Overcoming Differences

The impact of joint extra-curricular and out of school activities on the acceptance of the multi-ethnic character of the society through the perception of the youth in the Republic of Macedonia

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List of abbreviations

CHRCR – Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

CID – Center for Intercultural Dialogue

ForumZFD – forum Zivilen Friedensdienstes (Forum Civil Peace Service)

IIEP - Inter-ethnic Integration in Education Project

LSBE – Life Skills Based Education

MCEC - Macedonian Civic Eduation Center

MoES – Ministry of Education and Science

NLA – National Liberation Army

OFA – Ohrid Framework Agreement

OSCE – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF – United Nation Children's Fund

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

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Summary

The aim of this study was to investigate the possibilities for sustainability of the UNICEF activities within the UN Joint Program for Inter Ethnic Dialogue and Collaboration. Based on previous research, inter-ethnic contact needs to meet several conditions to lead to positive outcomes: equal status, broader environment for support, close and sustained contact, and cooperation towards common goals. Processes for positive outcomes are: learning about the other group, existing attitudes, and feelings of belongingness to their own group. Conditions that should be avoided are competition, inequality, involuntary contact, and opposite values. Indications for sustainability are self-esteem and feelings of empowerment.

The sample was taken from the Youth Center Multi Kulti in Kumanovo and consisted of 79 young people (M age = 17.3) with diverse ethnic background (26 Albanian, 43 Macedonian, 9 Serbian). A questionnaire was created based on the MEIM-R complemented with relevant questions. To determine indications for sustainability, the youth was asked to answer the RSE to measure their self-esteem, and some of the youth was questioned on their feelings of empowerment. A document analysis and interviews with stakeholders were conducted to determine the differences between the joint extra-curricular activities at school and the out-of-school activities in the youth center.

The results show that the conditions and processes for positive outcomes and the processes for positive outcomes are generally available in both schools and the youth center. The youth centers are not always able to provide for equal groups, but this does not seem to influence the feelings of the youth, for results indicate that the youth center is contributing to their positive feelings towards the other groups. The attendance at the youth center is decreasing the negative feelings they have about each other, and it is mainly the Albanian youth that has contact with other ethnic groups. Conditions for negative outcomes of contact are mainly absent. However, the facilitators of the schools are not voluntarily facilitating, which might influence the outcome of the workshops.

The youth center is significantly contributing to the self-esteem of the youth attending the youth center. Moreover, the answers from the interviews indicate that the youth in the youth center feels empowered. Both of these results together give a strong indication towards sustainability.

1. Introduction

The Republic of Macedonia is a former Yugoslav country in South Eastern Europe that gained independence on 8 September 1991 (Karajkov, 2008). The country has a population of 2.077.328 with a diverse ethnic background. The major ethnic groups in the Republic of Macedonia are Macedonian (64.2%), Albanian (25.2%), Turks (3.9%), Roma (2.7%), and Serbs (1.8%) (CIA, 2011). In accordance with the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the two official languages are Macedonian and Albanian (CIA, 2011; International Crisis Group, 2011).

Ever since becoming independent in 1991, there have been inter-ethnic tensions, especially between the Macedonians and the Albanians (International Crisis Group, 2011; Vetterlein, 2006). In February 2001 a conflict arose between the Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA) and the Macedonian authorities (Karajkov, 2008; Vetterlein, 2006). The international community interfered and tried to settle the conflict, which succeeded on 13 August 2001 with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) (International Crisis Group, 2011). The OFA stresses the importance of the multi-ethnic character of the country by providing all non-majority groups with more and equal rights (UN, 2009). In particular, it provided for more equal rights for Albanians within the Republic of Macedonia in relation to political representation, education, employment, and the raising the status of the Albanian language in the country (International Crisis Group, 2011; Karajkov, 2008; Vetterlein, 2006). Decentralization is seen as its most effective tool to enhance empowerment and participation of local citizens. By increasing the rights and opportunities for minority groups within Macedonia, the OFA tries to lay the groundwork for the stabilization of inter-ethnic contact (UN, 2009). However, instead of improving the integration, the increase in the rights of minority groups has led to an increase in distance between the different ethnic groups – especially within the education system – and thereby weakened social cohesion (MoES, 2009; UNDP, 2010).

A lack of contact between two opposing groups reinforces the differences between groups and in effect encourages distrust and ignorance (Bardon, 2009; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Macedonia is not the first country to face difficulties through separation and can therefore learn from the successes and failures of other countries in their fight against separation and for better intergroup relations. Even though the situations in these countries might differ, the one thing they had in common was an intervention through the educational sector. Research on the impact of integrated education in Northern Ireland shows that students who have attended integrated schools are more likely to have intergroup friendships and are more optimistic towards the intergroup relations than students who have attended segregated schools (Hayes & McAllister, 2009). A strong parental movement and reforms in the educational legislation eventually led to the provision of integrated schools for catholic and protestant children (Bardon, 2009). Another case of integrated education was implemented in Israel as a means to improve intergroup relations and as a prevention strategy against conflict. It became clear that when there had been sustained contact between Arabs and Jews, these contacts led to more

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positive outcomes and a decrease in prejudices between the two groups (Maoz, 2002). In Sri Lanka, extracurricular joint activities are organized on a limited scale but seem promising. However, this case reveals the importance to incorporate school initiatives into a broader environment of support for the initiative, because there are structural processes going on that influence the effectiveness of these school initiatives (Lopez Cardozo, 2008).

The UNDP identified the education sector in the Republic of Macedonia as the main contributor to inter-ethnic separation through separation along ethnic lines, ethnocentrism within the curriculum – especially history and literature – and language (UNDP, 2008). Through its organization, the educational sector is feeding the inter-ethnic tensions (OSCE, 2011; UNDP, 2008). However, the UNDP People Centered Analyses 2010 registered that 47% of the Albanians and 32% of the Macedonians believe education can be a positive factor for inter-ethnic relations (UNDP, 2010). A survey carried out by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, in press) shows an even larger number of parents – 84% – believes in the capabilities of primary schools to handle this issue. Therefore, it seems self-evident that initiatives to improve inter-ethnic relations are put in place within the education sector and among the youth. From 2009 onwards, efforts have been made to increase the possibilities for the youth to meet and learn about each other both within schools through extra-curricular activities and outside schools in youth centers.

This research will discuss the potential of the initiatives for improving inter-ethnic relations, what the main differences are between the potential of schools and the youth centers in achieving results and the impact of the youth center activities on the youth. In addition, the research will look into the indications for sustainability from the viewpoint of the youth.

First, this report will go deeper into the current situation within the education sector in Macedonia and what initiatives have been implemented to improve the inter-ethnic relations. Second, the importance of improving contact will be discussed. Third, the current initiative within the education sector will be discussed before turning to the main research.

2. Existing situation within the education system

2.1 Education in Macedonia

In Macedonia, schools are highly segregated based on ethnic or linguistic differences (UNICEF, 2009). The ethnical separation within the education system increased after the war of 2001. Most schools are mono-ethnic and where schools are ethnically mixed, the students are separated from each other by attending different shifts or different shifts of classes where one group attends classes in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Sometimes, they study in entirely different buildings with only a shared yard (International Crisis Group, 2001; Vetterlein, 2006). There are also cases in which the students study in different parts of the building, sometimes with their own entrance (S. Balazhi, Senior Expert CHRCR, Personal communication, 27 February 2012). This mechanism decreases the possibilities for inter-ethnic contact to a minimum. Schools see physical separation as the most effective measure to prevent conflict between students from different ethnic groups (S. Balazhi, Senior Expert CHRCR, Personal communication, 27 February 2012). Extra-curricular activities like field trips are organized according to the language of instruction of the students (UNICEF, 2009).

Curricula at schools are provided in four different languages: Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Serbian (International Crisis Group, 2011). For those students with the language of instruction other than Macedonian, the Macedonian language is considered the most important language to be learned after English (UNDP, 2008). But while Albanian, Turkish and Serbian students are obliged to choose Macedonian as a second language, those students with Macedonian as the language of instruction are not obliged to pick any of the languages spoken in the country (UNICEF, 2009). This is enlarging the differences between the two groups. Prejudices and stereotypes about the other ethnic groups are widespread. Based on research from the OSCE (2010) it can be stated that students see prejudices as the main cause for hostilities at school. The prejudices and ethnic stereotypes students have about the other groups may be strengthened by teachers and parents, and within the curriculum. This is encouraged by the content of textbooks and especially the history curriculum (UNICEF, 2009). The Life Skills Based Education (LSBE) aims to provide students with knowledge, skills, and values for life in a multi-cultural environment (UNICEF, 2009). A few of the themes discussed within this curriculum are: personal development, healthy living, relations with others and responsible citizenship. Even though the main aim of the LSBE is not inter-ethnic relations, they will nevertheless be discussed in the themes *relations with others* and *responsible citizenship* (S. Balazhi, Senior Expert CHRCR, personal communication, 27 February 2012; E. Jovanova Stoilkova, Program Manager UNICEF, personal communication).

2.2 Initiatives in the education sector

Several initiatives have been taken within the education sector for the improvement of the inter-ethnic contact.

