions, to accept the reality and to think from the first day and find the best solution for a successful education.

A lot of research has been done and is still doing to see the advantages and disadvantages in the educational process during the Covid-19 pandemic. In University “Goce Delcev” – Stip according to Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) situation all the process of teaching and testing are performed online using Microsoft team’s platform. In [7] the authors statistically analyze the results of the first and second partial exam for the subject Mathematics for the students from different academic year: one from academic year when the exams was performed in a classroom, the second one from academic year when the e-testing using Moodle 2 platform

was introduced and the third one from academic year when the testing was online.

In order to determine whether online learning affects students' knowledge, in [1] are given statistically analyze for the results of the first and second partial exam for the subject Mathematics for the students from first academic year from Faculty of Natural and Technical science at University "Goce Delcev"– Stip, where: the first exam was taken when the exams were performed in a classroom and the second one when the testing was online (via Microsoft Teams). Mathematics as strict and rational science discipline plays an important role in the education process. Every interruption in the continuous process of teaching and learning could provoke many negative consequences for the students. In [10] authors are considering some possibilities for adapting in these new conditions when the students and teachers cannot be in the classrooms. The main aim of this paper is to analyze easy online ways and resources for teaching and learning mathematics. The importance of mathematics as a science is a guile. This is also seen in the fact that it has been the subject of research in many papers. In [8] there is an explanation for solving problems in the field of mathematics, solved in the Matlab programming language. The goal of that paper is to show that Matlab is a user-friendly programming language, so it is easy to use. Commands are invoked in a very simple way with a simple syntax, where in comparison with other programming languages; they require detailed knowledge of the language itself.

Attempts to introduce changes in traditional ways of learning existed even before the outbreak of the Covid - 19 pandemic. Videoconferencing uses audio and video telecommunications to bring people at different sites together when travel is not an option. Videoconferencing is used to bridge the distance gap between various sites, to stimulate collaboration, support and enhance student or staff communication and to enable flexible quality learning and accessibility with minimal costs. The aim of [6] is to evaluate the potentials of videoconferencing distance learning and to understand student perceptions and their satisfaction with this kind of education. Also, a comparison of students' attitude between videoconferencing distance learning and traditional classroom environment learning is made. The results showed that this form of distance education can be accepted equally good as traditional methods of teaching. Also, in the past decade a growing number of institutions started applying the e-learning concept through web-based learning systems to change the traditional learning environment and monitor the students' educational needs. The lack of electronic materials both hardware and software in Macedonia primary education force the teachers to actively engage in the process of creating and developing their own educational applications. [9] demonstrates a successful e-learning application developed with Adobe Captivate, which is a powerful tool for creating interactive applications. The e-learning application is based on SCORM, and it was evaluated by the students of VII grade primary school as well as with their teachers and parents. The evaluation showed that the e-learning application has accomplished its goal and it can be a foundation for developing similar application in all schools in the Republic of Macedonia even before the onset of the Covid - 19 pandemic. The more important is the acceptance of new technologies in education also in the past. So, authors in [5] use a modified Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT) as the research methodology. The purpose of [5] is understanding teaching staff acceptance and use e-Learning system (ELC) and investigating the influence of seven determinants (four UTAUT determinants, 2 additional determinants and one personal "self-confidence" determinant).

Paper that explores education during a pandemic is also [2]. The aim of [2] is to draw a conclusion which way of learning gives better results in student achievement.

In addition to IT technologies in times of pandemics, it is important to introduce different learning methods such as: visual learning, verbal, physical, logical, and so on are also important to apply when studying some mathematical topics. In [3] authors want to see how and how many of the learning methods as: visual learning, aural, verbal, physical, logical, social, and personal learning are used in the study of information subjects. All these methods are important because each one is good in its own way and has a big impact on the student, because it uses different parts of the brain. [4] examines the habits and competences of IT students in the use of information technology resources. The survey includes 650 students from seven different higher education institutions in various countries in the region. The paper investigates which information technology tools, online applications, and offline programs are being used. The paper also aims to highlight the amount of time that students spend online and how much they participate in communicating online. The goal of [4] is to assess what the opportunities provided by the Internet have been used for in terms of learning and

development.

Research methodology

Successful education is the basis for the overall development of a country, i.e., for the normal and smooth functioning of the whole world. Therefore, after a week of declaring an epidemic, online teaching has already started in all Universities in North Macedonia. So, it was at the University Goce Delchev Shtip. Quality education was the main goal of all employees at the University. The preparation, organization and learning of the novelties were major in that period. Therefore, during that period, numerous trainings were organized for the professors to use the Microsoft Teams platform, after it was accepted as a platform through which the educational process will take place. Then trainings for using the Moodle platform were organized, which were mainly focused on learning the possibilities for creating electronic tests on the Moodle and online conducting exams and colloquia.

Electronic boards were available at our university for successful realization of the teaching in the subjects in which it is needed. The software needed to teach some of the subjects was previously procured and now were available to professors.

There were also preparations for the students. Most of them had a computer and internet at home. Very few didn't have. But we as a university tried to provide them with what is most needed to attend online classes. We achieved this through cooperation between students and professors aimed at providing conditions for attending the classes for all students. Students at some of the university's faculties who had problems installing and using the Microsoft Teams IT tool also received help in the process of installing the platform and using it. The assistance consisted in organizing and maintaining trainings available to all interested students.

In the introductory classes, the professors emphasized the importance of this IT tool (Microsoft Teams) and tried to instill hope among students that quality education will not be lacking even now. They managed to show it with the first classes held online. This was confirmed by the students and their results in the subjects of the faculties where they study, because the results in the academic year in which the even semester was online were very similar to the results in the academic year 2019/2020 in which the odd semester was with physical presence.

2 Main results

In math teaching, in addition to the basic IT tools such as computer, Internet, Microsoft Teams, electronic board - wide screen design tablet, e-learning, electronic scripts and task collections - publications from our university, educational software mostly GeoGebra and other online materials available on the Internet related to the mathematical topics which being studied were used.

All these IT tools are equally important for the smooth functioning of the mathematics teaching process. Some of these tools were used before the pandemic of Covid 19, but the significance of their use before and during the pandemic is the aim of this research and will be outlined below.

Students from the technical faculties at the University Goce Delchev Shtip were included in our research. With this research we wanted to see the importance of IT tools in the educational process in mathematics subjects, then we wanted to see if it is enough to use only one or two IT tools in the educational process, and do we have more benefits from using more IT tools. As conclusion, in one semester that took place online we made some challenges for the students.

At first, we decided to suggest students to download the appropriate material from Moodle platform for the relevant e-learning courses, and one week to teach independently without holding a class through Microsoft Teams and without using of an electronic board, without using of educational software, without a recommendation for other literature.

Students agreed with our suggestion. Next week when the classes were online, at the very beginning there were immediate reactions from the students that the learning was difficult because they encountered many ambiguities in solving the tasks and encountered difficulties in requesting additional learning material.

To really make sure that students are telling the truth before the start of the new material presentation that

follows that week, we gave them a test with five tasks from the topic they were supposed to master the previous week. There were 24 students, but only one student solved all tasks correctly. The results are given in Table 1.

Table 1 Results from test 1

Variables	Number
Group	24
Age	
18-21	17
other	7
Gender	
F	8
M	16
Tasks	
first task correctly solved	18
second task correctly solved	6
third task correctly solved	5
fourth task correctly solved	6
fifth task correctly solved	10

From Table 1 we can see that only first task is solved correctly from more than half students (75%). Around 25% solved correctly the second, third and fourth task and $\approx 42\%$ solved correctly the fifth task. The results are bad. 37.5% is the overall average of correctly solved tasks.

With an extra class we held the provided teaching material for that week. After two weeks, we gave the same students a new challenge. We held an online class through the Microsoft Times, without using the electronic board, just by reviewing previously typed tasks in word and a recommendation to use GeoGebra software as assistance in solving tasks.

Again, next week we conducted a test with five tasks from the topic that was taught the previous week and the results are presented in the following table (Table 2).

Table 2 Results from test 2

Variables	Number
Group	24
Age	
18-21	17
other	7

Gender	
F	8
M	16
Tasks	
first task correctly solved	24
second task correctly solved	15
third task correctly solved	12
fourth task correctly solved	6
fifth task correctly solved	11

From Table 2 we can see that the results are better than the previous test (test 1), but again they are not satisfactory. 56.67% is the overall average of correctly solved tasks. Here, we can see that the first task was correctly solved by all the students, fourth task was correctly solved by 25% and the others were correctly solved by around 52.8% of the students.

Therefore, at the end for the next learned topic according to the curriculum, we worked it out with an electronic board, with solving the tasks during the classes and with a recommendation for appropriate literature for the learning material. Third test was conducted, and the results obtained from this test are given in Table 3:

Table 3 Results from test 3

Variables	Number
Group	24
Age	
18-21	17
other	7
Gender	
F	8
M	16
Tasks	
first task correctly solved	20
second task correctly solved	19
third task correctly solved	17
fourth task correctly solved	13
fifth task correctly solved	21

From Table 3 we can conclude that all the tasks were correctly solved by more than half students and that the overall average of correctly solved tasks is 75%. So according to results presented in Table 3, we can conclude that with the use of more than two IT technologies results were brilliant and students and professors were

satisfied.

3 Conclusion

The conclusion is more than clear. The research gave us a clear picture of the importance of IT tools. But not only that, but also the importance of combining more IT tools during the teaching process and even suggesting their expansion and use after the learning process. This is especially important in conditions like now, pandemic conditions, when the classroom, chalk and blackboard are not allowed.

From the research we confirmed that the most important role in the teaching of mathematical subjects has the blackboard, even if it is electronic. But even that is not sufficient for the normal functioning of the educational process. Only with a board without Microsoft Teams students would do nothing. Only with blackboard and Microsoft Teams students would achieve some results, but with inclusion of educational software the result would be better.

So, education in a pandemic must be aided by IT tools. IT tools would be better to remain as an integral part of the educational process even after the pandemic is over. Only in this way students will get the necessary knowledge and will be ready for the further challenges that life brings to them.

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Adaptive E-learning System based on Recommendations, implemented by Petri nets

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Abstract. In this paper - we present our research in the field of E-learning systems and the toolbox we have implemented in Matlab for an offline mode recommendations. The system gives a general recommendation about the way the student should continue to use the learning system. In order to determine the profile of individual students and their needs - we used Moodle student records that contain info about the style of learning, access to learning materials, and their achievements / success. For that purpose we have used Petri nets and the TimeStat tool that was installed as a plugin in Moodle and which provides real-time statistics of student's time spent in each online lecture (in every particular segment of the lecture). We considered the students separated by field of study (such as Economics students, Information technology students, etc.).

Keywords: Adaptive e-learning systems, Recommender systems, Petri nets, TimeStat, Matlab.

1. INTRODUCTION

When analyzing the e-learning systems - different authors classify them into several different categories, which can often be confusing. Thus, according to Wang [7], systems can belong to one of the following classes:

1. Content / Course Management Systems.
2. Learning Management Systems.
3. Learning Content Management Systems.

Learning management systems are software products that are responsible for planning, delivering, and managing learning events. Among other things, they control the access of students and teachers to the system and its actions, support administrative tasks such as student membership, and assist in the preparation of a report on student activities. They help and monitor the interaction between students and content, students among themselves, and students and teachers. CMS supports online course activities and LMS supports online activities for students and teachers. Another factor that differentiates them is that the smallest part of the instruction in the LMS is the course itself. The third class of systems arise as a result of the integration of these two categories using the formula: "LCMS = LMS + CMS", Wang [7]. So, these systems give equal importance to the content and other tools to deliver complete e-learning.

To improve the learning systems - a model for analyzing student behavior can be created using different criteria. This approach will utilize the concepts of multi-criteria decision-making models that should be

built for all target students. In reality, each student may have different criteria for accessing the materials, as students may have different personal traits and ways of learning. This is the main reason for creation and rise of the Adaptive Learning Systems. Once the model for each student is generated, his / her requirements will be easy to determine.

In this paper we present an adaptive model of the e-learning system, based on stochastic modeling of students' behavior using Petri networks. Our system can be of particular importance for the needs of students, enabling them to receive the content according to their characteristics: their style of learning, their level of knowledge and their test scores. An important contribution is the Petri networks generation methodology (based on Chang, [15]) that represents the student transition in the e-learning system. The real-time transitional model implemented by Petri networks provides the ability to model the tutorial processes smoothly. The controlled features of the Petri networks (PI Transition Index and IT Identity Index) can simulate 2 types of students - full-time and part-time students, providing different e-learning features and forms, that are suitable for both groups of students.

We have also upgraded the e-learning systems by introducing a recommendation system [4]. Recommendations can be generated in real time (while the student is viewing and using the content), or in offline mode - as a general recommendation on how the student should continue to use the learning system. This type of recommendation combined (with real-time measurement of system presence) is what we have implemented in this paper.

2. ADAPTIVE E-LEARNING SYSTEMS

In the learning systems, students are faced with a significant amount of information in a variety of formats. If all information is presented to the students, this will lead to two problems: first, students will be confused by the information scope, and second, the user needs will not be met. These problems result in educational failure and lack of motivation in acquiring knowledge. So - designing an adaptive e-learning systems is an important issue in the field of e-learning.

Adaptive environments further in the text e-learning courses are those courses that provide learning materials based on the individual needs of the learner. Adaptive learning can provide students with more effective and efficient learning.

Researchers have classified adaptation into two categories (Zeng et al., [11]): adaptive presentations and adaptive navigation. In other words, there are some features like presentation details, types of media, etc. that, in different situations, affect the presented content differently.

The Adaptive Presentation will display the existing content as a set of fragments. Depending on how the fragments are stitched together - adaptive presentation techniques can be: "conditional presentation", "stretched text" and "frame-based" technique (such as Hypadapter). The Adaptive Navigation supports the ability to modify visual links that enable navigation (e.g. reorganization, concealment or annotation).

And as for adaptive presentation support, Riad [7] defines different methods of adaptive navigation support, based on Chen [9]:

- Direct guidance: The user receives a sequential path through the system, using the "next best" strategy (guiding by "next" button) or "sequencing the pages or traces", where read sequences are ordered through (parts of) the system.

- Adaptive sorting: Links to a particular document are sorted by their assumed importance (based on prior knowledge, or similarity to the current document).
- Adaptive concealment: Links are hidden or disabled, if the system assumes they are irrelevant and / or distracting.
- Annotation of links: Links are annotated with text, color, icon or darkening in order to add extra information to the learner.
- Map annotation: The annotation methods discussed are used to adapt the graphical representation and / or maps.

The adaptive system may be either concept-based, or not concept-bound [8]. Concept-based systems use a content model ("master model" or "conceptual model") to structure the information. If the content structure is relatively single-lined or if the content is small, it may not be necessary to develop a specific model [9].

The whole learning process is centered towards the learner, and personalized to meet the student's learning needs, in which the dominant position is the learner. In these systems – the students actively interact with the adaptive learning systems, constantly receiving and analyzing feedback in order to improve the level of knowledge. The adaptability of the learning systems is done by recording of the learning process, so the learners can timely control and adjust their learning processes to achieve optimal goals appropriate to them.

Adaptive learning systems are intelligent. Intelligence is the basic guarantee for the system to accomplish self-adjustment. The intelligence enables the system comprehensiveness and scientific diagnostics of the current student level, so the psychological conditions will correspond to the learning content and learning support in accordance with the monitoring process.

3. RECOMMENDER SYSTEM BASED ON PETRI NETS

The Petri net model can be applied for sequential control in the Web-based e-courses. Let's consider a course that is made up of three main parts, three exercises and nine questions. The course structure is divided into three clusters. The cluster is made up of three different types of learning activities: one main page, one exercise, and possibly a set of three questions or other types of learning objects. The next cluster depends on the student's score on the previous one, and so on. The result is delivered to the control points that determine the upcoming sequencing behaviors. Inside the cluster, one main exercise is linked to each page of the course and a sequence of three questions is linked to each exercise. After the initial connection, the student receives the contents of the first main page (Page 1). Upon receiving this page, the student goes to the first exercise (Exer. 1), which corresponds to a "next" type event. The student's response is represented by an event of the type "validate". The answer is analyzed and results in a constant set of {True, False}. If the answer is correct, the next (cluster) page of the course is sent to the student (Page 2). If the answer is incorrect, the question is sent to the student (Q. 1-1). If the student's answer to the question is correct, the second main course page is sent to the student, if the student has not already received a second question of the same type as the previous one (Q. 2-1). If the answer to this second question is correct, the next page of the course is sent to the student, otherwise the student receives a third question of the same type as the previous two (Q. 3-1). The same process applies to all courses (clusters) and their respective learning sequences (learning objects). This pedagogical strategy contributes to assessing students' level of knowledge.

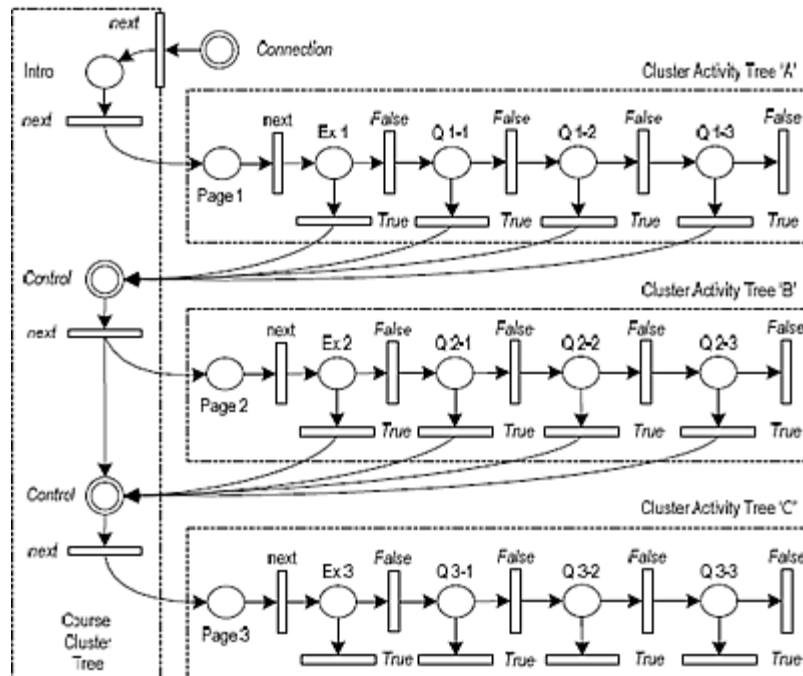


Fig. 1. Student behavior in the e-learning system using learning clusters

The e-learning recommendation system consists of on-line and off-line components. The on-line section receives requests, executes the appropriate algorithm and generates the recommended results, while the off-line module collects student's data, processes and based on the model - generates recommendations.

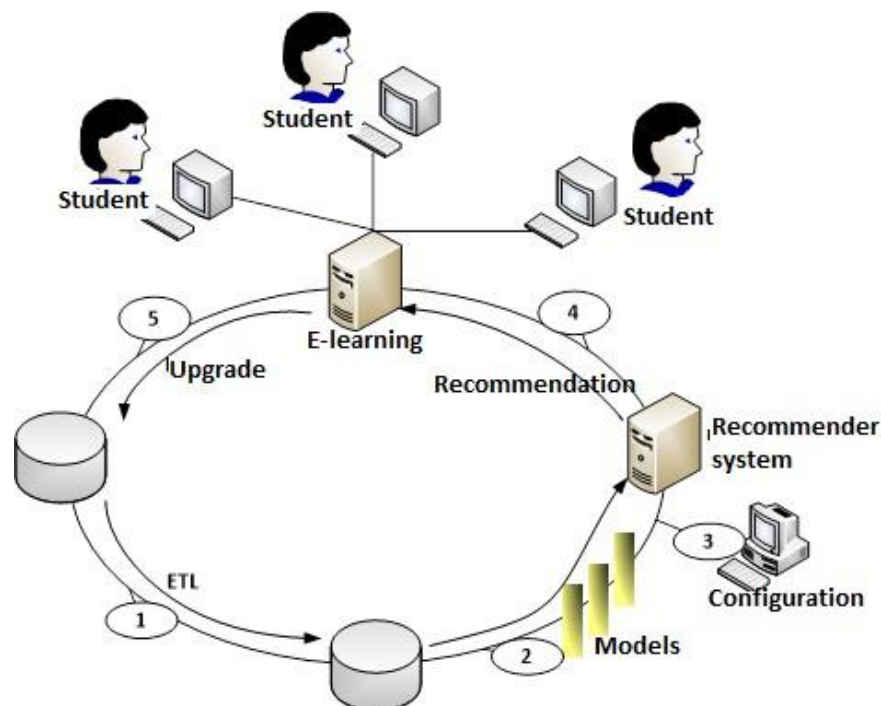


Fig. 2. Recommender system applied in E-learning environment

4. SOFTWARE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDER SYSTEM

Our proposed model takes into account the socio-constructivist approach to learning. It aims to cover the technical, as well as the pedagogical aspects of e-learning; a testing is performed using a different method for evaluation of the usefulness. The model consists of several dimensions that need to be evaluated; these are: the time spent by students in each type of study materials in the course, the points achieved from the test, the level of knowledge gained, and providing the recommendations to the student.

Our model has been practically implemented within an experimental e-learning system. The evaluation included two experts and 26 higher education students, covering the typical profiles of students who would have used the system. One course was implemented in the system that accommodated the learning objects, i.e. three learning topics (lectures) and three different types of study materials - set for each topic.

To monitor student activities in the e-learning system we installed the Timestat plug-in. The process of monitoring student activities was carried out in three phases: pre-processing, processing, and analysis. The pre-processing phase involved the selection and recording of data. This student login information was stored in a relational basis and paired with records provided by the e-learning system. The connection criteria were taken into account - login time, IP address and access to a given module, i.e. type of action performed.

During the processing phase - in addition to the times provided by the Web server - we also used the tables that Timestat module generated for each student individually. The time the student spent in each part of the topic (presentations, theory-tasks, and assigned tasks) was cumulatively collected, and rounded up to 30 minutes.

In the analysis phase - three themes were set online, and each topic consisted of 3 online content segments: 1. ppt-presentation (theory only); 2. pdf lesson (theory + tasks), and 3. solved tasks. We measured the time students spent in each of the 3 segments of the lesson. The Timestat module automatically recorded the data in a table.

From the student activity data obtained, students were classified according to the time spent in each of the offered types of course materials offered in the e-learning system. Four types of students were identified: the first type of students used all materials intensively, the second type of students used more theoretical materials, the third type of students learned only the assignments, and the fourth type of students - opened the presentations only partially.

We have implemented a Petri net using the HiPS_1.02 (Hierarchical Petri net Simulator) simulator, which describes the student's movement through the course in the learning system. In the research, it was necessary to create 4 different stochastic Petri net models, depending on which learning resources the student used, or depending on the clustering of the students.

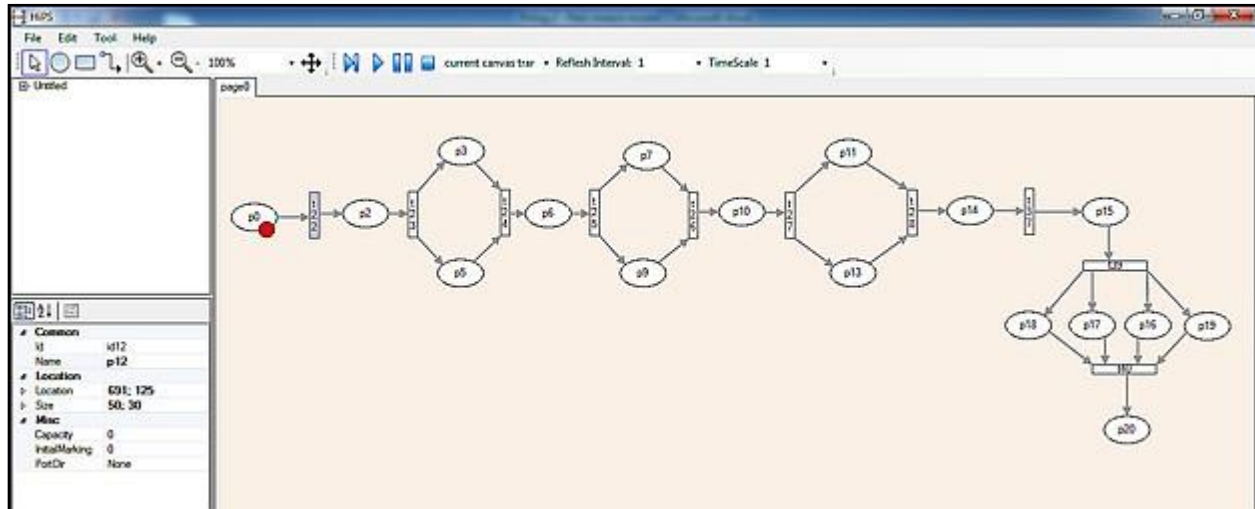


Fig. 3. Student transition in the E-learning system for students that use 2 types of materials

After the given period of on-line learning in the course, students were tested to determine their level of knowledge. The trial exam consisted of 2 theoretical questions and 2 tasks and each was scored 25 points. Depending on the points gained at the trial exam, the students were divided into three groups: students who scored less than 40 points belong to the group who achieved a low level of knowledge, students who achieved between 40 and 80 points belong to group with intermediate level of knowledge, and students who have achieved more than 80 points - have achieved a high level of knowledge. After the students testing and getting the research results, it was found that the students who spent more time in the e-learning system course and used different types of materials - achieved a higher level of knowledge. But there are also students who learned from the uploaded materials in only two manners, either just a theoretical part, or another type, and students who learned the most from the assigned task materials. And finally - there were students who have spent very little time in the online course and have used only the presentations (Power point and Pdf).

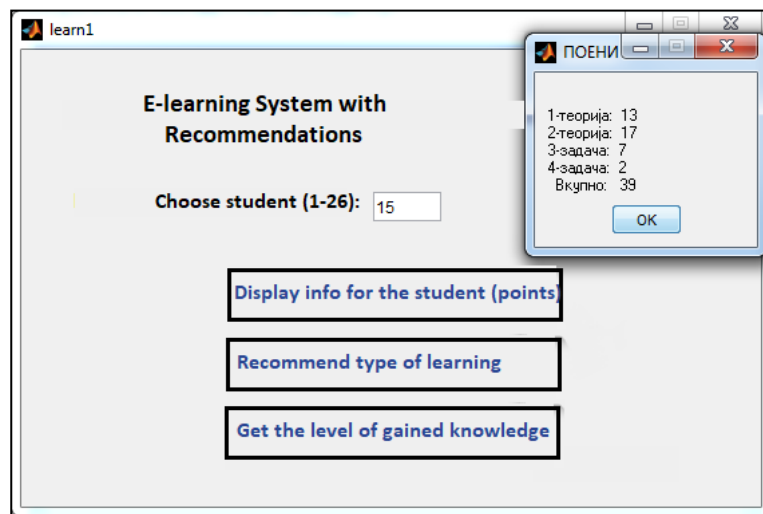


Fig. 4. Software implementation of the e-learning system with recommendations

The adaptability of the model is made by developing three applications in Matlab: *learn.m*, *learn1.m* and *novo.m*. *Learn.m* defines the times students spent in the e-learning system. The second application

learn1.m is visual – i.e. implemented through a GUI interface. The application provides information to the student on the test results achieved, the number of points he/ she has earned for each assignment and theoretical question individually, and the gained level of knowledge and recommendation for the student. *Learn1.m* is designed to correlate the amount of time a student spends in each of the three types of materials in the course and the test results achieved. Depending on these two factors, the application recommends the student to use the materials correctly and which types of materials to pay more attention to - in order to increase his level of knowledge.

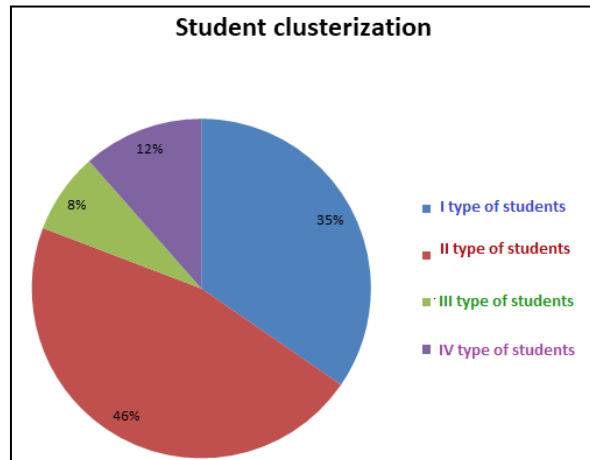


Fig. 5. Student clustering based on the learning type

After the given recommendations to the students and an additional period for study, a remedial corrective exam was conducted. The learning content and the type of materials for the corrective trial exam was the same as before. The corrective exam allowed improvement to students who did not pass the course, or were dissatisfied with the level of knowledge attained.

