UDK 342.715:341.24
342.715(497.7)
Original research paper

INVISIBILITY OF PRIVILEGE TO THOSE WHO HAVE IT: CITIZENSHIP AND A LIFE WITHOUT ONE IN NORTH MACEDONIA

Aleksandra Mojsova
M-r of Arts in Democracy and Human Rights, AEGEE-Europe,
E-mail: mojsovaaleksandra@gmail.com

Abstract
In dialogue with the critique of democratic citizenship and a life without any, the following analysis aims to explore the spaces between nationality and the deprivation of - the legal invisibility and the de facto statelessness caused by the dichotomy of modern citizenship and the severity of purchasing one. Citizenship is a legal link between the persons and the states and does not indicate the ethnic origin of the persons, yet, a vast percentage of stateless persons count ethnic minorities. Legal neglect and institutional coordinative incoherence are an impediment of that link inevitably ensuing statelessness. Stateless individuals are the most vulnerable de jure persons in society. Their access to the array of fundamental rights is greatly restricted citizenship is, in practice, the passport to obtaining human rights. The continuing existence of the lack of citizenship of all, reveals the legal inefficiency of the much upgraded Rousseauian social contract. This paper will expose the national legislations alignment with international protection framework and will evaluate the efficiency of past and current practices, while identifying the dire obstacles and their potential to be transformed into safeguards in the emerging democratic state, a post-Yugoslav country of North Macedonia.

***Keywords**: Human Rights, Nationality, Citizenship, Legal Invisibility, Ending statelessness*

Introduction

"For citizens are not born, but made."
- Baruch Spinoza
[Amsterdam, XVII Century]

The visionary practices of the multi-national collaborating world guiding its body parts consisted of a number of nation-states cooperation based on legally written rules in forms of laws, envision an umbrella so broad and elastic that would protect everyone who can reach it. Except for those legally invisible. Even for them, shall they manage to assert themselves into legal visibility and ensure their place in the nationhood puzzle. Having a national citizenship provides people with a sense of identity and is the key to full participation in society[1]

Conversely, a stateless individual would be a person who is unable to prove their identity via legal belonging. Legal belonging implies legal existence.[2] The lack of legal existence thereof enshrines an impediment of numerous fundamental rights. In an international environment which recognizes and prioritizes the provision of fundamental rights to all individuals regardless of race, gender, religion or

[1]United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "Who is Stateless and Where?" 2013. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c15e.html [Accessed: May 22, 2019]

[2] Agarwaal, Arshi. "Statelessness and 'right to have rights'. Importance of citizenship in protecting human rights of stateless communities." Master's thesis. Department of Politics, University of Sheffield, 2014. P.5

ethnicity, or to that end, or any other classification, the globally increasing number of stateless people is an unacceptable predicament that requires immediate and comprehensive measures. Deprivation of nationality also entails extremely limited opportunities for economic welfare. By definition, legal nationality is:

the membership in a society that allows individuals to access rights to voice common concerns or influence a positive change, thus contrasting stateless individuals as fundamentally captured in a vicious circle of formalized discrimination, social exclusion, insecurity, and voicelessness[3]

Situated between social, political and legal field, with the following analysis of this theoretical comparative study I will try to answer to the persisting problematics of statelessness: What are the causes up to this day for causing statelessness and which are the factors that contribute to *de jure*, i.e. *de-facto* statelessness in North Macedonia and to what extent has the displacement caused by armed conflicts brought to the risk of becoming stateless in the two countries? Is the national legislation in line with international standards of protection ensures to address an appropriate answer to the causes identified and if the legal protection is efficient in regard to reduction and prevention of statelessness? Further, is there a space margin that allows for an administrative discretion within decision making powers in an extent to which harms the process and causes arbitrary decisions? Finally, which are the obstacles impeding to the comprehensive reducing, if not ending statelessness and could those, if followed by administrative changes and legal amendments accompanied with civil society efforts, be transformed into sustainable safeguards for ending statelessness, in foreseeable future?

The study relevance of this work stands in the ideological fact that statelessness should be avoided at all costs in the 21st-century context. Starting from a theoretical departure of the ontological apprehensions of Hannah Arendt, this thesis represents a comparative study of the Republic of North Macedonia whose underlying goal of is to shed light mechanisms to end statelessness in the country.[4]

1. The Notion of Nation: When a Human becomes a Citizen

Since the eighteenth century, one of the defining marks of certain change and upgrading modernity has been the use of two linked concepts of association as a prerequisite to establish a fully active membership in a society, the inter-connection between citizenship and nationality. To be a member of society in effect, in many areas of the world, to a significant degree came to be understood as a right-bearing citizen of a territorial nation- state.[5] The political aspect of citizenship, understands it as it is being a citizen of a state, which affirms the belonging to a community, and thus transforms and builds them as recognized personalities. Citizenship, defined by the British political scientist David Held as a: "principle that recognizes the indispensability of "equal autonomy" for all citizens.[6] Held equaled citizenship as the autonomy of individuals and groups as political agents which is the key guiding normative principle of political life.[7]

Notwithstanding numerous connotations and ways of exercising citizenship today,the historical perspective describes the citizenship development in content, and space. From antic Greek

[3] Sokoloff, Konstantin and Richard Lewiss. "Denial of Citizenship: A Challenge to Human Security."Issue Paper 28. *European Policy Centre.* 2005. p.5.

[4] Mills, Melinda, Gerhard G. van de Blunt and Jeanne de Brujin. "Comparative Research: Perisstent Problems and Promising Solutions." *Journal of International Sociology.* Vol. 21, (5), 619-631 London: Sage Publications, 2006. p.621.

[5] Holston, James and Arjun Appadurai. *Cities and Citizenship*. The University of Chicago. Chicago: Public Culture, 1996. p..187-204.

[6] David, Held. *Democray and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance.*
(Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), quoted in: C. Haas. *What is Citizenship, - and introduction to the concept and alternative models of citizenship.* 1st ed. (Copenhagen: Active Citizenship and Non-formal education. 2001), p.4.