2.2.1 UN Joint Program to enhance inter-ethnic dialogue and collaboration – One of the main programs active in education for the improvement of inter-ethnic relations is the UN Joint Program on Enhancing Inter-Ethnic Community Dialogue and Collaboration. Within this program UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF work together with the aim to: *"... enhance the capacity of central and local bodies to facilitate inclusive problem-solving processes and consensus-building around community priorities and strengthen the commitment to an inclusive civic national identity with respect to diversity (UN, 2009: p. 8)"*. The program has three main focus areas: governance, society, and education. Through these areas, the three UN agencies work together with the government of the Republic of Macedonia to improve inter-ethnic dialogue and collaboration and work in three pilot areas: Kičevo, Kumanovo and Struga. While the UNDP and UNESCO mainly focus on governance, society, and media, the focus of UNICEF is on education. According to the UN agencies, education can be an important vehicle for long-term achievement concerning the aim of the UN Joint Program. The curriculum can provide improvement in inter-ethnic relations by increasing tolerance and respect. To achieve this, one of the objectives of UNICEF within the UN Joint Program is to *"Strengthen the capacity of the national education system to promote and enhance ethnic and cultural diversity"* through *"strengthening the capacity of the MoES and related institutions (UN, 2009: p 48)"*. On the local level UNICEF works together with local NGO's in three pilot areas to implement joint extra-curricular activities in the school and out-of-school activities in the youth centers. While developing guidelines and activities to achieve this objective, the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) formally adopted a Strategy for Integrated Education in close cooperation with the OSCE.

2.2.2 Strategy for Integrated Education - The aim of the Strategy for Integrated Education is to *"bring about tangible and considerable change in the general approach within the education system in accordance with the multi-ethnic reality of the country, as it is reflected in the Constitution and relevant legislation deriving from the OFA"* (MoES, 2011: p. 8) The measures developed to reach this aim are divided in five specific targets: (*1) joint curricular and extra-curricular activities, (2) language acquisition, (3) the complex of curricula and textbooks and (4) teacher training as well as (5) questions of democratic school governance in a decentralized environment (MoES, 2011: p. 9).* A Program document has been created that provides all the details about the content of the integrated education strategy and its implementation. Additionally, the Program document suggests forming a special unit within the MoES assigned to integrated education.

2.2.3 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) - Another important actor within the field of inter-ethnic education is the OSCE. The OSCE worked closely together with the MoES in the development of the Strategy for integrated education (J. Schustereder, Education Reform Officer OSCE, personal communication, February 16, 2012). The OSCE supports the Strategy by implementing a project within the pre-service teacher trainings. The project has been implemented in

the spring of 2009 as a pilot and in December 2010 on larger scale (Markovska Spasenoska, 2011). Within the faculties for teacher training, several students are selected to participate within the project with the aim to give students more opportunities to practice within a multicultural environment and will therefore be better prepared for their future work. Additionally, this project can provide a model for teacher training faculties for the training of future teachers (Markovska Spasenoska, 2011). There are two main activities within this project. First, a four-day seminar is organized in which six main topics are discussed: multiculturalism, conflict management, non-violent communication, human trafficking, domestic violence, and inclusion of children from marginalized groups. Based on surveys on satisfaction among the students, it can be concluded that the students are very satisfied with the seminars. Second, within the three months practical work, the students worked within an NGO, supporting small groups of students from different backgrounds. According to the students, this practical work made them more sensitive to differences among children and become more tolerant (Markovska Spasenoska, 2011). This project is only a small-scale project and has reached about 300 future teachers. There is no indication yet of the effectiveness of this project on the way these students will teach. Research will be conducted to evaluate this aspect (J. Schustereder, Education Reform Officer OSCE, personal communication, February 16, 2012).

2.2.4 United States Agency for International Development (USAID) – In December 2011, USAID started with the Inter-ethnic Integration in Education Project (IIEP). This project will continue the activities of the UN Joint Program in four different municipalities[1] in a slightly different form, but with the same concepts. The IIEP consists of four main components: through *community outreach* the awareness of key stakeholders and beneficiaries is raised. *Capacity building of school management and teachers* is realized by training of school management and teachers on the aspects of inter-ethnic communication and integrated education (USAID, 2011). This will be done through the concept of train the trainers. Every school will form a small team that will be trained and they will disseminate their knowledge to the rest of the teachers and staff (T. Tahir, Program manager MCEC[2], personal communication, February 20, 2012). The third component is the creation of *demonstration schools*. These schools will form an example for other schools that want to take over this project and implement it in their schools. The last component is the *provision of incentives to schools and communities*. These consist of improvements to the learning environment of the students through the renovation of school buildings (USAID, 2011). A needs assessment is being conducted (baseline study) and the results of this will be used to create a base model for the trainings. The IIEP is based upon previous experiences and best practices within this field, including the experiences of UNICEF as part of the UN Joint Program (T. Tahir, Program manager MCEC, personal communication,

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[1] Bitola, Butel (Skopje), Strumica and Tetovo.
[2] MCEC – Macedonian Civic Eduation Center – implementer USAID IIEP.

February 20, 2012). IIEP will be the main program in this field when the UN Joint Program comes to an end this summer and has a mandate until December 2015.

3. Importance of inter-ethnic contact

3.1 Contact theory

The importance of inter-ethnic contact to reduce prejudices and thereby promote positive inter-ethnic relations has already been discussed by Allport in 1954. According to Allport *"...prejudice ... may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (Allport, 1954: p. 281)*. In the case of Macedonia, reduction of prejudices seems extra significant since the OSCE reports that 43% of the inter-ethnic hostilities in schools are caused by prejudices (OSCE, 2010). Contact between different ethnic groups may also provide for better understanding. Therefore, real contact may reduce tensions between groups (Yablon, 2007). This also becomes evident from a study on the impact of the multicultural program in Macedonia. The main results of this survey show that students that have attended the multicultural workshops have less negative stereotypes than students that have not attended these workshops and their prejudices have reduced. There is also a greater willingness to interact with students from other ethnic groups due to the contact in the multicultural workshops (Petroska Beshka, 2011). However, this does not necessarily mean that there is a direct causal relation between contact and a reduction in prejudice; simply increasing contact will not lead to better relations.

To increase the possibility of positive outcomes of the contact, there are some conditions that should be met. First, the contact should be based on an equal status between the different ethnic groups (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Forbes, 2002; Pettigrew, 1998). Within this situation similarities might be enlarged and differences reduced (Yablon, 2007). Balanced equality proved to be an important factor in the size of the impact of the multicultural workshops in Macedonia (Petroska-Beshka, 2011). Second, there should be a broader environment of support for inter-ethnic contact. Not only within the situation of contact, but also within the society at large and within the legal and political environment (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Forbes, 2002; Pettigrew, 1998; Yablon, 2007). Negative attitudes within a society can have constraining effects on the outcomes of inter-ethnic contact (Pettigrew, 1998). Third, close and sustained contact between groups provides opportunities for exchanging knowledge about each other and thereby lessens prejudices (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Yablon, 2007). A last condition is cooperation to achieve common goals (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Forbes, 2002; Pettigrew, 1998). Within a setting of cooperation, the common goal should be more important than the group differences (Amir, 1969).

However, since the appearance of the contact-theory from Allport there have been many scholars who have tried to falsify this theory (Amir, 1969; Forbes, 2002; Pettigrew, 1998). According to these scholars there was evidence of a contrary situation in which increased contact led to increased conflict between groups. Amir (1969) has described several conditions under which contact could lead to negative outcomes and strengthen prejudices: competition, involuntary contact, lack of equality between the groups, and opposite values. Allport himself pointed out that the characteristics of a

person are of great influence on the succession of the contact. When deeply rooted into a person, prejudices are difficult to overcome (Allport, 1954). Forbes (2002) points out that the negative correlation between contact and prejudice – more contact, less prejudice – is mostly found in individual cases, not necessarily at a group level.

Even though these last words might sound disappointing, it is possible to use these comments on the contact theory in our favor if we look at group socialization. The group socialization theory from Harris (1995) discusses group processes as a mechanism to learn new behaviors, values and beliefs. Especially among children, peer pressure is the most important process for internalizing group behavior (Harris, 1995). The processes of in-group favoritism where members of a group prefer their own group above others and out-group hostility where members of one group behave hostile towards others are natural group processes necessary to have a feeling of belonging (Harris, 1995). Any new behavior, attitude or value first has to be assessed by the group before it will be accepted by the individual. This is not to say however that the whole group needs to approve. When a majority of the group agrees to a new set of behaviors, attitudes or values they might be able to persuade the rest of the group to accept them as well (Harris, 1995).

3.2 Processes for positive contact

To increase positive outcomes of contact between different ethnic groups, Pettigrew (1998) suggests learning about the other group. Through learning, the negative views about the other group can be transformed and thereby increases the understanding of the motives and habits of the other groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). A second step is a change in behavior in order to change attitudes accordingly. This should happen before contact is initiated, because intergroup contact tends to intensify existing attitudes (Amir, 1969). This means that, when a contact is initiated with a negative attitude, the attitude will become even more negative due to the contact. When a person has a positive attitude towards the other group, contact improves the attitude even further. In other words, there should be a process of re-education to reach positive outcomes from contact. According to Lewin (1945) re-education is about changing a persons' cognitive structure, values and belief system, and their actions. Through this re-education, the social perception of students is changed. To come to sustainable change in a persons' perception, this new value and belief system needs to be freely accepted by the student (Lewin, 1945). This also becomes evident from the idea that, to create positive outcomes from contact, inter-ethnic contact should not be involuntarily (Amir, 1969). When a person is forcibly removed from the old culture into a new way of thinking, this individual might see these new values as a threat and therefore act hostile towards the new values (Lewin, 1945). The chances for a change in attitude through learning new values and beliefs is therefore most effective when there is a strong feeling of belonging to a group. Everyone in that same group will have to go through the same difficulties to achieve those new values and beliefs (Lewin, 1945).