Student type	No. of Students	%
Type A	6	23,1
Type B	14	53,8
Type C	6	23,1

Table 1 – Gained knowledge for each type of student

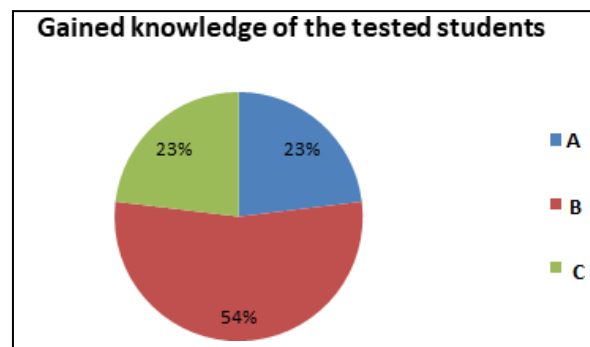


Fig.6. Gained knowledge of the tested students

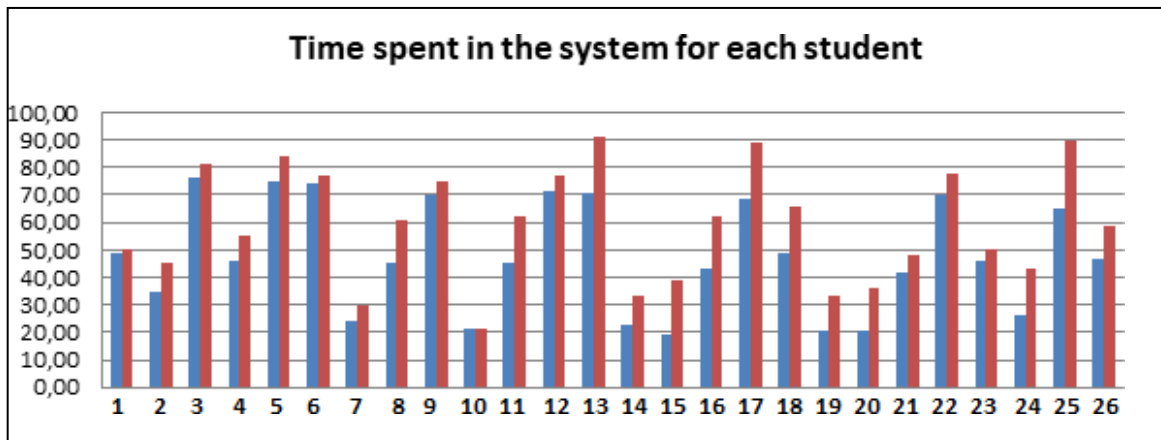


Fig. 7. Time spent in the system for each student

The adaptability of the Stochastic Petri MLM model with recommendations has been demonstrated through the results of the corrective exam. The *novo.m* application allows the student to see the points gained from the corrective exam, the level of knowledge achieved, and provides a recommendation on choosing the right type of materials - to increase the level of knowledge (if needed).

5. CONCLUSIONS

In our research work – we have focused on the two key areas that could bring improvements to the existing e-learning systems:

- Introducing adaptability to the learning system (the content and shape of information would change, depending on the needs of each individual student);
- Application of recommender systems in the e-learning system.

The adaptability is of particular importance in the e-learning systems for two main reasons. First, the learning system can be used by students who differ in their goals, learning styles, preferences, knowledge, and background. In addition, the profile of each student changes (e.g. knowledge increases as a result of learning). Second, the system will be able to help the student navigate the course by providing user-specific (not linear) paths.

The e-learning systems can also be upgraded by introducing a recommendation system. Recommendations can be generated in real time (while the student is viewing and using the content), or in offline mode - as a general recommendation on how the student should continue to use the learning system. This type of recommendation combined (with real-time measurement of system presence) is what we have implemented in this paper.

The implementation of technology with real-time recommendations depends very much on the type of information (lessons) that will be put into the system. As a first step - the recommendation system will determine if the student is registered at the database (of the learning system). This step is important for two main reasons. The first is to obtain information about the frequency with which students visit and use the learning system, i.e. creating an individual user profile for each student. The second reason is to obtain direct information on student needs, especially for newly enrolled students. In order to support students with different learning styles, the recommendation generating system should have a criterion (method) for selecting the required learning materials. Other options that such a system can offer are:

distinguishing between full-time and part-time students, who would be treated differently - if different learning materials were provided for each.

The student database contains records of learning styles, access to learning materials, and achievements / successes of different categories of students (such as economics students, IT students, etc.). These records will be used to determine the profile of individual students and their needs (materials). With this approach - students will receive more recommendations for learning materials, i.e. on a larger scale than they need. It will also be useful to identify associations between the different sources of information (lessons) and the students' needs for each of those lessons.

For further improvement - web-based mining can also be applied to reduce the need to register and record a personal profile. Real-time data from the learning system is much richer than off-line data collected. One important source of information can be the student's path through the web site itself. Clicking on the contents of the learning system would provide the information needed to analyze student behavior, such as - which materials are most frequently visited, how long the student spent in each lesson. Web mining can analyze website clicks and thus define the students' needs for each of the learning materials (lessons).

The offline recommendation mode that is practically implemented in our system, provides a general recommendation on how the student should continue to use the learning system. In doing so, we used the Timestat tool that was installed as a plugin in Moodle and provides real-time statistics of how much time the student spent in each lesson and each part of it.

We have performed validation and verification of our model - by comparisons and statistical tests on students' level of knowledge obtained before and after giving a recommendation. We've executed a test for the difference of mathematical expectations in unknown dispersions and small samples, a Wilcoxon test. character rank and - uniformity criterion. All tests have shown that providing students recommendations has an impact on increasing students' level of knowledge.

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EDUCATION AND E-LEARNING AS THE ULTIMATE TREND

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Abstract

The circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic that took place since March 11th, 2020 in our country also changed the directions of both education and learning process, making the transition from classroom learning to online learning, the so-called E-learning. The same as the main didactic teaching factors: students-teachers and parents who were preoccupied with what would happen to the learning process, as well as relevant institutions such are: Municipal Directorates of Education and the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Innovation immediately intensified measures against this urgent need which was not coming to an end to train teachers and provide the most adequate solutions so that students can continue learning online. Consequently, the purpose of this paper is to highlight some of the challenges faced by teachers, pupils and students during online learning and which have been and continue to be the most used platforms by them in the online learning process.

The paper is quantitative and descriptive-analytical and aims to understand the willingness of schools and teachers to work in a hybrid way in the nearest future after overcoming the pandemic: classroom and online learning. The sample of this paper includes 100 respondents: teachers, students and pupils surveyed online from 12 cities of Kosovo. Questionnaire data were reviewed in SPSS program.

Key words: education, classroom learning, online learning, platform, challenge.

INTRODUCTION

Online learning or E-learning is known long time ago, but little implemented in Albanian lands, especially in schools and public universities in Kosovo at the time of the pandemic found great application as a result of the circumstances created in which they were forced from educational institutions to find solutions so that students do not miss lessons and stay in the course of their lessons, including students from pre-primary to university as well.

In such circumstances, learning from the classroom at that distance and online also changed. The first efforts were related to distance learning, in which case the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Innovation initiated the commitment of teachers for primary and lower secondary education to give lectures for each of their teaching units, so that students are not left behind with lessons. However, not only from this form, but also from multiple platforms, teachers and students, as well as students tried to make solutions to be in contact with each other to be in the course of lessons.

Consequently, to see which of the platforms have been most used in some of the public universities of Kosovo by students and university professors, but also by students we want to verify the challenges faced by students, students and teachers from 12 cities in total where this research was conducted online as in: Prishtina, Prizren, Suhareka, Vushtrri, Deçan, Rahovec, Peja, Malisheva, Gjakova, Ferizaj, Peja and Obiliq, presenting them with statistical data descriptions.

1. THEORETICAL REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

E-learning is a form of learning based on electronic technology. E-learning enables learning in the classroom, in groups, or independently and at a distance through computer equipment, and in the case of distance learning also through the Internet. Learning through electronic means help to create a more effective learning environment, because the media facilitate the provision of information in different ways (audio, visual, textual), adapting to students with different learning styles, as well as enabling them to access teaching materials and engage in learning activities, in every time. This enables students who are at work to attend classes when it suits them. Important is the fact that E-learning first operated in the US and from there started to spread to the world. (*Mehmeti, S. 2020*).

It is estimated that the number of students who are interested and use the Internet "E-learning" is very large and is increasing day by day. The internet is already quite necessary for adults, but it also attracts students immensely. Online learning is a method of education that focuses on pedagogy, technology, and curriculum design, aimed at educating students who are not physically "in place," in a traditional classroom or center.

Definitions of basic concepts

- **Distance education** is a way of learning where most of the learning process is carried out when the teacher and the student are not usually in the same place, at the same time and is realized mainly with the help of communication technology.
- **Distance learning** is a way of education which is realized through modern technologies of communication and electronic learning in order to teach students located in different places and distances outside the traditional learning environment in school and classroom. (*Honeyman, M. & Miller, G, 1993*).
- **E-learning** is a new way of learning enabled by communication technology. It refers to the use of modern technological equipments in the teaching and learning processes.
- **Learning platforms** are programs that enable students to learn and evaluate from many forms.
- **Hybrid learning** is a form of mixed learning in the classroom and online without the physical presence of students, carrying out various activities. (*Gjokutaj, Hoti, & Kadriu, 2016*).

- **Contemporary Teaching-** the contemporary didactic concept of the increased role and engagement of the teacher in contemporary teaching frees the teacher from the obligation that everything that happens is the result of his authoritative judgment, because the student according to this form of learning is able to gather facts and arguments and analyze them critically, through his personal engagement in the classroom.

Types of e-learning

Through the development of technology during the period of Covid- 19 in Kosovo we had a chance to learn and teach from different ways which enabled us to maintain the stability in the education system. These forms were:

- *Distance learning*
- *Electronic learning*

Online learning is realized synchronously and asynchronously, it is also offered as a mixed learning (hybrid), alternating direct and online learning, with the mediation of technology, where the teacher and the student are at a distance part of the time.

Characteristics of e-learning

Distance education and e-learning have many challenges, advantages, weaknesses and features as the following:

- ❖ Using e-learning students learn through successive steps in building and adapting their model;
- ❖ Personalization of programs on the needs of students;
- ❖ Methodological access to enable students in the learning process to engage assignments and answer questions;
- ❖ Personal pace learning;
- ❖ Great opportunities for more teachers' communication and etc.

The most useful platforms in education of Kosovo during Corona Virus Period

Based on some online researches the most useful platforms in Kosovo during the period of Covid-19 were these:

- **ZOOM**
- **GOOGLE MEET**
- **MICROSOFT TEAMS**
- **GOOGLE CLASSROOM**

Zoom was used more from the pre university teachers and pupils as from elementary schools and high schools too.

Google Meet was used more from public and private universities as from: University “Hasan Prishtina, University “Kadri Zeka, University “Haxhi Zeka” AAB College etc.

Microsoft Teams was a very useful platform too used from high school teachers and from some universities too as from: University of Applied Sciences in Ferizaj.

Google Classroom was used more from high school teachers and students too, but also from private colleges too, as from “Universum College”.

Consequences of e-learning after Covid-19

Covid-19 left mostly negative conditions, but also positive consequences. Among the negative consequences besides the loss of many lives, jobs, affected the decline in quality in education as well, where the most affected were the primary cycle education level pupils, who were unable to use online platforms as a result of their age, which was noticed only in September when physical education resumed in schools, from where many teachers almost completely completed the first period till December 2020 and were forced to repeat the teaching units of the previous school year.

While in the group of positive consequences we list:

1. Kids learned multiple platforms online
2. Students advanced even further in mastering information technology
3. The parents realized the importance of the teachers even more
4. It was realized that modification of online and classroom learning and many others forms should be used and etc.
5. Teachers saw the need of using information technology more in teaching process.
6. The Ministry of Education saw the need of supplying schools with more didactic equipments.

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this paper/research is to highlight some of the challenges faced by teachers, students and pupils during online learning, which have been and continue to be the most useful platforms by them in the online learning process.

Research Duties

- ❖ To assess which were the most useful platforms used from teachers and students during online teaching and learning process;
- ❖ To verify if teachers and students are ready to continue learning in mix forms (online and in classroom) in the nearest future.

Hypothesis and research variables

- ❖ We supposed that most of teachers, students and pupils have been faced with many different challenges during online teaching process;
- ❖ We supposed that not all the teachers and students from all the education levels have used the same online teaching platforms since the beginning of Covid-19 period;
- ❖ We assumed that teachers have not seen successful online teaching to much;
- ❖ We supposed that teachers complain for not good infrastructural conditions in their classrooms.

Variables:

Independent variables:

- Teachers and students challenges during online teaching and learning process;
- Usage of online teaching and learning platforms.

Dependent variable:

- ❖ Education and e-learning as the ultimate trend.

Methods, instruments and research participants

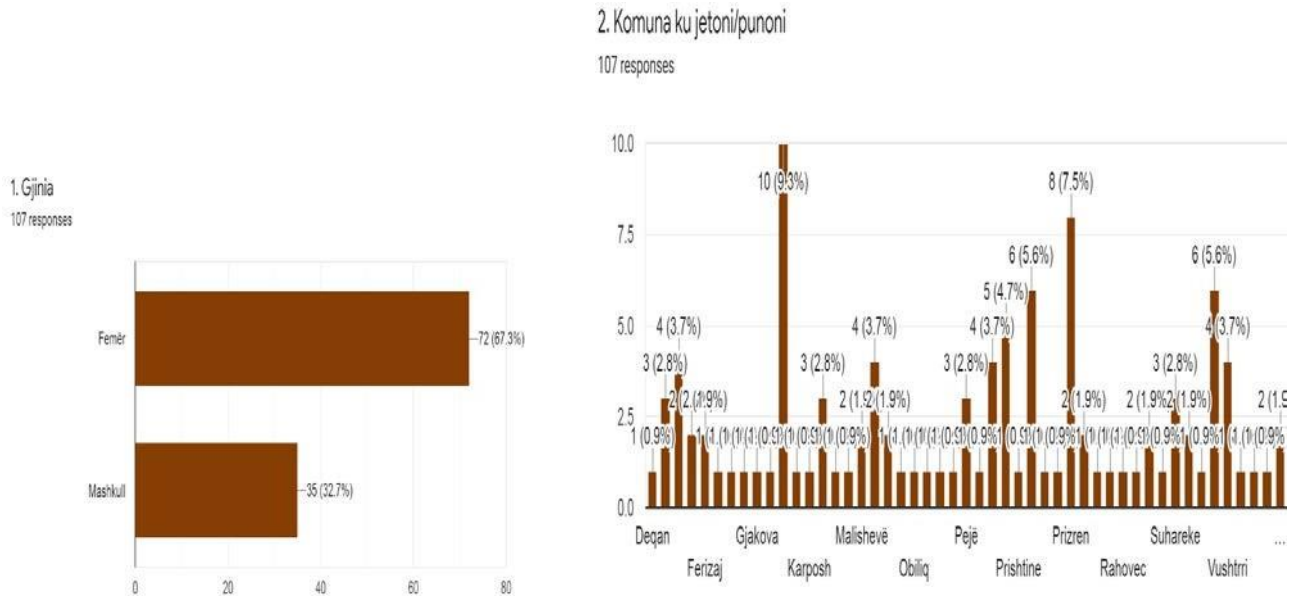
This research is based on general deductive methods, as follows:

- **Deductive** - analysis of research content. How specific methods were used in this research?
- **Method of theoretical analysis** - analysis of various pedagogical literature;
- **Descriptive method**: description of the results at the end of the survey.
- **77 teachers (72%)**
- **19 students (17.8%)**
- **11 pupils (10.3%)**

▪ **Total= 107 respondents**

Instrument of the research was the **questionnaire** prepared online from Google forms.

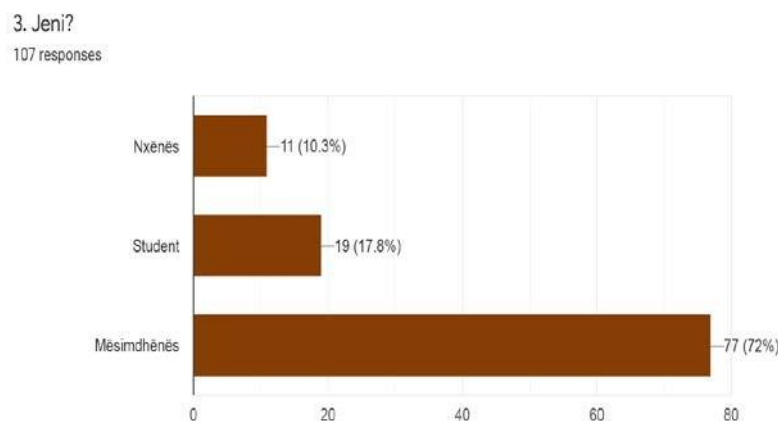
REZULTATET E HULUMTIMIT



Graphic 1. Gender of respondents

Graphic 2. Cities of respondents

From the abovementioned data we can see that in the research were 67.3% females and 32.7% males. We can see also the cities from where were the respondents of our research.

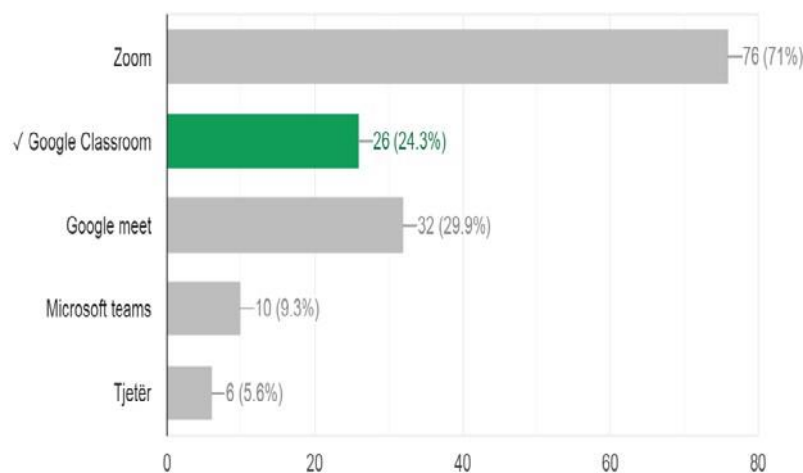


Graphic 3. Respondents percentages in the research

From the graphic as we can see in this research were 10.3% pupils, 17.8% students and 72% teachers from 12 cities of Kosovo.

4. Cilën nga këto platforma e keni përdorur më shumë gjatë të mësuarit online?

6 / 107 correct responses

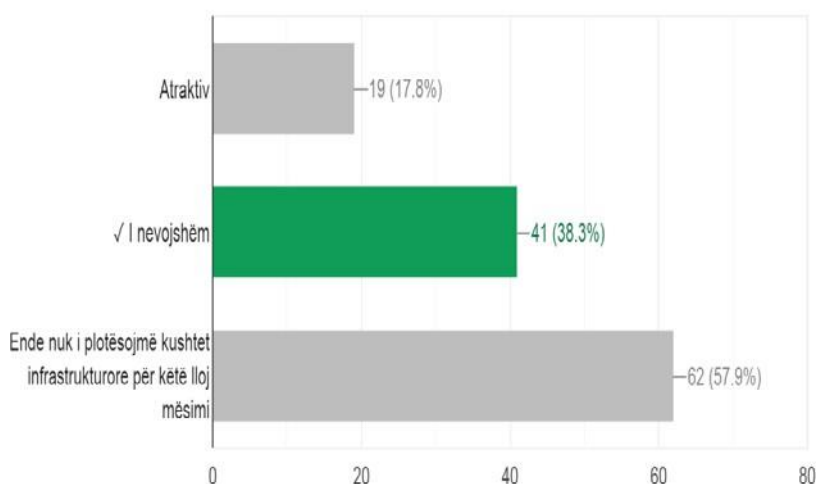


Graphic 4. Used platforms from respondents

From the description data we see that the ZOOM platform was the most used from the respondents in the percentage of 71%, then comes Google meet with the percentage of 29.9%, after them comes Google Classroom with 24.3%, Microsoft Teams with 9.3% and other platforms with 5.6% of usage of them from the respondents in this research.

5. Si mund ta përshkruani të mësuarit online?

29 / 107 correct responses

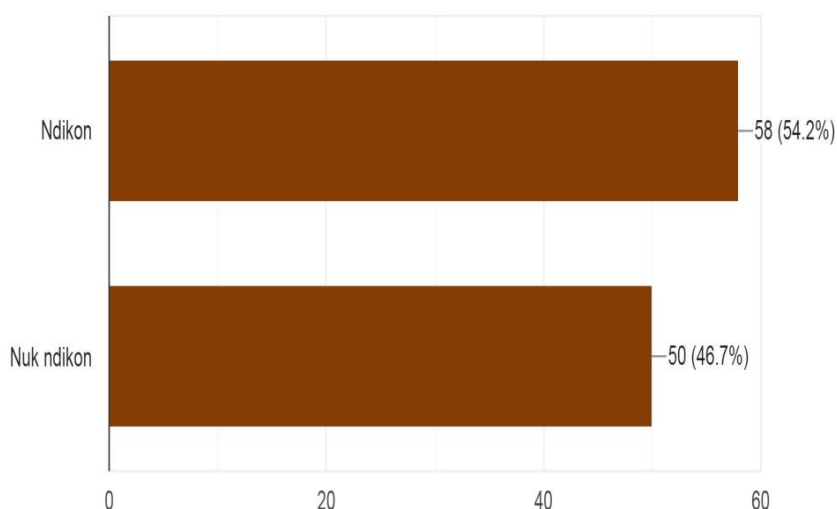


Graphic 5. Description of online learning from respondents

From the data we can see that more respondents responded that still there are no school good infrastructure conditions for this type of e-learning in the percentage of 57.9%, then 38.3% said that e-learning is necessary and 17.8% said that this type of learning is attractive.

6. Sa mendoni se E-mësimi ndikon në edukimin e drejtë të fëmijëve?

107 responses



Graphic 6. What respondents think about e-learning to the right children education

% said that the e-learning affects the right children education and 46.7% said the e-learning does not affect the right education the children of each age and gender.

7. Describe the benefits of E-learning from your perspective:

- ❖ Students become researchers;
- ❖ We have learned how to use many online platforms;
- ❖ More opportunities to use technology;
- ❖ A good experience and a good collaboration with students, using Technology;
- ❖ The students did not lag behind and at the same time were very active and motivated for effective work;
- ❖ There may be a benefit of having E-learning with parents.

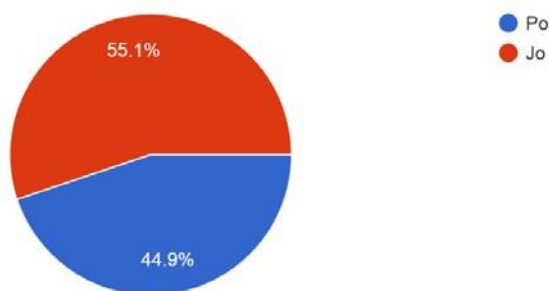
8. What are some of the challenges you encountered during E-learning?

- Lack of technological tools/ devices;
- Not good level of knowledge for technology;
- Weak network;

- Infrastructure conditions;
- No involvement of all students in online learning;
- This way of learning did not seem attractive to students and we had problems with connection schedule;
- Children do not join the online teaching enough.

9. E shihni të nevojshme që në të ardhmen e afërt të vazhdohet me E-mësimin dhe jo vetëm në klasë?

107 responses

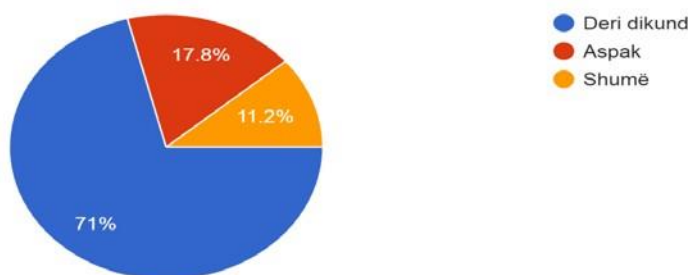


Graphic 7. Do the respondents see the need to continue with e-learning in future expect the classroom learning

From the chart we can see that the respondents answered more with no 55.1% and 44.9% yes, because of the lack of didactic equipments which they have, including technological devices.

10. Sa e mendoni të suksesshëm E-mësimin?

107 responses



Graphic 8. Do the respondents see successful the e-learning

From the data we can say that to some extent with 71% they see it successful the e-learning process, 17.8% answered that they don't see successful not at all and 11.2% said that this type of learning is very successful for both categories: teachers and students-pupils.

CONCLUSIONS

With the advancement of new teaching technologies, the teaching technology system definitely benefits, since all students have the opportunity to benefit from a lot of information or even skills, or in achieving certain goals from where the results of success can be seen. Also during this paper we discussed how much the university educational institutions have managed this great technological change and how they have managed to implement it in universities and their schools too during Covid-19 period situation.

While from the research data we saw that the most useful platform was Zoom and that most of the respondents stated that they still do not meet the infrastructure requirements to continue on this form.

RECOMMENDATIONS

With all of the above mentioned data and the theoretical descriptions we recommend:

- Teachers should use more new contemporary teaching techniques as possible in order to increase the quality of learning by students.
- To pay attention to the infrastructural side of the competent local and central bodies within the public universities for the supply of technological equipments.

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Migrant Crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina: An institutional failure

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ABSTRACT

Migrant crisis has been one of the predominant security challenges for the Western Balkans states. It specifically holds true for Bosnia and Herzegovina due to its dysfunctional political system. Geographical location of the country has additionally enticed illegal migrants to utilize it as a transit route towards the EU. There are external and internal factors that influence the crises, including EU and neighboring states misbehavior and lack of the state institutional response. Due to some retrograded political pushbacks, migrants are only transported in two cantons, which creates an unbalanced burden sharing, undermining overall political and security situation. The role of international community regarding the accomplishment of reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina will persist crucial, otherwise, country will remain only a “parking lot for migrants” in Europe. Rational: Illegal migrations present an issue which is endangering the stability of the region and beyond. This calls for the reexamination of state policies for effectively responding to illegal migrations. The purpose of the study is to examine impacts of the massive illegal immigrants, the country's response, and to outline possible solutions for the future. Methodology will include application of qualitative research methods, while data will be collected through secondary research, literature review and document analyses. Results present that country has a complex constitution and internal composition. Croats and Serbs refuse to receive migrants into territories where they are the ethnic majority. EU has invested over €88 million since 2018 to contain migrant crisis. There are malign activities of the neighboring countries as well as the EU reluctance to receive migrants. Conclusion that might be derived is that the political setting in Bosnia and Herzegovina, framed by the Dayton constitution that is imposed by international community, seriously prevents the country to adequately respond to the migrant crises.

KEYWORDS

illegal migrations, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Western Balkans, European Union, security

1 Migrant smuggling in the Western Balkans

The Western Balkans area presents the key transit route for irregular migrants, which are attempting to enter the Western European states via Eastern Mediterranean. Even though the term “Balkans’ route” has been widely known to describe the heroin trade roads, with the start of migration crisis it came to identify the main route of smuggling migrants towards the member countries of the European Union. Mass illegal migration became an issue in 2015 with the war in Syria, but few years later it has come to include people from various parts of the MENA region. Most irregular migrants detected in the Western Balkans for example were of Afghan, Algerian, Indian, Pakistani, Iranian, Iraqi, and Syrian origin. Many of these people refuse to stay in this region but continue their journey towards western EU member states. The region grows into the most dynamic migratory lane in June 2020, with 2,050 detentions, which represents an increase of 70% comparing with May of 2020.¹ It is interesting to mention that to this day the demand for transportation services of migrants remains high, as outlined by a recent report by Global Initiative Against Organized Crime (GITOC). Being aware that the EU closed its borders, migrants were forced to find another means of transportation, and where is demand, there certainly is supply. As a result of that demand, various organized crime groups as well as opportunistic individual smugglers from host countries are active throughout the region. Evidence shows that the migrant smuggling business in the Western Balkans is worth 50 million Euro a year.² This suggests that it became very well developed. According to the Europol/Frontex/EASO report, there are two main migration/smuggling routes in the Western Balkans area. The starting points for these illegal migrations are primarily Greece and Turkey.³ First one extends via Albania, continuing to Montenegro (although some waves of migrants cut through Kosovo towards Serbia) to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as their temporary destination due to the closure of the border with Croatia. The second route starts from North Macedonia towards Serbia or Kosovo and ends in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some migrants even attempt to cross into Croatia from Serbia. Indications show that most of the migrant smuggling in North Macedonia is done by local population-individuals who decided to use the crisis for their own financial gain. However, the fact is that the migrant smuggling operations do not start in the Western Balkans countries. The research conducted by Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime shows that one of the most critical hotspots for migrant smuggling is actually in the second largest city in Greece, Thessaloniki.⁴ At the Thessaloniki train station, it is relatively easy to acquire a driver which will smuggle passengers to Northern Macedonia. Local smugglers will then take over from North Macedonia and continue throughout the Western Balkan states.