[7] Haas, Claus. "*What is Citizenship, - and introduction to the concept and alternative models of citizenship."* 1st ed. Copenhagen: Active Citizenship and Non-formal education. 2001. p.4.

polis, and *civics romanus* through medieval cities to modern states as of today. With the tendentious globalizing flow through the regime of international law, identity politics was also growing semi-independently of national borders.[8] The shift from *zoon politikon* to *civis romanus and its* exclusively political role of citizenship was ended through adding the legal dimension which subsequently shifted the notion of human as well- from the conception of a free man in Greece, to assigning attributions with the eligibility of exercising available rights inclusively.[9] The expandable notion of citizenship kept developing during the Renaissance in the Italian city- states, however, a turning point was reached by the 1789 French revolution in new ages, offering a an eye-opening framework for rethinking the practice of citizenship, adjacent to modern nation- states turning concept.[10] A central point debated over is the idea of nation-state and its absolute connection to citizenship, the existence of which is closely connected to the concept of nation, and cannot exist outside the boundaries of the leading nation-state concept, nor the other way around.

The female virtuoso of political philosophy, Hannah Arendt, herself deprived of citizenship in the wake of WWII, uses the term to identify a person's connection to a State, as different to the term 'nationality', referring to ethnic background and subjective personal identity. However, for international law impetus, the link described by Arendt as citizenship is labelled a link of "nationality", in spite of ethnic background or feelings of subjective identity.[11] Nonetheless "citizenship" is not to denote a belonging to a state for the driving impetus, but rather describing available rights under a state's national law.[12] Antony Giddens, on the other hand, defines the nation as a "bordered power-container". He observed that: "a 'nation' only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which sovereignty is claimed".[13]

To be a citizen in the modern world of today hauls a different, enriched meaning with an original departure of exercising meaningful membership in a community dating from centuries ago. The subsistence of humans as citizen grants humanity a visible, acknowledged societal aspect of daily life, and attributes civic privileges as well as complementary civil obligations of the unbreakable dialogue between nationality and citizenship and citizen and nation.

2. Legal Invisibility in International Framework: The Rights of Non-Citizens

In order to analyse the national protection and prevention action of the respective countries of interest for this research, an examination of their adherence with the international framework protection, the international protection regarding stateless itself and its legal limitations needs to be explored. Based on the premise of universality and interconnectedness of human rights norms, the output of statelessness output and its interplay with refugee law and human rights law will be reviewed.[14] Considering the EU's potential in steering Member States' and Candidate countries' laws and policies, its competence to pass legislation on the protection and identification of stateless persons, is bound necessary for the optimal implementation of the UN Conventions in the EU, and for achieving coherence with the EU's foreign

[8] Vasiljevic, Jelena. *Antropolgy of citizenship.* Institute for Philosophy and social theory. Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2016. p.48.

[9] Ibidem,,. p.48.

[10] Haas, Claus. "What Is Citizenship? An introduction to the concept and alternative models of citizenship." *Active Citizenship and Non-formal Education.* The Danish University of Education. 2001. p.4.

[11] Boll, Alfred. M. *Multiple Nationality and International Law.* Vol.58., No.1. Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007. P.58

[12] Ibidem., p.59.

[13] Giddens, Antony. *The Nation-State and Violence: A contemporary Critique of Historical materialism*. Vol. 2. London: Polity Press, 1985. p.119.

[14] De Chickera, Amal. "The Protection of Stateless Persons in Detention under International Law." Legal Working Paper. Project: Stateless Persons in Detention. The Equal Rights Trust. London, 2009. p. 11.

policy ambitions in this field.[15]

Two international treaties, e.g UN Conventions on statelessness were developed to resolve statelessness of the millions who were deprived of their nationality and, in most cases at the wartime, forced to flee their homes. The conventions thereto, aimed to ameliorate the situation of stateless persons and to reduce occurrence of statelessness.[16] The right to nationality, is promisingly guaranteed by Article 15 of the UDHR, among the few fundamental human rights.[17]

Specific standards designed to ensure the right to a nationality are set out in the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness,[18] which also provides principles and a legal framework to help states prevent and reduce statelessness through legally installing safeguards in their laws, and, to a lesser degree, in the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons,[19] the primary focus of which is to ensure minimum standards of treatment for persons who are already stateless. As defined in Article 1 of the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and central to the Convention is its protection extension to *de jure* type of statelessness, as concisely and to the point is prescribed and statelessness is defined as a "person who is not considered as a national by any State by the operation of its law."[20]

The Convention imposes for Signatories to apply the definition within its national laws, leaving no space for selective interpretation thereof. Allegedly, there is a number of states that do not define statelessness in appropriate legal manner, barely mentioning it in between some laws, usually the Law on Aliens. Note: Statelessness as a negative term implies the absence of nationality and can be categorized into: *de jure* statelessness as defined in Article 1 of the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and *de facto* statelessness, including persons who formally possess a nationality but where it is ineffective. The rights of those left stateless, civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights of stateless persons are enunciated in other international human rights instruments, *inter alia* the ICCPR, the ICESCR, CRC, CERD, CEDAW, as well as the ICMW. Several GA resolutions also provide additional safeguards and the concluding observations of treaty bodies and their decisions on individual complaints have tackled statelessness repeatedly.[21]

On European level, the rights of stateless European residents is ensured by the 2007 Lisbon Treaty which introduced the first EU treaty-level mention of statelessness, by asserting that: "stateless persons shall be treated as third country nationals". This provision reflects one of the basic requirements of 1954 Convention Related to the Status of Stateless Persons, namely that stateless persons should be accorded the "same treatment as is accorded to aliens generally". Since 2009, the concept 'stateless persons' has been assimilated with TCN, in line with Article 67(2) of the TFEU, which explicitly states that legislation based on Chapter V concerning the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice applies equally to stateless persons, who "shall be treated as third-country nationals."[22]

---

[15] Swider, Katja. "Protection and Identification of Stateless Persons through EU Law." Amsterdam Center for European law and Governance. University of Amsterdam. (5), 2014. p.3-4.