Also here, the group socialization theory can be helpful to understand the creation of positive outcomes from contact. When placed within their group, individuals from different groups might not seem to have anything in common. Outside their group, however, individuals may turn out to have many commonalities, which create common ground for intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998). Even within the group there can be different common grounds for intergroup contact. Two main group-processes are at work here. Through assimilation, group members will start to behave more alike. This assimilation makes them part of the group and give them the sense of belonging to that group. However, individual group member also dissimilate themselves on distinct areas that are important for them (Harris, 1995). Through dissimilation, a person tries to differentiate him or herself from the group. For instance, a person identifies himself as a boy. However, this boy might also play the piano. This boy identifies himself with being a boy as being a pianist. Through this mechanism, common ground can be created between members of different groups, even when they are within their own groups.

4. UNICEF initiatives for inter-ethnic contact

The activities as part of the UN Joint Program were initially implemented in twelve schools in three pilot areas – Kičevo, Kumanovo and Struga. At this moment the number of schools involved has increased to 26[3] and four youth centers have opened their doors. Two types of activities are implemented: joint extra-curricular activities (multi-cultural activities) and out of school activities offered in the above mentioned Youth Centers.

4.1 Joint extra-curricular activities within the schools

Within the multicultural workshops, students from different ethnical background are brought together with the aim to: "*… contribute to decreasing of ethnic prejudices and increasing of mutual respect, through interpersonal and intercultural acquaintance and joint work.*" The activities in the workshops are offered in twelve 45-minute sessions to different age groups and based on the principle of equality. This means that the groups are balanced based on ethnicity and gender and that the language of instruction is bilingual. The workshops are lead by two teachers from the ethnicity of the students in the groups and they use both languages complementary (E. Jovanova Stoilkova, Program Manager UNICEF, personal communication; UNICEF, 2010). Special manuals for the multi-cultural workshops were developed in different languages that guide the workshop leaders step-by-step through the multi-cultural workshops. The schools use these manuals in order to assure the intended delivery of the multi-cultural workshops (E. Jovanova Stoilkova, Program Manager UNICEF, personal communication).

Mono-ethnic schools are paired with other mono-ethnic schools with different ethnic background. Most of the workshops are done in person and the students have to visit the other school. However, sometimes, the transportation to other schools can be problematic due to weather conditions, ethnic tensions, or costs. Than a maximum of four out of the twelve workshops can be done through the Internet based on a specifically developed concept.

Another initiative within the schools is *democratic partnership*. Within this initiative, students and teachers are trained on democratic principles when electing student bodies, class presidents, initiatives and more (E. Jovanova Stoilkova, Program Manager UNICEF, personal communication). Student bodies are created to give students more power within the schools to influence decisions. They are a new concept for the schools and it is therefore an ongoing process. In multi-ethnic schools, the student bodies are ethnically mixed and provide the opportunity to get into contact, cooperate and find shared solutions for common problems (S. Balazhi, Senior Expert CHRCR, personal communication, 27 February 2012).

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[3] See appendix 1 for the composition of the participating schools.

4.2 Out of school activities: Youth Centers

Within the youth centers, several activities are offered to the youth based on the same principles of the multi-cultural workshops at the schools – the principle of equality. To give a better view of the activities offered, a specific example of a youth center will be discussed. Youth Center "Multi Kulti" in Kumanovo was opened in May 2010 as part of the UN Joint Program by implementing partner Center for Intercultural Dialogue (CID) with the support from UNICEF. The main targets of Multi Kulti are young people in the age range between twelve and nineteen years from various ethnic backgrounds. However, the activities offered are open for all students starting from seven years and older if they are interested. The activities are organized according to the needs and wishes of the young participants based on surveys. The principle of equality is applied to every activity meaning that the activities are offered bilingually, ethnically and gender balanced. Whenever there is an educational activity offered, it will be based on a non-formal educational methodology. The activities offered lasts four months with workshops twice a week and the students stay this whole time in the same groups (CID, 2011; CID, 2012; L. Rexhepi, President CID, personal communication, 2 February 2012). The youth center offers programs based on four subcomponents: youth academy of non-formal education, peer education, youth creativity and youth outdoor. At the end of each cycle, the results are presented to the other young people and the community. From 2010 to 2011 the total beneficiaries of Multi Kulti almost doubled from 755 in 2010 to 1504 in 2011 (CID, 2011).

5. Sustainability

As we have seen, sustained contact is an important feature for positive outcomes of contact. At the moment, the multicultural activities – both at the schools and the youth centers – are supported by UNICEF as part of the UN Joint Program. However, by the end of July 2012, the outside support will be ceased due to the ending of the program. There are clues that the program is indeed sustainable, for instance the enthusiasm of the youth to participate in the youth centers and the positive outcomes for a research on the impact of multi-cultural programs in other projects (Petroska Beshka, 2011). To be sustainable there needs to be ownership of the activities by different stakeholders involved.

5.1 Ownership

Donais (2009) defines local ownership as: "*Local ownership refers to the extent to which domestic actors control both the design and implementation of political processes; in post conflict contexts, the term conveys the commonsense wisdom that any peace process not embraced by those who have to live with it is likely to fail (Donais, 2009: p. 3).* Even though Donais defines local ownership within a context of peace building, it can be transferred to social change in general and the context of Macedonia with respect to way ownership is created.

According Donais (2009) there are two distinct ways of looking at ownership. From a liberal viewpoint, local ownership emerges out of a commitment by local actors to take ownership over a largely predetermined vision of peace building. So there is a vision of peace building before the people take ownership. They take ownership of something that is not necessarily their own (Donais, 2009). This can be seen as a top-down approach, where an intervention is implemented from above and ownership is created after the creation of an intervention. This might influence how the people feel involved and how willing they are to participate. From a communitarian viewpoint, the process starts with the local actors; it is not imposed on the locals by outsiders (Donais, 2009). This view can be seen as a bottom-up approach, where an intervention emerges out of initiative of the local actors themselves. Other than in the liberal view, in the communitarian view the process starts with ownership. In this way, the people themselves come up with an intervention and feel more involved in the process. This contributes to sustainability because the people came up with their own solution for their own problem.

Within a context of ethnic tensions, it might be necessary to point the local actors on the fact that there is a problem. By only relying on the local actors in this situation, as is the case within the communitarian view, there might be no social change at al. Combining the liberal view which is more top-down with the communitarian view which is more bottom-up will give the people a better feeling of involvement within initiatives and will increase the sustainability of a program of any kind.

To get to a bottom-up ownership, people need to recognize themselves that there is an intervention needed the first place (Donais, 2009; Gusfield, 1989). When people discover a problem

themselves or when they themselves identify a fact, only then it becomes their own fact and idea (Lewin, 1945). Only the owners of a problem have the authority to call it a problem and this therefore gives them the right to influence measures for problem solving (Gusfield, 1989). Problem-ownership involves therefore not only the realization that there is a problem, but also the feeling of power over the solutions needed to solve that problem. Davies (2004) implies that when a solution involves children, there is the need to let those children themselves identify and analyze problems to come to a sustainable solution. Especially this bottom-up ownership is of great importance, for it can create an upward demand for the activities of the program.

5.2 Empowerment

Ownership arises from empowerment (Van't Rood in: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010). When empowerment is facilitated, ownership will possibly follow from it, since empowerment is a necessary condition for ownership. Therefore it is important to look at the definition of empowerment and how this can be facilitated in participants and stakeholders within the youth centers. While different definitions of empowerment are available, generally can be said that empowerment entails the feeling of the individual that he or she has the power to influence, improve or solve a situation (Bogler & Somech, 2004). It provides people with the capacity to organize and direct their own lives and decisions, and the power to make decisions for social change (Van't Rood in: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010; Smith & Greyling, 2006). Evidently, empowerment strongly relates with the concepts of self-confidence and self-esteem (Van't Rood in: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010). Empowerment is therefore an important dimension to facilitate within people to start social change from bottom-up. The characteristics of empowerment are necessary conditions for the creation of ownership and thus need strengthening before ownership is created.

When someone is empowered, he or she understands what is to be done for social change, why that needs to be done and how to do that (Van't Rood in: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010). To effectively achieve this empowerment, participatory approaches are found to be the most effective (Van't Rood in: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010).

Empowerment on student level contains the ability for students to figure out their own goals and objectives within the field of learning and to act accordingly. When empowered, students and other young people take more responsibility for their learning and take more initiatives for new ideas (Smith & Greyling, 2006). Teachers can contribute in a significant way to the attitude transformation of students. Therefore, it can be said that the empowerment of students is directly related to the empowerment of teachers, or in this case youth workers. When teachers have the feeling they can change students' attitudes, they will put more efforts in their teaching. Empowered teachers believe in their own capacities (Marks & Louis, 1997; OSCE, 2010; Smith & Greyling, 2006).

5.3 Mechanism for sustainability available

Several mechanisms for sustainability are already in place within the program. Within the UN Joint Program sustainability is mentioned as an important part of the program. Both local and national stakeholders were included in the program development and the program focuses on strengthening existing institutions. "*Sustainability will be enhanced and supported through the approach of building capacity amongst partner organisations and implementing agencies, by both ensuring ownership from an early stage (commencing with programme design and inception) and through systematic, needs-based capacity development*" (UN, 2009: p 29). The mid-term evaluation of the UN Joint Program mentions that there is significant ownership at different levels with respect to the program. It mentions specifically the government en civil society organizations (Otero, 2011). This would indicate a top-down ownership.

The workshops that are part of the program are included in the annual plans of the schools and the municipalities. This creates an obligation for the schools to offer the multi-cultural workshops. In the Strategy for Education development of Kumanovo this is mentioned in strategic objective 3, strategy 4: "*Providing mutual integration of different ethnic communities through common curricular and extra-curricular activities*" (Kumanovo, 2010: p. 38). The premises of the youth centers in all three municipalities are provided for by the municipalities free of charge (Otero, 2011). The municipality of Kumanovo committed itself to providing for a total of four youth center by 2016 (Kumanovo, 2010: p. 41).

