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Macedonian Affective Rhizome: Fear and Shame in the Case of the Macedonian "Name Issue"

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Abstract: The text examines two core emotions - fear and shame - and how they shape the affective and social dynamic in relation to the Macedonian "name issue." Both fear and shame are analyzed through phenomenological approach and in relation to other affects and as core affects that also enable social polarization. Polarization is explained through two Gestalt concepts: polarities and fixed gestalts that serve to analyze the phenomenon that results in exclusionary and divisionary types of thinking and behavior into two blocs - "us" vs "them." The intersubjectivity is taken to be one of the core conditions of the social field that shape its dynamic as a crucial argument towards the need for overcoming polarized and dichotomized logic of understanding social and political polarization. The analysis shows that fear and shame create a rhizomatic pattern that connects different affects binding together and creating complex structures of behavioral responses and intersubjective space. Enacted through discourse, those affects shape the Macedonian social body as wounded by fear, anxiety, shame, hate, anger and trauma, all of which constitute experience of parlous precarity. Those experiences could not be reduced to binary positions, but they create multiplicity.

Keywords: affects, intersubjectivity, shame, fear, polarization

The text examines the intersubjective and interaffective phenomenology of fear and shame and how they shape the affective and social dynamic in Macedonian society in relation to the Macedonian "name issue" after the Prespa Agreement.[1]

The "name issue" refers to the almost three-decade long dispute between Macedonia and Greece over the name of the state and the process of negotiations,[2] finalized with the Prespa Agreement in July 2018. The agreed name, "Republic of North Macedonia," fell under a principle of *erga omnes* (a change of the constitutional name and its use both internally and externally), something that Greece insisted upon during the negotiation process. The Macedonian side got the guarantees regarding the identity aspect of the problem by acknowledgment of the Macedonian language and the right to use the adjective "Macedonian," with the differentiation that for both nations and cultures it has distinct meaning. In exchange, North Macedonia was to gain support from Greece in the process of integration to NATO and EU.

The international community greeted the agreement and promised to open the EU/NATO accession for the country. However, Macedonian society was, and still is, sharply divided as the majority of citizens were against any change of the country's name.[3]

[1] Government of the Republic of North Macedonia, "Final Agreement for the Settlement on the Name Issue." *Government of the Republic of North Macedonia* (June 27, 2018). http://vlada.mk/node/15057?ln=en-gb.
[2] See the timeline and analysis of the negotiations around the Macedonian "name issue" in Katerina Kolozova et al., *"Who Owns Alexander the Great?" A Question Upon Which EU Enlargement Relies* (Skopje: Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities - Skopje, 2014). http://www.isshs.edu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Who-owns-Alexander-the-Great-A-Question-Upon-Which-EU-Enlargement-Relies.pdf.
[3] *The Name Dispute 2018: Public Views in Macedonia* (Skopje: Macedonian Center for International Cooperation and Institute for Democracy, May 2018). http://www.mcms.mk/images/docs/2018/the-name-dispute-2018.pdf; Center for Insights in Survey Research, "Macedonia: National Public Opinion Poll, June 28 - July 15, 2018," (Washington, DC: International Republican Institute).
https://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/iri_macedonia_july_2018_poll_public_final.pdf; "Анкета: Мнозинството граѓани се против каква и да е промена на името" ["Survey: Majority of

The goal of this article is to analyze how fear and shame shape the psychosocial dynamic around the "name issue." The main argument is that there is a complex intersubjective and interaffective dynamic shaping the social relations that could not be explained through mere polarization of only two opposing positions. The text will show that a more nuanced understanding of the psychodynamics of affects is an important perspective for a discursive and political analysis of the social polarization phenomena.

The text begins with a short introduction to Gestalt perspective of polarization. This perspective enables understanding of the psychological mechanism of functioning of polarization. Further, the concepts of intersubjectivity and interaffectivity are introduced as concepts that could enable more nuanced understanding of the complexity of polarization by opening the space for thinking outside the polarized and binary logic. The central part of the text consists of a phenomenological analysis of two core affects - fear and shame and their expression through discourse related to the name issue after the Prespa Agreement. At the end, there is a short summary and conclusion of the arguments that introduces multiplicity instead of polarization as a perspective towards the psychosocial dynamic of Macedonian society regarding the "name issue."