[16] UNHCR. Protection of Stateless people and prevention: Legal information and documents. 2007. http://www.unhcr.org/protection/statelessness/46d4387f2/protection-stateless-people-prevention- statelessness-legal-information.html

[17] UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights,* 10 December 1948, 217 A (III), available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3712 c.html

[18] UN General Assembly, Con*vention on the Reduction of Statelessness*, 30 August 1961, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 989, p.175. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b39620.html

[19] UN General Assembly, *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*, 28 September 1954, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 360, p. 117. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3840.html

[20] Ibidem., Art. 1.

[21] Regional Expert Meeting Report on the Human Rights of Stateless Persons in the Middle East and North Africa. 2010. Report by OHCHR and UNHCR. p.3.

[22] Ermolaeva, Uliana, Elisabeth Faltinat and Darta Tentere. "The Concept of Stateless Persons in European Union Law." Amsterdam International Law Clinic. *Euro Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor. 2017*. P.11. Available at: http://euromedmonitor.org/uploads/reports/Stateless-EN.pdf

Yet, it is the European Convention on Nationality[23] which sets out key standards of governing nationality as does the recently adopted Council of Europe Convention on the Avoidance of Statelessness in relation to State succession.[24] In line with Article 3 with ECN, each State shall determine who its citizens are. This law shall be accepted by other States in so far as it is consistent with applicable international conventions, customary international law and the principles of law widely recognized with regard to nationality.[25]

There are two main principles that are gaining ever more grounded reinforcement: the avoidance of statelessness at birth and avoidance of denationalization resulting in statelessness.[26]

The international community rejected a proposal for a convention devoted to the reduction or elimination of already existing statelessness, arguing that both the international legal framework on the prevention of statelessness and that which addresses the protection of stateless persons offer some standards that are relevant to the resolution of existing cases. Nonetheless, the recognition of the *right to a nationality* as a human right also reaffirmed the enduring relevance of nationality: the human rights system can only maintain its aspiration of universality with the guarantee that every human will also hold a nationality.**[95]**

2.1 International Framework Analysis

As UNHCR has pointed out, "it is implicit in the 1954 Convention that States must identify stateless persons within their jurisdiction so as to provide them appropriate treatment to comply with their convention commitments."[27] With this, states have an obligation to identify the individuals that are stateless on their territory. Statelessness identification is usually done either through statelessness determination procedures or nationality verification efforts. Nationality verification efforts, on the other hand, are used with regards to domestic or in-situ statelessness populations, i.e. persons that are stateless in their own country.[28] Neither of the Statelessness Conventions offers any suggestion as to how to specifically identify stateless persons or cases in which the individual would "otherwise be stateless".[29] Further, attributes and quality of citizenship within the international framework are not delineated, despite the serious weightiness of the Conventions themselves following by the article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which concludes the definition as not one of quality, but simply one of fact.[30] Numerically speaking, about half of the stateless people worldwide are minors.[31] When applied to Europe, this would amount to more than 300.000[32] stateless children, clearly noting that these

[23] Council of Europe, *European Convention on Nationality*, 6 November 1997, ETS 166, available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36618.html

[24] Council of Europe, Council of Europe Convention on the Avoidance of Statelessness in Relation to State Succession, 15 March 2006, CETS 200. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/4444c8584 /html

[25] Adjami, Mirna and Julia Harrington. "The Scope and Content of Article 15 of the UDHR." Refugee

[26] Ibidem., p.397.

[27] UNHCR Guidelines No. 2 (n 25), p. 2

[28] Ibidem. p.3

[29] Note: The definition itself precludes a realization of an effective nationality because it is a technical, legal definition which can address only technical, legal problems. Source: Van Waas, Laura. "Nationality Matters: Statelessness un der International Law." p.419.

[30] Batchelor, Carol. Stateless Persons: Some Gaps in International Protection. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, (1995): 232–259. p.235.

[31] UNHCR and Plan International "Under the Radar and Under Protected." (2012) Available at: https://plan- international.org/files/global/publications/campaigns/under-the-radar-english

[32] Note: A sum approximate to 600.000 is the estimated minimum in Europe alone. See: European Network on Statelessness. Available at: https://www.statelessness.eu

numbers only account for reported cases.[33] On the other hand, in the context of prevention, the ECN obliges state parties to cooperate and exchange information under Article 23 and 24 as two assisting techniques in the challenge of identification.[34] Per contra, very few of European States have ratified both European Conventions on statelessness. Out of 46 Members, only 20 have ratified the former, and incredible number of 7 have ratified the later, recent Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness in Relation to State Succession[35] Despite the scale of the problem, most European countries have no framework to effectively deal with statelessness and tackling this requires major law and policy reform.[36]

To conclude, the International law today reflects a mounting intolerance for statelessness, and although European efforts are visible, states' are not responding in a same, cooperative manner.

3. Citizenship in a newly Independent Country: Post-Yugoslav Statelessness

"The burden of responsibility falls not to youth, to take care of the state, but the responsibility is on the state to take care of the youth."

- Josip Broz Tito

[SFR Yugoslavia, 1972]

Although Yugoslavia, while existing, changed, reformed, and amended citizenship laws, the The Law on Citizenship of DFY was introduced on 28 August 1945 and was insignificantly amended in the year following the adoption of the 1946 Constitution of the FPRY.[37] Yugoslav citizenship was determined according to the principle of origin *ius sanguinis.*[38]

As a result of the newly-acquired confederated structure of Yugoslavia, becoming such since the mid-1960s, citizenship regulations became increasingly comparable to international legal provisions regulating cases of legal disputes of sovereign states.[39]

The double citizenship that Yugoslavia offered was exactly those long-term internal migrants that were left stateless once 1992 ended and without the backing of what used to be, equal, united republics in a single state of Yugoslavia. The fall of Yugoslavia, was assisted by more than twenty-

[33] UNHCR Ending Statelessness. 2013. Available at: cr.org/pages/49c3646c155.html" http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c155.html

[34] Van Waas, Laura. "*The Children of irregular immigrants: a stateless generation."* p.450.

[35] Ibid. p.451.