According to the report by GITOC, there are three types of migrant smugglers, besides the various Organized Crime Groups (OCG): fixers, gatekeepers, and package dealers.⁵ Fixers are people who operate within the borders of one country and serve as intermediaries between illegal migrants and smugglers. Experience reveals that smugglers can be taxi and truck drivers, or any other private citizen who uses a motor vehicle for transportation of people for a fee. Fees usually range from 500 to 700 Euro. Risky journeys of course cost more. It has been revealed that fixers are usually corrupt border police officers or regular police officers. They pay off their colleagues to not be at a particular border point at a certain time frame so that smugglers could pass the border undisturbed. There was a situation in November 2020 when the head of Border police in Bosnian town Zvornik was arrested, along with 10 other people for smuggling migrants.⁶ Gatekeepers are people who “open the doors” to another country for

¹FRONTEx. (2020, July 13). Situation at EU external borders – Arrivals down in first half of 2020. <https://frontex.europa.eu/media-centre/news/news-release/situation-at-eu-external-borders-arrivals-down-in-first-half-of-2020-UdNxM5>

²BIRN. (2021, May 12). Balkan Migrant-Smuggling Business ‘Worth €50m a Year’: Report. Balkan Insight. <https://balkaninsight.com/2021/05/10/balkan-migrant-smuggling-business-worth-e50m-a-year-report/>

³ Tackling Migrant Smuggling in Western Balkans. (2020, January). EUROPOL, FRONTEX, EASO. <https://www.statewatch.org/media/documents/news/2020/feb/eu-europol-frontex-easo-wb-smuggling-report.pdf>

⁴ Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2021, May). Spot Prices: Analyzing flow of people, drugs and money in the Western Balkans. <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Spot-Prices-Analyzing-flows-of-people-drugs-and-money-in-the-Western-Balkans-1.pdf>

⁵ Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2021, May). Spot Prices: Analyzing flow of people, drugs and money in the Western Balkans. <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Spot-Prices-Analyzing-flows-of-people-drugs-and-money-in-the-Western-Balkans-1.pdf>

⁶R. (2020, November 4). Uhapšengraničnipolicajac: Krijumčari osveisvašta, pa imigrante. BL Portal. <https://www.bl-portal.com/hronika/uhapsen-pripadnik-granicne-policije-bih-osumnjicen-za-krijumcarenje-migranata-zive-stoke-i-tekstilne-robe/>

illegal migrants, hence the name come up. They operate around the borders that are proven to be hardest to cross, which are mainly borders between Greece and North Macedonia, North Macedonia and Serbia, Serbia and Hungary, as well as Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Typically, gatekeepers are a mix of local population as well as illegal migrants themselves and are pretty well connected in the region, having so valuable contacts within the border police forces. They act as guides, transporting one group of illegal migrants over the border into Croatia and then coming back the same way into Bosnia and Herzegovina. The point is if a migrant is operating as a gatekeeper, he is probably trying to save up enough money so he himself can pay for transportation deeper into a European Union country. The prices for gatekeepers are much higher than those of fixers because of a greater risk they undertake. Prices range from 500 to 2500 Euros, depending on the border crossing. Migrants pay 2500 Euros for transportation from Subotica in Serbia to a settlement near the Hungarian border. Package dealers are individuals who promise migrants a package deal, like new passports and identification documents, which are often forged. These papers can be valid if the illegal migrant resembles the actual document holder; accommodation and planning of the route, as well as the transportation. Package deals are mostly used by families travelling together in a group and the price ranges from 3000 to 3500 Euros per month.

2 How smugglers operate

Smugglers in terms of Organized Crime Groups (OCG) are highly sophisticated in their operational methods. They use modern technologies, like smartphones, social media and the integrated maps to develop new routes, use bribery and develop new contacts amongst border police officers and other regional crime groups in order to facilitate transportation. It is applicable to mention that they are highly violent and dangerous, often time attacking police officers, once being pulled over and endangering the civilian population. Most often means of transportation is via motor vehicle, often times a minivan or a truck.⁷ Concealment of illegal migrants ranges from simply hiding them in the cargo space or developing hidden compartments within the truck itself. This is of course a deadly business considering that large groups of migrants are cramped together in tight spaces for longer periods of time, often without food or water. Sometimes if the border is more difficult to cross, smugglers will drop off illegal migrants near the border and provide them with instructions on how to pass the border on foot, circumventing border police patrols. If the group of illegal migrants has a difficulty navigating through the terrain, a smuggler (gatekeeper) will join the group and attempt to cross the border with them. He or she blends in with the crowd, so it is very hard for the law enforcement agencies to prove it was indeed a case of smuggling migrants and not just a case of regular illegal migrations. Thermal blankets are used to avoid detections by thermal cameras. Obviously, smugglers take a significant role in irregular migration activities.

Strengthened border control measures in the region, primarily these of Croatia, had some effect in hindering migrant movement towards the European Union (EU). Nevertheless, these measures do not prevent attempted border crossings all together. Illegal migrants still struggle to cross the border multiple times and eventually they succeed. According to the EUROPOL, FRONTEX, EASO report, the implementation of hard border measures by the EU only increases the demand for smuggling services. This suggests that the smuggling activities additionally complicates the irregular migration flow. It seems hardly possible to end it, but perhaps only to control.

3 Bosnia and Herzegovina's response to the migrant crisis

Nowadays, illegal migrations represent one of the most serious national security threats, especially to the countries from the region, intensely affecting Bosnia and Herzegovina. As far as this country is considered, migrants coming from Serbia usually move towards places like Cajnice, Rudo, Visegrad, Zvornik and Bijeljina, where they do not stay for long because the ultimate goal is to reach the Una-Sana Canton, which borders with Croatia⁸. The Una-Sana Canton represents the smuggling hotspot in Bosnia and Herzegovina for illegal migrants. Evidence shows that migrants pay to be transported from here, mostly via trucks, into Croatia or Slovenia. In February 2021, Slovenian police found 13 Iraqi illegal migrants hidden in a truck with license plates from Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹ In the first eight months of 2019 for example, Croatian border police registered an 80% increase in

⁷ Tackling Migrant Smuggling in Western Balkans. (2020, January). EUROPOL, FRONTEX, EASO.

<https://www.statewatch.org/media/documents/news/2020/feb/eu-eupol-frontex-easo-wb-smuggling-report.pdf>

⁸ Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2021, May). Spot Prices: Analyzing flow of people, drugs and money in the Western Balkans. <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Spot-Prices-Analyzing-flows-of-people-drugs-and-money-in-the-Western-Balkans-1.pdf>

⁹ Dnevni Avaz. (2021, February 24). Pronađeno 13 migranata u kamionu, uhapšeno vozač iz BiH. Avaz.ba. <https://avaz.ba/globus/region/633386/pronadeno-13-migranata-u-kamionu-uhapsen-vozac-iz-bih>

registered number of migrant smuggling and 90% increase in the number of apprehended smugglers.¹⁰ Since the middle of 2020, migrant smugglers have increased their attempts to transport people across the northern border of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Croatia, primarily through the towns of Odzak, Derventa, Gradiska and Brod as well as through Brcko District, which is a separate administrative unit in the country.¹¹ This data shows there are numerous entry points from neighboring countries, as well as great established routes of irregular migration flows through Bosnia and Herzegovina. Illegal migrations stand as a particular problem for Bosnia and Herzegovina, at least because of the two important factors: its geographical position which places it as a transit route for the migrants, and the dysfunctional political system which limits the overall state response to the issue. The latter stems from the Dayton Peace Agreement which ended the 1992-1995 war and outlined the internal composition of the country. This setting of creating the two entities, one district and ten cantons generated very complex state governing and produced an inefficient crises management structure, empowering lower level to compete for the influence. Even with the existence of the Ministry of Security at the state level, which is supposed to be responsible for migration, there is number of limitations that cause insufficient response by the state. Despite that this ministry has the mandate to coordinate the work of various police agencies and it used to issue constrained regulations and guidance, it does not have a real power to implement it in the field. As an example, we can mention the adoption of the Migration and Asylum Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2016-2020, that has been initiated and developed by the Ministry of Security, however that strategy was never updated and endorsed for the current time. Thus, Bosnia and Herzegovina currently does not have a comprehensive policy that would serve as a framework to deal with the crisis. Certain medium-term goals were set up in the 2016-2020 strategy document¹², intending to increase efficiency of the state border control in BiH, to strengthen institutional capacities of the country in the field of migrations, as well as to establish a stable system of the country's migration policy coordination and implementation.

Despite these concrete steps being outlined in the strategy, a lack of efficient coordination, as well as absence of determination of some actors to contribute to implementing it, seriously undermined an adequate respond to the accomplishment of the defined goals. That could be partly explained by the structure of the security system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As it has been stated, there is the Ministry of Security at the state level responsible for dealing with migration, then there are ministries for interior on lower level. The fact is that each entity has its Ministry of Interior and since Federation of BiH encompasses ten cantons, each canton also has its Ministry of Interior. The Entity RS, as well as ten cantons have the power to decide on their own how to deal with the migrant crisis, which has led to the political pushback in that entity, as well as in some cantons where Croats are the majority. This instigated, among other things, that the Coordination body within the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is responsible for monitoring of migration trends, is not capable to function properly. Accordingly, that caused an unequal burden sharing in the country, and within the entity of Federation of BiH. Consequently, migrants are transported to the Bosniaks majority cantons, primarily the Una-Sana Canton and Sarajevo canton. One of the clearest examples of unequal burden sharing rests in 2018 when Herzegovina-Neretva canton (Croat majority) authorities stopped a convoy transporting migrants under the Federal police escort to Salakovac migrant center, thus prevented the entire operation. The EU Commissioner for Home Affairs Ylva Johansson also urged the country's authorities to dispense the burden of the migrant crisis more equally all through Bosnia and Herzegovina: "Everyone in this country must bear their share of the burden of responsibility when it comes to migration."¹³ As a result of all these contradictions, illegal migrants are able to freely enter and travel across the country as they pleased, without an appropriate control from the relevant authorities. The internal factors are not solely accountable for the convoluted response to the migrant crisis, the neighboring states Serbia and Croatia play a part as well with their own malign activities towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. These states obscure already complex situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, firstly by not coordinating their own activities with the authorities of BiH, or even violating the territorial integrity of the country by purpose, which has been revealed on numerous occasions. For instance, Croatian border police has been illegally transporting migrants back into the territory of BiH, primarily the Una-Sana Canton. Not only that, but several reports have been published of an

¹⁰ Tackling Migrant Smuggling in Western Balkans. (2020, January). EUROPOL,FRONTEx,EASO.

<https://www.statewatch.org/media/documents/news/2020/feb/eu-eupol-frontex-easo-wb-smuggling-report.pdf>

¹¹ Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2021, May). Spot Prices: Analyzing flow of people, drugs and money in the Western Balkans. <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Spot-Prices-Analyzing-flows-of-people-drugs-and-money-in-the-Western-Balkans-1.pdf>

¹² Ministry of Security of BiH. (2016, June 6). Strategija u oblasti migracija i azila i Akcijski plan za period 2016–2020 godina. Ministry of Security BiH.

<http://msb.gov.ba/dokumenti/strateski/default.aspx?id=14318&langTag=bs-BA>

¹³ Balkan insight. EU Urges Bosnia to Share Migration 'Burden' More Equally <https://balkaninsight.com/2021/02/19/eu-urges-bosnia-to-share-migration-burden-more-equally/>

inhumane treatment of migrants by Croatian border police. That includes beatings, improvised detention and uses of muzzle-free dogs. This all lead to the further dehumanization of migrants which are often transported back into Bosnian territory barefoot and bloodied¹⁴.

The swift return of asylum seekers without consideration of their protection needs is contrary to the European Union Asylum Law, the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights as well as the 1951 Refugee Convention. In the other hand, Serbian officials keep the flow of migrants pouring into Bosnia and Herzegovina which are, as stated previously, unevenly distributed across Bosnian majority cantons. Obviously, a reexamination of Bosnia and Herzegovina migration policies is needed, considering all previously stated aspects. Also, an improvement of state-to-state relations in the Western Balkans, in particular with neighboring countries must be improved, enabling joint coordination of actions. This may include information exchange, planning and implementation of activities, which would be based on the respect of human rights and the international law.

4 Role of the EU and other international organizations

The European Union has been involved in tackling the migration crisis in the Western Balkans since its beginnings, through various cooperative efforts with UN bodies and humanitarian agencies. The necessity for greater involvement by the European Union has been accentuated by the irresponsibility of government institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina to deal efficiently with the situation. The crisis has particularly escalated in 2018, highlighting not only security but also a humanitarian dimension. It was evident that country cannot deal with the crises unaided, thus since 2018 the European Union has invested more than 89 million Euro to contain the migrant crisis.¹⁵ The assistance has been realized either directly by purchasing the equipment for BiH Border Police and supporting in efforts of strengthening BiH migration management capacities, or indirectly via partner organizations, like the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Correspondingly, 13.8 million¹⁶ Euro has been donated in the form of humanitarian aid which has been a significant method of assistance in areas such as primary and secondary health care services, food, sleeping bags and clothing, access to clean water and sanitation as well as activities in the attempts of prevention of spread of COVID-19. Due to the worsening of the humanitarian situation on the ground, the European Commission had decided in January 2021 to allocate additional 3.5 million Euro in humanitarian aid to cope with the illegal migration in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁷ With the closure of the Lipa reception center and caused deficiency of capacities available in the Una-Sana Canton, around 800 illegal migrants found themselves stuck outside in the cold winter weather. The European Union outlined that despite the continued engagement and negotiations with local authorities in Bihac, the temporary reception center Bira had been closed. That was primarily because of the security reasons. However, it became a big concern that many illegal migrants had been roaming freely from the Bira center and endangering the local population. There were large protests of residents of Bihac in front of Bira¹⁸, demanding it to be closed because they feared for the safety of their families, especially for children. No surprising that they as citizens have been desperately calling for a comprehensive action to be taken to mitigate the migrant crisis opposing to developments that Una-Sana canton is a sole bearer of the responsibility.

Without deep analyses, this could lead to the conclusion that the EU sufficiently responded to mitigate the migrant situation. However, all these efforts have been widely perceived in Bosnia and Herzegovina as hypocrisy, considering that the EU doesn't allow these people to enter their borders but rather continues to pay another country to keep them out. That decision, although backed by the financial support, has caused that huge majority of migrants has been forcefully stationed in only two, predominantly Bosniaks majority cantons, thus turning Bosnia and Herzegovina into a "parking lot" for illegal migrants. The European Commission's opinion on the Bosnia and

¹⁴ Human Rights Watch. (2020, October 28). Croatia: Migrants Pushed Back to Bosnia and Herzegovina. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/12/11/croatia-migrants-pushed-back-bosnia-and-herzegovina>

¹⁵ European Commission. (2021, February 10). Bosnia and Herzegovina. European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations - European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/echo/where/europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina_en

¹⁶ European Commission. (2021, February 10). Bosnia and Herzegovina. European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations - European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/echo/where/europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina_en

¹⁷ European Commission. (2021, January 31). Humanitarian Aid in BiH. European Commission - European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_2

¹⁸ Kapetanović, Š. (2020, August 18). Bihac residents announce protests regarding migrant crisis in Bosnia. N1. <https://ba.n1info.com/english/news/a455969-bihac-residents-announce-protests-regarding-migrant-crisis-in-bosnia/>

Herzegovina's application for the EU membership from 2019 outlines that "coordination of migration-related measures among competent institutions across all levels of government is poor" and sadly little to no improvements have been made in this regard since 2019.¹⁹ However, the reason for the insufficient state response has been caused mostly by political blockades that the EU has already acknowledged.

Another international organization whose contribution of humanitarian assistance in this crisis has been truly significant is the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Relevant to mention is the fact that the IOM has not only supported the needs of illegal migrants on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina by expanding its presence and support in the Una-Sana canton but has also attempted to assist and enhance institutional capacities of the country for dealing with the crisis. Thus, the IOM has been supporting functioning of two state managed reception centers: "Salakovac", which is managed by the state Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, and "Delijas", which is managed by the Sector for Asylum of the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The IOM also expressed its dedication to coordinate the work of the Centre for Coordination and Management (CCCM).²⁰ That includes staffing, cultural mediations, provision of security for the personnel as well as coordination of the service delivery in each of the centers in the Una-Sana and Sarajevo cantons. Thus, there are three temporary reception centers (TRC) in Una-Sana Canton: "Sedra" in Cazin, "Miral" in Velika Kladusa, and "Borici" in the city of Bihać, which are supported by the IOM. There are two TRCs in Sarajevo canton: "Usivak" in Hadzici and "Blazuj" in Ilidza. All this suggests that the IOM has a significant role in assisting domestic institutions in dealing with migrants in the country. The IOM is particularly focused on the humanitarian aspects, trying to provide minimum required conditions for survival of migrants. However, that does not solve the crises. Thus, for instance, in case of any further increase of illegal migrants' entries to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the IOM limited resources will not be sufficient even to provide these temporary accepted results.

5 Conclusion

Taking into consideration all previously stated, the first assumption could be made that the irregular migration cannot be studied as a momentary phenomenon. This could partly explain why the existing response is obviously not sufficient. That also suggests that satisfactory solution is not feasible as an outcome of current policies and strategies. Therefore, it recommends necessity for all countries in the region, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, to develop their response policies based on realistic assumptions, contemplating at least these two significant aspects: The first, an increase of irregular migrants. There is already a big concern related to the current development in Afghanistan. A new wave of larger groups of illegal migrants may conceivably be expected very soon. Second, the lack of appropriate interstate cooperation undermines satisfactory international answer. National interests will most likely prevent adequate joint efforts, regionally, as well as globally. In addition to all that, there is a universal requirement for human treatment of all migrants. Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina should determine its national interests respectively, and respond properly to protect them, which has not been case so far. A basic prerequisite to provide an adequate response, in such a demanding situation, is to have a comprehensive strategy approach, as well as agencies to implement it. That means that the state level institutions and bodies must be enabled to carry out their missions and tasks, which has not been attained. Their mandate should be undoubtedly extended from coordination to the planning and management of activities, as well as to the adequate cooperation with external actors, covering international organizations and neighboring states. Therefore, if international community truly wants to support the country in dealing efficiently with the migrant crises, it should not only provide a financial aid but also assist in removing political obstacles, mostly imposed by the unreliable Dayton Constitution. For the beginning, at least to make use of the High Representative and his mandate to assist in setting essential preconditions, mentioned explicitly above.

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The impact of e-learning during the pandemic of Covid-19

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Introduction: Online learning is one of the most important option to educate students during the Covid-19 pandemic and the new normal period. This learning has been implemented at various levels of education with various platforms.

Objective: The main purpose of this study is to identify the effects of online learning. The specific objectives that were achieved through this study are:

- To analyze the role of online learning in education.
- To compare methods and studies.

Method: This study is a meta analysis, literature review of 5 literature review of the last year. All studies have a major focus on the impact of online learning and problems that this option faced during the pandemic. Data are extracted from 6 medical data bases. The results that came from this data were compared with a questionnaire that was completed online from 20 students

Results: According to this literature review that 50% of studies claimed that the major challenges encountered by learners in online learning were technical issues like internet connectivity problems, accessing classes, and downloading courses' materials problems. 25% of studies claimed a very big fatigue among teachers and students because staying with long hours online in front of computer and the light caused headache, eyes irritation, while 25 % of studies claimed that online education was a good way for expanding the provision of internet access and online library resources and it is not necessary to go to university to study while we can do it online.

Conclusion: After analyzing and discussing the selected literature, we conclude that learning online was a temporary adaptive way of learning during pandemic. Scientific research on this topic is limited, so it is suggested to increase research by different authors.

Key Words: pandemic, learning online, education, motivation, internet issue

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic crisis had a direct impact in all fields of life but mostly on education not only at the international level but at the national level. In the first moment when we entered in the lockdown period we thought that it was a temporary moment but we could not imagined the consequences in the future. COVID-19 impacts not only students but also it affects teachers and parents across the world. UNESCO reported that over 1.5 billion students in 195 countries are out of school in the world due to the school closures

Talking about education I can say that all studies, lessons were made online because it was only solution in that difficult moment. Covid-19 has even changed the education system related to curriculum, educator functions, student positions and assessments. Covid-19 has also changed the way of educating future generations and even led to redefining the role of educators.

The first problem that we faced during online learning was the internet issue. Some schools can be well equipped in digital technology and educational resources while rural areas lack the appropriate digital infrastructure required to deliver teaching at the remote like smart phone. Also, there is a significant difference between private and public schools in technology and educational resources. In most countries, private schools are more effective than public schools.

During online learning teachers used different application in order to teach online. Some of these applications were Google Classroom. Google Meet, Microsoft teams and other social media application.

2. Methods and Design

This study is a meta analysis, literature review of 5 literature reviews of the last year (2021). This study uses a literature study method which is an analysis that aims to describe the main content based on the collection of information obtained. All studies have a major focus on the impact of online learning and problems that this option faced during the pandemic. The methodology of studies varies in reviews including 2000 people. The age of patients varies from 18-60 years old. All these people were teachers, professors and students. Each person gave written informed consent before commencing any study-related procedure Data are extracted from 6 data bases. The information in question comes from various scientific articles related to the implementation of online learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. The scientific articles in question are articles obtained from reputable national journals and international journals indexed by Scopus. The data and information that have been obtained are then collected, analyzed, and concluded so as to get a recommendation as a literature study. After analyzing the results that came from reviews, I compared them with a questionnaire held among 20 students. They completed this questionnaire online.

3. Results

In this study, the impact of coronavirus on the education system, impacts of COVID-19 on children, students, teachers, and parents, the recommended solutions about the continuity of education system during COVID-19, online learning challenges, and opportunities, and education system after coronavirus related articles have been reviewed and discussed.

Nr	Review	Results
1	Suryanam et al 2021 Indonesia	-The Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Parents of Students: The parents are stressed because they can not help all kids for studying online but there is more time to spend with them: family and to close emotional connection between parents and children. And more importantly, families are better protected from exposure to the corona virus

		<p>- The Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Teachers</p> <p>Teachers stood in front of monitor or smartphones using different applications to teach online. It was hard to make all kids entered in online class because of internet issues and to understand the lessons.</p> <p>-The Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on the Learning Process</p>
2	Tadesse et al 2020	<p>- Impact of COVID-19 on Education System: In order to reduce the spreading of virus all educational system closed their doors, and the learning were replaced online. COVID-19 affects all over the education system, examinations, and evaluation, starting of new semester or term and it may extend the school year.</p> <p>-. Teachers, Students, and Parents:</p> <p>a) Students: The COVID-19 crisis increases social inequality in schools. Students from more advantaged parents attend schools with better digital infrastructure and teachers might have higher levels of digital technology skills. Disadvantaged students are attending schools with lower ICT infrastructure and educational resources</p> <p>b) Parents: Distance learning is a solution to continue the education system, but it is difficult in developing countries because many parents have not themselves been to school and there is a lack of the necessary Information and Communication Technology (ICT) infrastructures, computers, radio, and television to provide distance learning. Access to computers and access to the internet is basic to successful distance teaching</p> <p>c) Teachers struggle with difficulties in the area of technology and lack of infrastructure availability. Some private schools may not pay their staffs' salary and some</p>

		<p>schools may pay half salary. COVID-19 affects poor families since many students don't have access to the equipment at home. The physical school closure and the implementation of distance education lead the student to spent less time learning, stress, and lack of learning motivation</p>
3	Muluye et al 2020	<p>-Distance learning:</p> <p>Distance learning is a good opportunity for teachers, students, and families. In developed actions such as introduced online learning platforms, use Blackboard, Zoom, TronClass, Classin, and Wechat group platforms, and conducted online training, and collected information about all courses.</p> <p>The shift from face-to-face class to online class has a serious impact on assessments and evaluation. Depending on the course nature and the assessment and teachers have enforced to change their assessment types to fit the online mode.</p> <p>Also, it is difficult to monitor the student how they are taking courses online and difficult to ensure that students are not cheating during online exams.</p> <p>Additionally, laboratory tests, practical tests, and performance tests are impossible to conduct online.</p> <p>-Health: The lockdown due to coronavirus may people are feeling stress, fear, and anxiety, such as a fright of dying, a fear of their relatives dying</p> <p>Teachers: They said that staying in front of computer for long term hours make them feel tired a lot, more than in class Some of them concluded that they had headache, red eyes and what was most interesting that they drunk more water than usual because they talk a lot.</p>

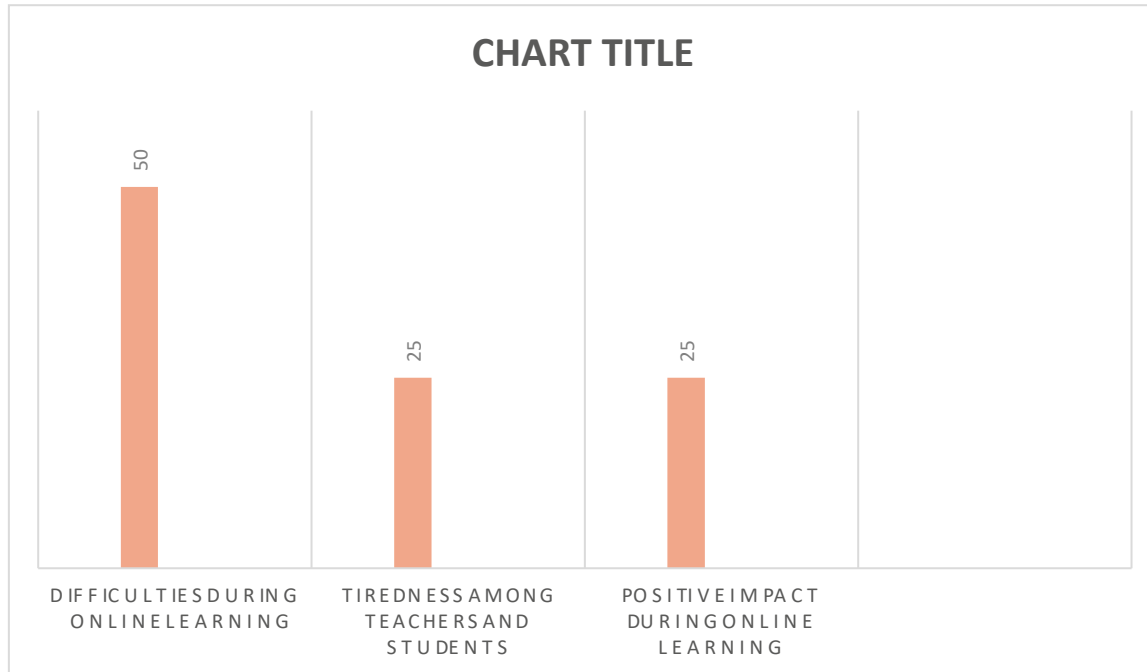
		Students: Studying from home made them lazy and also cold persons because they did not meet their friends for a long time.
4	Widodo et al 2020	<p>-E-learning readiness: student readiness in online learning can be assessed from the following aspects: equipment capability, technology skills, selfdirected learning, motivation, and perceived usefulness.</p> <p>Equipment capability is related to online learning readiness from the aspect of facilities, especially computer devices and internet access; technology skill related to the ability of students to access and use technology, especially information and communication technology; self-directed learning is related to the student's ability to learn independently; motivation is closely related to the enthusiasm or self-driving of students in participating in online learning; and</p>
5	Mohammad Mahyoob 2020	<p>Offering some online courses in most educational institutions before the COVID-19 pandemic has supported, facilitated, and provided an excellent opportunity for students and institutes to switch to online learning after the outbreak of this pandemic. However, in the beginning, most of the learners came online for the first time.</p> <p>They lacked the experience and confidence to learn online using a new medium. After some time, most learners could overcome most of the technical issues related to online learning platforms. But English language learning challenges are still problematic in online learning during the pandemic. These findings add to the growing body of literature on the significant challenges and problems that encountered EFL learners during the sudden change to online learning due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the</p>

		necessary steps are needed to facilitate the online education process and to overcome these reported issues.
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Table 1: Results from e-learning

Difficulties during online learning	Positive impact from online learning	Tiredness from online learning
50% of studies	25% of studies	25% of studies

Table 2. The resume of 5 literature reviews.



Graph 1: The result of 5 literature reviews

B) My questionnaire held among 20 students:

1-Did you face internet issues during online learning?

2-Are you motivated to follow all online lessons?

3-Did you feel tired during online learning?

4-Do you like to continue studying in this way: all studies online?

Results from questionnaire

Questions	Results	Percentage
1	20 students	100%
2	15 motivated 5-non motivated	75% motivated 25% non motivated
3	20 students	100%
4	16 students did not want to	80%: YES

	continue to study online 4 students wanted to continue to study online	20% NO
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Table 3. Results from questionnaire

4. Conclusion

According to my study I came in results that all students faced internet issues like: they did not have access in internet due to economic problems. Also, the university does not have enough infrastructure to help students to have access online. What we can see that pandemic made all of us feel very tired and stressed. This stress were seen not only in students but also in teachers and parents. I can say that any of us want to study online. E-learning was a temporary solution during lockdown, but many students and professors want to return in their class and to continue studying normally.

Scientific research on this topic is limited, so it is suggested to increase research by different medical staff and authors

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Subject " Migration, economic challenges and protection of human rights"

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Key words: globalization, Migration, human rights, economic opportunities.

This review summarizes main trends, issues, debates, actors and initiatives regarding recognition and extension of protection of the human rights of migrants. Its premise is that the rule of law and universal notions of human rights are essential foundations for democratic society and social peace. Evidence demonstrates that violations of migrants' human rights are so widespread and commonplace that they are a defining feature of international migration today. Evidence on globalization points to worsening migration pressures in many parts of the world. Processes integral to globalization have intensified disruptive effects of modernization and capitalist development, contributing to economic insecurity.

Not every aspect of migration is beneficial for developing countries. Migration may impose a high cost for developing countries by leaving the country without the human capital necessary to achieve long-term economic growth.

While migration impacts development, economic conditions are important drivers of migration. People migrate for a variety of reasons including the search for better economic opportunities, education, family reunion and escaping violence. People often migrate for a combination of these and other reasons. However, the expected income gap between developed and developing countries is a strong incentive for people to migrate. As such, migration affects development, but development also affects migration.

Under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (created fifty years ago), human rights are universal (they apply everywhere), indivisible (political and civil rights cannot be separated from social and cultural rights); and inalienable (they cannot be denied to any human beings). However, their de facto extension to many vulnerable groups has been a long and difficult process, by no means complete. Migrants and indigenous persons, in particular, experience strong resistance to recognition of their human rights.