Two Gestalt concepts are used to explain polarization. The first one is the concept of polarities, which is interpreted as opposing views, behaviors and forces or "parts of the self" that are not integrated, not taken and/or recognized to be part of the whole. Polarities generate tension and therefore, energy that could be invested into different directions. If energy built through tension gets fixated into one possibility, it could operate as what is called a fixed Gestalt. Fixed Gestalts are functioning as rigid perceptions which cause misconceptions and errors in judgment. Fixed Gestalts are mostly the result of an unresolved conflict or experience such as trauma. Those "frozen figures" are a ramification of the lack of support (physical, psychological, social, cognitive, etc.) due to the strong embodied imprint that shapes the overall experience as undone, but yet fixed. Fixation operates through repetition and a continuous urge to resolve, to complete and to untangle the experience. However, although resolution is needed and pursued, it is paradoxically locked

into patterns that prevent movement of awareness in the field or prevent recognition of the background, the context from which the figure emerges as well as the position of the other figures in the field. The result is being stuck in a repetitive pattern of thoughts, feelings, behavior related to the unresolved experience. This means that affective energy bound to the unresolved experience is perpetually invested into the same or similar figures. Through repetition, the fixation creates disturbances into the wider field, since other elements into the field are constantly changing. This mechanism explains the cognitive dissonance that is characteristic to polarization. Polarization blocks more complex and integrative awareness into the overall situation. It prevents taking into account the position of the other as well as empathy. This results into exclusionary and divisionary types of thinking and behavior. In terms of social and/or political polarization, it fixes the division into two blocs - "us" vs "them." This division is made possible because of the strong identification that is also characteristic of polarization. Identification with a certain group serves as a pinpoint of polarization. The main mechanism used when polarities function as fixed Gestalts is projection. What is unrecognized and unaccepted within oneself becomes projected into "them" and therefore strengthens the division and potential for a destructive conflict.[4] War could be explained as the most extreme example of polarization that generates extreme energy into destruction. Another example from the psychological domain is psychosis, where splitting is caused due to the unresolved conflict of opposing mental forces.

I will expand the analysis by introducing intersubjectivity and interaffectivity, defined through the concepts of embodiment and enactment as crucial argument towards the need for overcoming polarized and dichotomized logic of understanding social and political polarization. The enacted approach refers to the complex exchange of the organism with the environment. The co-constitution of organism and environment also entails "dynamic constitution of meaning in experience" and provides ways for insight into diversity of variations in embodied and discursive intersubjective experiences.[5] Through this dynamic, both the organism and the environment

Citizens Are Against Any Change of the Name"], *Telma TV* (May 2, 2018). https://telma.com.mk/anketa-mnozinstvoto-gragani-se-protiv-kakva-i-da-e-promena-na-imeto.

[4] Samuel Handlin, "The Logic of Polarizing Populism: State Crises and Polarization in South America," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 62, Issue 1 (2018), 75-91.
[5] Christoph Durt, Thomas Fuchs and Christian Tewes, *Embodiment, Enaction, and Culture: Investigating the Constitution of the Shared World (*Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press and

are constantly changing and also mutually shaping each other. This constitutes our shared world in which we participate in "collective sense-making processes manifested in dynamic forms of intercorporeality, collective body memory, artifacts etc."[6]

In terms of social and power relations, this means that there is no power or relation that is predetermined and unchangeable. In terms of polarization, it explains why the investment into the fixed divisions is impossible to be sustained and that polarization is always already part of the process of continuous change, which also means other possibilities and options, governed not just by exclusionary binary logic. Moreover, it unlocks the myriad of possibilities for both social and political directions and movements.