[36] European Network on Statelessness. Available at: https://www.statelessness.eu

[37] Medvedović, Dragan. '"Federal and Republican Citizenship in the Former SFR Yugoslavia at the Time of Its Dissolution"', *Croatian Critical Law Review*, 3 (1–2). 1998. p. 29

[38] Note: Article 1.2 of the 1945/46 law on Yugoslav citizenship stated that "Every citizen of a people's republic is *simultaneously* a citizen of the FPRY and every citizen of the FPRY is *in principle* a citizen of a people's republic." Additionally, the rights of citizens in every of the six republics were constitutionally guaranteed as well. Source: Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1974), Ljubljana: Dopisna delavska univerza. See: Jovanovic, S. D. *Državljanstvo Socijalističke Federative Republike Jugoslavije [Citizenship of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*], Belgrade: Službeni List SFRJ. 1977.

[39] Jovanović, D. Svetolik. *Državljanstvo Socijalističke Federative Republike Jugoslavije, [Citizenship of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]*, Belgrade: Službeni List SFRJ. 1977. Quoted in Stiks, 2016

years long reformation of political communities whose one of most powerful means were citizenship legal actions and practices, where the newly introduced ones, in effect created inequality amongst previously equal members of a citizen-society.[40] The tools for achieving post-Yugoslav independent citizenship regimes were divided in four main layers of foundation: initial legal continuity with republican citizenship, ethnicity or facilitated naturalization for kin members abroad, naturalization of residents, i.e. citizens of other republics, and regular naturalization procedure for aliens with a defined period of residence.[41] Assisted with political activism evolving around ethnic-based solidarity, the result was eventually in four de-facto new successor states groups of exclusion: the included, the invited, the excluded and the self- excluded.[42]

At the doors of the new millennia, several changes and citizenship reforms were introduced in the Yugoslavia's successor states, appropriately described as with having positive aims resulting in regressive setbacks.[43] In the six states that were to emerge from the SFRY, a total approximate of 10 000 persons[44] were reported stateless thus others still remain at risk of statelessness due to deprivation of adequate documentation.[45]

3.1 Citizenship Regime in Macedonia

The Republic of Macedonia represents a multiethnic, post-Yugoslav state. In many ways a model of democratic transition and peaceful coexistence among its various ethnicities from the perspective of the international community at large.[46] State of Macedonia is consisted primarily by ethnic Macedonians. The most numerous ethnic minority are the ethnic Albanians, consisting of approximately one quarter of the population. Other minorities count Turks, Romani, Serbs, Bosniaks, Vlachs, and more.[47] The main causes of statelessness in Macedonia are the dissolution of the Former Yugoslavia, barriers to birth registration and unregulated civil status**.** As will be analysed below, impacts disproportionately on the Romani population, due to discrimination and marginalization faced by the community.[48]

---

[40] Shaw, Jo and Igor Stiks. London: Routledge. 2013. pp.24-27.

[41] Ibidem.

[42] Ibidem.

[43] Note: Using citizenship laws as a perceived effective mechanism for influencing ethnic composition in favor of one's own ethnic group, was characteristic widespread practice in the 1990s., for almost all governments and law- makers of post-Yugoslav states to a different degree depending on the context, some of which forms used even nowadays.[148] Driven of almost identical intentions, where citizenship laws were considered inseparable of a "constitutional nationalism", the influence has been exercised in the same way of the new, independent constitution drafting process, where the new national states were consisted of their core ethnic peoples, aiming to, paradoxically, pave the way for establishing ethnic democracies on a state, or a sub-state level. Source 1: Štiks, Igor. '"Nationality and Citizenship in the Former Yugoslavia: From Disintegration to the European Integration"', *South East European and Black Sea Studies*, 6(4): (2006). p. 483–500 Source 2: Hayden, Robert. M. "Constitutional Nationalism in the Formerly Yugoslav Republics",*Slavic Review*, 51(4). (1992): 654–673.

[44] Global trends forced displacement in 2015 Report. UNHCR. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf,

[45] Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, World Stateless. Available at: http://www.worldsstateless.org/continents/europe/stateless-persons-in-euro pe

[46] Simon, Zoltan. Macedonia Since Independence: De-Contructing a Multi-Ethnic State: Carnegie Council's Program on Conflict Prevention. 2002. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6868x01/Macedonia_Paper.h tm

[47] Statistical Yearbook on Population of the Republic of Macedonia, State Bureau of Statistics. 2013. Available at: http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/PDFGodisnik2013/03-Naselenie-Population.pdf p58

[48] Joint Submission to the Human Rights Council at the 32nd Session of the UPR. Third Cycle Reportfor

3.2 Macedonian Legislation Analysis

Macedonia provides optimal safeguards against preventing new cases of statelessness by means of conferment of citizenship to children born on the territory if otherwise would be stateless. Statelessness has been primarily caused by consecutive political conflicts in the region. Among the most notorious reasons are lack of birth registration, post- Yugoslav statelessness, and even financial difficulties of already marginalized groups living in destitution. Apart from the Yugoslav dissolution which has, due to expected internal migration during Yugoslavia, factually and over-night caused for thousands to be left without any active citizenship status, the subsequent Yugoslav war 1992-1995, and the mass displacement of people and refugees during the Kosovo war, both of which directly caused primarily *de facto* but also *de jure* statelessness.[49] The consequences are still felt today, even more so with the slow, but continuous waves of returnees with no documents from Western Europe, which although originally from Kosovo, are coming back to Serbia or North Macedonia instead. The persons affected by the issue of statelessness the most is the ethnic Romani population. Knowingly marginalized ethnic group, a 'nation' without a state, Romani are the largest percentage in both countries experiencing hurdles on multiple layers, obtaining citizenship often being the principal one. Again, majority are due stateless in owe of displacement as well as lack of previous registration even within Yugoslavia, usually inheriting process of parent to child, which produces a vicious circle of legal invisibility. In addition, the dire conditions and poor financial situation they live in, causes additional financial difficulties, often hand in hand with lack of knowledge and traditional way of Roma lifestyle.