Introduction

In the first few months of 2020, countries began closing their borders to slow the spread of COVID-19¹. While the pandemic has laid bare many societal issues, like homelessness, insufficient health care, and food scarcity, it has also significantly affected international migration. Destination countries have halted immigration processes for refugees and asylum seekers, those on their way to reunite with their family and those moving to take up a new job or study. The pandemic has inverted previous hierarchies of more and less desired (and disposable or not) migrant workers brought to the fore questions about the impacts of border closures on people and the economy during the crisis and into the future. Turning the pandemic into an opportunity. The many challenges that both high-skilled and low-skilled migrant workers face during the pandemic can be turned into an opportunity. Crisis always bears within the seeds of a new beginning. Rethinking how important migrant workers are in essential sectors of the economy invites us to reconsider how we regulate migrant employment in those sectors and how we integrate them into the workforce through a broader framework of settlement and integration. The crisis also exposes the myth that high-skilled migrants need no support. This paper offers some insights on how information technology can facilitate navigating the crisis, temporarily closing the territorial borders while keeping the “virtual” borders open. We invite policymakers to rethink the balance between the interests of the destination country, the employers, and the migrant workers and their families in favor of equitable and efficient solutions.

I. What happens with those previously disposable and now “essential” (migrant) workers?²

While Canada has seen the entry of high-skilled foreign workers brought to a halt, low-skilled foreign workers, including those of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, have been exempt from restrictions. The Federal Government has introduced special arrangements for low-skilled migrant workers to come and work on Canadian farms. The border closure impacts on temporary foreign workers in Canada’s farms and fish plants and California’s strawberry fields have received wide media coverage. Concerns have mounted over the consequences of not admitting the annual roughly 60,000 seasonal agricultural workers, whose invaluable labor

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² Government of Canada 2015 Express Entry year-end report 2015. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. Available at www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/express-entry-year-end-report-2015.html.

contributes to the food supply that feeds Canadians. Similar challenges were registered in California, where many farm workers are undocumented. As temporary foreign workers continue to arrive, advocacy groups have called for greater migrant worker protections. Although the Government has outlined obligations for employing temporary foreign workers, there is speculation on whether employers are enforcing these practices. The Government's willingness to accept low-skill laborers, and even to go the extra mile in finding appropriate solutions, like chartered flights with few passengers sitting at safe distances, and assistance with their accommodation and self-isolation, does not reveal some new sensitivity about the living or working conditions of these temporary foreign workers.

Migrants – particularly in lower paid jobs

May be both more affected by and vulnerable to the spread of COVID-19 in countries already impacted and those countries where the pandemic is spreading, but migrants also play an important role in the response to COVID-19 by working in critical sectors. As of 1 March 2021, emigrants from the 20 countries with the highest number of COVID-19 cases accounted for 31 per cent of the total international migrant stock and they had sent an estimated 37 per cent of all remittances globally to their countries of origin in 2019 (GMDAC analysis based on UN DESA, 2020; World Bank 2020a; WHO, 2021)¹. Immigrants accounted for at least 3.7 per cent of the population in 14 of the 20 countries with the highest number of COVID-19 cases, and this share is more than 7 per cent in 9 of these countries (GMDAC analysis based on UN DESA, 2020; WHO, 2021). Compared to the global share of international migrants making up 3.6 per cent of the total population, international migrants are overrepresented in these countries.

Key migration trends -By theme- Infection and death rates among migrants

Low-skilled labor migrants in crowded dormitories have been disproportionately affected by the pandemic. Examples from Saudi Arabia and Singapore, where the Ministries of Health have provided official data on the migration status of individuals who tested positive, show the differential exposure to the virus of the migrant population. According to the Saudi Ministry of Health, 75 per cent of all new confirmed cases as of 7 May 2020 were among migrants. Over 95 per cent of the confirmed cases in Singapore by 19 June 2020 were migrants, with over 93 per cent of the total cases being related to migrants' dormitories (Singapore Ministry of Health, 2021). Despite a downward trend in the number of new cases, as of 1 March 2021, residents of dormitories continued to account for nearly 91 per cent of the cumulative number of cases in Singapore (ibid.).

As international migrants are a highly hetero genus group, the effects on their health are also varied. A rapid systematic review of publications found that the incidence rates among migrants

and forcibly displaced persons appear to be consistently higher than among non-migrant groups (Hintermeier et. al., 2020). However, all studies included in this review focused on migrant and forcibly displaced persons who were at a higher risk of becoming infected due to their living and working conditions (ibid.). Another review of peer-reviewed literature, national datasets and grey literature by Hayward et. al. (2020) also shows that migrants in high-income countries are at increased risk of infection and death due to COVID-19. In addition to migrants' living and working conditions, the study also attributes this disproportionate representation of migrants to limited access to healthcare. Even though the incidence rates of COVID-19 are higher among migrants in several countries, comparing the data is also challenging due to national differences in demographics and data collection (Laczko, 2021).

Labor migration ³

164 million people were estimated to be migrant workers in 2017 (ILO, 2018). Migrant workers accounted for 20.6 per cent and 17.8 per cent of all workers in Northern America, and in Northern, Southern and Western Europe respectively (ibid.). They therefore represent about one in five workers in those regions and may be among the first to be affected by lay-offs and movement restrictions and lockdowns impacting livelihoods such as losing their businesses. Living conditions in crowded housing pose a particular risk to the spread of COVID-19 among migrant workers. Migrants, regardless of where they work, make important contributions to address the pandemic but are also exposed to higher risks of contracting the virus. As an illustration, among the 20 countries with the highest number of COVID-19 cases as of 1 March 2021, available international data show that at least 7 countries – the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, Germany and Czechia – depend on foreign-born workers in the critical sector of healthcare services (OECD, 2019). On the higher end, 33 per cent of doctors and 22 per cent of nurses in the United Kingdom in 2015/6 were foreign-born. At the same time, a shortage of health care workers has been present at the global level for many years, and the demand for skilled health personnel is likely exacerbated by the current pandemic. The lockdowns in many countries can have disproportionate implications on the socioeconomic status of migrant women, who are overrepresented in these sectors among all migrant workers.⁴

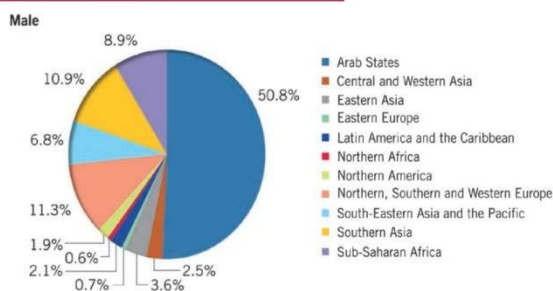
³ <https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/migration-data-relevant-covid-19-pandemic>

⁴ Source: GMDAC analysis based on OECD [DIOC, 2015/16](#) Occupational data for the US are coded with US SOC codes and therefore are not directly comparable with data for the other countries in the above table which are coded with ISCO-08 codes.

Country	% foreign-born workers among all services and sales workers, 2015/16	% women among foreign-born services workers, 2015/16	% foreign-born workers among skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, 2015/16	% women among foreign-born agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, 2015/16
United States of America ^a	23.3	78.8	46.3	27.2
Spain	19.5	58.9	11.3	5.3
Italy	19.0	72.3	11.0	16.8
Germany	18.4	58.8	9.6	11.7
Belgium ^c	17.1	-	5.8	-
United Kingdom ^b	13.8	11.0	16.8	78.5
France	13.8	59.5	6.7	26.1
Poland ^b	0.9	42.2	0.4	52.3
Mexico ^b	0.6	41.5	0.3	11.3

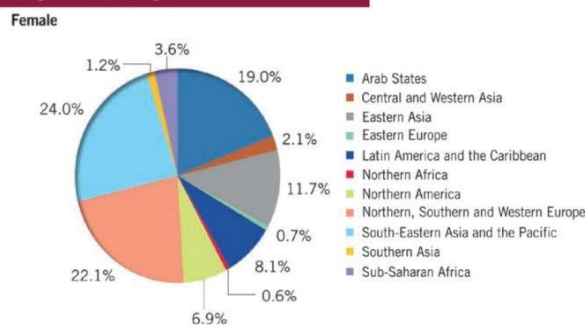
There were an estimated 11.5 million migrant domestic workers (MDWs) around the world in 2013, approximately 8.5 million of whom were female (ILO, 2015). In times of COVID 19, their employers may be infected and pass the disease on, perish with the worker losing their income since work permits are often tied to the employer. With border closures and economic constraints, returning to countries of origin is often not possible, trapping migrant domestic workers in destination countries without housing and income.

Distribution of migrant domestic workers, by sex and broad subregion, 2013 (percentages)



Source: ILO, ILO global estimates on migrant workers: Results and methodology (Geneva, 2015: xiv)

Distribution of migrant domestic workers, by sex and broad subregion, 2013 (percentages)

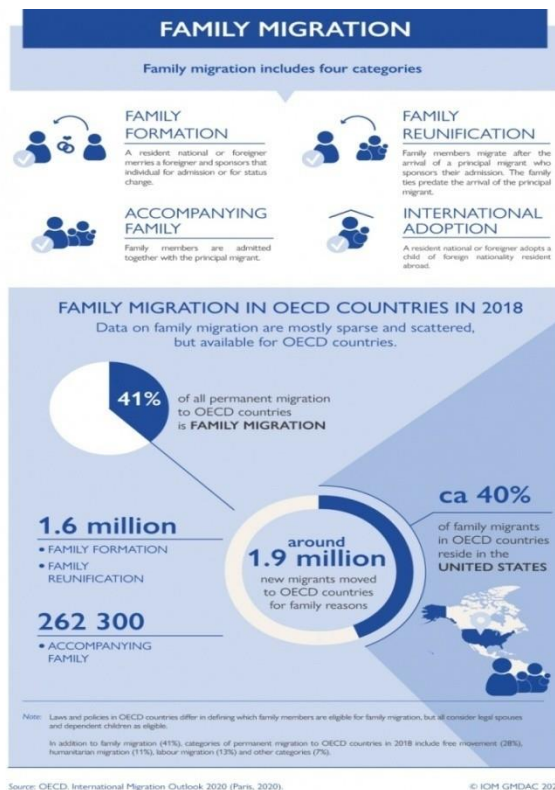


Source: ILO, ILO global estimates on migrant workers: Results and methodology (Geneva, 2015: xiv)

II. Family migration⁵

According to data by the OECD (2020a) on permanent inflows of family migrants over the course of 2018, the US, the UK, France, Spain, Italy, Germany and Mexico hosted nearly 1.2 million family migrants. The US alone hosted more than half of family migrants in these 7 OECD countries. Those family members of migrants may need special attention to cope with stress and anxiety linked to COVID-19, as well as reaching them in languages other than the official language of the country. Additionally, irregular migrants and their families may hesitate to access healthcare services due to fear of deportation or family separation.

III. International students



Globally, there were over 5.3 million international students in tertiary education in 2017, and 3.3 million of them were studying in Northern America and Europe (UNESCO, 2020). China, India, Germany, the Republic of Korea and Viet Nam were the top five countries of origin for international students. Nearly one in four international students came from just three countries: China, India and Germany. International students have also been affected by closure of university campuses, loss of student jobs and mobility restrictions by both origin and destination countries hit by COVID-19.

IV. Urbanization

Approximately one in five international migrants were estimated to live in just 20 cities - Beijing, Berlin, Brussels, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Hong Kong SAR, China, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Moscow, New York, Paris, Seoul, Shanghai, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto, Vienna and Washington DC (IOM, 2015). For 18 of these cities, international migrants represented around 20 per cent of the total population (ibid.). The share of foreign-born persons in the total population in some cities exceeds the global average (around 3.4% in 2015) by a large margin (IOM, 2015). Dubai had a foreign born population of close to 83 per cent, while in Brussels it is 62 per cent, in Toronto 46 per cent, New York 37 per cent, and Melbourne 35 per cent, to name a few examples (ibid.).

⁵ Migration Data Portal The Bigger Picture ;<https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/migration-data-relevant-covid-19-pandemic>

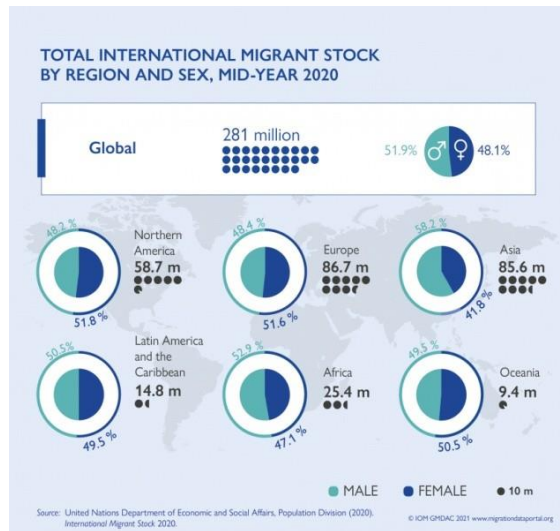
Migrants in countries with the highest number of cumulative COVID-19 cases, as of 1 March 2021⁶

Country	Confirmed COVID-19 cases per 100,000 of the population, as of 4 Mar 2021 ¹	Migrants as share of population (%), mid-2020	Share of working age migrants (20-64 years) in migrant stock (%), mid-2020	Share of persons 65 years and older in migrant stock (%), mid-2020	Share of persons 65 years and older in population (%), mid-2020
United States of America	8 581.02	15.3	77.2	14.5	16.6
India	808.47	0.4	70.7	21.6	18.7
Brazil	5 008.92	0.5	59.3	15.7	6.3
Russian Federation	2 931.97	8.0	76.7	16.9	21.7
United Kingdom	6 169.76	13.8	77.4	11.0	8.7
France	5 694.92	13.1	67.6	22.6	9.0
Spain	6 694.90	14.6	80.7	9.0	11.4
Italy	4 888.10	10.6	84.4	7.1	18.7
Turkey	3 229.01	7.2	70.9	5.9	9.6
Germany	2 936.16	18.8	70.2	21.4	20.1
Colombia	4 440.78	3.7	57.6	2.6	6.6
Argentina	4 705.15	5.0	68.4	14.2	5.5
Mexico	1 626.58	0.9	34.8	4.5	23.3
Poland	4 585.37	2.2	36.9	40.8	20.8
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	1 972.43	3.3	51.4	2.5	16.9
South Africa	2 554.12	4.8	81.8	7.1	7.6
Ukraine	3 120.48	11.4	72.9	20.3	9.1
Indonesia	494.96	0.1	78.5	5.0	15.5
Peru	4 058.91	3.7	61.4	2.9	20.0
Czechia	11 850.41	5.1	87.6	5.5	6.6
Global average		3.6	73.2	12.2	9.3

Women comprised less than half, **135 million or 48.1 per cent**, of the global international migrant stock at mid-year 2020 (UN DESA, 2020). However, more female migrants are migrating independently for work, education and as heads of households. Despite these advances, female migrants may still face stronger discrimination, and are more vulnerable to mistreatment compared to male migrants. In general, the pandemic has led to an increase in gender-based violence (CARE and IRC, 2020).

⁶ Source: WHO, 2021 (accessed on 4 March 2021); GMDAC analysis based on [UN DESA, 2020](#)

¹ Note that these are prevalence rates, which are based on the total number of all confirmed cases of COVID-19 (including new and pre-existing cases). These are not to be confused with incidence rates, which are based on the number of new cases of COVID-19 during a particular time period.



Nonetheless, men are also exposed to vulnerabilities in the migration processes. Therefore, gender-responsive data on migration have potential to promote greater equality and are key to avoid exacerbated repercussions for disadvantaged groups. Care work also disproportionately rests on women, including caring for those affected by COVID-19 and children in light of day-care and school closures (ibid.). As healthcare workers, female migrants may face an additional burden to their job by having to care for family members at home and at the same time potentially facing stigmatization if in contact with

patients infected with COVID-19.

The larger presence of men in the international migrant stock is also reflected in the proportion of male migrant workers. In 2017, migrant workers were estimated to be **58.4 per cent male** and **41.6 per cent female** (ILO, 2018). At **63.5 per cent** and **48.1 per cent** respectively, the labour force participation rate of migrant women was higher than that of non-migrant women in 2017 (ibid.). In the current global health crisis, female migrant workers may thus be more affected by unemployment than female nationals, and can therefore experience double discrimination as both migrants and as women in their host country.

V. Inclusion of migrants in crisis plans

The SARS-CoV-2 virus leading to COVID-19 affects all regardless of nationality, but migrants, also due to a lack of data, are often left out in national pandemic plans. A review of pandemic influenza preparedness plans in 21 countries of the Asia Pacific region in 2016 only found 3 countries (Thailand, Papua New Guinea and the Maldives) adequately included non-citizens beyond health control measures at borders (18 out of 21 countries, Wickramage et al., 2018). Excluding migrants' access to entitlements or access to health care in domestic legal and policy frameworks may increase transmission risks, adverse outcomes and inhibit access to early detection, treatment and negatively affect public health management (Zenner and Wickramage, 2020).

The MGI assessments showed that one in five countries have specific measures in place to assist migrants during and after crises. These measures mainly pertain to internal displacement, refugee movements and the provision of humanitarian assistance on an equal footing to nationals and migrants. Measures on maintaining or upscaling health systems during a public health crisis are not specifically mentioned. Thirteen per cent of the countries partially include these types of measures in the sense that their strategies are inclusive of all vulnerable communities (thus informally encompassing migrants). Some countries temporarily relax immigration requirements,

allowing migrants whose country of origin has been affected by a crisis to remain in the destination country beyond the usual time limit. In other cases, assistance is provided de facto to all migrants irrespective of their migration status. More than half (55 per cent) of the countries do not include any specific measures to assist migrants, but several mention that assistance is given on an ad hoc basis. Conversely, 69 per cent of the countries offer assistance to their nationals abroad in times of crisis. Most of these countries provide emergency travel documents and repatriation possibilities, but only for broadly defined “humanitarian crises”. The rest of the countries (31 per cent) offer assistance on a case-by-case basis and only where a migrant’s country of origin is represented through consular bodies. In most cases, assistance from the country of origin is limited or even not possible when there are no consulates in the receiving country. Migrants, including international students or migrant workers on cruise ships, risk being stranded if border control rules are changed owing to the pandemic, with those who cannot access consular assistance being more vulnerable. The report highlights access to COVID-19 public medical testing and treatment for all people residing in Ireland, irrespective of their migratory status, among other key findings.

VI. A post Covid-19 human rights agenda⁷

The establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on this day in 1948 was a groundbreaking moment for global consensus on the shared rights of all human beings. This has since expanded into many treaties, conventions and declarations supporting the centrality and substance of human rights at the global level. The creation of UN human rights law brought forward a period of great optimism. During the drafting of the declaration, Lebanese politician Charles Habib Malik proclaimed it to be a “potent ideological weapon” that “if wielded in complete goodwill, sincerity and truth, can prove most significant in the history of the spirit”. But 72 years later, we face an era famously termed the ‘end time of human rights’ (subscription required). International human rights agreements are often violated without consequence, with their impact on directly improving state’s human rights records modest at best. And Covid-19 has presented new, unexpected and unprecedented challenges to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as exacerbating suffering and violence from ongoing conflicts. As we reflect on another International Human Rights Day, we have an opportunity to consider more complex aspects of the human rights picture – without losing sight of the need to protect established rights. Our future focus should expand to building up a rights-based agenda that doesn’t only deal with high-level aspiration commitments. It must also engage honestly and more directly around the sticky, more complicated dimensions of human rights that affect us all.

⁷ Written by Rachel George <https://odi.org/en/insights/a-post-covid-19-human-rights-agenda/>

Five key components of a forward-looking human rights agenda

Major challenges and questions for a forward-looking human rights agenda include:

The right to privacy and the right to safety and security

The relationship between the right to privacy and the requirements of safety and national security is almost always delicate and complex. Awareness of these tensions heightened after the 9/11 attacks, but new challenges including Covid-19 and environmental security mean that we need updated and more explicit understandings of how these rights are balanced. This is particularly urgent in the context of expanding surveillance technology, including the sudden implementation of Covid-19 related phone tracking in many countries, with minimal public debate. Increasingly research is identifying possible tensions between global safety and security. This includes the impacts on specific groups, such as women and racial and ethnic minorities. However, more work needs to focus on consensus-building around trade-offs and standards, to ensure human rights are promoted at their intersection in light of today's most pressing security challenges, including global health security.

The right to freedom of expression and the right to protection from hate speech

Balancing freedom of expression and non-discrimination with protection from hate speech (pdf) will be another key challenge in a forward-looking human rights agenda.

And as the growth of racial equality movements this year around the world help demonstrate, there is a pressing need to address this issue head-on with sensitivity to various identities and vulnerabilities. The UN Secretary General's new Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech offers one opportunity to expand thinking on these issues in a contemporary, digital context.

Freedom of mobility and the right to protection

Human mobility in a diversity of forms — ranging from migration to international and domestic travel — has been restricted for public health reasons in unprecedented ways both within and between states.

With the rise of state protectionism under Covid-19, countries need to balance the right to freedom of movement (pdf) with the obligation to uphold public health. Even before Covid-19, upsurges in nationalism to restrict migration, alongside public security and counter-terrorism policies restricting people's movement, have long been at tension with human rights concepts of physical freedom and mobility. These issues will continue to take centre stage. A renewed, direct

global conversation on how they should interact is needed, particularly given today's focus on future-proofing against pandemics.

State sovereignty and the right to self-determination

This longstanding global issue may have fallen from headlines in light of the Covid-19 pandemic, but it remains critical. These struggles can be linked directly to Covid-relevant questions of state legitimacy and governance structures, while local routes to governance do not appear to be going away and nor should we expect them to. As Brexit, Catalanian independence and separatist movements in Bangladesh remind us, urgent claims against the current sovereign state arrangements are increasing political divisions (subscription required) globally, which the current crisis will likely only exacerbate.

The right to digital access and the right to be protected from malign forces online

The UN has declared 'online freedom' to be a human right, but ongoing access gaps and malign forces make efforts to guarantee this right complicated.

Covid-19 has brought the issue of digital access even further to the fore, particularly for those in poverty. Misinformation and disinformation online, both in relation to the pandemic and in its impacts on political and social issues, are also a concern.

A response to these tensions should take into account specific impacts on, for example, youth and women. One example of many is evidence showing the disproportionate targeting of female US political candidates attacked by 'fake news accounts'. These groups also need expanded digital access in many countries.

Conclusion

Human rights in a post-Covid era

The global human rights project has come a long way. The fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in the core UN human rights documents are still relevant today. Better enforcement of existing agreements and institutions can help progress global human rights (see, for example, ODI research on implementation gaps around women's rights and international human rights law). But a relevant, renewed and robust human rights agenda must grapple more directly with the sticky issues we too often shy away from, in addition to holding ground on previous areas of success. In the context of Covid-19, establishing international consensus on a relevant rights-based order can only be achieved if we recognise and work directly on new and difficult

areas as much as we celebrate and cling to past achievements. Both will be important for a post-2020 human rights agenda.

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- 3) <https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/migration-data-relevant-covid-19-pandemic>
- 4) Source: GMDAC analysis based on OECD DIOC, 2015/16
- 5) Occupational data for the US are coded with US SOC codes and therefore are not directly comparable with data for the other countries in the above table which are coded with ISCO-08 codes.
- 6) Source: WHO, 2021 (accessed on 4 March 2021); GMDAC analysis based on UN DESA, 2020
- 7) Note that these are prevalence rates, which are based on the total number of all confirmed cases of COVID-19 (including new and pre-existing cases). These are not to be confused with incidence rates, which are based on the number of new cases of COVID-19 during a particular time period.
- 8) Written by Rachel George <https://odi.org/en/insights/a-post-covid-19-human-rights-agenda/>

THE REFORMS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION , ONE OF THE CONDITIONS FOR INTEGRATION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract

Reforms in the public administration occupy an important role among other priorities of a country aspiring for membership and EU integration. Not that integration depends on public administration reforms, but it's the quality of reforms that accelerate the pace and strengthen a country's road towards EU integration. The basic idea is to prove that there is a connection between these two elements or procedures on one hand, and on the other the process of integration of Republic of North Macedonia into EU depending on the public administration reform. This means that the more effective reformation of public administration the RNM has made, the shorter term of meeting the conditions for EU integration it will take.

From the very beginnings of the independence of the Republic of North Macedonia a lot of importance and value has been given to adjusting reforms in accordance to the new pluralist democratic conditions and those of the economy. Up to 1999, when the process of reforms was incited, a very small part of the specific engagements was accomplished in terms of improving the functionality of the public administration. The main goal to be reached through the implementation of the reforms in the RNM is the development of a democratic society and the development of the economy. The reforms in the public administration take a very important role among other priorities of a country that aspires to become a member and integrate in the EU. The integration does not depend on public administration reforms, but the quality of reforms does accelerate the tempo and strengthens the road of a country towards EU integration. The basic idea is to prove that there is a correlation between these two elements or procedures. The process of integration of RNM into the EU is very much dependable, among other things, also from the

public administration reforms and if the Republic of North Macedonia manages to conduct an efficient reformation of the public administration, it will comply with EU integration criteria faster.

Keywords: administration, reform, European Union, integration

1. INTRODUCTION

It is believed that the paradigm of values in the public sector developed by the authors from the leaderships in the public sector¹ is the matrix for development of the public sector because of its capacity to comprise both the criteria for governance and principles of management.

Management refers to the interaction between the public sector and civil society towards collective decision-making.² In the concept of values in the public sector, public intervention should be aimed at meeting the needs of citizens in a fair, effective and responsible manner.

The concept of values in the public sector emphasizes the need to achieve a balance between the demands of the democratic political processes and those of the effective management of public resources. Concentrating on the importance of focusing on citizens to deliver public values, this paradigm is useful for guiding civil servants towards achieving economic and social results. In the perspective of public values, public interest comes in the center of civil servants' activities;

¹ Moore, M. (1995), *Creating public value*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press., Stoker, G. (2006), *Public Value Management: A New Narrative for Networked Governance?* In *The American Review of Public Administration*, Sage, Volume 36 Number 1, pp. 41-57

² Castro, S. X., and Mlikota, K. (2002), *Overview on E-governance*. Working Paper prepared in the framework of the ICT cross-cutting project ICTs as Tools for Improving Local Governance, UNESCO

the role of managers in the public sector is highlighted and it contributes to the democratic processes.

This requires open access to procurement in the civil service (assessment of the benefits of public and private sector) as well as dedication to the credo of the civil service, as defined by Aldridge and Stoker, with five criteria:

- Culture of work: dedication to services for individuals and the community;
- Capacity for support of a universal approach: special responsibility of the public sector ;
- Responsible practices for employment: well trained and motivated personnel which acts professionally and is fairly rewarded;
- Contribution to the wellbeing of the community: recognizing the need to work in partnership with others.

2. The values in the public sector as a leading principle for administrative reforms

The approach of managing values in the public sector opens an alternative way for running the public sector outside the traditional Weberian Bureaucracy and the new theories for management of the public sector.

In circumstances where complexity and uncertainty are permanent characteristics, the concept of values in the public sector requires adaptability and flexibility as key factors which are best concretized through constant evaluation and learning, as creation of policies based on proofs. In this sense, efficiency should be assessed against higher goals, as are social wellness, sustainability and responsibility.

The theory of management in the public sector is inspired from the experience of practitioners and managers in the public sector who had felt the need of adjusting the concepts to theories and practices and harmonizing conflict values. Democracy and management should be considered as

partners in the process of creation of policies to close the gap between policies and management and convert ideology into reality.³

Managers in the public sector should manage the processes, people and resources, so that they shall think wider and improve leadership, communication and evaluation.

Human resources have a key role in the implementation of administrative reforms. Civil servants are responsible for designing laws, organizational development, administrative restructuring, creation of policies and implementation of laws. To accomplish these crucial tasks they should be well prepared.

In order to ensure sustainability of reforms, a quality policy for human resources is necessary and this requires investing in human capital, knowledge, competences and trust.

Major priorities mentioned in the research of administrative reforms in the Balkan countries are depoliticization and professionalization of the civil service. The modernization of administrative personnel should concentrate on improving ethic standards in the public sector. This presupposes a major change in individual and social relations from the former political regimes which leads to a "cultural gap" between old and new generations. Governance should implement the changes in relations and mentality by addressing resistance and fears while new values are consolidated and by persuading people to accept the new standards.

Balkan countries have numerous consequences in harmonizing procedures in civil service. In this process Balkan countries need to overcome major barriers, such as poor management of changes, poor skills, lack of experience in project management, standing behind the laws and lack of focus on customers.

National laws should be accorded with the principles of the European administrative space. Professionalization of administrative personnel presupposes strengthening the local capacities and structures for training when a meritorious system for human resources is established.

³ Joly, J. (2011), *The execution of public budget: A politics and management deals*, Presentation made in Dijon, <http://www.epractice.eu/en/events/2011-meeting-interest-group-shared-services>

Lessons learned from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the preparation of the accession process are important for the situation of the Balkan transition:

- Reasons for changes have to be explicit and felt;
- Goals have to be clearly defined and accepted;
- Partnerships for reforms have to be built;
- Local ownership has to be matured;
- Specific models can not be transplanted.
- Legal approach has to be an entry point of the reforms in the civil service;
- Proper alignment of reform steps in order to ensure sustainability.

An example of relevant reform steps is that of Croatia in March 2008 when the country developed a whole strategy for reforms in the public administration for 2008-2011 which was called “Strategy for Reforms in Public Administration” and served as strategic frame towards modernization of the country. The plan of the reforms included the following goals:⁴

- Strengthening the competences and effectiveness of public administration;
- Enhancing expertise, professionalism, knowledge and transparency;
- Developing electronic administration;
- Reducing the operational costs and simplification of regulations.

