UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Collective memory of Macedonia through the studies of monuments: an analysis of the project "Skopje 2014"

Thesis

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The following thesis deals with the case study of the project "Skopje 2014" and discursive analysis of the monuments that were built as a part of it during the period of 2010-2017. The project is important, because it includes different narratives of continuity of the Macedonian national identity, that are often mutually exclusive. The other aspect is that it undermines the Albanian presence within the Macedonian narrative. The main question concerns the monuments, as a mechanism for establishing collective memory, which preserve ethnic parallelism within Macedonia. I use the term parallelism within Macedonia, in the sense of maintenance of distinguished historical events and figures between Albanians and Macedonians. Subsequently I elaborate the relation between nationalism and collective memory, mediated through the mechanisms of the institutionalized knowledge, which is substantial for maintenance of ethnic parallelism within Macedonia.

Key words: Nationalism, collective memory, ethnic parallelism, monuments.

Kolektivni spomin Makedonije skozi študije spomenikov: analiza projekta "Skopje 2014"

V diplomski nalogi sem preko diskurzne analize spomenikov obravnavala projekt "Skopje 2014'. Spomeniki so bili zgrajeni v obdobju med 2010–2017, kot del tega projekta. Projekt je pomemben, ker vključuje različne narative o kontinuiteti makedonske nacionalne identitete, ki se pogosto med seboj izključujejo. Drugi vidik projekta "Skopje 2014" je, da spodkopava prisotnost Albancev v sodobnem narativu Makedonije. Glavno vprašanje se nanaša na spomenike kot mehanizem kolektivnega spomina, ki ohranjajo etnični paralelizem znotraj Makedonije. Uporabljam izraz paralelizem v smislu ohranjanja vzporednih zgodovinskih dogodkov in osebnosti med Albanci in Makedonci. Pri tej obravnavi je precej pomembno razmerje med nacionalizmom in kolektivnim spominom, posredovan prek mehanizmov institucionaliziranega znanja, ki je prav tako pomemben za ohranjanje etničnega paralelizma v Makedoniji.

Ključne besede: nacionalizem, kolektivni spomin, etnični paralelizem, spomeniki.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Among many other things, modernity has challenged society's perception and attachment towards its past. Nations have appeared as a subject most concerned with this new relation, driven by their nationalistic search for continuity and homogeinety. The following thesis deals with the patterns through which that rearward tendency for exploration of the nation's past, has brought many contradictive and often exclusive charachteritics for the national identities. Namely, the main concern in this work will be the relation between nationalism and collective memory. Hence I contextualize nationalism as a discourse that underlines the connection between group identity and continuity. In regards of this, I am reffering to Craig Calhoun' (1997) theory of discursive formation of identities and Benedict Anderson's (1985) *"imagined communities"*, that point out the aspect of solidarity and group identity of a nation. In addition to this, I am going to use Roland Barthes's (1957) theory on myth as a type of speech, which operates as a discourse and responds to the ways in which nations understand their authenticity. On the other hand, Eviatar Zerubavel (2003), writes on collective memory as a discursive form that links the gaps between different historical periods and gives sense of continuity. Everyday experience marks the relationship between the group and continuity, authors like Jan Assmann (1995) and Paul Connerton (1989) write about everyday commemorative experience of the people, emphasizing the role of collective memory embodied in everyday practices and routines. As an example I am going to use the project "Skopje 2014" within the context of Macedonian national identity. Victor Roudometof (2002) writes about the importance of collective memory and national identity in the context of Macedonia. He elaborates on the Macedonian national narrative in the sense of mutually exclusive narratives (Macedonian, Bulgarian, Greek and Albanian), that present national identity is build upon.

The goal of this thesis is to analyze the relation of formation and preservation of collective memory among Albanians and Macedonians in the context of the Macedonian[1] state. Doing so, I will emphasize the importance and role of the monuments that were built as part of the project "Skopje 2014". The latter seems important in terms of managing with selective historical content that is

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[1] Since 12th of February 2019 the country is officially recognized as North Macedonia due to its dispute with Greece.

distinctively ethnically distributed. The main research question that will underline the following thesis is: *In what ways do monuments, as a mechanism for establishing collective memory, in the case of the project Skopje 2014, preserve parallelism in the perception of collective memory of a nation?* I use the term parallelism within Macedonia, in the sense of maintenance of distinguished historical events and figures between Albanians and Macedonians. The project was highly controversial among other things for inclusion of historical figures that are part of the national histories of Bulgaria and Greece. The other aspect of it is that, it undermined the Albanian presence in the collective memory of Macedonia.

2 METHODOLOGY

In the first part of my thesis, I will be outlining the topic through elaboration of the primary and secondary sources. In the second part, I will be presenting a case study research of the 34 monuments built between the period of 2010-2017 as part of the project "Skopje 2014". I will be categorizing the monuments into six categories, each representing a different period and narrative of the Macedonian national identity. In addition to this, I will be complementing the study with the discourse analysis of ''History of Macedonia'' a history schoolbook, written by Miroslav Boshkovik and Danche Machevska, which is part of the current curriculum for second year high school students. I have chosen this schoolbook because it focuses on Macedonian history and becoming of present-day Macedonia as oppose to the schoolbook for gymnasium students, in which the focus is on world history. Furthermore, it correlates to the national narrative included in the project ''Skopje 2014'' and also dominant national historiographies. This way I would like to highlight the relation between the project ''Skopje 2014'' and institutionalized knowledge in the context of the Macedonian narrative. This draws attention to the importance of education in the distribution of ethnic parallelism, which will be discussed latter in chapters 5.1 and 6.

Subsequently, I will conduct ten semi-structured interviews with Macedonians and Albanians from different generations. Since the collective memory of a nation is maintained through different generations, the main goal is to find out if there is a parralel understanding of important historical events between Macedonians and Albanians. That being said, the main goal of the interviews is to showcase to what extent collective memory in Macedonia consists of ethnic parallelism and to what extent it is a matter of generational differences.

3 DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF NATIONALISM

In order to take a grasp of the project "Skopje 2014" and the context within which it was created, there are two main inquiries that should be explained first. Those will be the concepts of nationalism and collective memory. As such matters of culture, etnicity, continuity and myth, circle around for better understanding of its complexities.

Literature regarding formation of nations and nationalism oscilates between its modernist and constructed nature on one side (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) and search for continuity of ethnic essentialism on the other (Armstrong, 1982; Smith, 1991). Another aspect is attached to nationalism, when approached through dicourse analysis (Calhoun,1997; Finlayson, 2007). This way the importance of nationalism is accentuated in the process of creating a rhetoric that influences and organizes our understanding and meaning of the world. Authors vary in their approaches, some highlight the importance of ethnicity as a primordial drive that, forged by historical process, eventually shaped into a nation. Others emphasize the importance of industrialism and threat nation as a modern subject that drifts away from previous patterns of organizing people. Along with that, they attach different meaning to the importance of symbolic values and memories shared by a nation. The question of nationalism in this sense is researched through the paradigms of constructivists and ethnosymbolists. However in my case study I am going to use a discursive approach, since it is the most suitable for analysis of different narratives. Calhoun (1997, p. 4) defines the discursive formation of identities in a way of how we understand and think about the questions of solidarity and collective identity, hence including both the elements of political legitimacy and cultural identity. Those elements encompassed by the rhetoric of nationalism produce the self-understanding within the group and outside of it.

Within the modernist understanding, another important notion is presented by Anderson (1983). Namely, he coins the term *"imagined communities''* when elaborating nationalism and its influence on group identity and solidarity, highlighting the importance of how society imagines itself, without misusing the word imagining with falsity.

3.1 NATIONALISM AND MYTHS

Anderson's term *"imagined communities''* accentuates the constructive nature of nationalisms, namely the aspect of how communities imagine themselves. Connected to this is the rhetoric dimension of nationalism, since it shifts the attention from the sensitivity of the subjective elements and moves towards the better understanding of the overall patterns of meaning that are at our disposition when imagining our community. The ways in which myth works are best explained with Barthes's theory of the myth as a type of speech. »It can be seen that to purport to discriminate among mythical objects according to their substance would be entirely illusory: since myth is a type of speech, everything can be a myth provided it is conveyed by a discourse« (Barthes, 1957, p. 107).