When it comes to addressing the issue, an adequate national response would certainly adhere to the International standards of protection and prevention. North Macedonia has not ratified the 1961 Convention on the Prevention of Statelessness. Positively, North Macedonia has most of its legislation aligned with the Convention, yet due to other impediments related to, has not ratified, nor signed to it yet. In the same way, where North Macedonia is not a state party to the later.[50] Complementary to this, Macedonia has not conducted a successful census ever since 2002, which at governmental standpoint, is one of the biggest impediments of accessing to the 1961 Convention. The last census' was conducted in 2011, with the one of Macedonia being interrupted and *in situ* cancelled. However, the next census has been scheduled for April 2020,[51] whereas Serbia's next census is to be expected in 2021.

Allowing for majority of citizens from the former SFRY states and persons with permanent residence, to be granted a nationality in a simplified protocol in the absence of any complicating procedures. Hence, citizenship law provide for a facilitated naturalization for the rest of co-emerging independent successor states. Whereas Macedonia is restrictive in regard to the minimum fifteen years' requirement of permanent residence on Macedonian soil, with 2004 Amendments the requirement was reduced to eight, although with a certain delay. Accordingly, although large scale statelessness has been minimalized to the smallest degree possible, the requirement of already registered permanent residence which a vast majority of Yugoslav citizens did not posses has created a yard full of statelessness, which was the sole creator of arising difficulties on top of other hurdles. An essential difference standing out in the two citizenship regimes notes the naturalization procedure. The Macedonian regular naturalization regulation requires 8 years of permanent residence on the territory of the Republic of

---

Macedonia, January-February 2019. Submited: 12 July 2018. P.6. http://www.institutesi.org/UPR32_Macedonia.pdf

[49] 600 000 Refugees and another 400 000 IDPs. See: Migration News. *Kosovar Refugees,* Vol.6 No.5, 1999. Available at: https://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=1801

[50] Council of Europe, Council of Europe Convention on the Avoidance of Statelessness in Relation to State Succession, 15 March 2006, CETS 200. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/4444c8584/html

[51] Source 1: State Statistical Plan of the RM, Strategic Plan 2018-2020. Makstat 2018. http://www.stat.gov.mk/pdf/StrateskiPlan/StrateskiPlan2018-2020en.pdf Source 2: Macedonian Information Agency. https://www.mia.mk/en/Inside/RenderSingleNews/289/134176307

North Macedonia. In facilitated naturalization for recognized status as a refugee or stateless, residing on the territory of the Republic is a minimum of 6 years from the moment when recognition as stateless was granted. In sharp contrast, Serbian provision on naturalization criteria finds eligible persons applying for naturalization only after 3 consecutive years of regulated residence on its territory.[52] However, one of the common reasons common for North Macedonia, for which stateless persons would not be able to benefit from facilitated naturalization is precisely absence of the statelessness determination procedure. where North Macedonia has recognized only one in a facilitated naturalization procedure.[53]

As lack of birth registration is a direct cause of statelessness, the regulation of one is a key point for prevention of. It is important to recognize the irrevocable relation between citizenship and birth registration. As a prerequisite for citizenship in most cases, birth registration in Macedonia is considered a proof for citizenship, after it has been acquired.[54] This means that a child that satisfies the factual requirements for acquiring a nationality, whether *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis*, is thus considered a citizen of North Macedonia from the moment of his i.e. her birth.

The vaguely defined misty procedure on late registration procedure is a creator of additional complications to those not in possession of all documents or proof information such as birth location of their parents' birth certificate. The law recognizes late birth, i.e. subsequent registration, but solely upon the blessing of the local birth registration authorities. The lack of reference to the late registry, when combined with the afore mentioned, creates an inaccessible area for concerned persons. This can become problematic in consideration to the fact that the birth registration officers have a certain freedom in deciding on the validity of applications, for which the current mechanisms in place do not ensure a reliable safeguards against arbitrary decisions, even if at the start of the process itself. Added the widespread discrimination against Roma, a discretionary power which cannot be combated unless several stakeholders agree on a joint decision on those subsequent registrations or if the legally damaged fill a claim.[55]

In regard to the protection from arbitrary detention, North Macedonia provides legal representation by law since 2009, There are some protections in law from arbitrary detention, including the right to free legal aid and effective remedies to challenge detention, but people detained are often not made aware of their rights in practice. Macedonian analysts and legal experts working on the problematics long since, are lobbying for an General Administrative Procedure reformation instead, where a citizenship status determination would be introduced, thus decisions are to be brought by the Adminsitration on Birth Registry Records by means of a joint agreement of MOI, MOJ and MLSP.[56] In comparison to the extra-contentious procedure, the proposed one is time and cost-efficient, and regulated without involving the Court. This as well might act as a warden on the administrative discretion margins which might thus narrow down the possibility of an arbitrary decision.[57]
Importantly, on-field actions are an essential part for a positive outcome. The mobile teams importance is consisted of targeting stateless and providing an additional assistance in all administrative steps on

[52] Law on Foreigners, Art. 14, Para. 3, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia. No.90/07

[53] UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Report on Statelessness in South Eastern Europe*, September 2011, available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/514d715f2.html

[54] Davitkovski, Borce. "Analysis of the legal framework related to birth and civil registration, in the context of prevention of statelessness." Skopje: Macedonian Young Lawyers Association. June, 2018. P.3-4.

[55] Note: That is, a coordination between the Minsitry of Interior, The Ministry of Labor and Social Politics and Ministry of Justice, as well as the Registry Records Administration. Source: Drangovski, Zoran. Personal Interview.

[56] Strategy to Adopt a New Law on General Administrative Procedure, the Government of FYR Macedonia in 2013; See Administrative Procedure Act (OG 124/15). The Strategy was developed with the help of OECD-SIGMA, in Pavlovska-Daneva, A., Davitkovska, E. (2017). The Macedonian General Administrative Procedure ... *HKJU-CCPA, 17*(2), 263–289.