This research looks into bottom-up ownership from the lowest level, the youth – both participants and youth workers – in the youth centers.

6. The current research

The current research is divided into two parts. In the first part, the potential for positive outcomes of contact will be discussed. The second part discusses the indications for sustainability. This first part of the research discusses the potential of the initiatives for improving inter-ethnic relations, the main differences between the potential of schools and youth centers in achieving results and the impact of the youth center activities on the youth. To get insight in this, several questions were developed:

- Does the program offer conditions necessary for positive contact?
- What are the differences between schools and youth centers in providing positive contact?
- What is the impact of the youth center initiatives of Multi Kulti in Kumanovo on the perception of the youth?

The second part looks into the indications for sustainability from the viewpoint of the youth. Also here several sub-questions were developed:

- Is Multi Kulti empowering the Youth in Kumanovo – both the youth that attend the workshops/ activities and the youth workers?
    - Do the students/ youth workers in the youth center have self-esteem?
    - Do the students/ youth workers in the youth center feel empowered?

7. Methodology

7.1 Research group

Questionnaires were distributed among the youth in the youth centers in Kicevo, Kumanovo and Struga. Because of the low response rate of the youth centers in Kicevo and Struga and the easy accessibility due to distance of the youth center in Kumanovo, the results only include the participants from the Youth center Multi Kulti in Kumanovo. A total of 79 participants from Kumanovo responded. There were 37 female (46,8%) and 41 male (51,9%) participants with a mean age of 17,39. The minimum age was 13, the maximum age 25. The standard deviation (sd) points at the spread of the responses. When the sd is 0, all the responses are equal (Van Peet, Van den Wittenboer & Hox, 2004). The sd of the age of the participants was 2.428. The ethnic composition of the group was 26 Albanians (33.3%), 43 Macedonians (55,1%) and 9 Serbians (11,5%). One participant did not mention ethnicity.

There were 63 young participants (79,7%) and 16 youth workers (20,3%). From the young participants 30 are female (48,4%) and 32 are male (51,6%). The mean age is 16,52 (sd. 1,255) The sample included 22 Albanians (34,9%), 35 Macedonians (55,6%), and 6 Serbians (9,5%). The sample of youth workers consisted of 7 female (43,8%) and 9 male (56,3%). The mean age of the youth workers was 20,69 (sd. 2,938). The group consisted of 4 Albanians (26,7%), 8 Macedonians (53,3%), and 3 Serbians (20,0%).

To create a control group for the research, the young participants were asked to indicate how long they had been attending the youth center. With this, a comparison can be made between young participants that have only attended a few workshops and young participants that have been involved already for a long time. This helps in determining the impact of the activities in the youth center. Of the 63 young participants, 52 mentioned how long they had been attending activities at the youth center. From the answers given, three groups were created. The first group are young people attending one to three months. There are 21 people in this group (40,4%), 10 female (50,0%) and 10 male (50,0%). The mean age of this group is 15.85 (sd. 1.137). The group consists of 9 Albanians (42,9%), 11 Macedonians (52,4%) and 1 Serbian (4,8%). The second group has been attending the youth center between four and eleven months. This group consists of 18 young people (34,6%), 9 female (50,0%), 9 male (50,0%). The mean age is 16,94 (sd. 1,391). This group includes 7 Albanians (38,9%), 9 Macedonians (50,0%), and 2 Serbians (11,1%). The last group are young people that have been attending the youth center for 12 months or longer. There are 13 young people in this group (25,0%), 9 female (69,2%) and 4 male (30,8%). The mean age is 16,42 (sd. 1,240). This group includes 4 Albanians (30,8%), 7 Macedonians (53,8%), and 2 Serbians (15,4%).

Interviews were conducted with a 13 youth workers and 8 young participants selected from the group of respondents from Kumanovo.

7.2 Procedure

The data gathering consisted of various components: document analysis, interviews with stakeholders, observations and a questionnaire.

  Document analysis Based on program documentation, an analysis was made of the conditions of contact available in the project and the measurements already available for sustainability. Additional documents from municipalities, CID, forumZFD, UNICEF and OSCE were used to support the program documentation.

  Interviews with stakeholders To get more information about the actual program and about the situation in the schools and the youth centers interviews were conducted with several stakeholders and partners. During the whole research project consultations were held with E. Jovanova Stoilkova, Program manager at UNICEF. Other stakeholders interviewed during the process were L. Rexhepi President of CID on 2 February 2012, J. Schustereder, Education Reform Officer OSCE, 16 February 2012, S. Maier-Wit country director of forumZFD on 24 February 2012, S. Balazhi, Senior Expert at the CHRCR on 27 February 2012 and L. Mehmedi, School director "Sande Shterjoski" in Kicevo on 9 March 2012. On 25 February and 3 March 2012, semi-structures interviews were held with ten youth workers and eight young participants at the youth center "Multi Kulti" in Kumanovo. The guiding questions for the interviews with the youth workers and the young participants can be found in appendix 2.

  Observation during field visits Three schools were visited to get a better insight in the way the workshops are delivered at the school level: Primary School "Brakja Miladinovci" in Struga on 1 February 2012, Primary school "Vuk Karadzic" in Kumanovo on 2 February 2012, and Primary school "Sande Shterjoski" in Kicevo on 9 March 2012.

  Questionnaire contact A questionnaire was created to get insight in the perception of the youth on their own ethnicity, other ethnic groups, inter-ethnic contact and their willingness for inter-ethnic contact. The questionnaire was adjusted from the MEIM-R questionnaire and adjusted to the current situation and the information necessary for this research (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM-R mainly focuses on how respondents feel about their own ethnic identity and therefore had to be adjusted to find how respondents think about other ethnic groups. A total of twenty true or false statements were provided. An example of a statement about their own ethnicity was: *(4) I feel good about my own cultural and ethnic background.* A statement about the willingness for inter-ethnic contact was: *(12) I like spending time with people from other ethnic groups*. There were also several statements posed in a negative way, for instance: *(13) I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups* or *(7) I have negative feelings about people from other ethnic groups*. See appendix 3 for the complete questionnaire. The questionnaires were distributed amongst the youth in the youth centers in Kicevo, Kumanovo and Struga in February and March 2012.

  Questionnaire Selfesteem The Rosenberg Self Esteem scale (RSE) was used to measure the level of self-esteem among students and youth workers of Multi Kulti. The RSE is a short, but reliable

test to measure self-esteem and seemed therefore a suitable questionnaire to use. The RSE is a 10-item measure with five positive (item 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7) and five negative items (item 3, 5, 8, 9 and 10). An example for a positive item is: *"I feel that I am a person of worth"*, an example for a negative item is: *"I feel I have not much to be proud of"*. The answers are arranged on a four point Likert-scale. This is a summated scale with items that are positive or negative in direction, ask for a degree of agreement or disagreement, and the score is calculated by summating the responses (Hoyle, Harris & Judd, 2002). The answers on the RSE were arranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scoring range is from 0 to 3, whereby 0 means low self-esteem and 3 high self-esteem. A total score in the range between 15 and 25 is considered to be within a normal range. Scores below 15 suggest a low self-esteem, scores above 25 suggest a high self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979). The RSE has a reliability of α=.88 (Gray-Little, Williams & Hancock, 1997; Robins, Hendins & Trzesniewski, 2001), the test-retest reliability is α=.82 after weeks, and α=.63 after 6 months (Gray-Little, Williams & Hancock, 1997) indicating a stability in the results. The RSE that was presented to the youngsters was slightly adjusted with respect to the use of language to make it better understandable for them (See appendix 3 for the RSE questionnaire).

7.3 Statistics

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15.0 was used to analyze the results of the questionnaires. To determine the differences between ethnic groups or between the experience of participants, the Pearson's chi square test was used. This test determines whether the observed frequencies are different from the expected frequencies in the whole population. The expected frequencies show no difference between the groups (Peet, Wittenboer & Hox, 2005). In order to use this test, two assumptions need to be met: (1) the categories in the test need to be mutually exclusive. This means that a person cannot be two of the categories at the same time, and (2) all possible results must be able to be placed in the table (Peet, Wittenboer & Hox, 2005). The Chi-square test (χ^2) can be used when 20% or less than the cells have an expected count less than 5, and when none of the categories have an expected frequency less than 1 (Peet, Wittenboer & Hox, 2005). If one of these two conditions are not met or in the case of a 2x2 table the Fisher exact test is used (Peet, Wittenboer & Hox, 2005). This test was used to determine if the difference between youth workers and young participants was meaningful. To ascertain the strength of the association of Chi-square Cramer's V can be used. When there is no association Cramer's V is 0, when there is a perfect association Cramer's V is 1 (Peet, Wittenboer & Hox, 2004).

To determine whether the increase in self-esteem of the youngsters was significant, Pearson's correlation was calculated. The Pearson's correlation-coefficient (r) has a value between -1 and +1. A value of -1 points at a perfect negative correlation, a value of 0 points at no correlation, and a value of +1 points at a perfect positive correlation (Peet, Wittenboer & Hox, 2004).

8. Results Contact

Here, all the different conditions of the contact theory previously discussed will be examined separately with the results from the data gathered on the way described above. The results are spilt up in three themes: conditions for positive outcomes of contact, processes for positive outcomes of contact, and conditions for negative outcomes of contact.

8.1 Conditions for positive outcomes of contact

Equal status

      Schools: The extra-curricular activities – the multicultural workshops - are organized based on the principle of equality. This means that all the groups are balanced based on ethnicity and gender. The activities are offered bilingually in both Macedonian and Albanian or another language that is a language of instruction of one of the schools. The facilitators of the workshops speak in the two languages used during workshops and will complement each other – without literally translating what the other is saying (UNICEF 2009). Based on observations during field visits, it became evident that the groups are ethnically balanced. The premises the workshops take place are within the school building. Since not all schools use the same (part of the) building, some students will have to visit a school building that might not be their own. This might be threatening for the visiting students. Some schools try to compensate for this by creating a special room for the activities.