Nationalism and myth are intertwined in their functionality as they provide a coherent idea of the group formation. Two types of myth are important to note: the myth of permanence and the myth of common ancestry. The first one assumes objective authenticity and permanence of the nation, defined by its territory and institutions. The other one concerns the member of the community and implies their homogeneity and distinctiveness (Brown, 2000, p. 23).

Mythologizing of the nation exposes many complexities around nationalism as a modern construct. Not only it problematizes what it's remembered but also who is included in those memories. In terms of this, modern nation is faced with two main contradictions: one deriving from the search of continuity and the other from the delineation of cultural homogeneity.

3.2 COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Study of collective memory examines the relation between individuals within society, i.e how individuals are contextualized within the social and cultural frameworks of remembering. Authors vary in their view of how to encompass the collection of memories used for reconstruction. For example, Maurice Halbwachs, one of the first to elaborate on collective memory, distinguishes between memory and history, the former being the active source of creating group memories and the latter being understood as objectified culture. »In this sense lived history is clearly differentiated from written history: it possesses everything needed to constitute a living and natural

framework upon which our thought can base itself to preserve and recover the image of its past« (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 69).

In his article on collective memory and cultural identity, Assmann (1995) uses Halbwachs theory as a basis and extension, in which he additionally develops the notion of objectified culture or history. As oppose to the passivity that is inscribed in the concept of objective culture in Halbwachs's context, he expands the notion in the concept of cultural memory. Consequently, this term encompasses both everyday communicative memory and relation it has to the broader group identity.[2] He defines it as »a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation« (Assmann, 1995, p. 126). Thus, objective culture and cultural memory have the same structure as collective memory. Another key feature of cultural memory, is the ability to reconstruct in the context of contemporary conditions. In this way, groups reproduce their identity over time and ensure its existence.

Connerton (1989, p. 7−12) writes about social memory that operates along the lines of everyday experience and integrates two areas of social activity, one is delineate in commemorative ceremonies and the other in bodily practices. The levels of experience, as he calls them entail social customs that are sustained through the relation between commemorative and bodily practices.

Zerubavel links the structure of social memory with the discursive continuity, namely the ways of connecting the gaps between the past and the present. He depicts continuity of a timeline between different historical gaps as a discursive form. (Zerubavel, 2003, p. 52).

Literature on collective memory is primarily interested in how the content of shared memories is intertwined with the past, how and in what way it is reconstructed or structured. However, such interest usually overgeneralizes the importance of collective memory and downplays the functionality that it has for contemporary society. That being said, in the context of my work I would like to position collective memory along with its function in regards of nationalism.

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[2] He uses the term concretion of identity, as a knowledge from which the group grasp their sense of unity and peculiarity.

3.2.1 COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND NATIONALISM

The main reason why I emphasize the relation between collective memory and nationalism, is because I want to frame the process of shaping those memories within the institutionalized knowedge of a nation. Most authors generalize the term collective memory, when using it among various social categories. As I will present later in the context of the analyzed project, the major paradox appears when collective memory is situated within the nationalistic markers of group identity. As such, the relation of historical imtermixing and interaction is depicted as a form of competitive nationalisms, while the search for common grounds of memory is influenced by the norms of homogeneity. Hence from now on, I will analyze collective memory as one of the discoursive tendencies of nationalism that mythologizes the past.

The project ''Skopje 2014'', which is the main focus of this thesis is included in the preserving of collective memory, mediated through the institutions to represent the commemorative aspects of everyday experiences. Project ''Skopje 2014'' was not only in the function of nationalistic rhetoric but also it was structured as such, in the sense it tried to bridge different gaps of history with selective content. While conducting her own analysis of monuments in the context of post-Yugoslavian Skopje, Dragica Popovska specifies the term collective memory as a »schematic representation of culture, through publicly available symbols objectified in society« (Popovska, 2016, p. 67).

In terms of this, it is more useful to contextualize the historical background of a nation alongside its national historiography. Since the project implies a form of cultural memory, it has to be simultaneously mediated and objectified. »The objectivization or crystallization of communicated meaning and collectively shared knowledge is a prerequisite of its transmission in the culturally institutionalized heritage of a society« (Assmann, 1995, p. 130).

The above-mentioned concepts such as: myth, cultural memory and discursive continuity, provided us with better understanding of the main complexities associated with nationalism and collective memory. Also, I highlighted the substantiality of the relation between collective memory and nationalism, mostly because as such it is underdeveloped and is leaning towards overly encompassing and generalizing theories. In the following part I will first explore the historical background of the creation of Macedonian national identity, which will be crucial for the second part when I analyze the project itself.

4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MACEDONIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

Before one dwells upon the project itself as a form of public manifestation of collective memory, one has to become familiar with the historical heritage encompassed in those memories. For that reason I would like to analyze the historicity of Macedonian national idenity. That directs the matter towards an inquiry into the process of modernization on the Balkans and s subsequently the matter of competing nationalisms within Macedonia[3]. Macedonian national identity in that sense will be further discussed as an outcome of a process of becoming modernized, whilst pushing aside the old organizational patterns based on religious affiliation intertwined with regional demarcation.

As seen before, emerging passions of national identities present themselves through the longings for a distant and timeless identity. The matter of their continuity stands opposed the past of the Balkan people, marked by the extent period under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Within this period the matters of identity, religion, language and class are operating along the lines of multiple identities, without the necessity for explicit ethnic demarcation as in present days (Karakasidou, 1997; Maxwell, 2008). Thereby, this period is crucial for understanding the challenges of the new formed Balkan nations and alongside with that the consequent struggle over the region of Macedonia.

Additionally, the historical past of the Balkans combined with 19th century nationalistic ideology, exudes complexities that reach the period before the Ottoman rule, making it even more fragile for modern deconstruction. As a consequence, the Ottoman past has been portrayed as a dark period of the Balkans and as such had served as an obstacle for reaching a continuity between their glorified medieval or ancient kingdoms and modern nation-states (Stojanovski, 2010, p. 122).

As L.S. Stavrianos (1958, p. 13−15) explains during five centuries of Ottoman rule Balkan peoples had no history, when they won their independence in the 19th century they were dependent on their pre-Turkish heritage, reaching medieval ages and beyond. In relation to that, the Balkan states had to turn towards their respective myths of origin, i.e Greeks turned to the classical period and Great

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[3] We distinguish between Macedonia as a reference for a region during Ottoman period, and modern Macedonian state.

Byzantine Empire, Serbs to their king Dushan, Bulgarians to Tsar Simeon, thus maintaining continuity with their medieval Christian Empires. Macedonian modern rhetoric reached towards continuity that included both ancient past and medieval Slavic tribes, while Albanians attributed their national heritage to Skenderbeg's rebellion, which actually had a purely religious and anti-Ottoman character (Stojanovski, 2010, p. 116). Therefore, the path towards modernity has been paved mainly with the attempt to portray national tendencies as something that is guided by the nations glorified past and direct heritage. Another crucial element for the Macedonian context is underlined by the overlapping narratives that complicate the issue even further. During the 10th and 11th century Macedonia was a political and cultural center of Bulgaria under Tsar Samuel and the rivalry over that territory continued during the Bulgar Asen dynasty (1187-1258). In the 14th century, that territory became part of the expanding Serbian state and remained within it until the Ottoman conquest. The question of modern national Macedonian identity continues to reflect the old contest between the Balkans states of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece (Banac, 1983, p. 34). In regards of this, the matter of continuity is only suitable for fulfilling essentialist needs of the national identity, thus it fails to recognize the dominant narratives that are expressed in the power relations over a certain region.

4.1 BALKAN DURING OTTOMAN EMPIRE

It would be fair to say that both contradictions and affirmations of Macedonian narrative underlay the period under Ottoman rule. In the following part the focus will be on the process of how this period influenced creation of identities and subsequently proceeded to modify them through the process of modernization. Because of the main concern of this work, the focus will be on the Macedonian question as a byproduct of the administrative organization during the Ottomans and later on, as a product of the necessities that have been attached to modern identities. Since the matter of Macedonian identity had been linked to the conquest between the neighboring countries over its symbolic and territorial validation, we will explore the life of people inhabiting Balkans under the Ottomans. The crucial aspects that must be examined are the matters of administrative organization, language, religion, class and how they influenced changing alliances, identification and coexistence. The process of becoming a nation had been marked by those patterns of multiple identifications.