[57] Source 1: Ibidem. Source 2:.Drangovski, Zoran. Personal Interview 27.08.2018.

the way to obtaining citizenship thus initiating them to such a move. Macedonia, also several NGOs in collaboration with MYLA, are working on identifying stateless persons in Roma communities.[58]

Macedonian law on nationality allow for dual citizenships[59]. Also, a particular prevention measure is the allowed renouncement only upon a proof of admission to another country. However, between the two countries there is not an exchanging information system on personal identification and criminal records, which could appear particularly problematic when it comes to dual citizenship practices amongst which could be a crime rate. Illustratively, if an individual is a bi-national holder of both Macedonian and commits a crime in the one, the same individual can go into the other country, change the personal name/last name, and be under State protection, while in the same time, the other country shall not know the details on where that person is, or whether it personal credentials were changed.[60]

Shifting the focus to the rights of stateless persons in both countries, evidently, some protection, especially subsidiary is given often to refugees, as is the case with Kosovo refugees in Macedonia. However, most Roma do not possess such document, nor can practice any rights. However, a SDP is not established in any of the two national legislations, this is even harder to prove. Although in practice the two countries provide for basic rights for stateless, in practice sometimes is not possible even in an emergency such as pregnancy.[61]

The question of discretionary powers in administrative decisions in both countries, and in different occasions, lead to arbitrary decisions and thus only further the discouraging position of legal uncertainty of already marginalized groups. In North Macedonia, the same discretionary powers are practiced even before the start of the procedure. Although this may be due to other reasons, a lack of control that is not judiciary, but rather supervisory is needed to act as a preventive mechanism. Those are problems stemming from practice, it has been shown that numerous obstacles of greater or of a lesser importance, are standing on the way. North Macedonia is facing a transitional zone when it comes to adopting laws in regard of citizenship practices and possibly.

The need for uniformed practice in North Macedonia could be achieved by the example of the Memorandum Act of Serbia, which provided for facilitated seminars with all actors on statelessness where trained together.

In accordance with such findings, and on the way on the factual situation on the ground and on their path on Europeanization, North Macedonia has made a huge step forward since a decade ago.

Conclusion

Characterizing the case of North Macedonia as emerging democracy within the international community, as described and analysed within this study, appear to enclose the fact that only recently opened the issue on legal invisibility, has achieved some positive changed.

[58] NGO "Lil" NGO "Umbrella" for Roma Inclusion and MYLA.

[59] The amended 2004 law is rather liberal in this regard and it tolerates dual and multiple citizenships. Although the renunciation or loss of another citizenship is required, it 'shall not be requested if that is not possible or cannot be reasonably expected' (art. 15). Law on Citizenship, as amended in 2004. See: Source 1: Rava, Nenad. *Country Report Serbia*. EUDO Citizenship. http://eudo- citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Serbia.pdf P.14
Source 2: Macedonia. Spaskovska, Ljubica. *Country Report Macedonia.* http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Macedonia.pdf

[60] Velevska, Nadica. Personal Interview. 25.08.2018.

[61] Evromisomski, Daniel. "Pregnat Roma women without identification documents are wandering through the institutions." *Radio MOF*23.07.2018.https://www.radiomof.mk/bremenite-romki-bez-dokumenti-talkaat-vo-institucionalnite- lavirinti/

The post-Yugoslav turnouts, have, if not caused, then surely triggered and further enhanced waves of stateless persons in times when the citizenship status exerts to culminating usages and the right to nationality and legal personhood employs a paramount importance as an archway into the avalon of (human) rights. The dissolution of former Yugoslavia, was a key factor in fabricating statelessness in the Western Balkans. Transferring those unregistered and promulgating new, previously registered into the state being of nationless, assisted with the erupting aggression in the inter-ethnic wars, forced the endangered into mass displacement, to which day consequences are evident. Seeking safety into neighbouring or farther away countries, the territory of Kosovo primarily was a no-go area for them.

Faced with the issue of statelessness in times when both North Macedonia had no asylum laws or an internationally sanctioned legal framework for asylum and statelessness, a number of laws was quickly to be drafted. Adopted shortly afterwards, Macedonia held under its roof, a house full of people at risk of statelessness, most out of which Roma. Alongside the fall of Yugoslavia and the adhering mass displacement, informal birth- rates, the lack of knowledge or finances caused for absence of birth registration to be just as vast of a cause, closely connected to the two, has contributed to the severity of the problem.

In the face of fast-paced state responsibilities one after another, the national legislations of these countries had to collide with international standards of protection, to an optimal extent. A number of Laws among which Law on Asylum, Citizenship Laws, Law on Birth Registry, Law on Families and other complementary laws, were anyhow to be developed in the new formation of the countries. However, in the examined state of which, most of the legislation and practical applications in Macedonia is directed towards reduction, but barely towards prevention. From what has been worth examining, the statelessness rates in the two countries have been increasingly declining for the past half a decade. The study of Macedonia, concludes that even though the statelessness rate has been significantly dropped, the constant mapping of the same numbers and continuous adoption same recommendations without systematic implementation leads to accustomed behavior of only small steps of progress.

The sustaining element within this study, was pointed out in the subtle discretionary powers in administrative decisions, which can lead to discrepancies and unequal application of the law. exposes that mutual supervising and verifying practices possibly also in a form of joint decision when a decision cannot be reached, could serve as a safeguard-transformed obstacle instead. In that respect, Joint trainings could serve both for sensitizing and joint decisions, open discussions and solving of cases.

As the Law on non-contentious procedure and the assisting one on Permanent and Temporary Residence as simplifying measures have resulted in successful targeting of the most complicated cases, has set out a progress regardless of other obstacles, the positive legal examples are to be implemented also in North Macedonia, yet at current still on hold, waiting to be voted. The General Administrative procedure draft law lobby of North Macedonia aims to primarily, introduce a citizenship determination procedure, and set give procedural decisions outside of the Court, an option time and cost-efficient. and introduce a comprehensive approach on joint decisions in front of the Birth Registry Administrations, which would include an agreed decision of the three signed parties in the more complicating cases. If adopted, the obstacle of SDP would also in this way be resolved. Furthermore, the unbalanced burden of responsibility in discrepancy with decision making powers, North Macedonia experiences an impediment which would also be solved with congruent and continuous trainings.