      Youth centers: The out-of-school activities in the youth center are based on this same principle of equality. All the groups are balanced based on ethnicity and gender. The activities are offered bilingually and the facilitators of the workshops speak in the two languages used during workshops and will complement each other – without literally translating what the other is saying. A challenge for the youth centers is to create a gender balance in the groups, since it is not always possible to get as many boys as girls excited for certain workshops (L. Rexhepi, President of CID, personal communication 2 February 2012). Based on observations during field visits, it became evident that is not always the case that the group is ethnically balanced. One of the observed groups consisted of 20 young participants with 4 Albanians and 16 Macedonians. The premises of the youth centers are completely neutral and provided for by the municipalities.

Broader environment for support

      Community level - The extra-curricular and out-of-school activities are part of the larger UN program. Through this program, the children come into contact with the concept of inter-ethnic contact in both the school and the youth center, or through friends who visit the youth center.

      The municipalities are supporting the schools and the youth centers in the implementation of the activities. The multi-cultural workshops are included in the annual programs of the schools and the programs of the municipalities creating an obligation for them to offer the workshops (E. Jovanova Stoilkova). One of the objectives of the municipality of Kumanovo in their strategy for education

development is*: "providing mutual integration of different communities through common curricular and extra-curricular activities" (Municipality of Kumanovo, 2012, p. 38).* The municipalities are also providing the premises for the youth centers and show thereby their willingness to cooperate (L. Rexhepi, President of CID, personal communication 2 February 2012; S. Maier-Wit, Country Director forumZFD, personal communication 24 February 2012).

National level - In the OFA, the multi-ethnic character of the country was affirmed and the rights of minority groups were increased. Through different activities, the government is working towards a better inter-ethnic cohesion within the country. Through the OFA, the government committed itself to improving the inter-ethnic relations (International Crisis Group, 2011). Based on several surveys (UNDP, 2008; 2010; OSCE, 2010; UNICEF, 2009) it can be concluded that the media is seen as a large contributor to the inter-ethnic tensions and prejudices. Within the UN Joint Program the influence of the media is covered by the UNESCO and is therefore not further discussed.

The MoES has developed a Strategy for Integrated Education and a program document for the implementation of the strategy. This program document was developed by the working group established by the ministry of education and local representatives to support the strategy for integrated education. However, this program document has not been approved yet.

One of the main concerns on this level are the incidents that are happening throughout the country between ethnic Albanians and Ethnic Macedonians (Marusic, 2012). Even though these incidents are outside the hands of the program, they might have an influence on how the youth perceives the inter-ethnic relations.

Legal provisions - Within the legal framework there is a large support for inter-ethnic contact, not only based on the integrated education strategy, but also the international rights and declarations of human, minorities and children. Based on the baseline study from UNICEF (2009) it can be stated that both the constitution and the laws on primary and secondary education provide in respect, tolerance and non-discrimination.

Close and sustained contact

Schools: The extra-curricular activities – the multi-cultural workshops – consist of twelve workshops. The workshops last 45 minutes. The students selected for these workshops will stay together throughout all these twelve sessions. The workshops take place in between shifts at schools. There is only a limited amount of time for the students to meet and the students will either have to come to school early or have to stay longer for these activities (S. Maier-Wit, Country Director forumZFD, personal communication, 24 February 2012).

Youth Centers: The activities organized in the youth center last three to four months and the group meets twice a week for two hours. The group of students stays together through the whole project. According to the documents from CID this is *"to allow contact to be long enough to enhance the inter-ethnic dialogue and overcome the cultural gaps between the youngsters" (CID, 2011).* During and around the activities, the youth has time to interact with each other. According to Mr. L.

Mehmedi, principal of "Sande Shterjoski" in Kicevo, students attending the youth center have more contact with each other than students that have only attended the multi-cultural workshops in the school (Personal communication, 9 March 2012).

Questionnaires: There were five statements related to the condition close and sustained contact, included in the questionnaire: 6, 11, 15, 16, and 17. Table 1 gives an overview of the results for these questions (See appendix 4). Eighty-four percent of the respondents said that they spent most of their time with people from their own ethnic group. However, 82,1% also mentions to have friends from other ethnic groups. On the statement: *Outside school and the youth center I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic group*, 59,5 % of the respondents said that this was true. This seemed to be especially true for the Albanian youth (84,6%), while this was only true for 48,8% of the Macedonian Youth and 44,4% of the Serbian youth (See Graph 1). The Chi square test shows that the answer from the Albanian youth is significantly different from that of the Macedonian and Serbian youth (χ^2 (2) = 9.723, p. = .008, Cramer's V = .353). There is also a significant difference between the agreement from youth workers and young participants: 81,4% and 54,0% respectively (Fisher's Exact: .085, p. < 0.1, Cramer's V = .223).

Graph 1. Outside school and the youth center I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups – Ethnical differences
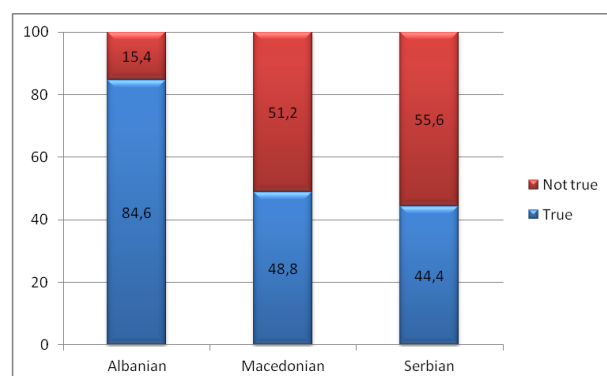
With the statement *Outside school and the youth center I spent more time with people from other ethnic groups than before*, 70,1% agrees. The results indicate that this is not influenced by the time they spent in the youth center. There is no remarkable difference between the different ethnic groups, role they have in the youth center.

Cooperation to achieve common goals

Schools: In these multi-cultural workshops, the students work together to create a common end product. An example of an activity is students working together to create Baklava and Sarma. They first create the dish in mixed groups out of paper, cardboard and other materials and than discuss what the similarities are in the Albanian and Macedonian culture in eating these dishes (UNICEF, 2010).

Youth centers: All the activities organized in the youth centers work towards a certain outcome. Some examples of these outcomes are a photo exhibition, a dance performance or a theatre play. At the end of a series of activities, the outcomes are presented to the community.

Conclusions

The conditions for positive contact are met in the program. The activities at school provide for equal status. The activities at the youth center aim at equal status but have problems assuring gender equality and also providing for an ethnical balance seems challenging. The location of the multi-cultural workshops in schools is not always neutral. There is a broader environment for support; however, this might be challenged by incidents in other parts of the country. The youth works together towards common goals – both at school and at the youth center. Especially the youth center provides opportunities for close and sustained contact. Schools are limited in providing opportunities for contact between students from different ethnic groups. The results indicate that it is mostly the Albanian students that interact with people from other ethnic groups.

8.2 Processes for positive outcomes of contact

Learning about the other group

Schools: Through the curriculum, the students have little opportunities to learn about other groups. According to UNICEF (2009/ 2007), many of the textbooks are ethnocentric, talking only about the own ethnic group or saying derogatory things about other groups. Textbook revisions should lead to the extinction of ethnocentrism and provide for positive attitudes towards other groups. A standard has been developed for the revision and development of textbooks. The standard describes in great detail what the textbooks should and should not contain. There needs to be constant attention and supervision on this matter by the MoES to see whether the new books are according to the standard and whether the schools are actually using these new or revised books.

Through the Life Skills Based Education, students will learn to develop themselves as responsible citizens in their society (UNICEF, 2009). Within the themes relations with others and responsible citizenship students gain skills, values and knowledge about their life in a multi-ethnic society (E. Jovanova Stoilkova, Program Manager UNICEF, personal communication). Even though this curriculum is not explicitly developed for the improvement of inter-ethnic relations, the curriculum can contribute to improving the relations (S. Balazhi, Senior Expert CHRCR, personal communication, 27 February 2012).

Youth centers: Within the youth center, the attendants do not explicitly learn about the other ethnic groups. Learning about each other takes place through interaction with others.

Questionnaire: There were two statements related to the condition *learning about the other group* included in the questionnaire: 8 and 14. Table 2 gives an overview of the results for these

questions (See appendix 4). The results show that almost everyone knows about the different ethnic groups in their community (92,4%) and wants to learn about them (93,2%).

Existing attitudes

An OSCE study on the perception of students towards members of other ethnic groups points out that more than half of the Macedonian students (53.7%) have negative feelings towards Albanian students and 37.6% of the Albanian students have negative feelings towards Macedonian students. Positive feeling between these two groups are present to a lesser extend, 33% of the Albanians have positive feelings toward Macedonians, only 13.1% of the Macedonians expressed positive feelings towards Albanians (OSCE, 2010). The UNICEF baseline study from 2009 even finds that students are sometimes afraid of members from other groups, but that Macedonians feel more threatened by Albanians than the other way around. Parents and teachers are seen as large contributors to these feelings (UNICEF, 2009). The fear of the other ethnic group was confirmed by one of the young people saying: "*I was scared at first to become friends. I had never met them and never talked to them. I was than 16 years old and heard they were unfriendly and didn't like to talk to others, And I believed that.*" *(Albanian young participant).*

Within the program however, there are indications of more constructive attitudes. A recent study on the influences of the multicultural program show an improvement in attitudes towards members of other groups. The results of this survey show a strong decrease in prejudices and negative stereotypes (Petroska Beshka, 2011). Also the NGO's are positive about the changes the program makes. According to forumZFD, there is less fighting at schools and both CID and forumZFD mention that the attendance of the youth centers is growing exponentially (S. Maier-Wit, Country Director forumZFD, personal communication 24 February 2012; L. Rexhepi, President of CID, personal communication 2 February 2012).