4.1.1 ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The main aspect of the Ottoman administration is marked by the highly centralized model of governance. This pattern of state administration guides the process of transformation within the Ottoman Empire, that subsequently also has led to a shifting perception of peoples identities. Therefore, in this part the focus will be on the relationship between the centralizing strategies of the Ottomans along the lines of community life of the Balkan people. The feudal system that supported such organization was more centralized than that in Western Europe and efficient for supporting its expansionist tendencies. Within the process of transformation of the Empire, expansion played a crucial role in the maintenance of bureaucratic system, which consequently merged its way into the period of modernization. Centralized state control was regulating the relationship between the farmer and the sultan through a hierarchical bureaucratic organization, strengthened with the courtesy of the courts and taxing agriculture. The difficulties that the Empire had been facing at the expense of the expansion, led towards resistance from the military, which influenced tax revenues to cover the costs of war (Mazower, 2008, p. 32). The courts were reinforced by a legal system predicated on religious distinctions. Within the Empire each community maintained their own courts, judges and legal principles. The result was differentiation between the courts of Muslims and non-Muslims, placing the necessary authority on the former. Along with that the state has been reinforcing both religious and court authorities to influence the taxes as instruments of imperial control (Quataert, 2005, p. 178).

As mentioned above the legal system in the Empire was based on religious separation, supported by Ottomans political strategy, that relied on religious tolerance. This impacted organizational patterns of Balkan people in a way that they were distinguished into communities called millets, each of which had their own ecclesiastical leader. Therefore, what was highly important for this organizational pattern is that it consisted of religious communities rather than ethnicities.

The relation of ethnicity and religion becomes even more substantial in the context of the Albanians. »While Christian populations faced a threat of ethnic assimilation arising out of the nature of the millet system itself, Muslim populations in the Ottoman empire clearly faced a parallel threat of Turkification« (Poulton, 1997, p. 18). Under the Ottomans there was no ethnic or language differentiation between the Muslim population. However, we have to mention that

Albanians were a religiously heterogeneous group, which means that some of them were part of the Orthodox rum millet. Religious conversion and identification under the Ottoman Empire could be seen as a way of negotiating social identities under the objective political circumstances. »Notably, Albanians have been able to modify and change their religious culture without losing their identity. Historically, maintaining their collective identity and their ethnic boundaries with neighbouring groups has not depended on the permanence of their religious affiliations« (Doja, 2000, p. 426).

The Ottomans differentiated the ecclesiastical communities into: Orthodox, Gregorian Armenian, Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant millets (Stavrianos,1958, p. 89-90). At this point it is important to accentuate the fact that Macedonia was not a separate administrative unit in the Empire. »The Ottoman government had no administrative unit corresponding to Macedonia: the region in question was divided between the vilayets of Uskub (Skopje), Salonica (Thessaloniki) and Monastir« (Maxwell, 2007, p. 133). The millet system served as a main source of identity, beside another important factors like family and locality. Therefore, the question of religion and identity had been integrated within the millet structure. During the last years of the Empire and after the new national awakening nationalism, have become interwined with those religious identities, which puts the legacy of the millet system against the modern concepts of citizenship, religion and ethnicity (Poulton, 1997, p. 14−16). As for the question of Macedonian national identity, the transition towards its nationalistic aspirations and territorial claims have been compromised even further. This matter will be elaborated later when dealing with the contradicting and competitive nationalisms that it is built upon.

4.2 PATH TOWARDS MODERNITY

Religious differentiation and taxed agriculture outlined the path that coincided with the transformations within the Empire and eventually paved its way into a nation state. Such tolerance and religious autonomy brought wealth and influence upon privileged Christian groups who had control over collection of taxes. The Greek Orthodox had a more prestigious position over other Balkan people, as they were part of the higher levels of the Ottoman administration. In terms of

this the Church has become corrupted, as its representatives were bribed by the Ottoman officials, which pushed a heavier burden of taxation over to the farmers. Dissatisfaction among peasants and farmers with the centralized authority under ecumenical patriarch, have caused shift from the old Orthodox ecumerism and preceded the Balkan nationalism (Mazower, 2008, p. 61-63). Therefore, religion served as a main marker for identification, establishing autonomy of its own church, and it provided future Balkan nations with recognizable elements for their struggle for independence.

The years following the decline of the Empire corresponded to the rising dependency upon the West. Changes within the Empire were supported by the Tanzimat reforms in 1839, that highlighted equality and justice for all subjects within the Empire, Muslims or non-Muslims. These changes that weakened the Empire, simultaneously granted nationalistic movements with power over their struggle for autonomy. The region of Macedonia served as a crossroad for the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian nationalism on their path to independence. The path towards autonomy has been led mainly by the nationalist intelligentsia, supported with establishment of the prominent group of Orthodox merchants within the Empire. During the 19th century, begun the recognition and separation of the previous groups that were part of the millet system. It started with the recognition of the Serb autonomy (1830), followed with the creation of the kingdom of Greece (1832) and establishment of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (1878), all of which proceeded the struggle over Macedonia. (Karakasidou, 1997, p. 78; Roudometof, 2002, p. 84).

The struggle for the region and its people, had overshadowed the complexity and multicultural dimension of it. Additionally, it opens the question of why certain cultural traits became relevant and pursued as a demarcation for national identity.

4.3 COMPETING NATIONALISMS

The conquest over the region of Macedonia puts in perspective the importance of depicting a cultural criteria, such as language or religion suitable for the creation of national identities. Macedonian question on the turn of the 20th century highlighted overlapping of both territorial and symbolic struggle over a region. The matter was further complicated since Bulgarian and Serbian claims were over the similarity of language, while Greek argument relied on religion. As mentioned earlier the heritage of the millet system predisposed such complications, since all of the

Orthodox Christians belonged to the Orthodox rum millet. Also, it's important to point out that many Albanians were part of the Orthodox rum millet, even though they were usually equated with the Muslim population under the Ottomans.

The decline of the Ottoman and its previous structures, as seen enabled the labeling of certain cultural characteristics to a territory. As Stojanovski writes »to homogenize future national entities there is a need to establish common criteria for affiliation which, whether based on territory or linguistic-cultural characteristics, had to create a unique awareness of affiliation, or exclusion, which will be largely based on what is called shared collective memory« (Stojanovski, 2010. p. 113).

Competitive nationalisms became a prominent part during the last days of the Empire, however they entailed different periods, that influenced present collective memory of the Macedonian nation. Therefore, I am going to present two decisive phases for the formation of Macedonian national identity together with its commemorative validation in present days.

4.3.1 VMRO AND LEAGUE OF PRIZREN

Dominant influence of the Greek church and its assimilatory strategies, gave rise to a counterpart of the Bulgarian aspirations, that were settled after the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) with establishing of a Bulgarian state, that encompassed whole Macedonia (except for Salonika and Khalkidiki), alongside with east central Albania (Banac, 1984, p. 310). This period represents one of the most important and contradictive for the contemporary Macedonian national narrative. The battle over Macedonian and Bulgarian intelligentsia played a crucial role for establishing collective memory of both nations. Foundation of the *Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization* (IMRO or VMRO*)* in Thessaloniki in 1893 had marked one of the most debated historical aspects of the nationalistic claims, reaching the context of the present days. One of the issues were a different fraction within the organization, the VMRO leadership had strong ties with Sofia that was criticized by the more left-wing fraction because of the influence of the Bulgarian policies. The groups cooperated in the Ilinden Uprising (1903) against the Ottomans. For a short period, VMRO revolutionaries occupied the city of Krusevo and declared Macedonian independence. After the Uprising failed, the conflict between fractions worsened, following different ideological

paths, the conservatives, that inherited the original name VMRO, were associated with Sofia, while the left-wing members with independent Macedonia within the Balkan federation (Roudometof, 2002, p. 93-94).

