



Universiteit Utrecht

**The Ethnic Identity and Inter-Ethnic Relations of Primary and Secondary
School Students in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

A quantitative study & network analysis

Yvette Leonie Nijboer

June 2011

Supported by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Name: Yvette L. Nijboer
Student number: 3188469
Master: 'Education, Socialization & Youth Policy'
Specialization: 'Education and child development in the context of international humanitarian cooperation and aid (Education & international cooperation)'
Supervisor UU: Dr. Rogier van't Rood

Abstract – The aim of the present study is to measure ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations of primary and secondary school students in Macedonia. Differences between students in mono-ethnic Albanian and Macedonian classrooms, and mixed ethnic classrooms were examined as well as differences between self-identified ethnicity, region, gender. A sample of 410 primary (M age = 13) and secondary (M age = 18) school students from 18 different schools participated in this study. Data were collected by means of a questionnaire containing the Revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure [MEIM-R] (Roberts et al., 1999) with two subscales: exploration and affirmation, the Othergroup Orientation scale [OGO scale] (Phinney, 1992), as well as a social network analysis in mixed ethnic classrooms. The results show that of the three largest ethnic groups: Albanian ($n=196$), Macedonian ($n=166$), Roma ($n=26$) the Roma scored significantly higher on the MEIM-R and OGO scale. Thus, the Roma student score higher on ethnic identity and show more willingness to interact with other ethnic groups than the Albanian and Macedonian students. On the subscale exploration Macedonian students scored significantly lower and on the subscale affirmation the Albanians scored significantly lower than the Roma. Macedonian students have explored less of their ethnic background and Albanian students feel less connected to their ethnic group than the Roma students. Interaction effects were found between age and ethnic self-identification. It was also found that students studying in a mixed ethnic classroom showed more willingness to interact with other ethnic groups than students from mono-ethnic classrooms. However, in two of the five mixed ethnic classrooms there was ethnic segregation between students. These results indicate that there is more to integration than placing students from different ethnicities together in one classroom.

Samenvatting – Het doel van dit onderzoek is het meten van ethnische identiteit en interethnische relaties bij leerlingen in het basis- en voortgezet onderwijs in Macedonië. Gekeken is naar verschil tussen leerlingen in mono-ethnische Albanese en Macedonische klassen en leerlingen in gemengd ethnische klassen. Een steekproef van 410 basis- ($M = 13$ jaar) en middelbare ($M = 18$ jaar) school leerlingen van 18 verschillende scholen deden mee aan dit onderzoek. Data zijn verzameld door middel van een vragenlijst met daarin de Revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure [MEIM-R] (Roberts et al. 1999) met de twee subschalen: exploratie and affirmatie, de Othergroup Orientation scale [OGO schaal] (Phinney, 1992), alsmede een sociale netwerk analyse in gemengde ethnische klassen. De resultaten laten zien dat van de drie grootste ethnische groepen: Albaniërs ($n = 196$), Macedoniërs ($n = 166$) en Roma ($n = 26$) de Roma significant hoger scoren op de MEIM-R en OGO schaal. De Roma leerlingen scoren dus hoger op ethnische identiteit en tonen meer bereidheid om met andere ethnische groepen om te gaan dan de Albanische en Macedonische leerlingen. Op de subschaal exploratie scoren Macedonische leerlingen significant lager en op de subschaal affirmatie scoren Albaniërs significant lager dan de Roma. Macedonische leerlingen verdiepen zich dus

minder in hun ethnische achtergrond en Albanische leerlingen voelen zich minder verbonden met hun ethnische groep dan de Roma studenten. Interactie effecten zijn gevonden tussen leeftijd en ethniciteit. Het blijkt dat leerlingen die in gemengde ethnische klassen zitten tot meer interactie met andere ethnische groepen bereid zijn dan leerlingen die in mono-ethnische klassen les krijgen. Echter, in twee van de vijf gemengde ethnische klassen blijkt toch een duidelijke ethnische scheiding tussen leerlingen te zijn. Dit laat zien dat voor integratie meer nodig is dan verschillende ethniciteiten bij elkaar in één klas zetten.

Keywords: students, ethnic identity, social network analysis, MEIM, Macedonia/FYROM

Literature study

Macedonia's ethnic context

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (henceforth Macedonia) is a small, landlocked country situated on the Balkan peninsular in Southeast Europe. It peacefully gained independence in 1991 after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. From the start Macedonia has faced challenges concerning its legitimacy and stability in the region. Internationally Macedonia was faced with the wars in the Western Balkan and experienced an influx of Albanian refugees fleeing from Kosovo in 1999 (Green & Dreier, 2009; Myhrvold, 2005). It also experienced disputes with Bulgaria concerning the official language, with Serbia over the independent Macedonian Church, and ongoing disputes with Greece about its name and flag. Internally Macedonia had to deal with a fragile ethnic balance and prospects of inter-ethnic conflict (Bieber, 2005; Green & Dreier, 2009; Myhrvold, 2005; Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004). Above all, the domestic ethnic tensions have proven to be the biggest ongoing threat to the stability and peace within Macedonia.