Many young people talked about the skepticism around the youth center and in school about the initiatives for inter-ethnic contact, including friends and teachers. *"Some friends are negative. They say I am wasting my time here"(Macedonian young participant)*. Or *"Many people do not understand the point of meeting between the two groups" (Macedonian youth worker)*. But also: *"People outside the youth center ask about the activities and what we are doing here" (Macedonian youth worker)*.

Questionnaire: There were three statements related to the condition *existing attitudes* included in the questionnaire: 3, 7 and 18. Table 3 gives an overview of the results for these questions (See appendix 4). Most of the youth has positive feelings towards people from other ethnic groups (93,4%). However, 17,9% shows negative feelings towards people from other ethnic groups and 25,6% of the youth sometimes thinks it would be better if different ethnic groups did not try to mix. However, the negative feelings are especially present among participants and are decreasing over time (Graph 2). Also the feeling that groups should not try to mix is only present among participants and is

decreasing over time (Graph 3). This indicates that the youth center influences the negative feelings of the participants.

Graph 2: I have negative feelings about people from other ethnic groups – over time
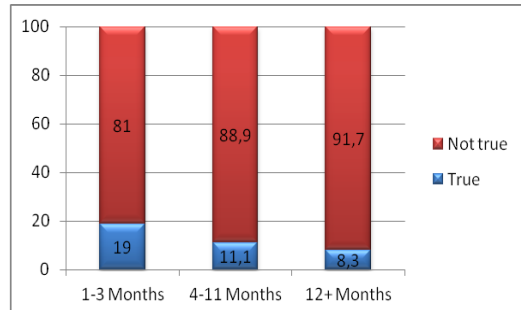
Graph 3: I sometimes feel we should not try to mix – over time
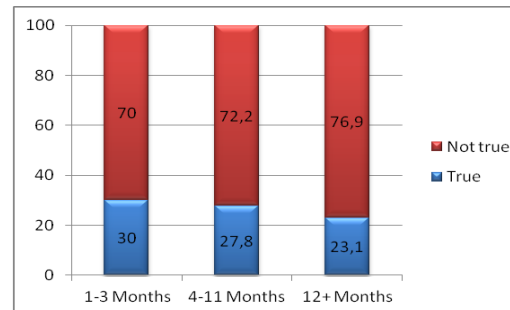
Feeling of belongingness

Based on the separation between ethnic groups in the society, it is expected that the youth has a strong feeling of belongingness to their own group. There were two statements related to the condition feeling of belongingness included in the questionnaire: 4 and 19. Table 4 gives an overview of the results for these questions (See appendix 4). Most of the youth feel good about their own ethnical background (94,9%). Eighty and a half percent of the respondents feels connected to their own ethnic group, and this is more true for young participants (85,5%) than youth workers (62,5%). One of the youth workers explained to me that he, together with more youth workers, do not feel comfortable subscribing themselves to a specific group because that implicates that we are different. This might explain the results for this statement.

Conclusions

Processes for positive outcome of contact are available for the youth in the program. The youth has opportunities to learn about each other at school and they learn from each other through interacting in the youth center. The results indicate that the youth center is contributing in the decrease of negative feelings and doubts the students have on the interaction between ethnic groups. The youth has a strong sense of belongingness to their own group.

8.3 Conditions for negative outcomes of contact

Competition

As described above with the conditions *equality* and *cooperation towards common goals*, competition is no element within the program.

Involuntary contact

Schools – The students attending the multi-cultural workshops at the school are volunteering to attend. According to Mr. L. Mehmedi, principal of "Sande Shterjoski" in Kicevo, none of the students so far have opposed the workshops. The students in his school are even requesting new joint activities. *"Students are more interested in doing things together" (L. Mehmedi, ….)*. The teachers facilitating the workshops are assigned by the school to do these activities. *"It took time to convince and attract the teachers to do the workshops"* (S. Maier-Wit, Country Director forumZFD, personal communication 24 February 2012). Mr L. Mehmedi tries to motivate the teachers in his school by providing certificates.

Youth Centers – The willingness of the youth to attend the youth centers is enormous. Both CID and forumZFD mention an exponential growth of applications for activities. The demand is higher than what the youth centers can offer (S. Maier-Wit, Country Director forumZFD, personal communication 24 February 2012; L. Rexhepi, President of CID, personal communication 2 February 2012). The youth workers facilitating the activities are former young participants, trained to become a facilitator. All are extremely motivated to lead the activities and help other youth to overcome their stereotypes.

An interesting issue with the attendance of the youth center is the fact that many of the young participants mention not only the inter-ethnic relations as a reason to attend the youth center. The activities offered at the youth center are helping the youth to develop personally in different fields. *"I learned about cultural differences, talk in front of a group, say my own opinion and make my own ideas come through."*(Macedonian young participant) and *"I wanted to make friends, learn new things, wanted to be part of flash mobs and other interesting things Multi Kulti is offering."* (Macedonian young participant). *"I wanted to learn Macedonian"* (Albanian young participant). The youth center is therefore offering another incentive for the youth to attend the activities.

Questionnaire: There were four statements related to the condition *involuntary contact* included in the questionnaire: 5, 12, 13, and 20. Table 5 gives an overview of the results for these questions (See appendix 4). Most of the youth is willing to get into contact with people from other ethnic groups. They like meeting others (96,1%), like to spent time with others (93,6%), and they want to spent more time with others (93,6%). On the statement: I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups, 16,9% agrees. This is only true for participants and there is no indication that attending the youth center is influencing these ideas.

Lack of equality

School: Through the principle of equality, the equality amongst students is guaranteed. As discussed before, schools provide for equality in the multi-cultural workshops.

Youth centers: Within the activities of the youth centers, the principle of equality is achieved. As discussed before, the challenge at the youth center is with gender equality.

Opposite values

Even though the youngsters from different ethnic groups may have different values, through the extra-curricular activities and the out-of-school activities they learn how to respect each other and to accept differences. Based on the theory it can be said that the contact itself will reduce negative attitudes towards these different values.

Conclusions

The conditions for negative outcomes of contact are mainly absent. There is no competition throughout the program, there is no lack of equality within the activities, and opposite values are discussed within the program. The youth attends the activities on a voluntary basis, both at school and at the youth center. The facilitators differ in their motivation. While the youth workers at the youth center volunteer for the position, teachers are assigned to the position, which might threaten the effectiveness of their facilitation.

9 Results sustainability

9.1 Self esteem

The scores on the RSE were divided into four groups: low self-esteem (scores 0-14), low-normal self-esteem (score 15), normal self-esteem (score 16-25), and high self esteem (score 26-30). The mean self-esteem of the youth workers is 23.00 (18-30, sd. 3.521). Twelve youth workers have a normal self-esteem (75%), four youth workers have a high self-esteem (25%) (Table 6). A total of 54 young participants (86%) filled in the questionnaire completely and got a final score. The mean self-esteem from the young participants was 20.61 (range 10-29, sd: 4.293). Three young participants have a low self-esteem (5,6%), 5 young participants have a low-normal self-esteem (9,3%), 37 young participants have a normal self-esteem (68,5%) and 9 young participants have a high self esteem (16,7%) (Table 6).

As we can see in Table 7, there is a rise in self-esteem looking at the time spent in the youth center. There is a correlation between the time spent in the youth center and the self-esteem of the young participants ($r = .371$, $p. = .013$). These results indicate that the youth center is contributing to the self-esteem of the youth.

Table 6 Self-esteem youth

	Young Participants	Youth workers	Total
N	54	16	70
missing	9	0	9
Low	3	0	3
Low-normal	5	0	5
Normal	37	12	49
High	9	4	13
M	20.61	23.00	21,16
sd	4.293	3,521	4,228
Min	10	18	10
Max	29	30	30

Table 7. Self-esteem with time spent in the youth center

	1-3 months	4-11 months	12+ months	Missing	Total
N	18	13	13	10	54
Missing	3	5	0	-	10
Low	1	1	0	1	3
Low-normal	3	1	0	1	5
Normal	11	8	11	7	37
High	3	3	2	1	9
M	19.56	21.46	22,77		20.61
sd	4,176	4,594	3.113		4.293
Min	14	13	19		10
Max	28	29	28		29

9.2 Empowerment

From the responses from the interviews, it can be determined whether the youth understands what they youth center is trying to achieve. From the analyses of the interviews, several reasons can be subtracted why the youth is attending the youth center. The youth workers mention improving relations and communication, improving trust, bring people from different ethnic groups together, to change stereotypes, and previous involvement with NGOs for inter-ethnic dialogue. The young participants mention learning about different cultures, making friends, and learning new skills as main reasons (Graph 3).