⁴ Kandžija, V. Mance, D. and Godec, Z. (2010) *A Review of the Croatian Public Administration Reform in Public Administration in the Balkans from Weberian Bureaucracy to New Public Management*, L. Matei, S. Flogaitis (Eds.), pp. 105-118

The management paradigm of the public sector emphasizes the need to find out new ways of cooperation towards collective decision-making.⁵

In this context, interdependence of many actors which involve individuals and organizations is constantly increasing. It is believed that policy is crucial for coordination of social demands. Many reports in the Balkan countries underline the importance of political will in achieving real reforms. Real progress in anti-corruptive policies can not be achieved unless there is political will and apathy among the citizens.⁶

Due to the above, coordination of social actors has the greatest importance in the implementation of changes. In order to overpass the lack of citizens' trust in political institutions, it is necessary to show greater transparency of political decisions and administrative procedures, as well as stronger and independent media and judicial authorities.

To deal with corruption and ensure democratic political processes, civil society has a key role in achieving political changes, since it is the key actor in the implementation of reforms. Civil society has two major functions in implementing democratization of the society:⁷

- To follow the steps of the governments in their reforms towards new standards;
- To motivate support and participation in the European accession processes.

Wide participation of interested parties from the civil society may be accomplished only if people engage themselves in a practical manner and at the same time keep ownership over the process of changes.

In this context, the role of the guards, that is non-government organizations and media, should be strengthened and supplied with capacity for revision of the reforms by enhancing their expertise and further encourage debates for strategic decisions.⁸

⁵ Stoker, G. (2006), *Public Value Management: A New Narrative for Networked Governance?* In *The American Review of Public Administration*, Sage, Volume 36 Number 1, pp. 41-57

⁶ Igric, G. (2010), *Lack of Political Will Thwarts Anti-corruption Efforts*, in *Accession of the Western Balkans to the EU: Evaluating a process*, pp.18- 28

⁷ Miljenko, D. (2010), *The European Union and Civil Society: what interactions?*, in *Accession of the Western Balkans to the EU: Evaluating a process*, pp. 29-31

The reports of the European Commission on the Balkan accession countries emphasize the importance of civil society in the reform process. The Croatian Progress Report 2010 confirmed the role of civil organizations in promoting and protecting human rights and democracy, but regretted its exclusion from the political process, and their weak capacity to monitor the political development. As far as Serbia is concerned, the Commission informs about the active role of the civil society in social, political and economic life, but for insufficient operational capacity and uneven cooperation with the state, too.

3. Management of changes and the public administration

The changes in the public administration must be permanent. They provide quality of services, efficiency and effectiveness in working and achieving goals. Public administration does not have to stick to the past, not even to the current situation nor routine works which are being implemented now, procedures that functioned sufficiently in the last year do not imply that they will be good enough for this or next year. Today changes happen everywhere. Public administration can not afford itself to be static. If we want to be successful we should embrace the changes as an opportunity to advance and reach results. We should all the time consider ideas and findings in order to identify the areas that need changes and prepare for the future. Changes in the public administration are inevitable. The only safe thing in every organization is changes.

Institutions that are part of the public administration have to be sure that they have established processes to prevent failure of the factor of changes. These processes include assessment of the needs of the organization and awareness of all members of the organization about the foreseen changes. The employees have to recognize the reason for changes and be involved in their implementation. The assessment and interaction of employees are of vital importance since they will reduce the level of resistance and contribute to successful transformation.

⁸ <http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/2693-corruption-in-serbia-2007.pdf>

When implementing changes in the public administration we should have in mind the effects of changes over the behavior of employees in the organization and the delivery of services provided for the citizens. The governance of the organization should create a vision of the future of the organization in a way that will make the plight in the process of changes be worth the efforts. The vision is of essential importance for long-lasting success.

Each programme for changes requires a strategic plan. The process of four steps developed by Kurt Levin and Edgar Shane has proved to be an efficient method for changes:

- The employees in the public administration have to accept the changes. This can be achieved upon the creation of discontent with the old way of working.
- This undesired behavior must be abandoned (defrosting), the members of organizations must quit the old way of behaving and replace it with the desired one and motivate themselves for changes.
- The members of organizations must be presented a feasible model of the new behavior (changing). Employees in organizations should be aware of what benefits change will bring along; in addition, changing requires communication and time for people in organizations to understand the change.
- The new behavior should be strengthened (freezing back), and the employees will accept the new way of working and behaving.

One of the objectives of changes in public administration is creation of a system of public administration which shall work under the principles of equal treatment in exercising and protecting citizens' rights, or public administration - service to citizens. Thus, in the Republic of Macedonia, the relation between the public administration and the work of administrators who believe that they are above the system, and not service to the citizens, should be changed.

Through proper use of the resources and offering quality services to citizens, public administration increases the efficiency and quality of services, but, also the trust of citizens.

Goal of any organizational change is allow the organization to work more efficiently, which means:

- Efficient - the degree of utilization of resources against results,
- Effective - whether products and services meet the needs of the client,
- Legitimate – accepted and recognized in areas where it acts,
- Flexible- ability to adapt to changes, and
- Sustainable - ability to conduct activities for a longer term.

Efficiency of public administration is objective of every democratic country. Efficiency of public administration is an indicator of successfulness of the country, and society, too. The work of the public administration and the services it provides to citizens results in the need to increase efficiency. Employees in the public administration are the main resource and the efficiency of public administration might be determined through employees' performances, i.e. through their way of working, the knowledge they have, their motivation, interpersonal communication, cooperation, governance, coordination.

In the last years, the Republic of North Macedonia and the rest of the countries of Western Balkan and Eastern Europe, which aspire to become EU and NATO members, have been making huge efforts to increase efficiency and effectiveness of public administration. The need of more responsible and quality public administration is high, because of the harmonization of legal frameworks and reforms related to public administration taken over by the candidate countries. The Republic of North Macedonia should show greater flexibility and political understanding towards the issue of public administration reforms, the efficiency of the public service allows the foreign, and domestic investors, to easily achieve their goals. Investments in economy positively affect the changes in public administration which should be professional and able to deliver quality services, at the same time requiring better observance of laws and regulations, and institutional stability. It is these standards required by the public administration that represent an opportunity for creation of favorable business climate and possibility to draw foreign investments. To date, expectations of citizens, especially of the business community in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as the private sector, are huge due to the increasing competition both from outside and inside. There must be a consensus that the previous orientation towards

administration based on rules has to be replaced by general orientation towards results in which the needs of the users or more precisely citizens, play a significant role.⁹

4. SYSTEM OF PREY AND PRINCIPLE OF MERIT

In the Republic of Macedonia, contrary to declarations for the establishment of a merit system of employment, the reality is slightly different where still operates the spoils system - a system of prey, which means that the public administration turns into a politicized factory that produces inadequate and incompatible or less compatible products which affect the society very unprofessionally and risky for the public service.¹⁰

If the merit system involves reward and advancement of professionalism that they receive with their expertise and education, the spoils system is the opposite of the merit system, inaccuracy and inefficiency in operation.

Unfortunately, in such situations very capable and competent persons do not come to the fore, their knowledge, expertise, experience, simply does not allow them established system.

In order to fulfill that consistent implementation of the above principles of meritocracy, it requires major reforms in the public service in the country. In particular, significant changes in recruitment of staff in public administration. You have to apply value criteria such as personal values and qualifications, professional competence, should eradicate nepotism and political structure that creates inadequate, inefficient, unproductive and corrupt administration.

The public administration should be the only key player in the creation of conditions for the development of a professional, politically neutral, competent, responsible and stable civil service, as an efficient service to the citizens. It takes true professionals, people who know well the issues to think independently and decide, love the administration, live professionally by it, pleased and happy to be part of the public sector and such a responsible state legal activity.

⁹ Responsive Government Service Quality, Initiative, Skopje, 2003, ctp.16

¹⁰ www.sep.gov.mk/data/file/.../mk_rapport_2013_MK4_21_10_2013.doc

These professionally trained staff will be ready to realize the social obligations to the benefit of socially useful work, and be a service to the citizens and to the society itself. These officers who have the knowledge, and are willing to respect the criteria of morality and values advocated by our society, can lead to improvement of the public service.

5. CONCLUSION

The administrative capacity of the Republic of North Macedonia plays a vital role in integrating itself into the European Union. Scholars and analysts dealing with the study of integration processes, give great commitment and role to the reforms in the public administration of a country and the EU integration. The Balkan countries, including the Republic of North Macedonia also give great importance to this issue, although from a broader perspective, the countries of this region are still preoccupied with the economic and political stability. The development of an effective public administration in other countries, such as those in South-East Europe, was completed prior to their integration into the EU, and the public administration of the Republic of North Macedonia as a basis for democracy, rule of law and free economy is a real challenge in the future. Nowadays it is very clear that an effective public administration sector is a prerequisite for the further development of the Republic of North Macedonia towards EU integration. Including this issue as one of the major priorities, all previous governments of the Republic of North Macedonia put an emphasis on the definition of their involvement in the implementation of reforms in the field of public administration and transform it into a service for citizens and economic entities in the country, since a professional, efficient and modern administration is a necessary predisposition to support the objectives of the government of the Republic of North Macedonia for full membership in the EU structures. Theoretically, since gaining independence of the Republic of Macedonia, all government bodies have recognized the importance of reforming the public administration. The reforms were seen as one aspect of the transition to a democratic society, predisposition to economic development and a prerequisite for entry into EU. idat service of citizens and society. These officers have the knowledge, possessing

will and who are willing to respect the criteria of morality and values should have in our society, can lead to improved public service..

In addition to the adopted legislation, institutions also have an impact on the process of public administration reform. With the establishment of the Ministry of Information Society and Administration, which is responsible for coordination and adoption of reforms in the public administration, although functioning since 2011, it has taken over some of the responsibilities of the Agency of Administration (former Agency of Civil Servants). With the establishment of the Agency of Civil Servants and the Ministry of Local Government as part of the process of reforms, great institutional importance has been given to reforms in both fields - public administration and decentralization. If some institutions implement the reforms better than others, then emphasis and efforts should be put to remove the bad experiences of non-implementation and focus on a public administration that is efficient and modern.

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Covid-19: Employment situation of women and young people in Albania

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Abstract

Analysis suggests that groups at particular risk in this Covid-19 situation are likely to be young people and the lowest paid, with women more adversely affected than men. Older people are also likely to be particularly at risk. *Purpose:* The purpose is to explore the effect of the pandemic in women and young people employment situation. *Methodology:* Semi-structure interviews were developed with women and young people (N=16) about their employment situation during COVID-19. Gender wise, females were considered at high risk of unemployment. Women are over-represented in more affected sectors (such as services) or in occupations that are at the front line of dealing with the pandemic (e.g. nurses, education), they also as being at high risk in terms of job losses and reduced working hours, because they are working in sectors that are most affected by the pandemic such as manufacturing, accommodation/food services, wholesale/retail trade, fasons, call centers, etc. For young people this period has been difficult because of disruption to education, employment and income security difficulties. Before the pandemic, young people were already facing challenges in the labor market. These are worsened by the COVID-19 crisis; some youth are facing difficulties balancing education and training with the need to complement family income, others are facing the challenge of searching for their first job in a labour market.

Key words: women, young people, employment, pandemic

Introduction

COVID-19 has hit hard the world economy. The current crisis threatens to push back the limited gains made on gender equality and exacerbate the feminization of poverty, vulnerability to violence, and women's equal participation in the labor force (UN, 2020).

Analysis suggests that groups at particular risk in this Covid-19 situation are likely to be young people and the lowest paid, with women more adversely affected than men (Wilson et al., 2020). Young people aged 15–24 were around three times more likely to be unemployed than those aged 25 and over (ILO, 2020b). The COVID-19 crisis is expected to create more obstacles for young people in the labor market: for jobseekers, a lack of vacancies is expected to lead to longer school-to-work transitions, while young workers risk losing their jobs amid the current wave of

lay-offs and the collapse of businesses and start-ups (ILO, 2020). One lasting effect that has occurred after past crises, and that is likely to follow the COVID-19 pandemic, is that young people making the transition from education to work will find it more difficult to find employment at entry-level positions due to increased competition for jobs and declining availability of jobs (Atkins, et al. 2020). There is also a risk that unequal access to online learning, careers advice and wider support networks further widens existing inequalities in education and employment outcomes (Evans & Dromey, 2020).

The administrative data on the labor market reported by Institute of Statistics show that, almost 19,000 young people aged 15-29 were registered as jobseekers in employment offices during the first half of 2020 or 16% more than in the first half of 2019 (Memia, 2021).

Women, especially those from vulnerable groups, are hit harder by the coronavirus and all the situation created in family, school and community. More women than men work in insecure labor and are active in the informal economy, more women than men have difficulties to earn income and meet basic needs. Women have more responsibilities related with family role and child education and the pandemic situation have increased their difficulties in overcoming the situation. Evidence from other countries suggests that domestic violence increases during the epidemic. Many women were forced to stay home with their abusers at the same time that services to support survivors were disrupted or were inaccessible.

As a response to the COVID-19 crisis, the Government of Albania undertook several emergency measures in March to respond and protect the most vulnerable groups. Around 70,000 vulnerable families are beneficiaries of a relief package (food and hygiene items) for a period of 3 months. In addition, around 63,251 families on cash assistance scheme are benefiting the double amount of cash assistance for 3 months. As a reaction to lay-offs due to Covid-19 crisis, the Council of Ministers approved on 29th July 2020 two additional and temporary employment promotion programs for recently unemployed jobseekers laid off during the peak period of quarantine measures between 10 March and 23 June (European Commission, 2020).

The UN WOMEN (2020a) report analysis that women's economic security has been hit hard, impacting employment and income. Women from all walks of life and age groups have been affected by employment loss, income loss and a reduction in paid working hours. Over 15 per cent of women respondents said they lost their jobs and another 41 per cent were facing reduced paid working hours. Many women have taken unpaid leave and many more are now working from home due to social distancing measures.

The report of UN Women Albania show that employed women in the 55-64 age group were more likely to experience a decrease in working hours (40%). Similarly, self-employed women in the 45-54 age group reported the highest proportion (66.7%) of women experiencing a decrease in working time. Working time has decreased for employed women living in a household without

children (32%), which explains the age pattern distribution of working time decreases among employed women (UN Women, 2020 b).

Methodology

In addition to the process of document analysis, a qualitative approach was included. This method was selected for its realization, as this study aims to understand the effect of the pandemic in women and young people employment situation. The literature review has helped the researcher in designing a conceptual framework which has subsequently served to categorize the literature as well as to create a theoretical perspective, which has guided the research questions of the study. Semi-structure interviews were developed with women and young people (N=16) about their employment situation during COVID-19. A purposive theoretical sampling was applied, the access to the participants was made able mainly from contacts in different public and private institutions. The sample was composed by women and young people that were employed or seeking to enter the labor market. Therefore, their contribution was crucial in order to explore more about difficulties and experiences. The interviews conducted with women and young people were recorded with their approval and notes were taken as well throughout the interview. After the transcription process of the data and the translation, data was separated in diverse subjects related to their purpose.

Regarding ethical considerations, the protection and attainment of confidentiality of the participants were provided through private individual interviewing sessions. Before the interviewing process the participants were given the information about the aims of the study and a consent form. The participants were made aware that the information provided by them during the semi-structured interviews will be managed for research purposes.

Results

Difficulties of women in labor market during Covid-19 pandemic

The gathered information shows that women report that were more fired than men. In almost all of the G20 countries where data are available, women experienced a greater fall in employment and total hours worked than men on average during the first few months of the COVID-19 crisis. Greater declines in labor force participation, employment and hours of work, as well as lower social protection coverage, have left women more vulnerable than men to sharp income losses (OECD, 2020). The job cut was mentioned that it happened mostly in call centers and fason business where usually work more women and girls.

The interviewees report that women are over-represented in more affected sectors (or in occupations that are at the front line of dealing with the pandemic (e.g. nurses, education), they also as being at high risk in terms of job losses and reduced working hours, because they are working in sectors that were most affected by the pandemic such as manufacturing, accommodation/food services, wholesale/retail trade, fasons, call centers, etc.

Especially the fact that women are still seen as having their primary role within the family taking care of kids and other members makes more difficult their integration and sustainability in working labor. The fact that children were learning from home also emphasized the difficult role that women have in child education. The losses in child care and school supervision hours as a result of the pandemic obligated mothers to reduce work hours or exit the workforce entirely. For parents, especially women because leaving the school routine has reduced students' interest in learning, and various family situations have led to children accumulating more stress which has then affected the learning process.

Working from home for women has been a new experience, challenging and accompanied with fears also. Fears related to the health status as well as with the job security. The productivity for some of them has been at the same level as before, while for the rest it has decreased and many of the job functions are not completed since “not everything can be done online”.

Difficulties of young people in labor market during Covid-19 pandemic

Involvement in the youth labor market is considered even more difficult for young people during the covid-19 pandemic because many jobs were closed or cut. For young people this period has been difficult because of disruption to education, employment and income security difficulties. Before the pandemic, young people were already facing challenges in the labor market. These are worsened by the COVID-19 crisis; some youth are facing difficulties balancing education and training with the need to complement family income, others are facing the challenge of searching for their first job in a labour market.

The lockdown measures, limited job opportunities during the crisis and labor market difficulties caused by COVID-19 is likely to mean that young people will increasingly seek income through informal employment and/or non-standard forms of work. The sectors that have been most affected by COVID-19 lockdowns – hospitality, retail and leisure – are sectors that employ higher numbers of younger people (Eurofound, 2021).

Another concern mentioned by the interviewees was about unequal access of young people to digital technologies that have contributed to gaps in education during the COVID-19 crisis. Young people with limited infrastructure and skills to access the internet have been left behind as education institutions shift to distance learning.

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused shorter or longer-term closure of schools, colleges and universities and in many cases the teaching took place in shifts. Teaching and testing has been moved online. Despite all efforts to provide online education some of the young people said that they have benefited less from schools due to online education for a long time. These interruptions in the educational process will have long-term consequences in their employability opportunities in the future. The young people coming from the vulnerable groups have faced more difficulties to attend regularly online class because of lack on the necessary devices for online schooling. Young people from socially vulnerable and disadvantaged groups are more severely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic than other groups (Eurofound, 2021).

Other issues reported by young people were high levels of uncertainty about work, feeling isolated and motivated for their daily life, anxious and stress related to the pandemic situation. Some of the interview young people have mention that they have experienced stress, anxiety, and lower levels of life satisfaction

Conclusion

Although the state has taken various measures to mitigate the effects of the covid-19 pandemic, there are some population groups such as women, youth and other vulnerable groups that were most affected. Even before the pandemic, the labor market was more difficult for young people and women, the Covid-19 pandemic made employment opportunities even more difficult, such as lack of jobs, longer school-to- work transitions, uncertainty about the future, the need to adapt to changes in the labor market.

The pandemic has made it even more difficult for young people to enter the labor market. Some youth are facing difficulties balancing education and training others are facing the challenge of entering in a labor market. During the pandemic, women carried an even greater weight in the family as they had to constantly deal with family care and child rearing.

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The beginning of the 2001 war in North Macedonia until the Prizren agreement - May 2021
according to the British press

Abstract

The outbreak of the 2001 war in northern Macedonia came as a surprise to both the state apparatus and the international community. Even though the status of Albanians was not yet legally defined in the country, it was considered that the state was stable and there was apparently no room for any eventual conflict. From mid-February 2001, when the conflict erupted and until the so-called Prizren Agreement between representatives of Albanian political parties in northern Macedonia and the political leader of the National Liberation Army, mediated by the OSCE Ambassador, political developments were blurred and unknown. The British press regularly followed military and political developments on a daily basis during this period of time. Of course, such a report would also reflect the creation of the political opinion of the population on the events in Northern Macedonia though the same would reflect that of British and world policymakers. The analysis is done in this paper exclusively on the basis of the British press.

Key words: North Macedonia, 2001 war, British press, international mediators, political opinion.

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The beginning of the 2001 war in North Macedonia until the Prizren agreement - May 2021 according to the British press

I. Introduction

Political and military developments in Kosovo during 1998-99 enabled Macedonia to establish and strengthen ties with the international Western European factor. NATO's great need to use Macedonian territory or airspace to attack Serbia created a historic opportunity for close ties with Brussels and Washington. The influx of Albanian refugees from Kosovo to Macedonia, although with obstacles of various natures, also influenced the current government to gain European and American sympathy. These were some elements that influenced the relaxation of interethnic relations in Macedonia and the international factor. Though there was preliminary information that the state did not move at all or did very small step towards advancing the rights of Albanians, mistakenly made international community think that the situation in the country is normal and certainly they gave priority to Kosovo in all aspects.

However, taking into account that the liberation movements in Kosovo and Macedonia had many connections and as such it was organized in parallel in both countries, although in Kosovo due to the circumstances it was more dynamic, but also in the same period of time military activities will take place in Macedonia which will also concern the international factor. Thus, the first armed action in Macedonia will take place against the Gostivar Court on December 17, 1997, then immediately on January 4, 1998 in Kumanovo and Prilep police stations. On July 22, 1998, three explosions rocked Macedonia, one blast in the center of the capital, Skopje, caused only a small amount of damage. They precede a visit to Macedonia by Javier Solana, NATO Secretary General. The cause of the blasts was investigated by Macedonian police, who said they had nothing to do with the Kosovo Liberation Army.

These actions will continue with deadly effects for the police forces of Northern Macedonia, in January 1999 in Aracinovo, 3 policemen were killed and on January 22, 2001, in Tearce, a Macedonian policeman was killed.

These guerrilla actions were as disturbing to the international community though these incidents were also signals that not everything in Macedonia was as presented by the current government. None of these actions were categorized by the international community as terrorist, but as extremist or radical actions. During this time the situation was simmering while the final explosion was not known, the Macedonian government instead of taking concrete actions towards the advancement of the Albanian status rather authorities thought that like in the past would extinguish by force any Albanian political activity. In the mean time the international community following the developments in Kosovo and Macedonia with great interest tensions in Macedonia did not take at the beginning very seriously.

II. The beginning of armed conflict on 16 February 2001

Decisive moment would be February 16, 2001, when in Tanusha, Skopje, National Liberation Army (NLA) units were positioned and the frontal war with the Macedonian security forces finally began. The beginning of the fighting, uniformed soldiers under the emblem of the NLA in the public appearance of its representatives led by the main leader Ali Ameti, the presentation of demands in public and the rapid sympathy they won among the Albanian population marked a new moment that also raised the alarm among the international community that another hotbed of war would be opened in the areas of the former Yugoslavia.

The interest of the western media would be very fast, where on February 19, 2001, the Scotsman newspaper will report on the fighting in Tanusha, Skopje, then in the following days the Observer, The Times, International Herald Tribune, etc. will constantly report on the events in Macedonia. As a result, European and American diplomats reacted the country very fast. They will emphasize Kosovars not to be involved in the armed conflict in the Presevo Valley and in Macedonia, by putting pressure on the former structures of the Kosovo Liberation Army, respectively now incorporated in the Kosovo Protection Corps,.

On February 24, 2001, at a regular Balkan Summit in Skopje aimed at promoting economic co-operation and closer ties with the EU, Chris Patten, EU Commissioner for External Relations, warned that international assistance to Kosovo would shrink if ethnic Albanian separatists continue to launch cross-border attacks against security forces in southern Serbia. (Financial Times). On the other hand, on February 25, 2001, Macedonian military officials stated that they were making efforts to prevent Albanian fighters from entering their territory. Slavic and Russian propaganda,

on the one hand, sought to divert political developments in the Balkans, trying to convince Western international actors that the Albanians were once again destabilizing the region and struggling to form a Greater Kosovo. At the moment the situation was quite complicated and despite the sympathy that Albanians had from Euro-Americans as well as other geopolitical and geostrategic interests, they were again put in diplomatic challenge in what way they would justify these hostilities in the Presevo Valley and in Macedonia. (The Observer).

III. The international community is beginning to take a serious interest in the conflict in northern Macedonia

At a meeting of NATO foreign ministers on 28 February 2001, US Secretary of State Colin Powell reaffirmed US commitment to the Balkans. Hombach, special co-ordinator of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, urged NATO to increase security along the border with Macedonia. (Financial Times). These immediate actions of the North Atlantic Alliance showed its commitment but it also speaks for the very seriousness of the situation and the risk of its escalation.

In this murky situation when the armed frontal war had already erupted in Macedonia between the NLA on the one hand and the Macedonian Army, Police, and other armed structures on the other, the Macedonian government instead of looking for quick ways to calm down Albanians, it continued with extremely reckless actions at a completely inappropriate time. On March 2, 2001, the Macedonian Parliament ratified a long-awaited border treaty with Serbia, which specified the demarcation line in the Kosovo-Macedonia part. This means that Macedonia still recognized Serbia as sovereign in the territory of Kosovo despite the fact that now it was a completely different reality on the ground. This reckless and unnecessarily diplomatic action cost Macedonia a lot. Now the NLA would have an even greater motive to continue and spread the war to other settlements, as well as a strong justification before the international factor arguing that it had a right to its own war.

This would certainly change the international diplomatic approach to the war in Macedonia. Thus, on March 2, 2001, NATO will urge Macedonia not to launch an offensive against the NLA. On

the other hand, the Macedonian government will be justified in losing patience as about 200 NLA soldiers were already present in Tanusha. (The Daily Telegraph). Thus, on March 5, 2001, the Macedonian Army announced the mobilization.

As the conflict now escalated the Balkan powers would not be left out. On March 6, Macedonian Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski met with his Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian counterparts. Bulgarian President Petar Stoyanov stressed that he would consider sending Bulgarian troops to Macedonia. Although the Bulgarian defense minister later stated that only military equipment would be sent, the international community was still concerned about the risk of escalating the conflict. While the Greek Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that this is the result of selective implementation of UN policies in Kosovo.

At the same time from Washington, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said: "We strongly condemn acts of violence by extremists seeking to undermine the stability of Macedonia, Kosovo and the region." While Russian President Vladimir Putin stated that the potential for extremism that is spreading outside Kosovo was growing. Mr. Putin during the telephone conversation with Mr. Trajkovski, blamed the West for the latest developments in Macedonia. EU countries said they had sent harsh warnings to Albanian leaders in Kosovo. Meanwhile, KFOR and Macedonian military officials met in Skopje to discuss Macedonia's military plans to clear the guerrillas. (Los Angeles Times). Now the KLA was pointed at Kosovo as the main culprit for inciting and helping Albanians in Macedonia to start a new conflict, just as Serbia had begun cooperating with the West to extradite former Serbian leader Milosevic to The Hague tribunal.³ Kosovo and NATO did not admit that they were on the side of the NLA in Macedonia, they even strengthened the border line with Macedonia and there were cases when armed clashes were recorded between KFOR and NLA soldiers.⁴ In this action to secure the border between Kosovo and Macedonia, about 250 American soldiers were engaged who kept under surveillance the border line towards the village of Tanusha in Skopje.⁵ The fact that soldiers from the 325th US Air Battalion in the first week of March 2001 used weapons to prevent NLA soldiers from crossing the border refuted Macedonia's allegations that NATO was assisting the NLA.⁶ In this largest

³ The Times, Warmongers, March 8, 2001.

⁴ The Times, US force opens fire in Kosovo, March 8, 2001.

⁵ The Times, Rebels escape as US troops seize Albanian base, March 9, 2001.

⁶ The Times, Warning shots may change view of US, March 9, 2001.

NATO operation to isolate NLA soldiers, they even entered several hundred meters inside the Macedonian border, which action was assessed with various contradictions by official Skopje.⁷

IV. Bulgarian assistance to the country's government and the expansion of the conflict to new areas

The warning that Bulgaria would come to the aid of North Macedonia will now come true. Bulgarian Prime Minister Ivan Kostov will arrive in North Macedonia on March 8, 2001 to provide diplomatic and military assistance. Bulgaria to send hundreds of tons of weapons and ammunition after ratification of military-technical agreement with North Macedonia.⁸

However, US Secretary of State Collin Powell had stated that the US and Europe had entered the Balkans together and would leave together, while Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and that the Balkans are a difficult part of the world to maintain peace.⁹ Now the stance will be a little different, perhaps due to public reactions to excessive military engagement in the Balkans. Collin Powell would state that NATO has a hard time in the Balkans and was not cut out for further engagement in the region.¹⁰ The US Congress was also interested in reducing the US military presence in the Balkans.¹¹ Despite the risk of an outbreak of a new conflict in the Balkans, the US Administration will withdraw from Bosnia about 1,000 troops, helicopters, tanks and other weapons, etc.¹² Although the US says it does so in cooperation with other NATO allies, reducing the number in Bosnia to 20,000 troops after 6 years of engagement.¹³

The Independent, on March 12, 2001, reports that one of the leaders of the NLA in North Macedonia is Ali Ameti, trying to link the conflict with the Kosovo Liberation Army.¹⁴

Although the international community reacted quickly in Macedonia, in order not to repeat the case of major bloodshed as in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo, but again their rapid diplomatic offensive did not prevent the escalation of the conflict. In March 2001, the KLA will extend to the

⁷ The Guardian, Rebels vanish as troops close in, march 9, 2001.

⁸ The Daily Telegraph, Nato acts to avert new Balkan war, March 9, 2001.

⁹ International Herald Tribune, Kosovo: NATO Takes Action, March 9, 2001.

¹⁰ The Guardian, US cools on Nato role as conflict flares, march 9, 2001.

¹¹ The independent, US troops 'cross border' to hunt Albanian rebels, March 9, 2001.

¹² The Daily Telegraph, 1000 US troops to leave Bosnia, March 16, 2001.

¹³ International Herald Tribune, Amid Shots in Macedonian Town, Civilians Call It a War, March 16, 2001.