The embodied aspect refers to all the cognitive, mental and psychological processes that are reflected, manifested, felt and lived through the body/bodies and its/their exchange with the environment. The embodied approach offers recognition to our bodies as primary sources of our selfhood as well as interrelatedness. As an origin of selfhood, it is also our boundary through which we connect to and exchange with the environment. In terms of polarization, this offers perspective to look at the effects of polarization on the whole society, not just the separate parts of the poles. Intersubjectivity could explain even more the interconnectedness of the social actors in an inseparable relation in the shared field.[7] Intersubjectivity defines the space between, it consists of our interaction, gestures, movements, the words spoken, any type of behavior and affective reaction. Both the world and the subjects are shaped through it. Once an act upon the world is given, it becomes part of intersubjectivity, the shared field. It is the exchange, the "third" in the dialogue, it is what is being created, expressed, given, written, what is out there as an imprint of our being in a certain moment and in certain constellations. The whole intersubjective space is defined not by individual enactment but through complex interaction of enactments and other processes in the field. Interaffectivity is an aspect of intersubjective space that refers to the shred affective field and the dynamic shaped through affects. Therefore, to understand the social

dynamic there is a need to understand the affective processes that are shaping the interaffective field. In such a shared world, in which we are incorporeally and interaffectivelly interrelated, there is more complexity than what a polarized picture can tell and explain.

Therefore, further I will elaborate different responses to two core affects - fear and shame - to present the complexity of the social field that cannot be reduced to two opposing social or political positions.

Fear is an assemblage of different and simultaneously embodied movements. Fear organizes the experience by engaging all the embodied resources for survival or being safe. Fear's function is to ensure our survival through mobilization of the entire capacity of the body when faced with a threat, real or perceived. The interaffective and intersubjective aspect of fear is related to the experience of threat. Whenever something or someone is perceived as a threat, it will mobilize fear.

The mobilization of the physical body includes physiological, metabolic, endocrinal and neurological changes. The embodied and emerging movements are felt with different intensity as being afraid, scared, worried, as shock, panic, terror, etc. The feeling is enacted through behavior manifestation labeled as fight or flight and/or freeze. Fear either enables and empowers or disables us to act. It could clear our cognitive processes and make us super focused and effective in both fight and flight or to tighten the consciousness, desensitize and demobilize us as part of the overall (sometimes traumatic) experience of fear.

If we approach the phenomenon of fear from the different points of its expression or behavioral response - fight, flight or freeze - we enter into the complex rhizome of affective states. Different behavioral responses employ a different impulse into the interaffective and intersubjective space that further shapes the social dynamic. Crossley argues for the primacy of the affective constitution of intersubjective relations. Emotions are primarily pre-reflective and they define our way of relating. Therefore, there is interaffectivity shaped by our interactions that at the same time is shaping them. The author takes Merleau-Ponty's view on emotions as a situated corporeal attitude, a way of being in relation to the world expressed

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Cambridge, 2017).

[6] Durt et al., *Embodiment*, 1.

[7] Nick Crossley, *Intersubjectivity: The Fabric of Social Becoming* (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), 37.

in our perceptions, our speech, thoughts, our motor actions, gestures, and in our ways of understanding and interpreting.[8]

If the fight mode of the behavioral response gets activated, it is usually accompanied by aggression. Ahmed speaks about fear in terms of being the background for aggression, rage towards "the other" - the one that we experience as a threat.[9]

The experience of being threatened and the rage towards "the other" are among the main characteristics of polarization. The intersubjective aspect of the aggression is that we tend to perceive others as either "us" or "them". "Them" are the enemy. Both fear and the accompanying aggression also facilitate the distance between. Therefore, it empowers the polarization. According to Ahmed, the fear fixes us towards the stereotype, and the stereotype, instead of certainty, brings uncertainty.[10] The unconscious mobilization could not ensure overcoming of the fear but, to the contrary, the mental, cognitive and behavioral response could perpetuate the feeling of uncertainty, of not being safe or feeling threatened.