To this day the biggest dilemma is where to place the revolutionaries from VMRO, and how to understand the separatist movement, as a part of Bulgaria or independent Macedonia. Since the present national identity with those during the early 20th century cannot be placed in the same category, especially since Macedonia didn't exist neither as ethnicity nor territory, the matter became open for interpretation for the nationalistic capacities of both countries. What is less often mentioned is the multiethnic character of the region and along with that the Ilinden Uprising itself. Notably, it's important to understand the coexistence of both regional and ethnic nationalism during the late 19th and early 20th century. Maxwell writes about the relation between shifting collective loyalties, in the sense that the multicultural character of the region generated new ethnic sentiments. In regards of continuity of the Macedonian national question, he distinguishes between regional and ethnic nationalism. »Slavs simultaneously espoused both regional Macedonian nationalism and ethnic Bulgarian nationalism in the early 20th century, but by 1945 an ethnic Macedonian nationalism incompatible with Bulgarian loyalties had emerged« (Maxwell, 2008, p. 128). As before mentioned, the Albanian example of shifting religious alliances correlate to this relation. However, in the context of Albanian nationalism it unveils itself in a form of civic nationalism. Crucial event for the rise of Albanian nationalism is presented with the formation of the League of Prizren (1878), that was initiated after the Congress of Berlin. At the beginning of the formation of the League the aim was to protect Albanian territories and population assigned to neighboring countries after the Congress, not to seek independence from the Empire. The direction of Albanian nationalism was marked by the changing relations with the Ottomans that first supported the League. This shifting relation coincided with the Young Turks revolution (1908) backed by the Albanians who expected that for their support they will be granted autonomy. Some of the leaders of the revolution had Albanian origin and enjoyed support among Albanian leaders in Macedonia. After it had become clear that the support won't lead to an autonomy, separatist movement occurred first in Prishtina (1910), that spread throughout Kosovo and Macedonia, culminating after the London Conference (1913) with gaining independence. Albanian nationalism included people from different religion, which was also one of the main obstacles for unification, since it also presupposed different social status (Babuna, 2004, p. 293−294).

Distinctive paths towards the formation of national awakening are exposed also in the contemporary issues on the topic. Namely, the competitive aspect of present days nationalism within Macedonia is based on both distinctions of channeling national identities in the past, and recent understanding of those events.

4.3.2 YUGOSLAVIA

The composition of Macedonia after the Balkan Wars in 1913 was divided among its neighboring states. Macedonian nationalism has shifted between the alliances and claims among those territories. Followed by the periods of occupation during the WW1 and WW2, Macedonian nationalism relates to the question of the communist agenda as part of Yugoslavia. The left fraction of VMRO established relations with the Balkan Communist Federation, an alliance between Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav Communist parties. »In 1924, the BCF, the VMRO, the Federalists, and the Greek and Yugoslav communists signed a joint declaration. The document declared their common goal of an independent Macedonia, which in turn would be possible only with the union of all the Balkan peoples into a single federation« (Roudometof, 2002, p. 99). Within the context of federal Yugoslavia the idea of ethnic Macedonia was promoted. Maxwell writes that ethnic nationalism emerged primarily in the part Vardar Macedonia (Serbian). »The interwar Yugoslav state sought to Serbianize its bit of Macedonia. Bulgarian cultural institutions were closed; Bulgarian teachers and priests were expelled« (Maxwell, 2008, p. 140). The formation of People's Republic of Macedonia (1945) within Yugoslavia, consisted of the Vardar part, which subsequently lead Serbia to give up on its claim over the inhabitants of Macedonia in that region. Also, many refugees from the Aegean (Greek) flew over to the People's Republic of Macedonia after the Greek Civil War (1949). The main complexity around the Macedonian question arises from the perception of the periods between pre-1913 Partition of Macedonia and Post-1945 People's Republic (Roudometof, 2002, p. 105−106). Maintaining a continuity between the composition of the nationalistic drive is one of the key points of the Macedonian narrative.

The Yugoslav period contributed for the contemporary collective memory, through the narration of national historiographies. »In contrast to the historiographies of socialist Bulgaria and Romania as well as the other Yugoslav Republics, Macedonian historiography did not experience a period after the Communist take-over during which "class" replaced the "nation" as the main subject of

the historical master narration. From its very beginning in the late 1940s, Macedonian historiography has had and continues to have an explicitly national perspective« (Brunnbauer, 2003, p. 165).

The Albanian question within Yugoslavia is underlined by the deteriorating confrontation in Kosovo between Albanians and Yugoslav authorities. Even though after 1948 ethnic distinctiveness of the Albanians was recognized by the Yugoslav authorities and Albanian-language schools were opened in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, the Yugoslav period is marked by the nationalistic demands for republic status of Kosovo. With the new constitution in 1974, Kosovo gained bigger autonomy within the Federation, along with more cultural and political rights, however overall status of the Albanians didn't improve in Macedonia (Babuna, 2004, p. 305-307). Kosovo remains to influence nationalist perception for Albanians and Macedonians to this day. For Albanians as a reminder of hostility and struggle for an autonomy, for Macedonians however it's usually used as a fear of extremism and separatism of Macedonia.

Recent history after the independence of Macedonia in 1991 continuous to influence nationalistic aspirations of both Macedonians and Albanians. The period after the independence from Yugoslavia has been marked by the conflict over the status of Albanians in the Constitution of the newly formed Republic of Macedonia. The emergence of the conservative VMRO-DPMNE influenced Macedonian and Albanian relations, since their agenda envisioned ''Macedonian unification'' and wanted to define the new state as the ''national state of the Macedonian people''. The constitution recognized Albanians as one of the minorities not as a constitutive nation of Macedonia. The secondary status of Albanians within the new state, influenced many other issues, the most important one concerned the matter of the Albanian language and higher education. The issue became more prominent in the 1990s when Serb authorities closed The University of Prishtina in Kosovo, which was the only institution that provided lessons in Albanian language. During this period there was no higher institution in Macedonia allowing lessons in Albanian language. (Roudometof, 2002, p. 172-175). Following deterioration of the inter-ethnic relations, culminated in the military conflict in 2001, marking one of the most important events of contemporary Macedonia. The conflict ended with signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in 2001 that guaranteed more rights for the Albanians, especially in regards of the status of the Albanian language and education. Therefore, the agreement provided more rights on local level,

where the language is spoken by more than 20 percent of the population, it became co-official and as a result Macedonian is learned as a secondary language. The agreement allowed Albanians to establish their own schools, taught in Albanian in all levels of education (Kavaja, 2017, p. 481; 489).

The overall presentation of the historical background has equipped this research with the main reference points upon which new Macedonian identity was formed. The next part will continue with the discoursive analysis of the project, ''Skopje 2014'' that integrated different important events in one continuous narrative of the national history.

5 PROJECT ''SKOPJE 2014''

The project ''Skopje 2014'' was designed during the governance of the coalition between VMRO-DPMNE[4] (*The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity*) and largest Albanian party DUI (*Democratic Union for Integration*). The aim was to change the image of the capital, through the building of new monuments, squares, fountains and baroque buildings. Development of the project ''Skopje 2014'' had been realized during the period of 2010-2017. The wider public and experts weren't part of the decision making process. As a matter of fact, the project ''Skopje 2014'' has been highly publicized because of the many irregularities associated with the financing from the state budget, manipulation of public contracts for the manufacturing of monuments and the role of the Ministry of Culture alongside with the Council of the Municipality of Center for its implementation. The tenders that were open as a public call for artists, architects and construction companies, were scrutinized, since they were prearranged. The authors and companies associated with the project had close ties with the government, hence realization of the project ''Skopje 2014'', wasn't given to the lowest bidder. In the research conducted by BIRN[5] *(Balkan Investigative Reporting Network)* three authors for design solutions, were paid the most for the project, (Valentina Stevanovska, Neimar Engineeiring Skopje and Arhitektonica DOOEL Skopje). The most prominent construction company, that built 33 objects is DG Beton AD Skopje, was paid 216 million euros.

The overall agreement about the project alludes to its boosting of national feelings. However the context behind its creation, relies upon the issue of identity crisis as a consequence of the several disputes with the neighbouring countries. Bulgaria doesn't recognize the existence of the Macedonian language, Serbia on the other hand doesn't recognize the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. The main dispute in the modern history of Macedonia since its independence, revolves around its dispute with Greece over validaty of symbolic heritage connected to antiquity.