A census conducted by the Macedonian State Statistical Office [MSSO] in 2002 shows that the multi-ethnic population of Macedonia is made up of a two-third Macedonian majority, a quarter Albanian minority and smaller minorities of Turks, Serbs, Roma and Vlachs. In contrast, Albanians form the majority and Macedonians the minority in the northeastern region of the country (MSSO, 2002; Jakimova, 2010). The relationship between the ethnic Macedonians and the ethnic Albanians has been particularly tense. Between both groups are feelings of deep distrust and suspicion, the Albanians feel like marginalized second-class citizens with little political influence while the Macedonians fear the loss of their majority privileges (Green & Dreier, 2009; Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004)¹

The growing tensions between the Albanians and Macedonians reached a climax in early

¹ Note that whenever the terms Macedonians, Albanians, Serbs and Turks are used in this article the reference is to the respective ethnic groups instead of the nationalities since all groups have the Macedonian nationality.

2001 when an armed conflict broke out near the Kosovo border between the Macedonian security forces and the (ethnic) Albanian National Liberation Army. International support from the United States, the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE] helped to end the conflict before it could erupt into a full scale civil war (Daftary, 2001; Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004). On 13 August 2001 a peace treaty called the Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed by the government and the ethnic Albanian representatives. An important focus of the Ohrid Agreement was to address the Albanian grievances. This meant giving more legal rights to the use of the Albanian language as well as by providing a fairer system of power sharing between the Macedonian and Albanian population in the country (Bieber, 2005; Daftary, 2001).

However, the Ohrid Agreement has had a limited effect in relieving the ethnic tensions in Macedonia. To explain this, we need to examine the background causes of the 2001 clashes. A range of indicators, such as political, economic, or social dimensions can be used to classify a country's risk for conflict but group inequality seems to be a prevalent risk factor running through all three dimensions (Stewart, 2000). Analysis of the situation in Macedonia before the start of the 2001 clashes shows group inequality at all three dimensions with ethnic minority groups facing biased political institutions, unequal economic distribution systems as well as social discrimination (Green & Dreier, 2009). For the ethnic Albanian population these discriminatory practices are well addressed in the Ohrid Agreement, however, the agreement fails to provide similar rights for the smaller ethnic groups in Macedonia (Bieber, 2005). Another flaw Bieber (2005) acknowledged in the Ohrid Agreement is the lack of attention given to inter-ethnic communication. Daftary (2001) supports this view by underlining that reasons for the ongoing ethnic tensions should not primarily be sought in inter-ethnic grievances. Instead he argues that the main reason for the ethnic tensions seems to be the limited interaction between Macedonians and Albanians which results in a lack of knowledge and inaccurate presumptions about each other. Solutions that claim to relieve ethnic tension should therefore focus to create inter-ethnic knowledge and contact in order to invalidate these existing presumptions between ethnic groups.

Instead, in today's Macedonian society the Macedonian and Albanian communities remain divided by religion, language and a strong sense of ethnic identity. Macedonians and Albanians live almost separated lives in parallel societies within the same country (Myhrvold, 2005). There is little contact between both ethnic groups since they often live in different neighborhoods, access different media, go to different shops and have different city businesses (Green & Dreier, 2009; Myhrvold, 2005). According to Berry's model of acculturation (Berry, 2008) this makes Macedonia a textbook example of a segregated society in which ethnic groups maintain their own culture, language, and identity, without much contact between the ethnic groups. Segregation is not the only threat to the

internal stability in Macedonia. Marginalization is another problem in Macedonian society. The Roma population is largely excluded from society, according to Berry's model of acculturation this makes the Roma community in Macedonia a marginalized community. The European Commission defines social exclusion as "*a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by the virtue of their poverty or lack of basic competences and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. [...].*" (European Commission, 2004, p.8). This is in line with the situation of Roma in Macedonia who face high levels of poverty, discrimination and prejudice (Unicef, 2007).

Segregation and marginalization put a country at high risk for internal conflict (Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010); it also contributes to other threats to society such as social inequality and a lack of social participation by its citizens. Whereas societies with more social cohesion are better economically developed and have lower levels of corruption. In general a certain degree of trust between citizens is necessary for a democratic society to function and remain stable (Anger, Van't Rood & Gestakovska, 2010).