Unanimously, a uniformed practice must be ensured through monthly reports of transparency. Monthly reports of transparency and facilitating seminars could serve both as a training and a meeting, a practice that shall crosscut several problems. Monthly reports could serve as transparency pillars, whereas facilitating seminars could serve for transparency but could possibly bring to terms the problem of dissents in flow of procedures and would sensitize civil servants and public authorities. A power share of decision and mutual supervising could be achieved with the Public Administrative Law procedure to be used in Birth Registration processes. The problem of constant mapping could be solved with intensified mobile teams and integration processes, thus increased flow of information*380

same recommendations without systematic implementation leads to accustomed behavior of only small steps of progress.

The sustaining element within this study, was pointed out in the subtle discretionary powers in administrative decisions, which can lead to discrepancies and unequal application of the law. exposes that mutual supervising and verifying practices possibly also in a form of joint decision when a decision cannot be reached, could serve as a safeguard-transformed obstacle instead. In that respect, Joint trainings could serve both for sensitizing and joint decisions, open discussions and solving of cases.

As the Law on non-contentious procedure and the assisting one on Permanent and Temporary Residence as simplifying measures have resulted in successful targeting of the most complicated cases, has set out a progress regardless of other obstacles, the positive legal examples are to be implemented also in North Macedonia, yet at current still on hold, waiting to be voted. The General Administrative procedure draft law lobby of North Macedonia aims to primarily, introduce a citizenship determination procedure, and set give procedural decisions outside of the Court, an option time and cost-efficient. and introduce a comprehensive approach on joint decisions in front of the Birth Registry Administrations, which would include an agreed decision of the three signed parties in the more complicating cases. If adopted, the obstacle of SDP would also in this way be resolved. Furthermore, the unbalanced burden of responsibility in discrepancy with decision making powers, North Macedonia experiences an impediment which would also be solved with congruent and continuous trainings.

Unanimously, a uniformed practice must be ensured through monthly reports of transparency. Monthly reports of transparency and facilitating seminars could serve both as a training and a meeting, a practice that shall crosscut several problems. Monthly reports could serve as transparency pillars, whereas facilitating seminars could serve for transparency but could possibly bring to terms the problem of dissents in flow of procedures and would sensitize civil servants and public authorities. A power share of decision and mutual supervising could be achieved with the Public Administrative Law procedure to be used in Birth Registration processes.

Although statelessness is not ranking very high on the agenda to North Macedonia, a significant progress has been made. Acknowledging that, with working on overpassing certain obstacles that are stemming mostly from administrative lack of coordination and are most direly affecting the Roma. Moreover, as North Macedonia, and seen in recent draft laws proposals, such positive examples are likely to be borrowed in other neighboring countries of the region. Consequently, with a dedication to integrating Roma starting from the practice of approval of citizenship status, would uplift the society to proliferating levels.

Having in mind all of the above, a conclusion can be drawn that current efforts in North Macedonia are although not exclusively, satisfying the international legal standards. Through the help of UNHCR and its official NGO partners, much progress has been achieved. Equally, legal change and simplifying procedure is necessary for North Macedonia to have realistic chance to end statelessness and Serbia, although a nominally positive example for the region in the past years, needs to change in the legal representation laws and to ensure safeguards against discriminatory practices from civil servants establish a determination procedure. (5297 words without bibliography)

Bibliography

Books and contributions in edited books

Boll, Alfred. M. Multiple Nationality and International Law. Vol.58., No.1. Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007.

Giddens, Antony. The Nation-State and Violence: A contemporary Critique of Historical materialism. Vol. 2. London: Polity Press, 1985.

Held, David. Democray and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
Holston, James and Arjun Appadurai. Cities and Citizenship. The University of Chicago. Chicago: Public Culture, 1996.

Shaw, Jo and Igor Štiks. Citizenship after Yugoslavia. London: Routledge. 2013.
Stiks, Igor. Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia and the Post-Yugoslav States: One Hundred Years of Citizenship. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015.
Vasiljevic, Jelena. Antropolgy of citizenship. Institute for Philosophy and social theory. Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2016.

Journals and Journal Articles

Adjami, Mirna and Julia Harrington. "The Scope and Content of Article 15 of the UDHR." Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol.27, Issue 3, (2008): 93-109.
Batchelor, Carol. Stateless Persons: Some Gaps in International Protection. International Journal of Refugee Law, Vol. 7, Issue 2, (1995): 232–259.

De Chickera, Amal. "The Protection of Stateless Persons in Detention under International Law." Legal Working Paper. Project: Stateless Persons in Detention. The Equal Rights Trust. London, 2009.

Pavlovska-Daneva, A., Davitkovska, E. (2017). The Macedonian General Administrative Procedure Between Law and Tradition." Public Law. Croatian and Comparative Public Administration. HKJU-CCPA, 17(2), 263–289.
Stiks, Igor. '"Nationality and Citizenship in the Former Yugoslavia: From Disintegration to the European Integration"', South East European and Black Sea Studies, 6(4): (2006). 483–500

Swider, Katja. "Protection and Identification of Stateless Persons through EU Law." Amsterdam Center for European law and Governance. University of Amsterdam. (5), 2014.

Van Waas, Laura. "The Children of irregular immigrants: a stateless generation." Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights. 25/3, Sage Journals. (2007):437-458.

International Human Rights Bodies Publications

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (UNHCR). Protection of Stateless people and prevention: Legal information and documents. 2007. http://www.unhcr.org/protection/statelessness/46d4387f2/protection-stateless-people-prevention-statelessness-legal-information.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (UNHCR). "Who is Stateless and Where?" 2013. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c15e.html

UNHCR and Plan International "Under the Radar and Under Protected." (2012). https://plan-international.org/files/global/publications/campaigns/under-the-radar-English

International Legal Documents

Council of Europe, European Convention on Nationality, 6 November 1997, ETS 166, http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36618.html

Council of Europe, Council of Europe Convention on the Avoidance of Statelessness in Relation to State Succession, 15 March 2006, CETS 200. http://www.refworld.org/docid/4444c8584/html

UN General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948, 217 A (III), http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3712 c.html

UN General Assembly, Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, 30 August 1961, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 989, http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b39620.html

UN General Assembly, Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, 28 September 1954, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 360. http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3840.html

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). "Guidelines on Statelessness" No. 1: The definition of "Stateless Person" in Article 1(1) of the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons" (2012).