¹⁴ The Independent, KLA veterans linked to latest about violence in Macedonia, March 12, 2001.

settlements of Kumanovo.¹⁵ Also while the international community was trying to isolate the conflict and bring peace back to the country, on March 14, 2001, while a protest was taking place in the center of Tetovo by several thousand young people, shots were suddenly heard from villages near the city.¹⁶ This extension of the NLA for only a few weeks created the impression on diplomacy and Western journalists on the ground that these hostilities may not be short-lived. Journalist Patrick Bishop underlines that: "The continuation of violence has dampened hopes that the NLA's actions would be short-lived," quoting Prime Minister Georgievski, who said: "At first we thought they were just criminals, but based on our information now it seems they have strong political and logistical support from the structures in Kosovo".¹⁷

On March 15, 2001, Macedonian President Trajkovski convened the National Security Council for consultations on the crisis in the country. The head of state and the Macedonian political bloc as a whole tried to convince the international community that the crisis was imported from Kosovo and eventually from Albania.¹⁸ In addition to the war on the ground, there was now a fierce diplomatic war over who would win the sympathy of the international factor, namely the Euro-American one, which would be decisive for the course of the prospects. Part of the international opinion so far influenced by the calls of the Macedonian authorities that the Albanians are fighting to secede a part of Macedonia to join Kosovo and Albania, as they believed.¹⁹ Researcher and professor Mark Mazower at Birckbeck College University in London, will consider that the Albanians in Macedonia, act the same as those in Kosovo who by provoking the Serbs involved the international factor on their side. According to him, the Macedonian government is democratic, has an Albanian party in the coalition, has opened a University in the Albanian language and many other advancements towards Albanians..²⁰ The position of some internationals was that KFOR, with 37,000 troops, should block the border with Macedonia to prevent the passage of NLA soldiers.²¹ Although KFOR announced that it had isolated the border with Macedonia to prevent

¹⁵ The Daily Telegraph, Albanian rebels bring Balkan war closer, March 16, 2001.

¹⁶ The Times, Albanians take fight deeper into Macedonia, March 15, 2001.

¹⁷ 16 mars 2001 gazeta The Daily Telegraph)

¹⁸ The Times, Macedonians flee battle for besieged city, March 16, 2001.

¹⁹ Macedonia Matters, March 16, 2001.

²⁰ The Financial Times, Beware the threat of Albanian nationalism, March 16.

²¹ The Financial Times, Nato concerned to build up troop strength in Kosovo, March 16, 2001.

NLA soldiers from crossing it but the Macedonian government still said that two-thirds of NLA fighters entered from Kosovo.²²

US Special Envoy James Pardew will meet with Emrush Xhemajli, leader of the Kosovo People's Movement, on March 14, 2001, following rumors that he was one of the KLA organizers in Macedonia, urging him to focus on Kosovo and do not put his hand in Macedonia.²³

The Balkan states had also openly declared their involvement in the conflict, Bulgaria would engage on the Macedonian side if it escalated into a civil war, as had Serbia and Greece, and Russia had also expressed interest.²⁴ Government officials say about 20,000 government troops have been mobilized so far, but the total mobilization could reach 120,000.²⁵ As the Macedonian government struggled to defend itself against the NLA, the international community continued to put pressure on the NLA, with neighboring countries besides Albania openly lobbying in favor of Macedonia, while the NLA continued to advance on the ground and increase troop numbers and sympathy.²⁶ Despite government propaganda that the NLA wants to divide the state, the latter deny the same and said that we fight only for the equal rights of Albanians.²⁷ But at the same time there were rumors that Macedonia should not use excessive force against the NLA as Milosevic did in Kosovo on the contrary the government should sit down and give concessions to the NLA, as The Guardian journalist Jonathan Steele writes.²⁸ The same attitude is shared by the editorial of The Daily Telegraph of London, appealing to intervene as soon as possible, by learning from the omissions of the 90s.²⁹

The National Liberation Army, in order to enable peace, on March 18, 2001, began to appoint its representatives for talks with the Macedonian authorities. A day later, on March 19, 2001, the Macedonian government put curfew in Tetovo from 7 pm to 6 am. The situation was getting worse so fear and panic was spread among citizens, though this moment forced the international community to take faster steps to calm the parties. On March 19, 2001, EU Foreign Ministers and NATO Secretary General Javier Solana met in Brussels with Macedonian Foreign Minister Kerim

²² The Independent, Albanian rebels, take their battle on to the streets, March 16, 2001.

²³ The Guardian, Rebellious kinsmen upset mainstream Albanian politicians, March 16, 2001.

²⁴ The Times, New clashes light Balkans fuse, March 16, 2001.

²⁵ The Daily Telegraph, Balkan rebels open second front, March 19, 2001.

²⁶ The Guardian, Macedonian rebels recruit and advance, March 19, 2001.

²⁷ The Daily Telegraph, We are only fighting for equality, say Albanians, March 19, 2001.

²⁸ The Guardian, Nowhere near the brink, March 19, 2001.

²⁹ The Daily Telegraph, Mischief in Macedonia, March 19, 2001.

in a bid to elaborate a coordinated strategy for the crisis in Macedonia.³⁰ In a meeting with Macedonian Foreign Minister NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson said NATO would send troops to support KFOR and encourage KFOR activities aimed at cutting off cross-border channels used by the KLA in their offensive against Macedonia.

V. Western pressure on Kosovo politicians

To put pressure on the parties involved in the conflict, on March 22, 2001, EU envoys Chris Patten and Javier Solana visited Pristina, where they held extensive talks with the head of the UN Administration in Kosovo and Kosovo Albanian leaders, Ibrahim Rugova, Hacim Thaçi and Ramush Haradinaj, who a day later issued a joint statement calling on Albanian insurgents in North Macedonia to stop fighting. The statement also called on North Macedonian authorities to find solutions to the problems of ethnic Albanians in the country. Mr. Solana also visited Skopje, this is the second visit within the last three days, where under international pressure a ceasefire was reached which was greeted by Mr. Solana, but in particular he said I am happy that the people in the mountains (i.e. KLA, F.I.) in response to the government ceasefire will stop fighting.³¹ Ms. Ana Lindh, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, as chair of the EU in this six-month period, will be next to Mr. Solana in Skopje, who will also put pressure on Albanians to lay down their arms and that they strongly support a democratic and independent Macedonia.³²

As the conflict escalated, senior British military officials estimated that Macedonian government forces did not have the capacity to defeat the NLA.³³ That is why senior EU officials will put pressure on the Macedonian government to withdraw from the attacks and intensify talks with legitimate representatives of Albanian political parties.³⁴

Only a few weeks after the outbreak of the armed conflict in Macedonia, the international community began to show solidarity with the demands of the Albanians in Macedonia. Thus, on March 24, 2001, US Secretary of State Colin Powell recommended to the Macedonian government to consider constitutional changes that would allow ethnic Albanians to receive higher education

³⁰ The Independent, Nato positions troops to 'starve' Albanian rebels, March 20, 2001.

³¹ The Guardian, Macedonia stands on edge of war, March 23, 2001.

³² The Times, Skopje holds fire as rebels change tactics, March 23, 2001.

³³ The Daily Telegraph, Macedonia can't beat rebels, Britain fears, March 23, 2001.

³⁴ International Herald Tribune, After EU Visit, Macedonia Pulls Back From Attack, March 23, 2001.

in the Albanian language. At the same time, Powell warned that excessive measures taken on behalf of the Macedonian authorities could further alienate ethnic Albanians in the country.

VI. International community began to demand that the state make concessions to Albanians

Under international pressure, the Macedonian authorities hoped that with quick military action they would clear the ground of the KLA, so on March 24, 2001, the government launched a strong offensive with all means of war, both ground and air. This led Lord Robertson a day after visiting Skopje to ask the government to withdraw from the attacks and at the same time make concessions to the Albanian population.³⁵ The NATO secretary-general conveyed the position of all alliance governments, including the United Kingdom, urging President Trajkovski to be more restrained in the expression of violence.³⁶ As a result of this offensive by the Macedonian government, thousands of Albanians fled their homes and the humanitarian situation worsened. This worried the international factor who were looking for a solution as soon as possible. Thus, the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, will declare before the British Parliament that Macedonia has begun to build a multiethnic society and we must not allow the polarization of Slavic and Albanian societies.³⁷ Mr Blair justified the intervention in Kosovo by saying that racial genocide would not work and that the future of the Balkans was eliminating this kind of ethnic conflict.³⁸

Two days later, the KLA Chief of Staff stated that the KLA was ready to retaliate against the Macedonian Army. The crisis was constantly deepening. Macedonian opposition dissatisfied with developments in the country and on March 31, 2001, the leader of the Social Democratic opposition party, Branko Crvenkovski, threatened the government with street demonstrations if Prime Minister Georgievski did not accept the idea of forming a grand governing coalition.

EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana arrived in Skopje on April 2nd, 2001, in a bid to help Macedonia and its ethnic communities find a way out of the crisis. Brussels offered the

³⁵ The Times, Macedonia retaliates to seize rebel stronghold, March 26, 2001.

³⁶ Evening Standard, Nato chief flies out to try to stop Macedonia sliding into war, March 26, 2001.

³⁷ The Mirror, Life is just impossible..our village is now dead, March 27, 2001.

³⁸ Daily Express, Threat of a new Kosovo, March 27, 2001.

"Stabilization and Association Agreement" as a first step towards EU membership. Inter-ethnic dialogue was seen as an integral part of the road to EU membership. The only other Balkan country that had been promised such an agreement in the past was Croatia. In response to EU activities, Macedonia was expected to launch a broad political dialogue with the leaders of its Albanian community. President Trajkovski expressed readiness to hold a dialogue with all Albanian parties and to revise some parts of the Macedonian constitution. A key requirement of the European Union was the amendment of the Constitution to advance the status of Albanians.³⁹

VII. President Trajkovski's peace plan

Due to international pressure, the President of Macedonia, Mr. Trajkovski on April 2, 2001, submitted a document for talks with parliamentary parties. However, since the document in essence did not contain elements for the advancement of the Albanian issue, as requested by the American Secretary, Mr. Powell and EU representatives, Albanian parties expressed dissatisfaction and Arben Xhaferi as part of the government stated that he would withdraw from the government if the Albanian demands are not met within a month, while Imer Imeri from the Albanian opposition in protest stated that he would not take part in the meeting. In this situation, the moderate politician of Kosovo reacted for the first time since the beginning of the crisis, Mr. Ibrahim Rugova who recommended that the Macedonian government talk to representatives of the National Liberation Army.

NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson on April 4, 2001, warned that parties supporting armed extremists would be isolated. Robertson stated that KFOR took responsibility for establishing strong control over the Kosovo-Macedonian border. Robertson said that already 150 extremists have been arrested and handed over to the UN administration in Kosovo.

VIII. British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook calling the KLA "terrorist"

³⁹ The Guardian, 3 prill 2001.

British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook will visit Skopje on 5 April 2001. In addition to the protocol meetings he had with the head of state, Mr Cook also made a presentation to the media. Journalist Steve Crawshaw from The Independent of London, on April 6, 2001, presents a special emphasis when the chairman of DPA Arben Xhaferi reacts to Robin Kuk since he uses the term <terrorist> referring to NLA, as he writes "Mr. Xhaferri, although a declared opponent of the NLA, strongly opposed the word <terrorist>. He said: "They cannot be terrorists, as they have a uniform and a front line, they have not attacked civilians. "We have an uprising."⁴⁰

In order to create a climate of optimism towards creating better living conditions and hope for a better perspective in Macedonia, the EU expeditiously offered to sign on 9 April 2001 in Luxembourg by a strong multiethnic delegation from Macedonia, an agreement to forge new political and economic relations with 15 EU countries, known as the Stabilization and Association Agreement, which unveiled Macedonia's promise of eventual EU membership if it were to present a package of reforms. After weeks of intense diplomacy between Brussels and Skopje, the Macedonian government agreed with the "European Community" for a roundtable to cover much of the political spectrum to create a debate on institutional reform.

IX. US Secretary of State Colin Powell visited the Balkans

US Secretary of State Colin Powell began his tour to the Balkans with a visit to Skopje, Macedonia on 13 April 2001. Powell held talks with President Trajkovski and later with the Foreign Ministers of Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia and Greece, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Officials said Powell's visit gave support to President Trajkovski's government, but also aimed to speed up dialogue between the five Albanian and Macedonian political parties on Macedonia's constitutional reform. Due to the fighting in Macedonia, the US had pledged \$ 5.5m, in addition to almost \$ 50m, for civilian programs to facilitate reforms. Mr Powell also met with Kosovo Albanian leaders, warning them that they were facing the erosion of international support if they did not denounce the violence and isolate the extremists' intention to destabilize Macedonia.

⁴⁰ The Independent, 6 prill 2001, Cook urges Macedonia to agree peace talks.

On a two-day visit to facilitate multiethnic dialogue in Skopje on 19 April 2001, Solana will meet with President Trajkovski, Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski and leaders of other political blocs. After Macedonia's political leaders signed an agreement in Luxembourg on Macedonia's association with the EU, local politicians began discussing in practical terms the formation of a grand coalition government. According to preliminary talks, the ruling VMRO should give 4 ministries to the opposition Social Democratic League, while the ruling Albanian party, the Democratic Party of Albanians, should provide 2 ministries to the opposition, the Party for Democratic Prosperity.

X. Attempting to declare a state of emergency

Despite international pressure on the warring parties, the crisis deepened due to the lack of seriousness of the Macedonian political bloc, as their approach was wrong as they felt that the state had the capacity to confront the KLA, but in fact the ground war was expanding every day and the KLA was expanding the territory under its control. Closely related, the prime minister and the president of the state constantly aimed to declare a "state of war" to concentrate power on the president who was of Macedonian origin and this was not allowed by the internationals.⁴¹ An attempt to declare a state of war the government would make on May 8, 2001. Although the president somehow did not want this action.⁴² But at a meeting of EU foreign ministers in Nykoping, Sweden in early May, they will oppose the dangerous move. EU Foreign Policy Chief, Mr. Javier Solana will state; "Instead of talking about a state of war, it is better to talk about a state of peace."⁴³ Also Mr. Solana urged the Macedonian government to exercise maximum restraint.⁴⁴

Mr. Solana, from Sweden will go straight to Skopje to meet the head of state, while Mr. Robertson, NATO Secretary General, is expected to arrive on May 7, 2001. They insisted that no state of war be declared as the situation could be further complicated.

⁴¹ The Guardian, West's Troubleshooters rush to Macedonia, May 7, 2001.

⁴² Po aty.

⁴³ International Herald Tribune, Macedonian Rebels Bombarded as State of War Looms, May 7, 2001.

⁴⁴ Financial Times, EU bid to broker Macedonia peace, May 7, 2001.

XI. Formation of the enlarged government

On 13 May 2001, an enlarged government was formed in which all internationally mediated parliamentary parties joined. During the last three weeks of NLA fighting, it had captured about 320 km of territory. Western defense sources suspect that the Macedonian Army of 12,000 inexperienced and untrained soldiers could drive out the KLA, despite the obtaining of Ukrainian helicopters, Bulgarian tanks and Yugoslav armaments.⁴⁵

The European Union is determined to find a solution to the conflict in Macedonia as soon as possible, so on 16 May 2001 an EU delegation led by Anna Lindh, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, arrived in Skopje and Foreign Affairs Commissioner Chris Patten. Their mission was to encourage interethnic dialogue, and Macedonian authorities had to set a deadline for progress at inter-ethnic talks to be seen at the EU summit in Gothenburg in early June..⁴⁶

The commitment of the international community was extremely great and quick to end the war, in order to save the fragile multiethnic state of Macedonia, but also to put pressure on Macedonian Slavic politicians to make concessions to political reforms in favor of the Albanians. Javier Solana, EU foreign policy chief, has made seven visits so far in the last six weeks. NATO Secretary General, Mr. George Robertson has visited Skopje 4 times, together with other officials, including the US Secretary of State, Mr. Colin Powell.⁴⁷ Western diplomats think that now the broad governing coalition that has an absolute majority in parliament has the opportunity to pass controversial legislation that has been dragging on for 10 years.⁴⁸

Mr. Solana will visit Skopje on 28 May 2001, and was concerned about the escalation of the situation, though he will state that both sides are deepening the division.⁴⁹

XII. Prizren Agreement

⁴⁵ The Daily Telegraph, Rebels 'poised to strike anywhere in Macedonia, May 7, 2001.

⁴⁶ The Guardian, Albanian rebels to defy deadline, May 17, 2001.

⁴⁷ International Herald Tribune, Macedonians Fear Ethnic Clashes Will Spread to Cities, May 22, 2001.

⁴⁸ Po aty.

⁴⁹ The Times, Spectators turn out for Macedonia's war in the sun, May 29, 2001.

In order to reduce the tension between the Albanian political parties and the KLA, the OSCE Special Representative, Mr. Richard Frowick mediated an agreement which was signed in Prizren, Kosovo, on 24 May 2001.⁵⁰ The reaction was immediate from the Macedonian authorities and the international community. All demanded that the deal be scrapped, fearing it could lead to the overthrow of the extended government formed a few days earlier. Mr. Frowick was an experienced American diplomat since the 1960s and a good connoisseur of the Balkans. For six weeks he tried to persuade both sides to reduce tensions and persuaded the NLA to withdraw from the border with Kosovo. . The Macedonian government now did not hesitate to say that the US has always been closer to the Albanian fighters.⁵¹

As the fighting continued on the ground, the international community increased its presence and interest in finding a way out so that the war in Macedonia would not escalate further. Significantly, the Macedonian political bloc has tried since the beginning of the war in February 2001 to convince the international community that the country has been attacked by terrorist groups, hoping for their benefit, but the US, and the entire international community from the beginning neither did they trust the information released by the head of state, nor did they allow them to use excessive force against Albanian settlements, despite the fact that they too were convinced that the state was powerless to stop the NLA's advance.⁵² While the attitude of the international community was mild towards the NLA from the beginning, over time they even began to meet with representatives of the NLA, while the qualifications as terrorist, separatist, fundamentalist, etc., will not be mentioned by the international community but political terms such as: riots, uprisings, rebellions, wars, conflicts, etc. will be used.⁵³

XIII. CONCLUSION

The manner of conducting the fighting, the use of excessive force against civilians by the army of Northern Macedonia, the way of conducting of negotiations, the manner of proposing the Draft Agreement by the international community, the proposal of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences

⁵⁰ The Independent, Seven killed as Macedonia steps up rebel assault, May 25, 2001.

⁵¹ The Financial Times, Macedonian peace deal denounced, May 25, 2001.

⁵² The Guardian, Right of the Map, June 11, 2001.

⁵³ Po aty.

for the division of the state related to the demographic aspect, etc. Were closely followed by EU and USA.

The political developments in Northern Macedonia in terms of the involvement of the Balkan states in the daily politics in the country, the intervention of the international factor, respectively the Washington and Brussels as world political centers, prove the thesis that Macedonia is and will remain the hottest spot in the region for decades.

The British press has reported with great precision and accuracy every day on all military developments on the ground, has reported on all political developments in the country, has also reported on all diplomatic developments in the EU and the US on the issue of the conflict in Northern Macedonia. .

The British press was undoubtedly decisive in the implementation of EU and US policies in relation to developments on the ground.

Crucial would be the British press throughout the sensibilisation of the British and world public for the risk of escalating the conflict to other parts of the region as presented in most of the analyzes and reports carried out in the British daily press, though this strongly reflected to decision-making chancelleries in London, Washington and Brussels.

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Struktura e nxënësve në baza etnike në RMV të shkollave fillore 2008 – 2018

Abstrakti

Shpërbërja e Jugosllavisë, sidomos konfliktet mbrenda territorit të saj krijuan probleme dhe vështirësi si mbrenda shteteve po ashtu paraqiste problem edhe për faktorin ndërkombëtar. Nga paraqitja e shteteve të reja, Maqedonia kaloi më së lehti. Si shtet i ri i dal pa konflikt të armatosur u bë një shtet shprese për faktorin ndërkombëtar, mirëpo shpejt ajo do të kthehet në shtet problematik duke dështuar në shumë aspekte shoqërore. Mund të themi se dominante ishte problemi i trajtimit të asaj pjese të komunitetit që nuk flet gjuhën maqedone, pra që ka të bëjë me kushtin e pare të demokracisë, të drejtat e njeriut. Edhe pse shqiptarët treguan pjekuri dhe kulturë politike, maqedonasit u munduan që këtë faktor ta minimizojnë dhe tek ndërkombëtarët ta paraqesin si element destabilizues. Filluan presionet e ndryshme që kulminacionin do ta arrijë te arsimit në gjuhën shqipe. Arsimitarët përjetuan një tmerr institucional, mirëpo ata nuk u ndalën dhe vazhduan me përkushtim ta kryejn misionin e filluar. Statistikat tregojn se maqedonasit janë në rënie, kurse mbetet enigme çështja e nxënësve shqiptar që nga 2007 -2018 numri tyre është në rënie, kurse statistikën që flasin për shtimin e popullsisë japin një pasqyrë tjetër, rritje të numrit të shqiptarëve.-

Fjalë kyçe: Shkollë, kulturë, demokraci, diversitet, studentë

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Hyrje

Zhvillimet shoqërore që nga mëvetësimi i RMV u shtrinë në dimensione të ndryshme jo vetëm në aspektin politik, por ata zhvillime kishin prekur edhe segmente të tjera. Kjo nisje, paraqet edhe periudhën më të rëndësishme për shqiptarët që jetonin në këtë shtet. Krerët shtetëror maqedonas e kishin marrë në kontekstin e “triumfit” politik për të bërë shtet të vetin duke përdorur trysnin politike si metodë për të mbyllur gojën e të tjerëve, veçmas faktorit shqiptar. U mënjantuan linjat e komunikimit të mirëfilltë në mes bashkësive etnike dhe gjithë çështja ishte shtrirë në kahje të etnocentrizmit maqedonas. Udhëheqësit maqedonas filluan që të mos mbajë llogari për aspektet komunikuese mbrenda shtetit, sidomos kur dihej se populli shqiptar që jeton mbrenda shtetit të Maqedonisë së Veriut është shtetëformues (Iseni, 2021). Goditja ishte shumë dimensionale, pa harruar edhe shkollat në gjuhën shqipe që ishin halë në sy të politikanëve të kohës. Kufizimet ndaj avansimit të çështjes shqiptare vazhduan edhe mëtej si trashëgimi nga komunizmi, dhe jo vetëm te toponimet dhe emrat e fëmijëve të posalindur por edhe ndaj shkollave shqipe vazhduan të bëjnë presione nga më të ndryshmet (Iseni, 2021). Arsimitarët përjetuan një tmerr të paparë institucional, ku orët e mësimi u detyruan ti shkruajnë në gjuhën maqedonase, duke i dhënë goditje gjuhës dhe kulturës shqiptare. Mirëpo, edhe përkaj kësaj këtij gjenocidi kulturor e arsimor ndaj shqiptarëve, sërish shkollat në gjuhën shqipe mbijetuan me gjithë barrierat e pakuptimta dhe sot kemi një realitet tjetër Tani kur flasim për strukturën e shkollave në Maqedonin e Veriut shohim qartë vijat lëvizëse, ku nga njëra anë numri i nxënësve maqedonas është dukshëm në ulje nga viti në vit. Edhe përkundër asaj që represioni shtetëror qenë i madh, burgosjen e arsimtarëve pa u bërë gjyq populli shqiptar në Maqedonin e Veriut me dinjitet kanë mbrojtur vlerat kombëtare, arsimin dhe çdo vlerë tjetër kombëtare (Iseni, 2014).

Metodologjia

Hulumtimi dhe analiza është bërë mbi bazën empirike të të dhënave të cilat janë të publikuara nga Enti Shtetëror i Statistikave të Republikës së Maqedonisë së Veriut nga viti 2007 deri në

vitin 2017, si dhe nga analiza të publikuara nëpër revista shkencore ndërkombëtare relevante. Të dhënat janë të grumbulluara në tërësi si numër i përgjithshëm i të dhënave për çdo vit shkollor të të gjithë nxënësve nëpër shkollat fillore në nivel shtetëror, pastaj të njëjtat janë ndarë në bazë etnike në nivel shtetëror për çdo vit gjatë periudhës 2007-2017. Duhet të kihet kujdes se të dhënat gjatë kësaj periudhe kohore paraqesin numrin e nxënësve sipas gjuhës mësimore që mësojnë dhe jo sipas etnisë. Kjo metodologji e ndarjes dhe klasifikimit të nxënësve nuk nënkupton se paraqet pasqyrë reale të numrit të nxënësve sipas etnisë në vend por përafërsisht i afrohet shifrës reale. Kështu që një numër i konsiderueshëm i nxënësve jomaqedonas mësojnë në gjuhë maqedonase për shkak se në shumë vendbanime në Maqedoninë e Veriut nuk ka të organizuar mësim në gjuhën e tyre amtare si në gjuhën shqipe, rome, bosnjake, vllehe, etj.

Struktura e nxënësve në baza etnike në RMV të shkollave fillore 2008 – 2018

Krijimi i shtetit të Maqedonisë shtet i pavarur paraqet një nisme dhe një proces të ri. Ky proces fillon gjatë shekullit XIX dhe përfundoi më 8 shtator të vitit 1991, kur populli maqedonas përmes referendumit në të cilën dolën 75% të votuesve, prej të cilëve 91% u deklaruan për Maqedoninë si shtet të pavarur dhe subjekt i barabartë ekonomik, politikë dhe juridik ndërkombëtar (Fetai, 2017). Që në fillim u paraqiten probleme nga më të ndryshmet si të mbrendshme ashtu edhe të jashtme, sidomos me fqinjët e saja që nuk i njihnin identitetin, gjuhën, flamurin, kishën, etj. Do të thotë se shteti maqedonas ishte i dobët dhe i pambrojtur; njëra pas tjetres qeveritë nuk kishin rrugë tjetër, përveçse të bashkpunonin me shqiptarët, për shmangur kryengritjen. Falë shumicës së politikanëve shqiptarë e maqedonas, të dyjat elitat bënë një punë të madhe për të gjetur një *modus vivendi*, i cili jo gjithmonë u pëlqente zgjedhësve të tyre (Glenny, 2019). Mirëpo, kjo ishte përpjekje e politikanëve maqedonas për të blerë kohë, shumë shpejt do dale sheshit strategjia e tyre sa iu përket politikave që kanë të bëjnë me çështjes shqiptare.

Garnitura politike komuniste maqedonase vazhdoi praktikën e mbrapshtë të politikave serbe të asaj kohe, sidomos të viteve 1981 – 1990. Filloi që mos të mbaje llogari për ruajtjen e vijave të komunikimit ndërnjerëzor dhe ndërnacional në mes shqiptarëve dhe maqedonasëve. Udhëheqësit shtetërorë të Maqedonisë, me veprimet e tyre politike dhe represive përmes organeve plircore,

ishin të orientuar ti rrënojnë edhe disa vlera pozitive të logjikës njerëzore, që deri diku ishin të ruajtura në mes këtyre dy popujve (Maliqi, 2011). Problemet e jashtme sikur nuk ekzistonin, problem më i madh i Maqedonisë ishte pakica shqiptare e madhe në numër, e cila llogaritej te 25 për qind e popullsisë. Duke jetuar në territorin kompakt të Maqedonisë Perëndimore dhe në kryeqytetin Shkup, shqiptarët e Maqedonisë kishin vuajtur nga trajtimi prej autotiteteve komuniste të Maqedonisë në vitet 70 e 80 më shumë se shqiptarët kosovarë në Serbi. (Glenny, 2019)

Filluan presionet në shumë dimensionë duke mos kursyer edhe shkollat në gjuhën shqipe. Në fillim sulmi ishte ndaj shkollave të mesme në gjuhën shqipe, ku u munduan që nëpërmjet forcës të gjuhëzojnë arsimin në gjuhën shqipe. Largimi nga puna dhe burgosja e arsimtarëve dhe profesorëve, evidenca e orëve të jetë në gjuhën maqedone, krijimi i paraleleve të përziera, ku nxënësit shqiptar duheshin të mësojnë në gjuhën maqedone. Në shkollat fillore dhe kudo ku punonin shqiptarët, u krijua një situatë e pasigurt e shpifjeve dhe kurdisjeve [...] drejtpërdrejt ndikuan në pengimin e procesit arsimor dhe në raportet ndërnjerëzore (Maliqi, 2011).

Kjo u bë praktikë deri më 2001, kur pas konfliktit të armatosur dhe nënshkrimit të Marrëveshjes së Ohrit çështja e shkollës dhe shkollimit u rregullua me ligj. Në përputhje me Marrëveshjen e Ohrit dhe Amandamentin VIII të Kushtetutës së Republikës së Maqedonisë, pjesëtarët e bashkësive nacionale dhe etnike kanë të drejtë të arsimohen në gjuhën e tyre amtare në të gjitha nivelet e arsimit, sikur është parashikuar me ligj (Fetai, 2017).

Nxënësit nëpër shkolla fillore sipas gjuhës mësimore

Në këtë punim që të dhënat nga gjendja demografike dhe numri i nxënësve, paraleleve dhe shkollave i kemi marrë nga Enti shtetëror i statistikave të Republika e Maqedonisë së Veriut, ku do të shohim se lëvizjet negative që vijnë tek nxënësit shqiptarë mund të jenë të faktorëve të ndryshëm edhe pse nataliteti është në rritje, kurse numri i nxënësve është në rënie. Na ngrihen dilemat, ku qëndron problemi i një konfiguracioni të tillë shkollor, mund që nxënës shqiptar të mësojnë në gjuhën maqedone, apo faktori i emigrimit është në pyetje.