Graph 3. Why do you attend the youth center?
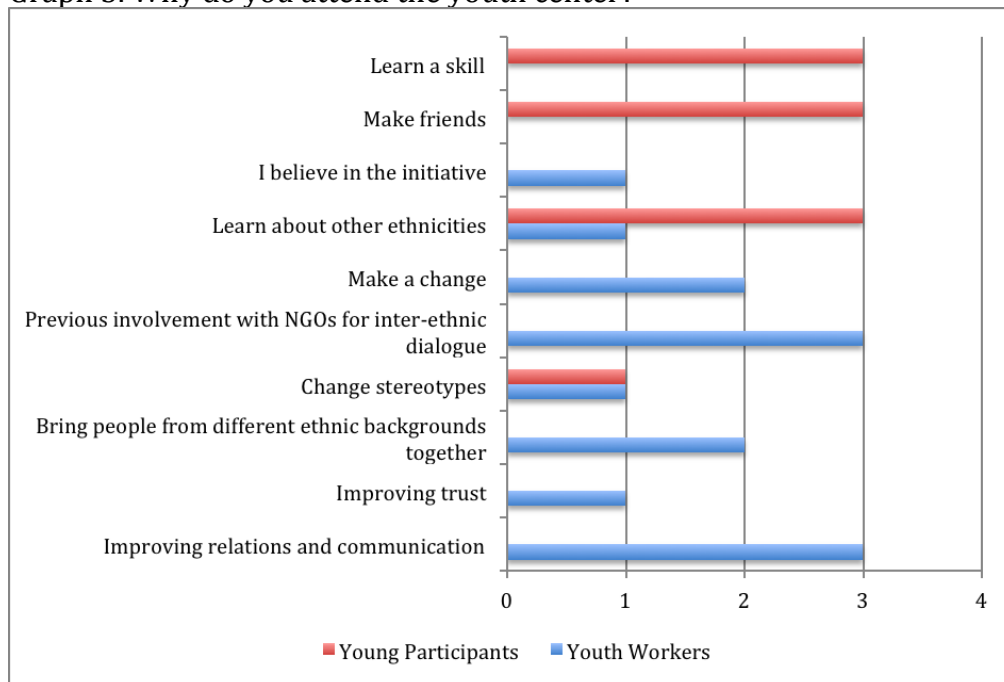
These results indicate that it is mostly the youth workers who understand what the youth center is trying to achieve. The young participants mostly have other reasons to attend the youth center. Some of the youth workers and young participants mention reasons why they think it is important to improve inter-ethnic relations. Some of the reasons mentioned are tensions in the city, people do not treat each other nicely, and people are divided. One youth worker explains what he thinks the youth center is doing:

> *It is much more than just inter-ethnic. There is a lack of structure for the youth. And this lack of structure is what leads to conflict. The youth center is empowering the young people to accept themselves* (Macedonian youth worker).

One other indication for empowerment is the feeling of the ability to influence the situation. From the statement of the interviewed youth it becomes evident that most of the youth from the youth center is trying to influence people with a negative attitude outside the youth center. A few responses will be mentioned here.

> "*People think negatively and I try to change their opinion and sometimes I am successful*" – Macedonian youth participant

> "*If others are skeptical, I talk about similarities. And I go into the details of what we do here. I explain that people are not just defined by their ethnicity, but also because they like sports or because they play piano*" – Macedonian youth worker.

> "*When people say negative things about the activities or attempts of the youth center I explain that I like working with different people and about the work I do in the workshops*" – Albanian youth worker.

> *"I influence the youth through the program. Indirectly, but I do influence them"* – Macedonian youth worker

Some of the youth workers have the feeling they also influence the youth attending their activities because of their influence on the program.

> *"You lead the program and that is influencing"* (Serbian youth worker).

These results indicate that the youth from the youth center is trying to influence other people's responses and behavior. This indicates that they have the feeling they can change things and feel empowered to do so.

9.3 Conclusions sustainability

The results from the RSE indicate that the youth in the youth center is gaining self-esteem over time. This relation is significant. The youth center is effectively contributing to the self-esteem of the youth. The youth workers all have a normal or high self-esteem. According to Van't Rood (In: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 20010), this self-esteem is an important prerequisite for empowerment. From the research it becomes evident that both youth workers and young participants seem to understand what the youth center is trying to achieve and what the youth center is there for. This is stronger among youth workers than among young participants looking at the reasons they give for attending the youth center. The youth does seem to have the feeling they can influence the situation. Many of the interviewed youth mentioned how they tried to convince others about the youth center and tries to influence their negative ideas.

Based on the theories of self-esteem and empowerment (Bogler & Somech, 2004; Van't Rood on: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010; Smith & Greyling, 2006) it can be concluded that there is a strong indication for a sense of ownership among the youth attending the youth center in Kumanovo.

10. Conclusion and discussion

Based on the outcomes of this research it becomes evident that the program at hand is creating opportunities for positive outcomes of contact as defined by Allport (1954) and others (Amir, 1969; Forbes, 2002; Pettigrew, 1998; Yablon, 2007). The youth centers are not always able to provide for equal groups, but this does not seem to influence the feelings of the youth. The results indicate that the youth center is contributing to their positive feelings towards the other groups. The attendance at the youth center is decreasing the negative feelings they have about each other. Within the schools, equal groups are created, and the students sign up voluntarily for the workshops. The students learn about the other groups through the content of the workshops and through some parts of the curriculum as defined to be important by Lewin (1945). The one possible negative influence for the workshops at the schools might be the teachers who are assigned to the workshops. Conditions for negative outcomes of contact are mainly absent in both the youth centers and the schools. The youth center is contributing to the self-esteem of the youth and the youth in the youth center feels empowered. These results together give a strong indication towards sustainability (Bogler & Somech, 2004; Van't Rood on: Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010; Smith & Greyling, 2006).

However, the research has some limitations. The first limitation that might have influenced the results is the fact that the whole research was performed in English, the questionnaires and the interviews. Even though the English of the youth was mostly good, it might have been possible that the youth did not completely understood every question and therefore gave an answer they did not really understood.

A second limitation is the fact that only the youth attending the youth center was involved in the research. The youth that is attending the youth center might already be more positive about inter-ethnic contact and therefore maybe give an overly positive view. Further research with schools and youth not attending the youth centers is necessary to overcome this limitation.

Situations that might influence the outcome of the program itself is the fact that there are still incidents throughout the country between Albanians and Macedonians. Even though the youth in Kumanovo is not directly involved in these incidents, it might be possible that their thinking is influenced by it. A second point of concern is the fact that the support from UNICEF is almost completed. This summer, the UN Joint Program is ending and the youth centers are from that moment on their own in providing the services to the youth. Even though USAID is working on a follow-up program covering other parts of the country, the current program serves as an example and the municipalities involved in the UN Joint program (Kicevo, Kumanovo, and Struga) will need ongoing support to keep up their good work.

When the youth center is enabled to continue the work they have done so far, this program has a good potential in improving the inter-ethnic relations of the youth in Kumanovo.

11. Recommendations

- Awareness raising with the teachers facilitating the workshops at school. This awareness can contribute to the willingness of the teachers to facilitate the workshop taking away a threat to the effectiveness of the multi-cultural workshops at the schools.

- Present outcomes of the workshops to the rest of the school and the parents.
  This makes sure the workshops at the schools have a clear identifiable end-goal.

- Monitoring equal conditions in the workshops in the youth center. Also other indicators for positive outcomes of contact and indicators for empowerment needs to be monitored.

- Creating a neutral place for the workshops at the school. Where schools have not yet provided this, a neutral space contributes to the willingness of the students to attend the multi-cultural workshops.

- Build leadership in the schools to create a bottom-up approach in building ownership and sustainability. In this way the school gets ownership over the program, leading to a greater connectedness to the program and its purpose.

- Expanded research to the feelings of students attending the workshops at school. This research only included the youth center in Kumanovo and it was therefore not possible to make a comparison between students that do not come to the youth center but do follow the multi-cultural workshops at school.

- Expanded research at the other two youth centers in the program. The results from the youth center Multi Kulti in Kumanovo show a positive outcome of this youth center. The situation in Kicevo and Struga are different from Kumanovo because of their location. Aside from this, there is another NGO leading the youth centers which might influence the outcomes.

- Continue motivating the youth to attend the youth center activities. The youth at the youth center is enthusiastic about the activities. However, not every young person is involved yet and they might need extra motivation to join.

- Create a safe space for the youth to discuss the incidents happening throughout the country.

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Appendix 1: Participating schools

municipality	school	languages of instruction
Kicevo	primary school "Sande Shterjoski" (principle) primary school "Dr. Vlado Polezinoski"	Albanian and/or Turkish Macedonian
	primary school "Sande Shterjoski" primary school "Kuzman Josifovski Pitu"	Albanian and/or Turkish Macedonian
	primary school "Sande Shterjoski"	Macedonian Albanian
	secondary school "Mirko Mileski" secondary school "Drita"	Macedonian Albanian
Struga	primary school "Zini Hani"-Veleshta primary school "Josip Broz Tito"-Struga	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Zini Hani"-Veleshta primary school "Kliment Ohridski"-Draslajca	Albanian Macedonian
	"Orhan Dzhemaili"-Gorno Tateshi primary school "Murat Labunishti"-Labunishta	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Brakja Miladinovci"-Struga	Albanian and/or Turkish Macedonian
	secondary school "Dr. Ibrahim Temo" -Struga	Albanian Macedonian
	secondary school "Niko Nestor"-Struga	Albanian Macedonian
Kumanovo*	primary school "Bajram Shabani" primary school "Brakja Miladinovci"	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Bajram Shabani" primary school "Krste Misirkov"	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Bajram Shabani" primary school "11. Oktomvri"	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Naim Frasheri" primary school "Kocho Racin"	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Naim Frasheri" primary school "Hristijan Karposh"	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Toli Zurdumis"	Albanian Macedonian
	primary school "Naim Frasheri" primary school "Vuk Karadzic"	Albanian Macedonian

(Source: CHRCR (2001) Proposal for implementation of multicultural activities, UNICEF)

*Secondary schools in Kumanovo:
- Goce Delcev
- Sami Frasheri
- Pero Nakov(Albanian and Macedonian classes) - this is the same school but it functions in separate buildings.
- Nace Bugjoni (Albanian and Macedonian classes) - this is the same school but it functions in separate buildings.