The "name issue," as well as the recent change of the name, for a large part of the population was always discursively and symbolically related to and therefore experienced as an attack against identity, Macedonian ethnic and/or national identity. The name dispute is, at its core, an issue of recognition and could therefore be analyzed by following Jessica Benjamin's psychoanalytic elaboration of the desire for recognition.[11] Benjamin takes on from Hegel's desire for recognition and Freud's insight that the child renounces parts of his psyche to keep the mother's or father's love. Benjamin's argument is focused on recognizing the other, instead of merely seeking recognition for the self, as was with Freud. Both the need and desire for recognition, seeking recognition for self, as well as recognizing the other, are important aspects in terms of polarization. Hence, the threat against the identity regarding the "name issue" is also related to the experience of "not being recognized." The experience of not being recognized is also phenomenologically related to that of being rejected. As such, it poses a specific kind of vulnerability defined also by an asymmetrical power relation. The short history of the Macedonian national state has a complex aspect regarding recognition of different national identity markers (name, history, church).[12] I will not go into further explanation, problematization, or justification of national identity and its social construction. My position is that however constructed, this aspect of social identity is lived and felt through both personal and social, embodied and enacted lives. It is part of the Macedonian affective rhizome and therefore affects the overall social dynamic.

The difference in fear responses is defined by the symbolic power that is woven into the very fabric of intersubjectivity and interaffectivity.[13] The meaning that was given, prescribed, performed, exchanged, created to the affective experiences further defines the power relations. Thus, the intersubjective fabric, the space that we create and share is also a "site of sharing and agreement, and of competition and contestation" at once.[14] Therefore different positions in the opposite poles would also be defined by ideology, values, believes, etc.

When the name change was experienced as fear for the ethnic identity, it was mostly expressed as resistance towards the change of the name. The fight response was mostly channeled through public rage during the protests for the refusal of the Agreement and the boycott of the referendum organized against the acceptance of the Agreement as a condition for EU and NATO accession. This response enables expression of fear and its transformation into other affective qualities, such as anger and aggression. The transformation is easily accessible through collective voices and performances. Through transformation into anger, fear becomes experienced as a powerful emotion. However, although this transformation is a powerful experience, it could get frustrating when the need for recognition and acceptance is not met.

The goal of "Bojkotiram" ("I Boycott"), the initiative for boycotting the referendum, as it is published on their webpage, was "[t]o pre-

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[8] Crossley, *Intersubjectivity*, 45.
[9] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 63.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Jessica Benjamin, *Beyond Doer and Done To: Recognition Theory, Intersubjectivity and the Third* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

[12] Mircela Dzuvalekovska Casule (Ed.), *The Name Issue Revisited: An Anthology of Academic Articles* (Skopje: Macedonian Information Centre, 2013).
[13] Crossley, *Intersubjectivity*, 44.
[14] Ibid., 23.

vent the generational sin and to preserve Macedonia for future generations. #BOJKOTIRAM [#IBOYCOTT] is a mass citizen rebellion against the legitimization of historical treason through illegal power grab and referendum fraud."[15]

These introductory lines are already full of affective discourse with predominantly angry notes. Phrases such as "generational sin" speak of the historical dimension projected into the feeling and the weight it has over the "national body." It is articulated as an appeal for an emergency. Emergency is one of the phenomenological aspects of experiencing fear. The size and the emergency of the situation here are related to the historical dimension and urgency. Along these lines is the historical assignment to "preserve Macedonia" for "future generations."

The call for "rebellion" is a call for transformation of the emergent fear and anger into a fight response. The experience of injustice as a dimension of the historical narrative also serves the purpose of transforming fear into anger. The call for "mass rebellion" is a call for uniting, joining forces as the necessary support to overcome the feeling of fear. Injustice is the generator of fight response and joint fight gives sense of hope and overcoming of fear, as it is clearly stated in the following lines:

> Discovering lies and hostile propaganda against the Macedonian people and the Macedonian state for discouraging, demoralizing and disturbing dignity. Encouraging hope and overcoming fears.[16]

The other camp, the referendum campaign for change of the name "Go Out FOR European Macedonia," also operated with an affective discourse of fear but in another mode:[17]

> This is a historic opportunity. The responsibility lies within each of us. Each of us has to make a decision. Will we go forward or stay behind? Future or uncertainty, the choice is yours. Each of us has to go out and choose. This is not the time to hide. Hiding is irresponsible. If you have to go out and vote at least once – not is the time/it is now.[18]

The historical dimension of the choice is also present, but the threat is articulated through the discourse of uncertainty, related to Macedonia's EU integration. Therefore, another affective assemblage of fear could be detected. It is not related to the immediate threat. It is based on a more deterritorialized fear we experience as anxiety. In anxiety there is an active fear that is felt, while the threat is vague and cannot be recognized, the object of fear is missing. It is more like a rhizome of objects or possibilities that create the dynamic of overwhelming fear. The constant disorganized, almost random and chaotic movement of anxiety and/or being overwhelmed, is actually the paradoxical movement of stuckness. Circular movement through which the energy is constantly drained but there is no change in the position or an end to uneasiness, the fear, the dread.