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[4] Not to be associated with the revolutionary VMRO from the Ottoman and pre-1945 era.

[5] BIRN provides database of the research conducted on the project ''Skopje 2014'', presented on the internet page Prizma.

In response to this, Greece didn't recognize the official name of Macedonia, since it represented the ancient kingdom of Macedonia.[6] As we have seen already, historical becoming of contemporary Macedonia incorporates different narratives of the national building, one corresponds to Macedonia as a region, the other since Yugoslavia as a nation. The dispute culminated in 2008, when Greece vetoed Macedonia's entry to Nato and EU under its constitutional name. Thereby the project was a product of the mass dissatisfaction that followed, aiming at strenghtening national feelings in order to cope with the identity crisis (Georgievska-Jakovleva, 2014. p. 46). In addition to this, the project was an oppurtunity for a national rebranding and modernisation. »New buildings almost exclusively in baroque and neoclassical style will obscure the modernist construction of the socialist period and the Ottoman-era architecture that indexes the city's Muslim heritage. Instead, the project promises Skopje a new image, one that will deliver Macedonia a properly "European" capital, at once attractive to outsiders and worthy of national pride« (Graan, 2013, p. 161).

As already stated, nationalistic rhetoric relies upon the necessity to form a continuous narrative that encompasses various periods of Macedonian history and reaches over different generations through the collective memory. It included the ancient Macedonian heritage, with the national liberation struggles from the late 19th and early 20th century, along with historical figures connected to the communist party under Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, contemporary history associated with the period after its independence in 1991, is represented with the monument dedicated to the conflict between Albanians and Macedonians in 2001. In the next chapter I am going to categorize those narratives through the discoursive analysis of the monuments.

Mythologizing the existence of a narrative enables its continuous reproduction within the institutionalized framework. Stojanovski (2010, p. 119−120) distinguishes three elements within the Macedonian myth of permanence, that correlate to the overall narrative of the project "Skopje 2014":

- The name of the administrative territory within the Ottoman Empire

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[6] The name dispute was settled with the Prespa agreement, signed on 12th of June 2018 in Psarades, went into force on 12th of February 2019.

- The ethnic character of the revolutionary struggle of VMRO, the fact that many of it members were fighting for accession with Bulgaria is ignored, while terms like christians, Greek-Orthodox and Bulgarians are substited with Macedonians

- The centuries long struggle for statehood, reaching from the ancient state, to the state of Tsar Samuel in the middle ages are associated with creation of the Macedonian statehood in 1944 and today's Republic of Macedonia

In addition modern history is mythologized upon the narrative of hostility of the Albanians or Albanian invasion in Macedonia. The military conflict between Macedonians and Albanians in 2001 is continuously glorified by both sides, when approached as a validation of ethnic tensions. After the conflict Macedonian historians undermined the issue behind the conflict and instead, focused on the idea of a presumably long tradition of Albanian nationalism and extremism in the region. They refered the annexation of western Macedonia by Albania during the World War II and demographic Albanization of the Macedonian population as a strategy to remove ethnic Macedonians (Brunnbauer, 2012, p. 161).

In regards of the fact that the project's main purpose was to strenghten nationalistic passions, it is important to address the question of Albanian integration within it. Firstly, it concerns representational disparity associated with the overall number of monuments built because of the project[7]. Secondly it challenges the national narrative, since it is not inclusive of the Albanian presence in the past as constitutive to the formation of contemporary Macedonia.

5.1 ANALYSIS OF THE MONUMENTS

For the purpose of this case study I am going to carry out a discourse analysis[8] of the monuments that were part of the project "Skopje 2014". In order to ensure more focused perspective I have

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[7] 34 monuments were built as a part of the project, among which only 3 represent the Albanian historical heritage.

[8] Discourse analysis refers to a particular way of understanding or talking about certain aspect of the world or our position within it. The main purpose is to perform a critical research that unveils and analyzes the existing power relations in society. The key components of the critical approach are language and subjects which are integrated into the power relations in the society, hence they have to be understood within that context. In this sense groups are not understood as predetermined, but rather as a form of representation that is constituted in the discourse (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, pg. 2; 45).

decided to categorize the monuments in regards of the period and narrative they represent, after which I am going to pick one historical figure as a representative. This outtake will be supplemented by the discoursive analysis of the history schoolbook for highschool students. The aim is to contextualize the narratives within the framework of institutionalized knowledge. The monuments included in the project are categorized within these categories:

- Antiquity (2)
- Middle ages (5)
- National liberation movement – VMRO (18)
- National Liberation War – ASNOM (3)
- Albanian heritage (3)
- Independence of Macedonia (3)

Figure 5.1: Alexander the Great
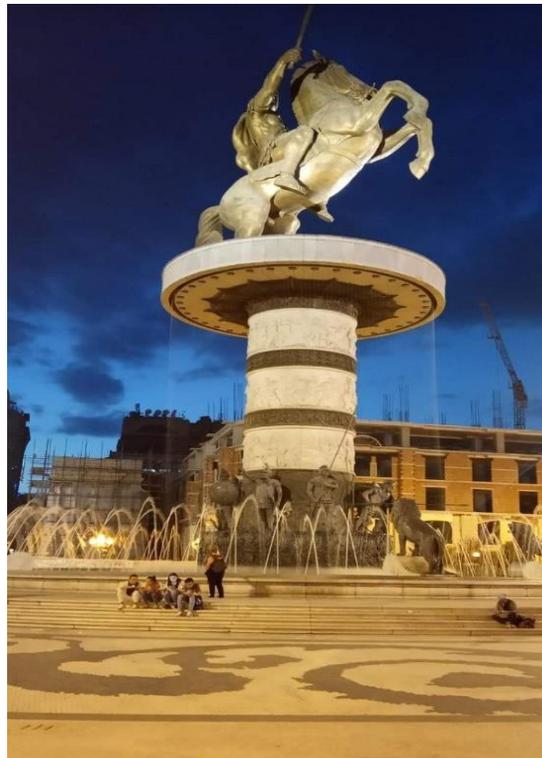
Source: Monika Panovska (2019, 18. August).

The first category included monuments associated with the antique heritage of the Macedonians, that allegedly preceeded the period of mixing with other Slavic tribes. In this category there are two monuments: Alexander the Great and Philip II of Macedon. I have chosen the figure of Alexander the Great (see Figure 5.1) because it is one of the most controversial in the project and it was directed as a provocation towards Greece and the year long dispute over the name Macedonia. »The figure of Alexander has been of high emotional significance not only to Greek nationalism in Macedonia but also to some Macedonian Slavs. The popularity of Alexander peaked with the Greek-Macedonian conflict in the 1990s, focused on, among other things, the issue of who has a better claim to the legacy of Macedon« (Bechev, 2009, p. 11).

This period is also the most fruitful for the mythologizing nature of nationalism, even though quite contradictive with the Slavic past of the Macedonians, it is commonly used as a myth of permanence for the Macedonians. In the history schoolbook for high school, there is special chapter about the Macedonian state under Alexander the Great, glorifying the conquest of Persia and invasion of India. Besides that, there is a whole chapter dedicated to the culture of Ancient Macedonians along with its symbols (Boshkovik and Macevska, 2010, p. 12-19).

Figure 5.2: Tsar Samuel

Source: Prizma - "Skopje 2014" Pod lupa (2019, 20. August).

This category includes figures, that are linked with the middle ages. This period is important for two reasons. Firstly, it is part of the shared historical narrative with Bulgaria and secondly, it assumes direct link between the Ancient Macedoninas and their Slavic heritage through the rhetoric of contemporary Macedonian nationalism. The arrival of the Slavic tribes in the end of the sixth century is described as »The Ancient Macedonians, however small in number, were gradually overwhelmed by the large Slavic population. Of the intermix between Slavs and Macedonians, in the second half of the 10th century, a new Macedonian-Slavic nation was created, which was incorporated into the family of the Yugoslav nations« (Boshkovik and Macevska, 2010, p. 26).