Appendix 2: Questions interviews

Interview youth workers Multi Kulti - Kumanovo
- Why did you become a youth worker at Multi Kulti?
- What do you think about the activities offered in Multi Kulti?
- Do you think these activities will make a difference?
    - Did they make any differences for you? (Do you have more contact?)
    - What differences do you notice among the youth that is attending the activities?
        - What was your influence on the differences within the youth?
- Do you try to motivate other youngsters to participate in the activities?
- Do you try to motivate others to become a youth worker?
- Do you talk about the youth center to people outside?

Interview youngsters Multi Kulti - Kumanovo
- Why do attend the activities in Multi Kulti?
- What do you learn from the activities offered in Multi Kulti?
- Do you think these activities will make a difference?
    - Did they make any differences for you? (Do you have more contact?)
    - Did they change anything at school?
- Do you talk to anyone outside the youth center about what you learn here?
- Do you try to motivate other youngsters to come to the youth center?
- How did your contact with youngsters from other groups change?

Appendix 3: Questionnaires Youth participants/ youth workers

How old are you? _____
O Female   O Male

What ethnicity do you consider yourself?

O Albanian   O Roma
O Macedonian   O Serbian
O Turkish   O Other: _____

Have you attended the multi-cultural workshops at school? (youth participant)
Have you attended the activities at the youth center yourself? (youth worker)
O Yes   O No

Since when have you attended the youth center? (youth participant)
When did you become a youth worker? (youth worker)
Month: _____   Year: _____

The next questions are about your thoughts about yourself. Please point out how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	I feel that I am a person of worth.	O	O	O	O
2	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	O	O	O	O
3	I often feel that I am a failure.	O	O	O	O
4	I am able to do things as good as most other people.	O	O	O	O
5	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	O	O	O	O
6	I have a positive opinion of myself.	O	O	O	O
7	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	O	O	O	O
8	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	O	O	O	O
9	I certainly feel of no use at times.	O	O	O	O
10	At times I think I am no good at all.	O	O	O	O

The next statements are about you and your ideas about ethnicity. Please point out if you think the statement is true or not true.

		True	Not true
1	Outside school and the youth center, I have spent time trying to find out more about **my own** ethnic group.	O	O
2	Outside school and the youth center, I have spent time trying to find out more about **other** ethnic groups.	O	O
3	I have positive feelings towards people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
4	I feel good about my own cultural and ethnic background.	O	O
5	I like meeting and getting to know people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
6	Outside school and the youth center, I often spent time with people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
7	I have negative feelings about people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
8	I know about the culture of the different ethnic groups that live in my community.	O	O
9	**At school** I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups	O	O
10	**At the youth center** I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups	O	O
11	**Outside the school and the youth center**, I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
12	I like spending time with people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
13	I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.	O	O
14	I want to learn more about other ethnic groups.	O	O
15	Outside school and the youth center, I spent more time with people from other ethnic groups than before.	O	O
16	I have friends from other ethnic groups.	O	O
17	I spent most of my time with people from my own ethnic group.	O	O
18	I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups **do not** try to mix.	O	O
19	I have a strong connection with my own ethnic group.	O	O
20	I would like to spend more time with people from other ethnic groups outside school or the youth center.	O	O

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 4: Results tables Contact analysis

Table 1. Close and sustained contact

| | | Total | | Ethnicity | | | | | | Role | | | | Attendance | | | | | |
| | | | | Albanian | | Macedonian | | Serbian | | Youth worker | | Youth participant | | 1-3 Months | | 4-11 Months | | 12+ Months | |
		True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true
6) Outside school and the youth center I often spent time with people from other ethnic groups	N	43	34	17	9	23	18	3	6	12	4	31	30	13	7	6	12	7	6
	%	55,8	44,2	65,4	34,6	56,1	43,9	33,3	66,7	75,0	25,0	50,8	49,2	65,0	35,0	33,3	66,7	53,8	46,2
11) Outside school and the youth center I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups	N	47	32	22	4	21	22	4	5	13	3	34	29	11	10	9	9	8	5
	%	59,5	40,5	84,6	15,4	48,8	51,2	44,4	55,6	81,3	18,8	54,0	46,0	52,4	47,6	50,0	50,0	61,5	38,5
15) Outside school and the youth center I spent more time with people from other ethnic groups than before	N	54	23	18	7	32	10	4	5	12	4	42	19	14	6	14	4	7	5
	%	70,1	29,9	72,0	28,0	76,2	23,8	44,4	55,6	75,0	25,0	68,9	31,1	70,0	30,0	77,8	22,2	58,3	41,7
16) I have friends from other ethnic groups	N	64	14	19	6	38	5	7	2	13	3	51	11	16	4	12	6	13	0
	%	82,1	17,9	76,0	24,0	88,4	11,6	77,8	22,2	81,3	18,8	82,3	17,7	80,0	20,0	66,7	33,3	100	0
17) I spent most of my time with people from my own ethnic group	N	63	12	21	3	35	6	7	2	12	3	51	9	15	5	16	1	9	3
	%	84,0	16,0	87,5	12,5	85,4	14,6	77,8	22,2	80,0	20,0	85,0	15,0	75,0	25,0	94,1	5,9	75,0	25,0

Table 2. Learning about the others

| | | Total | | Ethnicity | | | | | | Role | | | | Attendance | | | | | |
| | | | | Albanian | | Mace-donian | | Serbian | | Youth worker | | Youth participant | | 1-3 Months | | 4-11 Months | | 12+ Months | |
		True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true
8) I know about the culture of the different ethnic groups that live in my community	N	73	6	24	2	40	3	9	0	15	1	58	5	18	3	18	0	12	1
	%	92,4	7,6	92,3	7,7	93,0	7,0	100	0	93,8	6,3	92,1	7,9	85,7	14,3	100	0	92,3	7,7
14) I want to learn more about other ethnic groups	N	69	5	23	1	39	2	7	1	14	1	55	4	17	2	17	1	11	0
	%	93,2	6,8	95,8	4,2	95,1	4,9	87,5	12,5	93,3	6,7	93,2	6,8	89,5	10,5	94,4	5,6	100	0

Table 3. Existing attitudes

| | | Total | | Ethnicity | | | | | | Role | | | | Attendance | | | | | |
| | | | | Albanian | | Macedo-nian | | Serbian | | Youth worker | | Youth participant | | 1-3 Months | | 4-11 Months | | 12+ Months | |
		True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true
3) I have positive feelings towards people from other ethnic groups	N	71	5	22	2	41	2	8	0	14	1	57	4	18	2	16	1	12	1
	%	93,4	6,6	91,7	8,3	95,3	4,7	100	0	93,3	6,7	93,4	6,6	90,0	10,0	94,1	5,9	92,3	7,7
7) I have negative feelings about people from other ethnic groups	N	14	64	3	22	11	32	0	9	1	15	13	49	4	17	2	16	1	11
	%	17,9	82,1	12,0	88,0	25,6	74,4	0	100	6,3	93,8	21,0	79,0	19,0	81,0	11,1	88,9	8,3	91,7
18) I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups do not try to mix	N	20	58	6	19	13	30	1	8	0	16	20	42	6	14	5	13	3	10
	%	25,6	74,4	24,0	76,0	30,2	69,8	11,1	88,9	0	100	32,3	67,7	30,0	70,0	27,8	72,2	23,1	76,9

Table 4. Feelings of belongingness

		Total		Ethnicity						Role				Attendance					
				Albanian		Macedo-nian		Serbian		Youth worker		Youth participant		1-3 Months		4-11 Months		12+ Months	
		True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true
4) I feel good about my own cultural and ethnic background	N	75	4	25	1	41	2	9	0	15	1	60	3	19	2	17	1	13	0
	%	94,9	5,1	96,2	3,8	95,3	4,7	100	0	93,8	6,3	95,2	4,8	90,5	9,5	94,4	5,6	100	0
19) I have a strong connection with my own ethnic group	N	62	15	21	4	33	9	8	1	10	6	52	9	17	3	15	3	12	1
	%	80,5	19,5	84,0	16,0	78,6	21,4	88,9	11,1	62,5	37,5	85,2	14,8	85,0	15,0	83,3	16,7	92,3	7,7

Table 5. Involuntary contact

		Total		Ethnicity						Role				Attendance					
				Albanian		Macedo-nian		Serbian		Youth worker		Youth participant		1-3 Months		4-11 Months		12+ Months	
		True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true	True	Not true
5) I like meeting and getting to know people from other ethnic groups	N	73	3	25	0	40	2	8	0	15	1	58	2	20	0	16	1	12	0
	%	96,1	3,9	100	0	95,2	4,8	100	0	93,8	6,3	96,7	3,3	100	0	94,1	5,9	100	0
12) I like spending time with people from other ethnic groups	N	73	5	24	2	41	1	8	1	15	1	58	4	20	1	18	0	11	2
	%	93,6	6,4	92,3	7,7	97,6	2,4	88,9	11,1	93,8	6,3	93,5	6,5	95,2	4,8	100	0	84,6	15,4
13) I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups	N	13	64	6	19	7	35	0	9	0	16	13	48	4	16	3	15	2	10
	%	16,9	83,1	24,0	76,0	16,7	83,3	0	100	0	100	21,3	78,7	20,0	80,0	16,7	83,3	16,7	83,3
20) I would like to spent more time with people from other ethnic groups outside school or the youth center	N	73	5	25	0	40	3	8	1	14	2	59	3	19	1	17	1	13	0
	%	93,6	6,5	100	0	93,0	7,0	88,9	11,1	87,5	12,5	95,2	4,8	95,0	5,0	94,4	5,6	100	0