The energy that is released as anxiety without its object, is channeled into obsessive repetition of acts. The paranoid aspect of fear can be initiated when the object of fear is lost because fear has a tendency to spread and take up more space - everything becomes scary.[19] In the concrete Macedonian context, it is related to the more vague fear for "the future," articulated through discourses of further EU isolation, possible regional ethnic conflicts, and other uncertainties. The future of EU integration was offered as a vision of hope and prosperity. But the fear that brings the uncertainty is mitigated with a vision of a future equally uncertain. Further, the focus of personal responsibility was used as motivation for voting, as opposed to the collective rebellion in the first discourse. Here, two different strategies are using the same affect with different responses. One that uses the vulnerability of the individual and the other that uses the power of the collective and its potential for transformation of the affect.

The other possible response of fear is the flight mode. A flight is movement that mobilizes the body to escape, to find a safe place and protect itself from the threat. It is usually accompanied with the cognitive appraisal that the threat is bigger than we can handle or confront. We feel vulnerable in the face of the perceived danger.

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[15] Web page of the campaign for boycott of the constitutional changes, available at https://bojkotiram.mk/en.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Web page of the campaign for voting "Yes" on the referendum for change of the constitutional name, available at http://izlezi.mk.

[18] Ibid.
[19] Ahmed, *The Cultural*, 69.

For Ahmed, fear is related to vulnerability since the world/other are always a possible threat and the embodied self is at risk of being wounded.[20]

And here, shame joins fear as a core emotion regarding the reaction to the "name issue." Shame, in its definition, is an affect shaped by the experience of not being accepted, a feeling of being rejected, obsolete, not-good-enough and/or dangerous to exist. Shame appears as a reaction to the experience of the unworthiness of the self. Therefore, the experience of shame is built in our very vulnerability in the face of rejection. Shame is considered to be a self-conscious affect but not in the sense that it always incorporates reflection as a conscious evaluation; as any emotion, it is also pre-reflective. The intersubjectivity of shame is therefore always already there as shame is always about the other, its perception and its acceptance. The affective response towards the other, in any situation, is pre-reflective and derives from the interaffective and intersubjective fields, as well as the individual background, personal histories and previous experiences.

The position of shame in the collective Macedonian body as a whole could be easily detected. In the short history of Macedonia's independence since 1991, both in the Balkan context as well as in the wider EU context, there have been a lot of processes that still dwell around the issue of recognition, acceptance and approval. The name dispute with Greece was officially closed but lasted almost three decades; the historical dispute with Bulgaria was also just recently resolved, but still there are a lot of tensions regarding the issue of the Macedonian language, as well as what is now referred to as shared history; further, there is the church dispute with the Serbian Orthodox Church, the ethnic tensions with the Albanians in Macedonia and the conditioned process of the application for EU membership. It could be unveiled as the reason behind many internal processes and disputes among ethnicities (Albanian and Roma) and groups (marginalized communities).

As an experience of not being accepted, as an experience of one whose identity was/is always contested, it could be met through a compensatory mechanism and shame's polarity, pride. Nationalist discourses offer easy compensation of shameful experiences with

pride, which compensates for the shameful experience. Nationalist discourses in general play with the core sense of belonging, being one of the strongest psychological needs alongside the affective need for recognition. One of the biggest nation-building projects was "the antiquization," referring to the antique Macedonian heritage.[21] Pride has the function to maintain positive social identity, while shame as an unpleasant feeling does not correlate to the desire for group identification.[22] Salice and Sánchez point out that "group identification is not necessarily an intentional process because it does not have to be triggered by conative states like intentions and desires."[23] This finding places group identification more into the field of the affective, unconscious, pre-reflective; or towards the thesis that nationalism is not so much about ideology but more about a pervasive cognitive and affective orientation.[24]