Within this category there are five monuments: Tsar Samuel (see Figure 5.2), Justinian I, Sts. Clement and Naum, Sts. Cyril and Methodius and St. Clement of Ohrid. Tsar Samuel defines the middle ages and as many others is included in both Macedonian and Bulgarian schoolbooks. In the history book the Macedonian narrative is maintained with the creation of the Macedonian state under Tsar Samuel. Even though they were no clear territorial nor ethnic boundaries that could be translated into the modern nationalist rhetoric, the existence of the Macedonian state in the schoolbook is written unambiguously as a link between different periods. However there is an ambiguous use of the word Macedonians. For example, it is written that in the 10th century Macedonia was part of the Bulgarian state, after the war between Byzantium and Bulgaria, Bulgarian king Petar had died. Tsar Samuel was one of his sons and along with his brothers in 969 he started an uprising against the Bulgarians in which they recovered big parts of the lost territory (Boshkovik and Macevska, 2010, p. 40–41). The uprising subsequently culminated in formation of the Macedonian state. This period is also important because it symbolizes the pre-Ottoman past of Macedonia, which as in the case of the other Balkan countries, had to be redefined within the new nations.

Figure 5.3: Goce Delchev

Source: Prizma – ''Skopje 2014'' Pod lupa (2019, 20. August).

As I have already mentioned, the period during the last years of the Empire was prominent because of the rise of national movements. The reason behind the formation of VMRO, is mostly attributed to the worsened situation of Macedonians after the Congress of Berlin in 1878. In the schoolbook it is pointed out that Macedonians wanted it to protect their property and national identity, which gradually led to formation of a revolutionary circle, led by the Macedonian intelligentsia. Their political goal was to fight for an autonomous Macedonia, as a transitional phase towards creation of an independent Macedonian state (Boshkovik and Macevska, 2010, p. 87).

This category is among most controversial in regards of the Bulgarian claims over its validity. That is also why this is the largest category with the total of 18 monuments[9]. This category represents mainly the rhetoric of the ethnic distinctiveness of Macedonians as opposed to Bulgarians. National rhetoric within the both countries scrutinizes the attempts to debate a narrative of common history.

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[9] Monuments that were included in this category are: Founders of the Macedonian Revolutionery Organization, Gemidzii, Goce Delchev, Nikola Karev, Pitu Guli, Hristo Tatarchev, Karposh, Todor Aleksandrov, Pavel Shatev, Gyorche Petrov, Vasil Chekalarov. Yane Sandanski, Hristo Uzunov, Nikola Vaptsarov, Dimitar Pop Geogiev, Krste Misirkov, Dimitrija Chupovski and Gjorgija Puleski.

Goce Delchev (see Figure 5.3) is recognized as one of the most prominent revolutionaries within VMRO, both by Macedonian and Bulgarian historiographies. »Yugoslav Macedonian historiography interprets this stance as a form of Macedonian separatism, an ideology embraced by Jane Sandanski and the VMRO's. By contrast, Bulgarian historians claim that while Delchev, much like all other VMRO grandees, struggled for the autonomy of Macedonia, and also of the Adrianople vilayet, he never denied his Bulgarian ethnicity« (Bechev, 2009, p. 56). The struggle over VMRO is most crucial component of collective memory of Macedonia. Therefore, this period is underlined with dual validation. At one side VMRO stands for the struggle against the Ottoman Empire and national liberation, at the other it represents the separation from Bulgaria and the distinct, timeless Macedonian identity.

Figure 5.4: Metodija Andonov Chento

Source: Monika Panovska (2019, 18. August).

The next period represents the formation of People's Republic of Macedonia under Yugoslavia. The formation of ASNOM (*Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia*) in 1944 is depicted as one of the crucial moments for the formation of the Macedonian state and victory over the fascist occupier (Bulgaria). Monuments within this category are: The First Assembly of ASNOM, Metodija Andonov Chento and Kuzman Josifovski Pitu.

Metodija Andonov Cento (see Figure 5.4) was the first president of ASNOM. However, he was prosecuted by the Communist government, because of his anti-communist and national leanings. Chento is a great example of the shifting perceptions between Macedonian historiographies in Yugoslavia and after its independence. Chento was revisioned by the national history of modern Macedonia as a representative of "national-bourgeois orientation" and as someone who fought against communism and for Macedonian independency (Brunnbauer, 2003, p. 170). In the history schoolbook Chento is also portrayed as someone who fought for Macedonia against the centralist regime of Yugoslavia.

Figure 5.5: Nexhat Agoli

Source: Monika Panovska (2019, 18. August).

The project stands out also because of the disproportionate representation of the Albanian history and heritage. Within the project there were only three monuments included, that were settled between the coalition of VMRO and the main Albanian party DUI. The first one Nexhat Agoli (see Figure 5.5) »was a Yugoslav communist official of Albanian origin born in Debar. He was appointed deputy president of the Antifascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia. In 1948 Agoli opposed Josip Broz Tito over the Cominform resolution and died while in prison« (Bechev, 2013, p. 4). Pjeter Bogdani was a writer from the 17th century, an important figure for the Albanian literature and language, he wrote the Albanian-Latin grammar. The third chosen for the project is Josif Bageri, who was an educator, poet and nationalist figure important for the Albanian national movement. He promoted Albanian language in schools, key element for the national awakening (Elsie, 2012, p. 23). What is interesting is that national figures chosen for the representation of the Albanian community are figures that were seen as neutral, not that much as part of the common history. For example, Agoli was a communist official, who is linked to the Yugoslav past of Macedonia that had been revisioned by the recent Macedonian historiography. Bogdani and Bageri are linked to the Catholic church, Bogdani was educated within Catholic tradition, whereas Bageri was a catholic priest. The biggest fear and difference that is always pointed out is the aspect of religion. Namely the myth of ''Muslim invasion'' is quite popular among the population, consequently increasing the ethnic and religious tensions. (Gaber, 1997, p.106). In this sense these figures represent the Christian tradition and as such seemed as a safe choice that was part of a politically negotiated deal.

Figure 5.6: Defenders of Macedonia
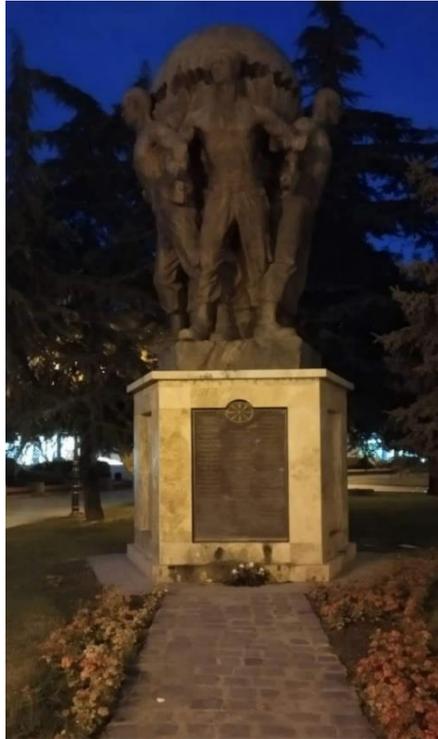
Source: Monika Panovska (2019, 18. August).

The last category is dedicated to the recent history encompassing the period after 1991. Among the overwhelming amount of monuments built for the project, the only ones connected to the history of contemporary Macedonia are represented by the ''Defenders of Macedonia'' (see Figure 5.6), ''Fallen Heroes of Macedonia''[10] and Mother Theresa. In my opinion the most important within this group is ''Defenders of Macedonia''. The background of its symbolic value is uncovered by the military conflict between Macedonians and Albanians in 2001. That event is depicted as a culmination of ethnic tensions in Macedonia, when there was a confrontation between ethnic Albanians and Macedonian state security forces (Janev, 2011, p. 4). Even though the conflict ended with the Ohrid Framework Agreement, this monument doesn't represent the agreement, but the Macedonian soldiers who died defending their country. This monument depicts

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[10] This monument represents the continuity of all fallen (also unknown heroes), that contributed to the formation of present day Macedonia.

the continuity of ethnic parallelism within Macedonia, that coincides with the collective memory of the nation.