National Legal Sources and Documents

Ustav Federativne Narodne Republike Yugoslavije [Constitution of the Federative Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia], Official Gazette 02/1946. entry into force 31 January 1946.
Ustav Federativne Narodne Republike Yugoslavije [Constitution of the Federative Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia], Official Gazette 96/1963. entry into force 07 April 1963.
Ustav Socijalisticke Federalne Republike Yugoslavije, Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1974), Ljubljana: Dopisna delavska univerza.
Устав на Република Северна Македонија, [Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia], Official Gazette 08/1991. entry into force 8 September 1991.
Закон за Промена и Дополнување на Законот за Државјанство на Република Македонија [Law for changing and amending the law on Citizenship of the Republic of Macedonia], Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.158/11, 15/11/2011.
Закон за Промена и Дополнување на Законот за Државјанство на Република Македонија, [Law for changing and amending the law on Citizenship of the Republic of Macedonia], Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.98/08, 25/07/2008.
Закон за Промена и Дополнување на Законот за Државјанство на Република Македонија, [Law for changing and amending the law on Citizenship of the Republic of Macedonia], Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, 08/04, 23/02/2004.
Закон за Анти-Дискриминација на Република Македонија, [Anti-Discrimination Law of Republic of Serbia], Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia. No. 22/2009, 11/10/2009.
Закон за Азил на Република Македонија [Law on Asylum of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia]. No. 109/2007. 11/09/2007.
Закон за Промена и Дополнување на Законот за Државјанство на Република Македонија, [Law for changing and amending the law on Citizenship of the Republic of Macedonia], Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.08/04, 23/02/2004.
Закон за Државјанство на Република Македонија, [Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Macedonia] Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No.67/92, 12/11/1992.
Law on Foreigners, Art. 14, Para. 3, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia. No.90/07.

State Statistical Plan of the RM, Strategic Plan 2018-2020. Makstat 2018.
http://www.stat.gov.mk/pdf/StrateskiPlan/StrateskiPlan2018-2020en.pdf

Statistical Yearbook on Population of the Republic of Macedonia, State Bureau of Statistics. 2013. http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/PDFGodisnik2013/03-Naselenie-Population.pdf

Internet Sources and Newspapers

European Network on Statelessness. Available at: https://www.statelessness.eu

European Network on Statelessness. Index Country Profile on Macedonia. December 2017. https://www.statelessness.eu

Evromisomski, Daniel. "Pregnant Roma women without identification documents are wandering through the institutions." Radio MOF23.07.2018. https://www.radiomof.mk/bremenite-romki-bez-dokumenti-talkaat-vo-institucionalnite- lavirinti/

Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, World Stateless. Available at: http://www.worldsstateless.org/continents/europe/stateless-persons-in-euro

Macedonian Information Agency (MIA MK). https://www.mia.mk/en/Inside/RenderSingleNews/289/

Migration News. Kosovar Refugees, Vol.6 No.5, 1999. https://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=1801

Simon, Zoltan. Macedonia Since Independence: De-Contructing a Multi-Ethnic State: Carnegie Council's Program on Conflict Prevention. 2002. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6868x01/Macedonia_Paper.htm

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Ending Statelessness. 2013. http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c155.html

Reports

Davitkovski, Borce. "Analysis of the legal framework related to birth and civil registration, in the context of prevention of statelessness." Skopje: Macedonian Young Lawyers Association. June, 2018.

Ermolaeva, Uliana, Elisabeth Faltinat and Darta Tentere. "The Concept of Stateless Persons in European Union Law." Amsterdam International Law Clinic. Euro Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor. 2017.http://euromedmonitor.org/uploads/reports/Stateless-EN.pdf

Joint Submission to the Human Rights Council at the 32nd Session of the UPR. Third Cycle Report for Macedonia, January-February 2019. Submited: 12 July 2018.. http://www.institutesi.org/UPR32_Macedonia.pdf

Rava, Nenad. Country Report Serbia. EUDO Citizenship. http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Serbia.pdf P.14

Regional Expert Meeting Report on the Human Rights of Stateless Persons in the Middle East and North Africa. 2010. Report by OHCHR and UNHCR.

Spaskovska, Ljubica. Country Report Macedonia. http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Macedonia.pdf

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Global trends forced displacement in 2015 Report. http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf,

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Report on Statelessness in South Eastern Europe, September 2011, http://www.refworld.org/docid/514d715f2.html

Interviews

Drangovski, Zoran. President at Macedonian Young Lawyers Association. in discussion with the author, 22 August 2018.

Gazmend Gudaci, Programme Officer, UNHCR Macedonia, in discussion with the author, Skopje, 21 August 2018.

Julijana Georgievska, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, Senior Inspector, Department for Foreigners and Readmission, in discussion with the author, Skopje, 25 August 2018.
Ljatifa Sikovska, NGO "Umbrella" - Macedonia, Department for Foreigners, in discussion with the author, Skopje, 29 August 2018.
Nadica Velevska, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, Head of Civil Affairs Department, in discussion with the author, Skopje, 24 August 2018.
Suzana Stankovska, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, Head of Department for Foreigners and Readmission, in discussion with the author, Skopje, 25 August 2018.

Other sources

Agarwaal, Arshi. "Statelessness and 'right to have rights'. Importance of citizenship in protecting human rights of stateless communities." Master's thesis. Department of Politics, University of Sheffield, 2014.

Hayden, Robert. M. "Constitutional Nationalism in the Formerly Yugoslav Republics", Slavic Review, 51(4). (1992): 654–673.

Jovanović, D. Svetolik. Državljanstvo Socijalističke Federative Republike Jugoslavije, [Citizenship of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Belgrade: Službeni List SFRJ. 1977.

Medvedović, Dragan. '"Federal and Republican Citizenship in the Former SFR Yugoslavia at the Time of Its Dissolution"', Croatian Critical Law Review, 3 (1–2). 1998.