In contemporary feminism, cultural politics and affect theory, shame is associated with the oppression of marginalized groups as a structural effect of politics and policy, but is also perpetuated on a more subtle level through cultural deployment.[25] As Dolezal explains, shame is "most often experienced by those who occupy positions lacking social authority, those who find themselves in social situations where the parameters of shame are determined, not by themselves, but by a more powerful other."[26]

Fanon's analysis on the psychology of colonialism could be used to explore the shame in the Macedonian case as internalized, as part of the identity. The internalization of colonization, explains Fannon, ends with internalization of "whiteness" into black people in order to be accepted.[27] This is in a context where "whiteness" is the only validated position. In the Macedonian case, shame as an experience of rejection and inferiority is also related to the indefinitely

[20] Ibid., 68.

[21] Anastas Vangeli, "Nation-building Ancient Macedonian Style: The Origins and the Effects of the So-Called Antiquization in Macedonia," *The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, Vol. 39, Issue 1 (2011), 13-32.

[22] Alessandro Salice and Alba Montes Sánchez, "Pride, Shame and Group Identification: Hypothesis and Theory," *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 7 (2016): Article 557.

[23] Ibid., 2

[24] Bart Bonikowski, "Nationalism in Settled Times," *The Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 42 (2016): 427-449.

[25] Luna Dolezal, *The Body and Shame: Phenomenology, Feminism, and the Socially Shaped Body* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015), xv.

[26] Ibid., 52

[27] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

stretched process of EU integration. In these processes, "Europeanness" becomes Macedonian "whiteness." This phenomenon is also analyzed in the famous *Imagining the Balkans* by Maria Todorova.[28] The shame is experienced through the dynamic in which we become our own worst critics, constantly blaming or being cynical and/or with abject towards our lazy, dirty, barbaric "Balkanism." The dynamic also involves projection as the main mechanism. The projection is present in the public discourse and jargon through which there is a tendency to publicly shame everything that does not fit into "Europeanness." Through this mechanism, shame is projected towards the outside, the other.

Yet another aspect of affective complexes with shame is related to the experience of trauma. Shame memories or experiences that evoke shame, which function like traumatic memories, and can be a central reference point to the individual's self-identity and life story, are significantly associated with paranoid anxiety, even when the ongoing external and internal shame are considered at the same time. A materialized example of this affective position and construct could be explored through the Museum of National Struggle.[29] This brings victimization as one of the strategies when dealing with shame and fear. Also, the traumatic impact of shame memory and the centrality of shame memory predict paranoia (but not social anxiety) even when considering ongoing feelings of shame.[30] The internalization of shame could also be analyzed in relation to a more generalized experience of trauma. Being rejected or deprived of acceptance from its constitution by the nearest neighbors could be experienced as part of the systemic conditions for deprivation and as a certain traumatic experience. An example that could be useful is the visa procedures that for decades served for marginalization and isolation of Macedonian citizens from EU countries.

The fear that underlies and stimulates shame is the fear of being abandoned, rejected, or ignored. This implies self-image as helpless or inferior to one's ideal self. It is related also to the psychodynam-ic conceptualization of shame as a response against wishes to be loved and taken care of by others.[31]

Another assemblage of fear and shame could be analyzed through the social enactment of the flight response. In the Macedonian context, it could be detected in the fantasy, the need and the acts of the actual escape from the country. Although this act could not be directly or solely motivated by the isolated fear regarding the name issue, as discussed above, I do not isolate this fear from other affective knots that derive from the social as well as individual bodies. Namely, it is unlikely that the feeling of being under threat by the name change can motivate someone to leave the country, but certainly if this issue is undermining the feeling of safety and/or recognition by any means, it could be a part of the decision to leave. Furthermore, it does not have to be perceived as a direct threat but as an experience of continuous uncertainty and/or limitation. The public feeling of leaving the country is vastly spread, as it is one of the discursive frameworks that are most present in both the public and private sphere. It is one of the most common exit strategies. I would say that this feeling is related to the need for safety as well as hope. It occurs whenever hope is lost that things will turn out for the better, the uncertainty and fear arise that it can get worse, or stay in the permanent uncertainty. This "exit" strategy is present and real for many. There is not a citizen that has experienced it one way or another through processes of separation and/or longing.