As previously indicated in the context of the relation between collective memory and nationalism, the framework within which it generates its norms, corresponds to the institutionalized knowledge of the nation. Hence, the project builds upon the nationalistic rhetoric in the sense that it assumes the unchangeable narrative of Macedonian state and its people, who are presented by the ethnic Macedonians. Also, beside the linear character it assumes selective narratives that form a coherent image of the nation. The first category (Antiquity), justifies the roots and timelessness of Macedonia. The middle ages, highlight the continuity of the Ancient Macedonians and Macedonian state under Bulgarians. The period of the formation and duration of VMRO, symbolizes distinctive Slavic ethnicity separate from Bulgarians. Yugoslavia is depicted as a period that strengthened the nationalistic drive and lead to creation of contemporary Macedonia. The Albanian question is reduced to figures that don't represent the Muslim presence in Macedonia, except for the last monument (Defenders of Macedonia), which represents the fight against ''Muslim invaders''.

6 STRUCTURE AND ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

I conducted ten semi-structured interviews with 5 representatives of Albanian and Macedonian community from different generations. The age range of the Albanian interviewees is between 22-71 and within Macedonian group 24-80. The main goal was to gather participants within both groups that were part of different educational process. Namely, within the Albanian group there are 3 participants that were going to school during Yugoslavia aged 45 (A2), 38 (A4) and 71(A5), two of the younger participants are aged 28 (A1) and 22 (A3). In the Macedonian group it is the opposite, there are 2 participants educated in Yugoslavia aged 79 (M4) and 80 (M5) and youngers aged 28 (M3), 25 (M1) and 24 (M3)[11].

As already mentioned, the main purpose of the interviews is to define the ethnic parallelism of collective memory between Macedonians and Albanians as well as to understand to what extent it is a matter of generational differences. Thereby, I would like to find out in what way we can talk about ethnic rather than only generational gaps between the participants. As presented through the discoursive analysis of the monuments and the history schoolbook, the key component of the narratives is guided by the institutionalized knowledge. For that reason I have separated the questions within two groups. The first set of questions concerns the educational process. In this part I wanted to know what events were portrayed as crucial for Albanians and Macedonians, did they have mixed classrooms and a common question for the Macedonian community was also did they recall studying something about Albanian history in school? The other set of question incorporated the project ''Skopje 2014'', namely what do they know about the project, which monuments are most memorable, are those figures important for our history? Additional questions often included asking about concrete monuments, what would they change or whom would they add? I am going to structure the following analysis around 3 points: Education, Important events and the project ''Skopje 2014''.

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[11] Some of the participants preffered to remain anonymous, so during the analysis Albanian participants are marked by the letter A and Macedonians by M.

6.1 EDUCATION

Younger participants (Macedonians and Albanians) that went to school in the period between 1998-2013, when asked about the history lessons in school recollect different aspects. The Macedonians M1 (25), M2 (24) and M3 (28), pointed out that in both elementary school and high school they have been emphasizing Macedonian history, beginning with Ancient Macedonia. Only one person of the group (M1) recalled studying something about the formation of the Albanian state during elementary school. One of the Albanian (A3) girls from Debar said that in school they focused mostly on Albanian history, however had to study also about Macedonian because of the programme, while the other girl from Skopje (A1) recalls that in high school the programme had been changed, adding chapters in schoolbooks about Albanian history, although Macedonians didn't have to study it. All of the Macedonians stated that they didn't have any lectures with Albanians. Only one girl from the Albanian (A1) group was in a mixed class during high school. The girl from Debar (A3) recalls a part that they didn't study because it was written that Albanians occupied Macedonia during World War II and tried to change their names. One of the interviewed guys (M3) from the Macedonian group recalls that the professor of history in high school often talked about the danger of Great Albania and how they are planning to push away the Macedonians (M3, personal interview, 2019, 19. July)[12].

The generation (Macedonians and Albanians) that went to school in the period between 1946-1992 emphasized that they learned mostly about world history or about socialism, while national history was not as significant. Špela Verbič writes about history teaching and schoolbooks in Yugoslavia. »At that time, class struggle was a major driver of society's development. It had to be completely subverted in the study of history in schools. The acquisition of historical knowledge filtered by ideological censorship was a priority of school history prior to 1989« (Verbič, 2005, p. 32).

In this part it is evident that there is a generational difference of collective memory between the participants that were educated in Yugoslavia and the ones that weren't. The narrative of the Macedonian nation is integrated in the educational systems after its independence in 1991. In this sense, the ethnic dimension is visible on the level of the younger generation where either

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[12] Transcripts of all the interviews are available from the author.

Macedonian or Albanian history is prioritized, students aren't mixed in the classrooms, in the case of A3 (22) they are even separated on different floors in the school.

6.1.2 IMPORTANT EVENTS

Events highlighted by the Macedonian group, regardless of the generation are: The Ilinden Uprising, ASNOM, Krushevo Republic and the forming of VMRO.

As most important events, the Albanians remember: Skanderbeg's Uprising, League of Prizren, Forming of the University of Tetovo[13], The war in Kosovo and The Ohrid Framework Agreement.

When asked about the importance of the Ottoman Empire for the formation of Macedonia, one of the interviewed Macedonians (M5) replied » Macedonia is older than any other Balkan state, after the war in 1944 Aegean and Pirin Macedonia should have been part of Macedonia« In regards of the situation of Macedonia under Yugoslavia and the status of Albanians he replied » As much as Tito helped, he also harmed Macedonia, cause we were treated as a part of Serbia. Conflict between nationalities started after 1990, before that there were no Albanians, they were Muslims who spoke Albanian« (M5, personal interview, 2019, 18. July).

One of the Albanians (A5) when asked about the Ottoman period and importance in the present, stated »Skanderbeg was a national hero important both for Macedonia and Albania and for the Balkan in general, first signs of nationalism came after the World War I with the Serbian hegemonism and the events that followed in Kosovo afterwards« Asked about the situation in Yugoslavia he recalls the repression of Albanians in Kosovo and how Macedonia »served as a polygon for the relations between Serbia and Albanians« (A5, personal interview, 2019, 20. July).

When I asked the youngest Albanian participant (A3) about the status of Albanians within Yugoslavia she replied »It depends from the region, here in Debar we are close to Albania so in Yugoslavia when we knew that Albanians in Kosovo were in a much worse position, it was tough to be an Albanian from Macedonia, since we knew what was happening in Kosovo« (A3, personal interview, 2019, 14. August).

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[13] Established in 1994, first higher education institution in Macedonia taught in Albanian language.

Understanding and selection of important events highlight the ethnic parallelism in collective memory of Macedonia. The inter-generational aspect is coherent with an ethnic group. The group of Macedonian participants pointed out at the important events for the creation of the Macedonian state. Within the Albanian group there was a generational commemorative continuity in regards of the worsening situation in Kosovo during Yugoslavia and in the 1990s, which is subsequently attached to the situation of the Albanians in Macedonia. Thus the most important events are associated with the improvement of the overall position of Albanians in Macedonia, after the conflict in 2001.

6.1.3 THE PROJECT

When asked about the project and what does it mean for Macedonia, the younger group of Macedonian participants recalled the affairs and the corruption associated with the project ''Skopje 2014''. Beside that, two of them M1 (25) and M3 (28) highlighted that it serves as a touristic attraction, that might be useful for Macedonia. The older group, however valued its importance for the Macedonian identity, since Macedonia have been always pressured by Bulgaria and Greece. Two of the older participants M4 (79) and M5 (80) praised the monument of Alexander the Great, as a validation that he is in fact Macedonian.

For the Albanians the project is not that important, two of the older participants A5 (71) and A2 (45) associated the project with antiquity and stated that is something that became important for the people in recent years.

In the context of the monuments I asked everyone about the monuments that represent Albanian figures, do they know how many there are and who they are.

From the Macedonian group only one person (M1), knew that some monuments were built, but didn't know who those figures are, because they never mentioned them. Two of the Macedonian participants M4 (79) and M5 (80) stated that they don't see the point of having Albanian monuments as part of the project. From the Albanian group, only one person (A1) knew about, which monuments were built and who were those people. The others knew about them but didn't seem to know that they were part of the project.