Tabela nr. 1									
Year	Totali	Macedonian	%o	Albanian	%o	Turkish	%o	Serbs	%o
2006 -2007									
Shkolla	1000	740	74	288	28.8	61	6.1	8	0.8
Paralele	10471	6968	66.5457	3453	32.97679	318	3.036959	36	0.343807
Nxënës	228207	144588	63.35827	77054	33.76496	6107	2.676079	458	0.200695
Burimi: (PRIMARY, 2008)									
2007 -2008									
Shkolla	997	737	73.92177	289	28.98696	60	6.018054	8	0.802407
Paralele	10713	6927	64.65976	3431	32.02651	321	2.99636	34	0.317371
Nxënës	220833	140314	63.53851	74103	33.55613	5999	2.716532	417	0.18883
Year	Totali	Macedonian	%o	Albanian	%o	Turkish	%o	Serbs	%o
2008 -2009									
Shkolla	991	734	74.0666	287	28.96065	60	6.05449	7	0.706357
Paralele	10713	6924	64.63176	3440	32.11052	318	2.968356	31	0.289368
Nxënës	215078	137467	63.91495	71436	33.214	5740	2.668799	435	0.202252
Year	Totali	Macedonian	%o	Albanian	%o	Turkish	%o	Serbs	%o
2009 -2010									
Shkolla	990	729	73.63636	289	29.19192	62	6.262626	7	0.707071
Paralele	10622	6812	64.13105	3426	32.25381	348	3.276219	36	0.338919
Nxënës	208980	133468	63.8664	69034	33.03378	6062	2.900756	416	0.199062
Year	Totali	Macedonian	%o	Albanian	%o	Turkish	%o	Serbs	%o
2010 -2011									
Shkolla	990	731	73.83838	288	29.09091	62	6.262626	7	0.707071
Paralele	10567	6773	64.09577	3403	32.20403	352	3.331125	39	0.369074
Nxënës	201914	130200	64.4829	65121	32.25185	6043	2.992858	550	0.272393
Year	Totali	Macedonian	%o	Albanian	%o	Turkish	%o	Serbs	%o

Tabela 1. Numri i nxenesve ne shkollat fillore ne RMV sipas perkatesise etnike 2006/07-2016/17. (Burimi: Iseni, 2021); <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.8.03.pdf> ; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.8.03.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.9.06.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.10.05.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.11.07.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.13.08.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.13.08.pdf> ; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.16.06.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.17.05.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.18.05.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.14.06.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.15.07.pdf> ; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.16.06.pdf> ; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.17.05.pdf>; <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.18.05.pdf>)

Year	Totali	Bosnians	%
2015 -2016			
Shkolla	990	3	0.30303
Paralele	10621	20	0.188306
Nxënës	185119	283	0.152875
Year	Totali	Bosnians	%
2016 -2017			
Shkolla	991	2	0.201816
Paralele	10830	19	0.175439
Nxënës	190225	280	0.147194

Tabela 2. Numri nxenesve qe mesojne ne gjuhen bosnjake ne vitet 2015/15 dhe 2016/17 ne RMV (Burimi: Iseni, 2021); <https://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.17.05.pdf>)

Ndonëse nëse analizohet nga ana proporcionale, struktura e nxënësve që mësojnë në gjuhën shqipe qëndron përafërsisht e njëjtë, respektivisht 33.76% në vitin 2006/07, ndërsa në vitet rrjedhëse ka një ngritje dhe rënie të lehtë. Në vitin 2016/17 numri i nxënësve që mësojnë në gjuhën shqipe qëndron 31.85%.

Nga ana tjetër numri i nxënësve që mësojnë në gjuhë maqedonase në vitin 2006/07 ishte 63.35% , ndërsa në vitin 2016/17 ka një ngritje me 64.79%. Ky konfiguracion, sigurisht vjen si pasojë e asaj që në statistikën shtetërore nuk janë përfshi të gjitha komunitetet, pra komuniteti vllah, rom, boshnjak dhe të tjerë janë të përfshirë te koeficientët maqedon. Çështje tjetër është edhe numri i shkollave dhe paraleleve që janë të përfshira në këtë statistikë. Më 2006/07, nga 1000 shkolla në gjuhën maqedone ndjeket mësimi në 74% të shkollave, kurse shqiptarët janë të përfshirë me 28.8% të shkollave si dhe numri i paraleleve që te maqedonët është 66.54%, paralele në gjuhën shqipe kishte 32.97%. Për të njëjtën problematik, shkollat dhe paralelet, në fundin e vitit shkollor 2016/17, maqedonasit kishin 73.66% të shkollave me 64.12 paralele dhe shqiptarët me 29.26% të shkollave me 32.18 të paraleleve. Nga këta numra vërejm ngulfatjen e paraleleve me nxënës ku mësimi zhvillohet në gjuhën shqipe, karshi komoditetit të nxënësve maqedonas. Nga viti 2015/16 në statistikë janë përfshi edhe komuniteti boshnjak që ka një përqindje 0.30% të shkollave, mirëpo jo edhe komuniteti vllah dhe sidomos ai rom që nga numri i përgjithsëm i popullsisë, nga shtimi natyror ka ngritje të theksuar. Dilemat mbeten te numri i nxënësve shqiptar që ka rënie të vogël, kur dihet se edhe shqiptarët janë në ritje për nga numri i lindjeve. Çështja ka të bëjë me faktorë të ndryshëm që japin këta koeficient, mund të jetë që një numër I nxënësve shqiptar në munges të shkollave shqipe në rrethin ku jetojnë, procesin arsimor ta ndjekin në gjuhën maqedone, si dhe mund të luaje rol me një përqindje të vogël edhe migrimi i shqiptarëve.

Konkluzione dhe rekomandime

Projekti i quajtur shkollë kërkon nxitjen e kulturës demokratike dhe për të nuk duhet parashtruar kushte raciste apo të ngajshme. Reformat duhet kapur gjithë pa dallim ngjyrën, gjuhën dhe kombësin. Të gjithë kanë të drejtë, bile është e drejtë elementare për të mësuar dhe për të përcjellë mësimin në gjuhën amtare. Maqedonia ishte para sfidave kohore dhe çdo ngecje në drejtimin e ngurtësimit të raporteve ndërkulturore, ndërnacionale do të thonte edhe zhytje në

probleme të pafundme. Gjithashtu, diversiteti duhet pranuar, ligjet duhet të mbrojnë çdo qytetar të shtetit dhe të vlejë njëjtë për të gjithë. Pjesmarja demokratike e kërkon një gjë të tillë, hapat që duhet të merren janë të natyrës së të kuptuarit të rregullave të sjelljes, të pranuar edhe tjetrin si pjesë e shoqërisë ku jeton. Për këtë qëllim duhet kuptuar drejtë realitetin që na rrethon, të vlerësojmë edhe tjetrin, të planifikojm rregulla të sjelljes dhe vlerësimit duke u mbështetur në përgjegjësi morale, pjesmarrje aktive demokratike. Përmirësimi i cilësisë nëpër shkolla është sfidë e të gjithëve, kërkohet një trajtim i mirëfillt dhe struktura e shkollave të jetë e qëndrueshme dhe reale. Sigurisht, kjo paraqet edhe sfidën më të madhe të Maqedonis së Veriut, të njohë dhe të llogarite faktorët e mbrendshme dhe të jashtëm, ti njohë rrethanat që kanë ndikim në zhvillimet politike, të krijojë kushte më të mira për zhvillim ekonomik dhe të mundësojë arsim cilësor për të gjithë pa dallim kombësie. Në fakt, duhet respektuar ndryshimet kushtetuese që mbështeten në Marrëveshjen e Ohrit që kanë të bëjnë me të drejtat e njeriut, mbrojtjen e bashkësive etnike, sigurimin e përdorimit të barabartë të gjuhës dhe alfabetit të komuniteteve, sidomos të atij shqiptar.

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The presence and treatment of environmental subjects in the Macedonian printed media

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ABSTRACT

Environmental protection and pollution are globally gaining visibility among the general public, especially in the last decade. The media have substantial power in terms of environmental awareness raising and significant influence in creation of public opinion for environmental challenges. This paper deals with the presence and treatment of environmental issues in printed media in Macedonia. The frequency of articles, their structure, analytical level and area of interests, are analyzed via the research of the content of three Macedonian daily papers. The main findings show that environmental issues are present with less than 1% in the overall newspapers content. Moreover, very often the articles are not firmly elaborated. The core of the problem is rarely explained. In addition, the environmental topics in printed media are often misused for political promotion in affirmative and positive articles. There is lack of objective environmental analyses useful for problems solving. Thus, additional efforts are required for raising the public awareness for environmental topics, as well as for strengthening the capacities of the journalists.

KEYWORDS

Environment, Media, Awareness

1 Introduction

Although the industrial revolution (in particularly the first industrial revolution) made a significant shift of the society towards progress and mass production, the negative impact on the environment is more than apparent, especially nowadays having in prospect the sufficiently long time distance. The issues related with environmental protection and environmental hazards significantly gains in importance. It raises the necessity of sharing the relevant findings, events and threats with the concerned public. In the latest decades, these subjects are in particularly in the focus of public opinion worldwide. The global media regularly inform and contributes towards raising the awareness. Macedonia of course is not an exception from these global trends. Hence, the environmental topics are communicated through the national and local media in the country.

Communicology is a discipline which differs from the wider area of the human communication, and it is based on usage of scientific methods for analyzing the communication events. As well as the other younger science disciplines, the communicology has not yet established unique and generally accepted definition regarding its subject and scope. Nevertheless, the simplest definition refers to communicology as "a science for communications". The message that should be sent to the audience is encompassed in the text, photography, video, graphics, HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) code i.e, the meta language of the digital information technology. [1, 2]

Mass communication, more specific printed media are in the focus of this research paper. The term "mass media" or simply "media" is usually used to denote a part of communication means that targets

much greater audience (e.g. the population in a country). This term appeared in 1920s along with the first radio and television broadcasts as well as mass distributed newspapers and journals. [3] The printed media require more attention and focus from the audience in comparison to radio and television, and have much longer history - more than two centuries. Thus, the responsibility and the transferred messages via printed media could be denoted as more substantial. Moreover, the environmental issues in particularly the hazards related with the public health must be timely, professional and with due knowledge communicated with the public, in order not only to inform, but also to educate. In addition, it must be emphasized that the Aarhus Convention has established numerous rights regarding the environment (both in terms of individuals and associations). According to this Convention "every citizen has a right to receive information from the competent authorities not only in terms of the environmental conditions, but also in terms of related policies and undertaken measures. [4]

As per the national Law on Environment (Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia no 53/05 [5] the environment is divided into 3 media: water, air, soil, and has the following areas: nature, waste, noise, vibration, ionizing and non-ionizing radiation, climate, odor and all other elements that are an integral part from the environment. This research is aiming to address the presence and the manner of treatment of the before mentioned environmental media and areas in several national daily newspapers. Moreover, the main weaknesses are denoted and correspondent recommendations for improvements are offered. Such an approach could contribute towards raising the general public awareness on environmental issues, wider public participation in the relevant decision-making and adoption of more coherent and acceptable environmental policies.

2. Research methodology

In order to conduct this research, the content analysis method was used. More specific, the approach was based on the so called combined variant - quantitative and qualitative content analysis. It is one of the most popular and most developed methods when it comes to mass media research. [6, 7] As per the determined sampling, it includes the analysis of the environmental related articles published in the following daily newspapers: Nova Makedonija, Večer and Sloboden pečat, during the period January - June 2018. In the last years, these newspapers don't maintain an electronic archive, so it was impossible to conduct the research using that resource. It was possible only via the hard copy archive of the National and University Library in Skopje. The analyzed period was carefully chosen in terms to tackle the seasonal variability of the elaborated topics, but in the same time to avoid overburdening with significant content checking, which is anyway extremely time consuming.

The analysis encompasses the articles classification in view of the elaborated environmental media, as well as the main and the secondary topics. Moreover, having in prospect the close interlink between the environment and transportation, energy, agriculture and forestry, the analysis was extended on these sectors too. [8, 9] The following data were used for performing the content analysis, via the content analysis template as a standard instrument: general newspaper data, data on the cover page article announcement, article's data, article's headline data, article' visual presentation data, information sources, author, attitude towards the subjects/actors/sources, as well as type of the article (education, research, information, critics, etc.). As per the presence of the environmental articles, the following indicators are used: the share of the surface area reserved for environmental articles in the total surface area of analyzed newspapers (%), the share of the article's size category (small, medium and large) in total environmental articles (%), the number of the page where it is published, as well as the position in the page where it is placed.

By using this approach, enough information were provided in order correlations and conclusions to be derived on the following research questions: presence and treatment of environmental issues in the selected printed media, time of the year when certain topic is the most popular, who are the most present actors in the articles, who are the most cited persons (government representatives, politicians, citizens, civil society organizations, etc.), what types of photography's are the most used, etc.

3. Results and discussions

As per the analyzed period of the three dailies, the total number of environmental related articles is 510. In terms of relative share of this topic articles, "Sloboden pečat" prevailed with 47%, over "Večer" (34%) and "Nova Makedonija" (19%).

In terms of the presence of specific environmental media, the most treated is the waste, both in terms of total presence and in each daily newspaper separately. The air is second placed, while climate change and public health are almost completely neglected. It is in particularly surprising for climate change, since it is already globally recognized as one of the biggest threat. Public health problems related with environmental hazards are also significant indicator for sustainable development and quality of life. The categorization of the environmental articles by media is shown on Figure 1.

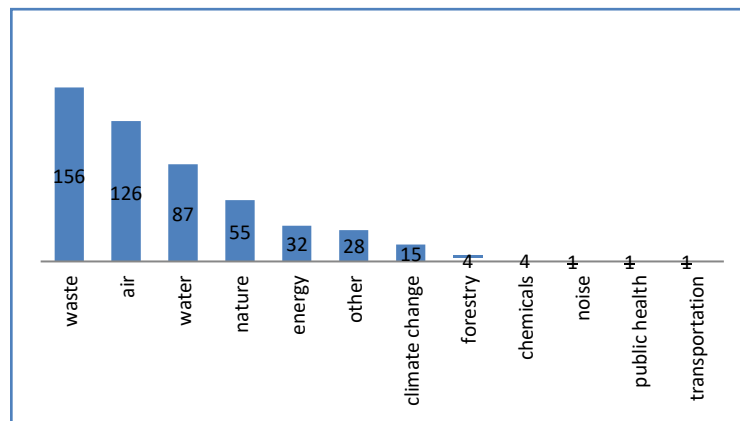


Figure 1. Presence of the referent environmental media in all articles (total for the three newspapers)

Although the waste is the most elaborated media, the articles mainly refer to local problems with illegal landfills, occasional actions for cleaning of certain sites, etc. There is a lack of articles that will promote the current technology trends in waste management, such as recycling plants, waste to energy incineration plants etc. Hence, the citizens in general don't recognize the potential of these technologies for local economic growth and wellbeing. Regarding the main subject in the environmental articles, the main findings are presented on Figure 2.

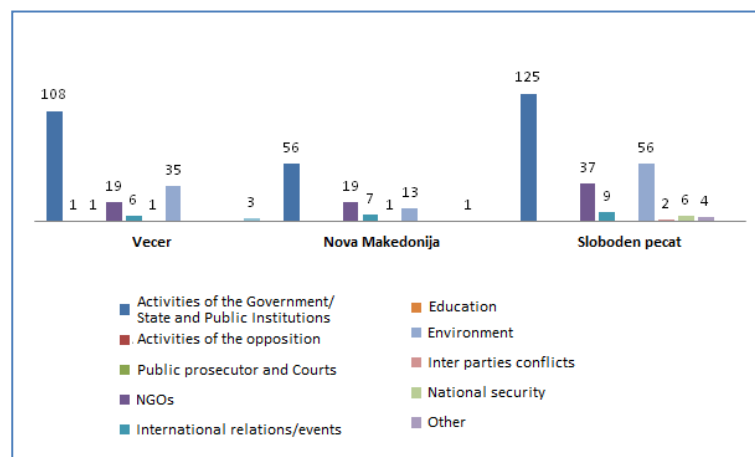


Figure 2. Main subject in the environmental articles (total for the three newspapers)

As per the Figure 2, it could be noted that the activities of the Government/Ministries and other state and public entities are significantly predominant over all other subjects present in the environmental articles. Very often such articles elaborate ordinary activities which are in the public utilities scope of

the work, i.e there isn't any particular reason or necessity to inform the public about it, except in order of self promotion and visibility gaining. The results in terms of the elaborated secondary (auxiliary) subjects, show almost the same picture, i.e the aforementioned activities significantly prevails.

In terms of the most elaborated topics (based on the previously performed categorization), the results are presented in the Table 1.

Table 1. The most elaborated topics in the environmental articles for the analyzed daily newspapers

Environmental Topic	Večer	Nova Makedonija	Sloboden pečat	Total
Air pollution	44	21	58	123
<u>Waste problems</u>	18	16	37	71
<u>Waste collection</u>	20	10	14	44
<u>Waste selection</u>	9	5	23	37
Horticulture	13	6	10	29
Potable water issues	10	2	15	27
Waste water treatment plants	7	2	7	16
Nature/biodiversity	2	13	0	15
Climate change	5	9	0	14
Industrial pollution	6	1	5	12
Sewage systems installation	8	2	1	11

The data in Table 1, show that the air pollution is the most dominant topic (both in total and in each daily separately), which is not pure accident since the urban air pollution is a serious problem in the large cities (Skopje, Tetovo, Kumanovo, Bitola, etc.). Moreover, the frequency of the air pollution articles is the highest during the winter season, due to significant air pollution caused by fossil fuel based heating (fire wood mostly). Different topics related with waste disposal and/or treatment are also frequently elaborated, because the problems with solid waste disposal (municipal waste) and existence of illegal dump sites are serious burden in particularly for local self governments. The fact that even in 21-st century the issues as potable water and installation of sewage systems are treated in the media as a prominent achievement for certain municipalities, is really worrying. It tells a lot for the current conditions and attitude not only towards environmental issues, but towards enabling basic living standards. In general, the local topics are far more elaborated than the global topics, such as climate change, nature/biodiversity protection, etc. The role of the printed media as an instrument for education is almost completely neglected. There is a lack of research stories and elaboration of certain event continuously for a period of time is required.

In terms of the share of the surface area reserved for environmental articles in the total surface area of analyzed newspapers, it must be emphasized that it is far from sufficient. Namely, it is below 1% for each of the newspapers: Večer 0,50%, Sloboden pečat 0,75 and Nova Makedonija 0,95%. Despite its relatively highest share of environmental articles, Nova Makedonija had often placed such articles on the cover, and also not rarely it reserved entire page for these issues. When it comes to the presence of the environmental articles, their size also matters in terms of achieving visibility. For the purpose of

this research the analyzed articles are categorized in three groups: small articles (up to 15% of the page surface area), medium sized articles (16% - 50%) and large articles (more than 51%). The results are presented on Figure 3.

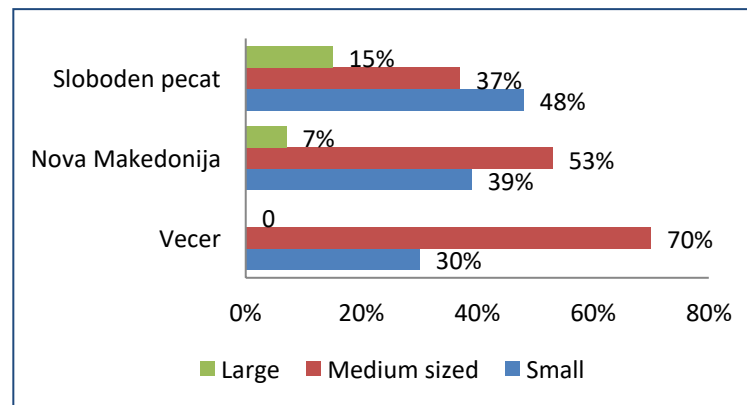


Figure 3. Size of the environmental articles in the analyzed daily newspapers

The Figure 3 indicates that the significant majority of the environmental articles are small and medium sized. As per their announcement with headline on the cover, the general finding is that they are not enough attractive. Namely, the share of the environmental articles announced on the cover is less than 20% (Vecer 7%, Sloboden pecat 4% and Nova Makedonija 19%). Even in the case that certain environmental article is announced on the cover, its headline has almost always smaller surface area than other articles.

In terms of the authorship of the articles, more than two thirds of them are not signed (69%), having in consideration all three analyzed daily newspapers. Moreover, regarding the elaborated genres, short new prevails (66%), while comprehensive information or analyses are rarely present (9% and 17% respectively). Research stories on certain topic and/or event are also seldom prepared. It indicates a lack of capacities among the journalists for such type of researches, having in prospect that a lot of data could be obtained through publicly available reports and reviews (State Statistical office, Customs Administration, Ministry of Environment and physical planning, etc. In addition, the journalists in general haven't yet adopted the practice of continuous following of certain topic. On a contrary, increased media pressure is evident only during the acute phase of the environmental problems, while later the issues and the responsibility allocation are easily forgotten. Hence, more analyses and research stories are required, in order to raise the awareness of the general public on environmental issues and consequences. Thus the capacities and specific knowledge of the journalist must be strengthened.

Regarding the used photos for illustration of the environmental articles, it could be noted that they have to be in compliance with the articles content and context. During this analysis, the following different functions of the photography are determined: descriptive (direct presentation of the reported event and/or cited subject), associative (implicit association on the article topic) and suggestive (any type of photo content that pretends to initiate certain ideas among the public, which are not explicitly or are not at all a subject of the article). In general, only smaller portion of the total environmental articles are illustrated via photos (18%, out of which only 11% have more than one photo). In terms of the photos type, the majority of them are descriptive, followed by associative.

In 95%, the environmental articles refer to the sources of information. The sources are mainly (73%) precisely quoted. As per the character of cited sources, the most dominant are domestic official sources, followed by NGO's and experts. Such a condition once again is an indication for the extremely accented promotion of the governmental, state and public institutions, as well as local self-governments and public utilities.

The visibility of the environmental articles, depending from the page where they are published and the specific position on the page, is another aspect analyzed during this research. Most of the articles are published on the pages 6, 7, 8 and 9 (78%), while only 4% of the articles are published on one of the first four pages. As per the articles position on the page, it could be emphasized that the editors and in particularly graphic designers, are well informed about the visual perception of the readers acknowledged by the psychology science. Namely, the reader's first perception is focused on the upper exterior corners of the page. The lowest visibility has the articles located in the lower inner corners of the page. [9] (14). The analysis show that the majority of environmental articles are positioned in the upper half of the pages, where slightly bigger is the number of the articles in the inner corner (which is the less visible, as explained before).

4. Conclusions

This paper has tried to contribute in both communicology and environmental science, through research of the presence and treatment of the environmental articles in three national daily newspapers. The results indicate on insufficient presence, domination of the politicians and affirmative news, prevalence of local and non essential topics, as well as lack of medias capacities for elaboration of these issues. More profound and scientifically based articles on global environmental trends (climate change, e mobility, new technologies, etc.) prepared by professors, researchers and other competent entities, are missing. Moreover, the journalists should be more aware of the environmental topics, their significant important for the whole society and therefore they should upgrade their skills and knowledge. Such an approach will bring new qualities in terms of establishing the media as a pillar of public opinion and corrector of decision makers in this area.

Air pollution is the most treated topic, but it is characteristically in the winter months, when it is an acute problem. The environmental articles in general are rare critically oriented towards the policy makers and decision makers. Critically oriented articles mainly contained reactions from experts and civil society activists, but they are rarely cited and paraphrased, unlike the politicians, government and local authorities' representatives. The same trend of political promotion is evident from the photos. Namely, the politicians are more present on the photos compared to experts and civil society organization's representatives.

The aforementioned, initiate the following question: What is the public's interest for the environmental topics, and whether the editorial boards have any information about it? Therefore, the findings from this paper could be extended in order to tackle the specific cause - causal correlation between the level of environmental awareness, the editorial policy of the newspapers and the message transfer effect. There is no doubt that the focus should be shifted more towards the civil society organizations and experts. The competent state authorities should be more transparent in public's communication, presenting not only affirmative news, but also their weaknesses and challenges. Further education and specialization of the journalists on specific environmental topics, will result in achieving the genuine role of the media - public opinion's creator and corrector of the ruling elite, while contributing in better quality of life.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

NGOs Non-Governmental organizations

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Organized crime as a threat to sustainable development

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ABSTRACT

Organized crime and corruption are one of the most dangerous phenomena that severely damages the foundations of society. This type of crime is a serious threat to development and functioning of the states leaving behind great economic consequences and also consequences regarding to human rights and freedoms. In the column titled: „*Mafia Infiltration of Business Costing Consumer Millions*” published in The New York Times, it is described the organised crime's penetration of sectors such as construction, delivery, food, and private garbage collection, and showed that such penetration costs consumers hundreds of millions of dollars each year.

The main purpose of this paper is to address the negative effects that organized crime has on society, specifically on sustainable development. This paper also aims to make an overview of the instruments adopted to fight organized crime and corruption through the analysis of the laws adopted in the criminal legislation.

By using the normative method we will analyze laws and instruments adopted as a response to organized crime and corruption. Also, we will use data from various official sources such as State statistical office, courts, financial police and other relevant institutions to analyze the impact that organized crime and corruption has on the development of the country.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the results of this paper. This type of crime has a devastating impact on the development of the states. Also, we conclude that the legislation of the Republic of North Macedonia is not fully harmonized with international conventions. As a result, law enforcement institutions face difficulties in dealing with organized crime and corruption that directly and indirectly affect the development of the country.

Key words: Organized crime, sustainable development, confiscation of the criminal proceeds.

1. Introduction

The rule of law is one of the biggest problems facing not only the Republic of Northern Macedonia but also other countries in the region. Failure to tackle organized crime and high corruption rates directly affect the economic and social stability of a country. Statistics show that the unemployment rate is one of the highest in the region and is 16.5% of registered active and inactive job seekers.¹ A study published by Transparency International on the impact of corruption and its erosive effects on the economy shows several negative effects that come as a result of corruption, such as: Disruption of market forces through misallocation of resources, diversion of talent and resources, including human resources into unproductive activities, etc.² The latest report of Transparency International on the Corruption Perception Index for 2020 shows that the Republic of Northern Macedonia finds it difficult to deal with corruption, according to which our country has dropped by 5 places in the ranking compared to the previous year and is in 111th place.³ As an effective tool for dealing with organized crime and corruption is the confiscation of illegally acquired property. Recently, there is a trend of affirmation of the confiscation which has proven to be effective in the fight against corruption and organized crime. However, the traditional method of confiscation, which is limited to property that is involved in a specific crime for which the defendant has been convicted, is inappropriate to deprive perpetrators of illegally obtained products. Therefore, many countries facing major problems with corruption and organized crime have decided to reform this institute. Countries such as Serbia, Bulgaria, Kosovo and Albania, in addition to stipulating in their Criminal Code Confiscation of illegally acquired property, have decided to adopt special laws in the fight against organized crime under what is known as the Anti-Mafia Law.

¹ Review of registered unemployed persons, Available at <https://av.gov.mk/nevrabotenost.nsp>

² Anti-Corruption Helpdesk: The impact of corruption on growth and inequality, https://www.transparency.org/files/content/corruptionqas/Impact_of_corruption_on_growth_and_inequality_2014.pdf

³ Corruption perceptions index available at <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/nzl>

2. Definition of organized crime

There are a number of definitions of organized crime. Characteristic of these definitions is that most authors mention several of the same elements that characterize this type of crime. Professor Kambovski defines this type of crime as: Criminal association formed to commit criminal offenses, for the purpose of material gain or gaining power through the use of violence or the exploitation of a special position in society, reducing the risk through infiltration into legal businesses economic, political and other activities with a system predefined for protection from prosecution.⁴ A similar definition is given by the author Arnaudovski: organized crime is a group (2 or 3 members) formed to commit criminal offenses, in accordance with the meanings of criminal law for criminal organizations and the level of punishment for the offenses they commit and located in the Criminal Code.⁵ Due to its international or transnational character, many international organizations have adopted various conventions in response to organized crime which establish the necessary legal framework to combat this phenomenon. Among the first conventions that best define organized criminal groups is the United Nations Convention adopted in 2000 in Palermo, which states: Organized Criminal Groups shall mean a structured criminal group consisting of 3 or more persons, which exists for a certain period of time in order to commit one or more serious or serious offenses established in accordance with the Convention to obtain directly or indirectly financially or other material benefits. From the definition of organized crime we can see the basic characteristics of this crime such as: A group of many people, operating indefinitely, committing serious offenses and aiming to gain material goods or power.

3. Phenomenology of organized crime

Organized crime is one of the most widespread phenomena in society. The most common forms in which this phenomenon occurs are drug smuggling, money laundering, corruption etc. In the following we will present the most common forms in which this type of crime occurs.

⁴ Kambovski, V.,(2005) Organiziran kriminal 2-ri Avgust Stip,

⁵ Arnaudovski, L.(2007) Kriminologija 2 - Avgust C-Stip,

Money laundering

Money laundering is one of the most common crimes committed by organized crime groups. It is a process where the money gained through the commission of crimes is brought into the legal flows in order to hide the source of that money. Money laundering first came to light in the 1930s in the United States, when criminal groups sought to hide the proceeds of crime by purchasing laundry workshops. Al Capone, who hid the proceeds of crime through laundry workshops, is credited with making the term known. In 1986, a law criminalizing money laundering was first passed in the United States. The Money Laundering Control Act introduced money laundering as a federal crime. Civil law and criminal confiscation of property were also introduced.