Withdrawal is another kind of response of the flight movement. The Macedonian saying "Bended head will escape the sabre" could be a traditional discursive and symbolic framework for passive resilience in the face of fear. Acting through fear in this way means using the affective capacity of this movement, to flight, to withdraw as means for one's own survival. The risk of this movement as a typical reaction to fear is turning vulnerability into victimization. It is a typical response in dominant asymmetrical power relations which increases the risk of losing the freedom to act differently in situations of threat.

Gillian makes excellent analysis in his work with men in prisons and prison mental hospitals. What he explains is how shame in relation to respect and recognition are the common cause of aggression and

[28] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[29] The web page with the gallery section for visual representation of the museum exhibit is available at http://mmb.org.mk/muzej/index.php/mk/%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%98%D0%B0%D1%82#.

[30] Marcela Matos, José Pinto-Gouveia and Paul Gilbert, "The Effect of Shame and Shame Memories on Paranoid Ideation and Social Anxiety," *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, Vol. 20, Issue 5 (2012), 334-349.

[31] James Gilligan, "Shame, Guilt, and Violence," *Social Research*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (2003), 1149-1180.

violence. He also notes class as an element of shame/violence bind. Also in the work of Sennett and Cobb, they speak of the hidden injuries they have discovered with working-class men. These men felt that their class and employment position did not enable or entitle them to the respect they should have gotten from others, from their teachers, bosses, and even from their own children.[32]

The aggression/shame bind in the Macedonian context could also be analyzed through the aggressive nationalist discourses that use both pride and aggressive discourse, hate speech and narratives.[33] A suitable example would be the construction of the name "severdzhan"/ As an example, the construction of the name "severdzhan" can be used. "Severdzhan" is defined in the so-called *Resistance Dictionary: Dictionary of the Contemporary Macedonian Struggle* as "a member of an anti-nation, a human being without national honor, previously member and now in negation of the Macedonian nation."[34] It is used as a pejorative term to downgrade and project both fear and aggression towards what is perceived as traitors. It is one of the most polarizing strategies to antagonize and distance oneself from the other perceived as an opponent.

People resort to violence when they feel they can wipe out shame only by shaming those who they feel shamed them.[35]

Both fear and shame shape the Macedonian affective social body in ways that perpetuate polarization and shrink the space for democratic processes. The dynamics and specific underlying issues that hold both fear and shame are closely related to the core needs for safety and recognition. It takes a huge effort to overcome this position and the complex situation since shame is almost never the first, distinct or the most obvious affective state. It always belongs to a wider affective complex that enables shame to cover and hide itself. It could be a background emotion covered by other more explicitly manifested affective states such as anger, aggression and pride.

The analysis shows that the two core affects of fear and shame create a rhizomatic pattern that connects different affects binding together and creating complex structures of behavioral responses and intersubjective space. Enacted through discourse, those affects shape the Macedonian social body as wounded by fear, anxiety, shame, hate, anger and trauma, all of which constitute experience of parlous precarity. Those experiences could not be reduced to binary positions, but they create multiplicity. Multiplicity opens opportunities for different and not necessarily polarized possibilities for resolution of the unresolved tensions that could enable overcoming of the frozen Gestalts into more flexible and functional behavior and experience.

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[32] Thomas J. Scheff, "Shame and the Social Bond: A Sociological Theory," *Sociological Theory* Vol. 18, No. 1 (2000), 84-99.

[33] Zdravko Saveski and Artan Sadiku, "The Radical Right in Macedonia" (Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation, December 2012). http://civicamobilitas.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/radikalna_desnica_makedonija.pdf; Hristina Shulevska et al., *Analysis of the Situation with Hate Speech in the Republic of Macedonia* (Skopje: Macedonian Helsinki Committee, August 2015). https://mhc.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Hate_Speech_web_eng.pdf.

[34] Web page of Association Tvrdokorni available at https://tvrdokorni.wordpress.com/2019/02/20/otporashki-rechnik.

[35] Gilligan, "Shame," 1163.