The girl from Debar (A3) said that Nexhat Agoli wasn't respected in Debar, since he was cooperating with the Communist Party and hadn't done anything for the Albanians in Kosovo. She doesn't understand why he is included in the project since he is regarded as a traitor (A3, personal interview, 2019, 14. August).

It is interesting that when I asked who should be added to the project, everyone stated that someone from the recent history of Macedonia should, however no one but one person could recall who or what should symbolize that. For the youngest participant (A3) there should be something to commemorate the Ohrid Agreement so it can symbolize new beginnings for Macedonians and Albanians, when I asked whether she knew that the monument represents the conflict (Defenders of Macedonia), she said that she didn't know what it represents and that both sides glorify that event, even though it is not good for neither of them. (A3, personal interview, 2019, 14. August).

Overall in regards of the project, there is an ambivalence among younger Macedonians towards the historical value of the project, since it is mostly associated with immense financial spending of approximately 800 million euros. However, when asked about concrete figures, the nationalistic value of the project is underlined with Alexander the Great, Tsar Samuel and Goce Delchev, two of the younger Macedonians M1 and M3 acknowledge their importance for Macedonian national identity. However, among the Albanians in general there is a bigger reservation towards the project, it is considered as unnecasary and provocative. This point of the interviews also suggests variation in the sense of ethnically distributed collective memory as oppose to a mere generational differences.

7 CONCLUSION

Nationalism is one of the most recognizable forms of identification in the modern state. The cultural and symbolic aspects are encompassed within the concept of collective memory, which presupposes continuity over subsequent generations. However, in my thesis I was interested in the relation between those concepts within the institutionalized knowledge of Macedonia For the purposes of my case study of the project ''Skopje 2014'' I have found a discursive approach, thereby recognizing nationalism as a form of a rhetoric, most suitable. Hence in the context of the national identity of Macedonia, I was interested in the discursive continuity of the narratives. I used the project ''Skopje 2014''since it operates along the nationalistic rhetoric of continuity and permanence. The main question in my thesis concerned the ethnic parallelism in the collective memory of Macedonia. This question was supported by the analysis of the monuments from ''Skopje 2014'' built between the period of 2010-2017 and subsequent analysis of 10 semi-structured interviews with Albanians and Macedonians from different generations.

Through the discursive analysis of the monuments and a history schoolbook, I categorized six different narratives, that correspond to the institutionalized knowledge mediated predominantly through the educational system . The first narrative concerns the matter of Macedonian Antiquity, which preserves the idea of the antique origins of the Macedonia. The next category eternalized the Macedonian territorial permanence during the middle ages. Leading to the third category underlined by the revolutionaries of VMRO, provided a narrative of a distinguished Macedonian ethnicity as oppose to the Bulgarian. The period under Yugoslavia frames the previous narratives of permanence into an institutionalized and recognized validation of the Macedonian ethnicity. The last two categories depict the narrative of the reduction of the Albanian presence in Macedonia as ''others'' and not a constitutive part of the Macedonian nation.

Through the analysis of the interviews I wanted to emphasize the importance of the ethnic distribution of national events and figures, which is directly connected to the educational system. That is why the first set of questions concerned the matter of historical knowledge gained from school. Most importantly the ethnic parallelism is visible in the separation of Macedonians and Albanians in different classrooms. The younger participants of the interview are equipped with a parallel understanding of history, based on the different prioritization of events. Consequently, the

importance of historical events is influenced by it. The Macedonians highlighted the importance of Antiquity and formation of VMRO as a validators of their ethnicity. Albanian participants pointed out the events like forming of the University of Tetovo and signing the Ohrid Framework Agreement as pivotal. The monuments represent a visual expression of the mechanisms of collective memory. They correspond to the institutionalized heritage of a nation, shaped around the educational system. This is the way the parallel perception of collective memory in Macedonia can be accentuated. When talking about history there is a sense of separation and non-inclusivness, that epitomizes the overall situation in the country.

8 SLOVENIAN ABSTRACT

V diplomski nalogi sem preko diskurzne analize spomenikov obravnavala projekt "Skopje 2014". Spomeniki so bili zgrajeni v obdobju med 2010–2017, kot del tega projekta. Projekt je pomemben, saj vključuje različne narative o kontinuiteti makedonske nacionalne identitete, ki se pogosto med seboj izključujejo. Drugi vidik projekta je, da spodkopava prisotnost Albancev v makedonskem nacionalnem narativu. Glavno vprašanje se nanaša na spomenike, ki predstavljajo nacionalni kolektivni spomin, ki ohranja etnični paralelizem znotraj Makedonije. Uporabljam izraz paralelizem v smislu ohranjanja vzporednih zgodovinskih dogodkov in osebnosti med Albanci in Makedonci.

V prvem delu sem predstavila zgodovinsko ozadje Makedonije v kontekstu širšega procesa modernizacije Balkana na prelomu 19. stoletja. Te spremembe so spodbudile nastajanje nacionalnih gibanj ter posledično boj za ozemlje in pripadnost ljudstev nekdanjega Osmanskega cesarstva. V primeru Makedonije govorimo o regiji, ki je takrat služila kot križišče bolgarskih, grških in srbskih nacionalizmov, kar je vplivalo na oblikovanje sodobne makedonske nacionalne identitete.

V drugem delu sem se lotila diskurzivne analize 34 spomenikov projekta ''Skopje 2014'', pri čem sem jih razdelila v 6 kategorij. Pri analizi sem uporabljala tudi učbenik iz zgodovine za drugi razred srednje šole, katerega institucionaliziran narativ ustreza projektu ''Skopje 2014''. Pri vsaki kategoriji sem izbrala en spomenik, ki predstavlja narativ makedonske nacionalne identitete. Spomeniki, ki so del analize so: Aleksander Veliki, Car Samuel, Goce Delchev, Metodija Andonov Chento, Nexhat Agoli in ''Branitelji Makedonije''. Prvo kategorijo zaznamuje antično obdobje oz. narativ antičnega porekla makedonskega naroda. V drugi kategoriji je predstavljen narativ kontinuitete makedonske države iz srednjega veka. Tretja kategorija je zaznamovana z obdobjem VMRO (*Notranja Makedonska Revolucionerna organizacija*) in bojem proti Osmanskemu cesarstvu. VMRO je tudi pomemben del bolgarske nacionalne zgodovine, pri čimer je to obdobje zaznamovano kot precej sporno. Preko tega narativa je določena etnična posebnost makedonskega naroda v primerjavi z bolgarskim. Naslednje je obdobje Jugoslavije, ki je okrepilo nacionalistični vzgib, in je vodilo do nastanka sodobne Makedonije. Narativ prisotnosti Albancev v Makedoniji je prisoten pri zadnjih dveh kategorijah, in sicer se nanaša na predstavljanje Albancev kot

"drugega", kar je povezano predvsem s konfliktom iz leta 2001, ki je zaznamovano kot vrhunec etnične napetosti med Albanci in Makedonci.

Poleg diskurzivne analize spomenikov, sem naredila tudi intervjuje s desetimi udeleženci (pet Albancev in pet Makedoncev) iz različnih starostnih skupin. V prvem delu intervjujev je poudarek na izobraževalnem procesu oziroma na tem kakšne zgodovinske dogodke izpostavljajo kot najbolj pomembne. V drugem sem se lotila vprašanj povezanih s projektom ''Skopje 2014". Z analizo intervjujev sem želela poudariti pomen etnične porazdelitve nacionalnih dogodkov in osebnosti, ki je neposredno povezano z izobraževalnim sistemom. Makedonci poudarjajo pomen antike in oblikovanja VMRO kot pomembnega zgodovinskega dogodka, Albanski udeleženci so poudarili dogodke, kot sta ustanovitev Univerze v Tetovu in podpis Ohridskega okvirnega sporazuma. To je služilo kot dopolnitev prejšne diskurzivne analize, saj narativi izpostavljeni preko spomenikov prav tako odsevajo tovrstno porazdelitev. Na ta način lahko govorimo o vzporednem dojemanju kolektivnega spomina v Makedoniji. Ko govorimo o zgodovini, obstaja občutek ločenosti in neinkluzivnosti, kar kaže na splošno stanje v državi.

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