Narcotics smuggling

Illicit drug trafficking is one of the most lucrative and organized criminal activities. Illicit drug trafficking is a typical example of transnational organized crime due to the fact that criminal activities undertaken to transport drugs across border crossings from one customs area to another involve persons from several countries. The Western Balkans is a transit point for illicit drug trafficking, through which drugs enter Central European countries. Apart from the transit route, the Western Balkans is also becoming a producer of this substance. This phenomenon is a concern for the whole world, especially considering the growing trend of drug use. According to the Office for Crime and Drugs at the UN, it is estimated that in 2020 about 275 million people have used narcotics while 36 million people have suffered disorders as a result of drug use.⁶

Human trafficking

Numerous international documents have been adopted in relation to human trafficking to combat this phenomenon. One of the most important is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, adopted by Resolution A / RES / 55/25 of 15.11.2000, which amends the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. According to the Convention, the term trafficking in human beings means the recruitment,

⁶ Undoc World Drug Report 2020: Global drug use rising; while Covid 19 has far reaching impact on global drug markets, available at <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/press/releases/2020/June/media-advisory---global-launch-of-the-2020-world-drug-report.html>

transportation, transfer, shelter or reception of persons, with the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, kidnapping, deception, fraud, abuse of power or vulnerability or giving or receiving payments or benefits to obtain the consent of a person who has control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation, forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or deprivation of organs

Corruption

The term corruption comes from the latin *Corumpere* which means corruption or destruction. There are many definitions of corruption. There are two main points of view in the literature that try to properly define the term corruption. The legalist and sociological point of view. According to the legalist view, corrupt are those actions that represent a violation of a norm - social, moral, administrative, criminal, criminal law. Sociological definitions start from the criterion of public opinion and, in that sense, treat as corrupt those behaviors that respond to the perception of corruption among the general public.

4. Causes for organized crime

Organized crime and corruption are complex and multidimensional phenomena that negatively affect all spheres of life. Corruption is often linked to economic factors. But it would be wrong to say that it is only economic factors that influence the emergence of corruption. Corruption is a phenomenon in both poor and rich or developed countries. The reasons that contribute to the emergence of corruption are numerous. The emergence of corruption is related to the influence of factors of a subjective and objective nature. In general, the factors influencing the emergence of corruption are economic, political and cultural-social factors. The economic factors include several areas as vulnerable and most exposed to the impact of corrupt practices, such as: public procurement, abuse of office. Special attention is paid to the countries in the period of transition and privatization of state-owned enterprises. group of political factors that influence the emergence of corruption includes: Factors concentrated on the uncontrolled and unrestricted executive power.

5. Impact on countries

What worries countries more is the impact of organized crime on the security of states. Organized crime activities often fund the activities of terrorist groups. Crucial to the activities of terrorist groups are finance. Funding is needed to recruit, train and maintain terrorist groups and their members. The need for money often results in cooperation with organized crime groups, especially in the area of illicit drug trafficking. Money from illicit drug trafficking is a major source of revenue for terrorist groups. A survey by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime shows that 80% of the world's opium heroin production comes from Afghanistan. With the takeover of Afghanistan in 2021 by the Taliban, the trend of opium production is increasing dramatically, which is an increase of 8% from the previous year.⁷ Van Dijk argues that one of the most important effects of organized crime on the state is the damage it does to the quality of its governance and governance. By endangering the integrity of public officials and institutions through corruption and intimidation, organized crime undermines the state in two key areas: 1) the state's capacity to deliver basic public goods and civil rights; and 2) its legitimacy as a political entity competent to govern.⁸ Countries with a low level of rule of law, post-conflict states are states in which organized crime is more active thanks to the chaos and circumstances that are created in these states. In North Macedonia, after the independence in 1990-1991, the process of privatization of enterprises with social capital began. This process was accompanied by much controversy and dubious private

6. Legal and insitutional framework

In recent years, the Republic of Northern Macedonia has taken significant steps towards improving criminal legislation and the institutional framework for combating organized crime and corruption. As a result of the ratification of international conventions, the obligations arising from the conventions, the criminal legislation has undergone major directions in order to increase the efficiency of the judicial bodies and institutions of persecution. The reform of the criminal legislation started with the Criminal Code of 1996. In order to improve the criminal code in the fight against organized crime and corruption in 1999 the criminal code was amended for the first time. Also, the criminal code was amended in 2002, which added a new incrimination, "Human

⁷ Global overview: Drug demand drug supply Available at:
https://www.unodc.org/res/wdr2021/field/WDR21_Booklet_2.pdf

⁸ Van dijk, J.J (2007), Mafia markers: Assessing organized crime and its impact upon societies

trafficking". The second phase of the reform of the substantive criminal legislation continues in 2002, which results in the amendment of the Criminal Code in 2004. The amendments to the Criminal Code are as a result of the obligations arising from the ratification of international conventions but also as a result of the obligations that the Republic of Macedonia needs to meet for membership in Euro-Atlantic organizations. The most significant innovations are the introduction of liability of legal entities and the reform of the confiscation of property. The Criminal Code undergoes changes almost continuously as a result of the harmonization of the provisions with the ratified international conventions but also as a result of the changes that the society is going through. One of the biggest reforms in the criminal legislation is the reform of the Law on Criminal Procedure in 2010. The reform of the LCP leaves the "mixed" model of criminal procedure with dominant inquisitorial elements and introduces an accusatory model of criminal procedure following the example of modern criminal procedure laws. The Public Prosecutor plays a key role, while the institute of an investigating judge is abandoned. In order to prevent and suppress corruption in 2019, the law on prevention of corruption and conflict of interests was adopted. This law was preceded by two laws, the Law on Prevention of Corruption adopted in 2002 and the Law on Prevention of Conflict of Interest adopted in 2007. The law strengthens the efficiency of the State Commission for Prevention of Corruption in the fight against corruption but also its independence. The new law reduces the mandate of the appointed members and the chairman of the commission to one term without the right to re-election, but also tightens the criteria for election and appointment of the members of the commission and the chairman. In 2018, a new law on prevention of money laundering and terrorist financing was adopted, which is in line with the directives and other standards of the European Union. The main purpose of the law is to strengthen the preventive mechanism for money laundering and terrorist financing, contributing to the fight against organized crime but also in the field of national and global security and fulfillment of obligations in the process of integration of the country into Euro-Atlantic organizations.

7. Confiscation

As a result of the negative impact of this phenomenon in society, the priority of governments is to combat this phenomenon by adopting methods and strategies in the fight against organized crime and corruption. One of the most effective methods in combating these phenomena is confiscation. Property confiscation is becoming more and more relevant in our country but also in other countries that face a high crime rate. Confiscation of illegally acquired property poses a challenge to the judiciary for determination in the fight against organized crime and crime in general. Confiscation of proceeds of crime, ie permanent seizure, by order of a court or other competent authority, on any property (ie objects / property of any type, whether movable or immovable, tangible or intangible, as well as legal documents or instruments proving possession or property gain) that originates or is obtained, directly or indirectly, through the commission of a crime.⁹ The Council of Europe Conventions against Money Laundering define confiscation as: "A penalty or measure imposed by a court in criminal proceedings resulting in the permanent confiscation of property". The confiscation in the Criminal Code of RSM is envisaged as a criminal legal measure which, unlike the criminal sanctions consisting of encroachment on certain freedoms and rights of the perpetrator, confiscation of property and property gain and confiscation of cases as criminal measures are legal consequences of the law. offense, which are not related to the application of a sanction against its perpetrator.¹⁰ In 2009, as a result of the obligations arising from the ratification conventions, an extended confiscation was introduced . However, the practical application of this institute in the Republic of Northern Macedonia is low. According to data obtained from the Agency for Management of Confiscated Property, the extended confiscation has been applied only once since its introduction.

⁹ Tupanceski, N.(2015): Ekonomsko kazneno pravo, Skopje

¹⁰ Kambovski, V.(2015): Komentar na krivicniot zakonik RM, Matica, Skopje pg. 584-605

Table nr.1							
Convicted adult perpetrators by total applied security measures, confiscation of property and confiscation of objects							
Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total convicted perpetrators	9810	9042	9539	11683	10312	8172	6273
Confiscation of property	111	56	53	133	125	55	44
Confiscation of objects	956	864	827	1041	968	760	508

Table no. 1 Convicted perpetrators according to the pronounced measure of confiscation of property.

Source: Data from the reports of the State Statistical Office of the Republic of Northern Macedonia

From the table no. 1 shown above we can conclude that the measure of confiscation in the period from 2011 to 2017 was applied on average 82.4 times per year. For a country that according to IT has high levels of corruption and aims to fight organized crime and corruption the level of confiscation is low.

8. Conclusion

Organized crime is one of the most disturbing phenomena that negatively affect the prosperity of society. As organized crime is perfected over time by adapting to social and cultural changes, the fight against this phenomenon becomes even more challenging. One of the most effective instruments for combating the phenomenon of organized crime is the confiscation of illegally obtained products and property. Confiscation in the Republic of Northern Macedonia, although reformed and in step with the standards introduced by the ratified international conventions, is applicable but not effective, a conclusion drawn from the presented data taken from the State Statistical Office. Considering that conviction based confiscation as a tool against organized crime is faces problems in the implementation , it would be appropriate to change the

legal provisions that regulate this matter. Looking at the contemporary trends followed by developed countries, one possibility would be the adoption of non-conviction based confiscation (in rem) which would facilitate the work of law enforcement bodies in terms of confiscation of products and assets obtained illegally.

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INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - THE RIGHT TO MIGRATE

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Abstract

The realization of the protection of the human dignity of all human beings lies at the core of the concept of human rights, putting the individual at the center of attention. Understanding human rights principles and procedures enables people to participate in social decisions that affect their lives to act towards resolving conflicts, improving living standards and enabling an environment of prosperity. The struggle for human rights begins with efforts to recognize his fundamental rights: the right to life and liberty, equality, security and the right to resist the oppressor. These same rights were traditionally treated as matters of internal competence and their regulation was done by laws, declarations or constitutions. They were transferred to the international arena after the Second World War in a new sense, that only international recognition and protection of human rights can be an obstacle to avoid repeating the crimes and violence that has been committed. Human rights have to do with the right which is protected by law and freedom and equality between people. We find this in the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Human rights are expressed in international agreements, signed and ratified by states, with the clear aim that these rights are guaranteed to all people within the jurisdiction of states. The right to migrate from one country is the right to leave a state and its institutions and go elsewhere, where the same human rights may or may not be guaranteed. Human rights, by their very nature, cannot be taken from one person and transferred to another, therefore they must be guaranteed to all persons present in a state, including migrants, regardless of their legal status or duration of stay. They should be applied without discrimination, which means that there should be no reason to derogate or ignore fundamental rights and freedoms, where the most important ones are:

- The right to life
- Prohibition of genocide
- Prohibition of slavery
- Prohibition of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment
- Prohibition of racial and systematic discrimination
- The right to self-determination
- The right to humane treatment during the period of detention
- Prohibition of retroactive criminal laws
- The right to equality before the law
- Non-discrimination
- The right to leave or return from/to the country of origin
- The principle of non-return

Keywords: Universal Declaration of Human Rights, protection of human rights, migration, rights of migrants...

International human rights law is defined as a set of norms contained in international conventions and treaties, in which states undertake to recognize, respect, protect and guarantee the specific rights of citizens within their territory¹. Human rights are a set of principles and norms created on the basis of the recognition of human dignity as a universal basis, a feature of human nature that aim to ensure respect in relations between people and political institutions in the country and aim to protect and develop human dignity, their freedom and equality². It is natural that migrants, like all human beings, enjoy the human rights enshrined in international instruments. Human rights, by their very nature, cannot be taken from one person and transferred to another, therefore they must be guaranteed to all persons present in a state, including migrants, regardless of their legal status or duration of stay. They must be applied without discrimination, which means that there must be no reason to derogate or ignore fundamental rights and freedoms. However, it is an accepted fact that not all fundamental rights and freedoms are absolute.

Migration takes place for various reasons. In some cases, people are forced to move from their communities as a result of political instability, conflict, environmental degradation and natural disasters.³ Migration is an act undertaken by migrants as they move from one geographical environment to another. Leaving happens to seek better conditions, both for oneself but also for the family, for the present, but mostly for a better future. With the advancement of telecommunications, transportation, and technology in general, people move much faster and easier than before. For this reason, migration, whether voluntary or forced, is developing at a rapid rate throughout the world. People are moving in greater numbers and at a faster time compared to other periods in history. This process is taking place at a time when many countries are unprepared to cope with demographic change and when policies and attitudes towards population movement and immigration have been significantly strengthened.⁴

Theories have developed different classifications of migration. The first division is based on the division of political boundaries. Thus, internal migration involves movement

¹ Lubomir Danailov Frckovski, International Law on Human Rights, Skopje 2012, p, 11

² Carl Wellman, A new Conception of HUMAN Rights, ne: Human Rights, ed.by Eugene Kamenka and Alice Erh – Soon Tay, pp.56

³ Davies, A. A., Basten, A., & Frattini, C. (2009). Migration: a social determinant of the health of migrants. Eurohealth, 16 (1), 10-12

⁴ Skeldon, R. (2018). International migration, internal migration, mobility and urbanization: Towards more integrated approaches. International Organization for Migration

between villages, towns, and districts. The other type of migration is international migration, defined as migration that occurs across the country's borders.⁵

The other classification of migration relates to social status, travel points and periodicity of movement. Step migration is the type where migration is considered hierarchical and starts from a small place to a larger area. Cyclical migration involves cyclical migration experiences between the country of origin and destination, characterized by at least one migration and return. Seasonal migration is a very common form of migration, characterized by high labor demands over a period of time in a given destination, mainly for agriculture.

The migration of returnees is about the repeated return of migrants to their country of origin, voluntarily or not. Chain migration is the type of migration where individuals from certain destinations follow their relatives to migrate.⁶

Voluntary migration is based on a person's desires, initiatives and free choices to live in a better country and improve financial status, among other factors. Involuntary migration occurs when the individual is forced to leave the country of origin due to unfavorable environmental and political situations and conditions.⁷

National security and migrant rights

National security is the primary concern of states, in their policies for the admission of foreigners. Often, national security is interpreted in a broad way, including economic security, cultural and religious identity, environmental security, in addition to public, social and political order, or protection against organized crime and terrorism. Security issues have often been used as an alibi to restrict or suspend the rights of migrants. With the expansion of organized crime and terrorism, the dose of suspicion against migrants, who are often seen as potential 'enemies', has increased.

International law provides for some restrictions on state authority requiring that migration policies balance the interests of the state with those of the individual when it comes to regular migration. But the principles of international law in any case are in the face of the economic, political, security situation, traditions of a state, which have a significant impact on the overall

⁵ Dingle, H., & Drake, V. A. (2007). What is migration ?. *Bioscience*, 57 (2), 113-121.

⁶ King, R. (2012). Theories and typologies of migration: an overview and a primer. *Sussex Research Center*

⁷ Sirkeci, I. (2003). Migration from Turkey to Germany: An ethnic approach. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 29, 189-207.

framework for managing migration in a state and recognizing and respecting the rights of migrants.

Migration is often defined as "one of the historical forces that shaped the world", or as "an integral part of human behavior"⁸, thus referring to the fact that we are dealing with a natural phenomenon as old as human history itself. However, this phenomenon has not been described equally, with the same terminology in all periods. 'Movement', which is the essence of migration, is characterized from time to time by diversity and different colors. Consequently, the term has often been used to describe movements of various kinds including movements due to the state of war, occupation, destructive natural phenomena, colonization or movements within the slave trade.

The right to migrate is embodied in most of the most important human rights instruments and aims to ensure that people can move freely, including moving abroad, without encountering unjustified obstacles. States are allowed to impose restrictions on the right to leave, provided that such restrictions are necessary and subject to a test of proportionality.

The European Court of Human Rights has extensive jurisprudence regarding the right to migrate, the right to freedom of movement within the country, and the restrictions that states impose on these rights. Finally, the Court has considered a travel ban imposed on an individual because he was deported from another country. At the heart of the matter was the intent that the state had in imposing such a restriction against a person, based on his deportation.

Since the travel ban means that the individual cannot make any travel and, since the intention set by the state in question was that this measure reduced the risk that other citizens would be barred from entering the other state, the Court ruled in review of the legitimacy of these intentions vis-à-vis Article 2 of Protocol No. 4 to the Convention. The lure of countries to prevent their citizens from leaving the country in order to please a foreign country does not always agree with the individual's right to leave a country.

The right to migrate from a country, it's a right that only the citizens of a country have, but also that the foreigners have as well. States cannot impose obstacles on how foreigners leave them, regardless of where these foreigners seek to go. Keeping foreigners in custody, because they have been deported from other countries or because state authorities fear their return to the country from which they were deported, is not an acceptable reason for keeping them as prisoners. or for violating the right to leave the state.

⁸ Essentials of Migration Management: Migration and History", p. 13, IOM Publication (2004).

United Nations Human Rights Instruments

The origin of the right to leave any country is found in Article 13.2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."⁹

In line with United Nations human rights practice, the Declaration took a more detailed form in Article 12.2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).¹⁰ "Everyone is free to leave any country, including his own". The United Nations Human Rights Committee in 1999, in its General Comment no. 27¹¹ has guided the meaning of Article 12.2 of the ICCPR, starting with the explanation that the exercise of the right "may not depend on the specific intentions of the individual or on the period for which he decides to stay abroad" (paragraph 8). The United Nations Human Rights Committee recognizes that for a person's right to leave his country to be effective, the state must provide the individual with travel documents, and in particular, a passport: "Since international travel usually requires appropriate travel documents and, especially a passport, the right to leave any country should include the right to obtain the necessary travel documents. Issuance of passports is, in general, the duty of the state whose citizenship the individual holds. Rejection by an issuing state of the passport or the extension of its validity to a citizen living abroad may deprive this person of the right to leave the country of residence and to travel to another country. " (paragraph 9). Thus, the right of the individual to leave his country, provided for in Article 12.2 of the ICCPR, includes a clear obligation on States: the issuance of documents, as well as a passive obligation: not to obstruct individuals who seek to leave. Article 12.3 of the ICCPR allows States to impose restrictions on the right of departure, provided that such restrictions are provided by law and necessary to protect national security, public order, public health and morals; the rights and freedoms of others and when these restrictions are consistent with other rights recognized in the ICCPR. All restrictions on the right to leave must be interpreted strictly. In the General Comment no. 27, the Human Rights Committee draws attention to the fact that these restrictions should not violate the essence of the right and that there should be no reversal of the relationship between the norm and the exclusion. Restrictions must respect strict criteria and must not allow unlimited discretion to those responsible for enforcing them (paragraph 13). Even in cases where a permissible

⁹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved and promulgated with Res. 217 A (III) of A.P., 10 December 1948, Article 13.

¹⁰ All member states of the European Council are signatories of the ICCPR

¹¹ Can be found: www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28Symbol%29/6c76e1b8ee1710e380256824005a10a9

purpose exists, restrictions must be necessary to protect that purpose (paragraph 14). Moreover, the principle of proportionality must be applied not only in law but also in administrative practice (paragraph 15). Finally, in General Comment No. 27 the United Nations Committee warns that “the application of the permissible restrictions under Article 12, paragraph 3, must be in line with the other rights enshrined in the Covenant as well as with the fundamental principles of equality and non-discrimination. Thus, it would be a clear violation of the Covenant if the rights provided for in Article 12, paragraphs 1 and 2, were to be restricted by making distinctions of any nature, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political opinions or any other opinion, national or social origin, wealth, birth or any other kind of situation” (paragraph 18). Discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity is prohibited based on the definition of “other situation”. The United Nations Committee on Human Rights, in its capacity as the Dispute Settlement Body provided for in the Optional Protocol to the ICCPR, has considered, in some cases, Articles 12.2 and 12.3.¹² The Committee has maintained the same position as which is expressed in General Comment no. 27, that the refusal to issue a passport constitutes a violation of Article 12.2.; consequently, any State which undertakes such a measure must justify it in accordance with the provisions of Article 12.3 of the ICCPR.¹³ With regard to the justifications, the Committee has assessed that the non-provision of the passport issuance service (i.e., access to obtain a passport) for persons who have not yet completed full military service is not always in breach of Article 12.2.¹⁴ The right to migrate from any country is also enshrined in other United Nations treaties.

The 1966 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination¹⁵, in Article 5, contains the prohibition of racial discrimination in the exercise of the right to leave the country: “In accordance with the fundamental obligations set out in Article 2 of this Convention, States Parties undertake to prohibit and eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and to guarantee to all, without distinction as to race, color, national or ethnic origin, the right to equality before the law, in particular in exercising the following rights: “The right of a person to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his own country; Racial discrimination in the Convention is defined as any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of destroying or compromising the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on equal terms, of

¹² Harvey, Colin and Barnidge, Robert Jr (2005), The right to leave one’s own country under international law, Global Commission on International Migration.

¹³ See, for example *Lichtensztejn v. Uruguay*, Communication 77/1980 which we refer to extensively in the following.

¹⁴ *Peltonen v. Finland*, Communication 492/1992

¹⁵ All member states of the European Council are signatories of the ICCPR

fundamental human rights and freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life (Article 1.1).

The right to migrate is also enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.¹⁶ Pursuant to the right of the child to stay with his or her parents, Article 10.2 provides that "States Parties shall respect the right of the child and his or her parents to migrate, which shall be restricted only in cases provided for by law. which are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health and morals or the rights and freedoms of others and which are in conformity with other rights recognized by this Convention. "Similarly, the International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 1990, in Article 8.1 provides that "migrant workers and members of their families are free to leave any country, including their country of origin. This right becomes subject to restrictions only in cases provided by law, which are necessary for the protection of national security, public order, public health and morals, as well as the rights and freedoms of others and which are in accordance with the other rights recognized in this part of the Convention. " In all these human rights conventions, the similarity in the wording of the right to migrate testifies to the importance of this right as well as the purpose of maintaining coherence in its interpretation and application by states.

The 2000 United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime contains two protocols relating to the right to leave any country: the Protocol on the Prevention, Suppression and Punishment of Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, as well as the protocol against migrant trafficking by land, sea and air. The Trafficking in Persons Protocol requires states to penalize persons forcing others to relocate for exploitation purposes. The protocol has a number of provisions aimed at providing protection for these victims. Article 8 of the protocol provides for the repatriation of the victim to the country of citizenship or permanent residence.

The implementation of this provision by the states parties must be done in accordance with the right of the individual to leave. The Protocol against Trafficking in Persons by Land, Sea or Air requires states to criminalize cross-border trafficking in migrants and other related activities, such as production of forged documents, etc. In particular, Article 5 stipulates that, under this Protocol, migrants shall not be prosecuted.

¹⁶ All member states of the European Council are signatories of this Covenant

European Convention on Human Rights

The special place of the European Convention on Human Rights in the hierarchy of human rights norms in Europe is indisputable. All Council of Europe member states accept this text on human rights as the essence of being a member of the Council of Europe. The importance and seriousness of the obligation to ensure to everyone, within their jurisdiction, the rights provided for in the Convention is recognized by all member states. This is reinforced by the obligation of all these states to recognize the right of every individual to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights in cases where he claims that his/her rights, as enshrined in the Convention, are violated by one or more states.

The Convention does not provide for the right to migrate from its inception. This right first appears in Article 2.2 of Protocol No. 4 to the Convention, which entered into force in 1968. Article 2.2 initially stipulates that "every person is free to leave any country, including his own". In addition, Article 2.3 provides that "The exercise of these rights may not be subject to restrictions other than those provided by law and necessary in a democratic society for national security or public safety, the maintenance of public order, the prevention of criminal offenses, the protection of health or morals, or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others". In the Convention, as in the instruments of the United Nations, the wording of this right is made in accordance with the relevant United Nations conventions. Likewise, the restrictions are formulated similarly.

International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

They entered into force in 1966 in an attempt to give a legal character to the above statement. Both have been widely ratified and are legally binding on the parties. They are almost comprehensive instruments listing a wide range of rights and freedoms. All human beings, including those involved in the migration process, have the right to be protected by these instruments. Some of the envisaged rights are of particular interest to migrants, such as the right to leave any country, and the right of a person to return to his/her country. The instruments also guarantee many other rights applicable in situations that are similar to migration.

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

Entered into force on 4 January 1969. This document is another instrument containing provisions of interest in the field of migration. It is the basic document dealing with racial discrimination. Defines racial discrimination as: Any discrimination, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, origin, ethnic or national origin which results in the devaluation or restriction of the recognition, enjoyment or exercise in the same manner of the rights of human rights and fundamental freedoms.¹⁷ Article 5 of the Convention provides for a non-exhaustive list of rights to be enjoyed regardless of race, color, ethnicity or national origin.¹⁸ The Convention does not guarantee these rights but provides that if these rights exist in national law, they should be enjoyed without discrimination.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

It entered into force on 3 September 1981. This instrument is of interest in the context of migrant rights because it requires States parties to take all measures, including legal measures, to prohibit trafficking in women. Trafficking in women is one of the most popular forms of migration that has exploitative elements for the female migrant. The Convention becomes more vulnerable especially in the context of the feminization of international migration, an ever-increasing process, emphasizing the elimination of discrimination against women who, in the case of migrants, face a double discrimination: as migrants and as women.

Convention against Torture, Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

It entered into force on 26 June 1987. This Convention seeks to eliminate torture and other inhuman and degrading treatment in the world, and extends the principle of non-discrimination

¹⁷ See Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

¹⁸ Article 5 provides for rights such as the right to equal treatment before the law and the judiciary, the security of the person and protection against violence, political rights, civil rights such as the right to freedom of movement and residence within borders, and the right to leave, including departure and return to the country of origin, the right to citizenship, marriage and the free choice of partner, the right to property, to inherit, the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of thought and expression; economic, social and cultural rights such as the right to work, the right to participate or form a trade union, the right to housing, education, training, public health, etc.

and non-refoulement to apply in all cases where there are substantial grounds for believe that a person will be tortured if he or she returns to his or her country of origin.

Migrants' rights

Migrant rights are a specific element in the balance between the sovereign power of the state and obligations to foreigners. A basic premise of state sovereignty is that the state has the power to control its borders, determine the foreigners it will accept, and in certain situations expel foreigners from its territory. This power has a direct impact on the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms by migrants, as enshrined in the instruments of international human rights law and customary international law.¹⁹

It is natural that migrants, like all human beings, enjoy the human rights enshrined in international instruments. Human rights, by their very nature, cannot be taken from one person and transferred to another, therefore they must be guaranteed to all persons present in a state, including migrants, regardless of their legal status or duration of stay. They must be applied without discrimination, which means that there must be no reason to derogate or ignore fundamental rights and freedoms. However, it is an accepted fact that not all fundamental rights and freedoms are absolute. Some of them may be limited to certain circumstances. Current doctrinal discussions focus on the minimum human rights or guarantees that must be attributed to the migrant as well as to any other human being, regardless of status and circumstances, and that are binding on every state as:

- The right to life
- Prohibition of genocide
- Prohibition of slavery
- Prohibition of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment
- Prohibition of racial and systematic discrimination
- The right to self-determination
- The right to humane treatment during the period of detention
- Prohibition of retroactive criminal laws
- The right to equality before the law
- Non-discrimination
- The right to leave or return from/to the country of origin

¹⁹ https://issuu.com/omegastudio/docs/migration_

- The principle of non-return

These rights, by nature, cannot be derogated, and must be applied to every person, including migrants, be they economic, employment, refugees, displaced persons, or others. Also, these rights are guaranteed to all persons involved in the migration process, regardless of race, color, ethnic or national origin.

Despite the development of doctrine, practice shows that the rights of migrants are not always respected by sovereign states. Migrants are often subject to abuse, differentiation, exploitation, etc. In many cases, international human rights instruments themselves distinguish between the rights of migrants legally residing in a given country and the rights of irregular migrants. In this way, a hierarchy of beneficiaries of rights is created at the top of the citizens who enjoy full rights, followed by regular migrants and finally migrants in irregular situation. For the sake of truth this hierarchy does not respect the real need for protection, as in fact, irregular migrants are the ones who need international protection the most: their status makes them particularly potential to be subject to abuse, exploitation and denial of many of their human rights.²⁰ In recent years there has been an increase in the recognition and acceptance of migrants' rights, resulting in the creation of a new structure within the UN, that of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, as well as the adoption of a series of declarations or treaties that specifically address the rights of migrants.

²⁰ Training Manual, Migration Law, Luljeta Ikonimi, Tirana 2009, page.28

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, everyone's right to leave their country should be guaranteed equally to both citizens and foreigners and should never be subject to interference motivated by racial discrimination. In implementing border and migration controls, all Council of Europe States should consider and review, as well as fully harmonize, laws, policies and practices with the Convention and the jurisprudence of the Court, in relation to:

- issuance of travel documents and legality of obstacles for this issuance;
- the validity of laws, policies and practices for the removal or non-issuance of travel documents to citizens, in order to ensure that they fully comply with the right to migrate provided for in the Convention;
- those states that have a history of violations of the right to leave should pay special attention to ensuring that legislation and its implementation are brought to the standards of fulfilling their rights obligations. human;
- there should be no direct or indirect discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity in relation to the right to migrate, despite suspicions that state officials may have about the intentions of people leaving;
- EU countries should review their border control laws, policies and practices to ensure that they do not interfere with or encourage other states to interfere with everyone's right to leave from the place in which it is located;
- EU countries, individually or together, must immediately stop the objections which prevent people from leaving their country of origin or arriving in the EU and exercising their right to seek and enjoy asylum.

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