Educational segregation

One of the domains in Macedonia with a high degree of segregation is the education system (Green & Dreier, 2009; Myhrvold, 2005; Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004). It is believed that, by giving minorities more legal rights for education in their mother tongue, the Ohrid Agreement has contributed to the continually increasing number of schools in Macedonia that are divided by ethnic or linguistic lines (Anger et al., 2010). Only 31 percent of the primary schools in Macedonia are multilingual (OSCE, 2010b). These multilingual schools are not necessarily mixed ethnic schools in which children attend ethnically mixed classrooms. Even when teaching is done within the same building a shift-system is often used in which one ethnic group participates in classes in the morning and the other group in the afternoon (Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004). In some regions such as the northeastern city Tetovo not a single mixed ethnic school can be found (Green & Dreier, 2009). The constitution states that minorities accounting for more than 20 percent of the population in the country or within a community are entitled to have education in their own language. Furthermore, everyone has the right to receive language classes in his/her own mother tongue (Anger et al., 2010). However, a minimum of 24 students is required to continue these language classes (Myhrvold, 2005). As a result the primary and secondary school curriculum in Macedonia is available in the Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Serbian language, and there are language classes in Romany and Vlach (Myhrvold, 2005). These improved educational rights for minorities were necessary and desirable to smooth tensions after the unrest in 2001, and limiting interactions between different ethnic groups is commonly seen in Macedonia as a good preventive measure

against inter-ethnic tensions (Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004).

However, in a speech at the South East European University, Mr. Knut Vollebaek from the OSCE (2009) describes the current educational system as “*well-intentioned linguistic segregation*” (OSCE, 2009, p.5) which could result in limited Macedonian language skills among ethnic minorities, especially since only two weekly classes in Macedonian language are obligated (Myhrvold, 2005). Moreover, educational segregation also has an impact on children’s academic achievements, social development, ethnic identity development and therefore on their interaction with and feelings about people from other ethnicities (Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004; Vollebaek, 2009).

Educational segregation in Macedonia is generally seen as important to prevent ethnic conflict and to support the rights of minorities to preserve their language, culture, and ethnic values. Albeit considered important, it does not mean that all ethnic groups in Macedonia get the same academic opportunities. Due to high drop-out rates minorities are underrepresented at the secondary and university levels (Daftery, 2001; Jakimova, 2010), especially Roma community members and female ethnic Albanians drop-out frequently (Myhrvold, 2005). The current education system reflects the desired strategy of “*separate but equal*” (OSCE, 2008, p.14), however, this system has proven to be unrealistic since primary education in minority languages is often of a lower standard and a high achievement gap exists between ethnic Macedonians and the minority groups (OSCE, 2008). Problems with the quality of education for minority groups also exist in other countries. A study in the United States found that students from minority schools are less prepared to go to college compared to students from ethnically mixed schools (Vollebaek, 2009). Research in the United States links the degree of educational segregation directly to this achievement gap, whereas integrated education seems to be beneficial for the academic achievement of both majority and minority groups (Vollebaek, 2009). Furthermore, Porter (1999) adds to this that the polarization of achievement between groups is also directly linked to the breakdown of social cohesion in a society.

Social and ethnic identity development

Educational goals include more than just academic achievement; education also has a social function. Children acquire social knowledge and attitudes that endure into adulthood. Since children in most societies spend a lot of time in schools it is inevitable that much of their social knowledge and attitudes will be formed by experiences in these educational settings. Turiel (1983) supports the belief that childhood experiences are important in social development; he describes social development as “*A process by which individuals generate understanding of the social world, by making inferences and forming theories about experienced social events*” (Turiel, 1983, p.1). These theories or schemas give us the ability to categorize people, which is an important and necessary

aspect of social development. Categories are important and necessary because they give us the ability to simplify and organize the world around us. An additional aspect of this ability is that people also categorize themselves. Whether people categorize their social world according to gender, interests, age, ethnicity or occupation they will always have a category in which they would include themselves. This means creating an ingroup (us) and an outgroup (them) (Vonk, 2001). In Macedonia the ethnic category is especially profound and therefore ethnicity inevitably has a large influence in shaping social categories (Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004).

Due to the ethnic segregation in Macedonia not all ethnically related schemas and categories are formed by children's own experiences. Instead children pick up negative stereotypes and prejudices about the other ethnic groups from their parents, their teachers, as well as their peers. Since most children in Macedonia get limited opportunities to interact with members of the other ethnic groups it is impossible for them to counter the authenticity of these stereotypes (Green & Dreier, 2009; Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004).

However, before a child can form ethnic stereotypes, or even differentiate between ethnic in- and out- groups, he/she first needs to develop ethnic awareness. After all, someone has to be aware of a group before he can have certain feelings about a group. The OSCE (2010a) found that most secondary school students in Macedonia reported the development of ethnic awareness between the age of six and fourteen. Nesdale (1999), however, states that ethnic awareness emerges at the age of three with most children having full ethnic awareness by the age of six or seven. This difference can be explained by taking a closer look at both studies. The OSCE (2010a) has relied on self-reports and specifically notes that these do not have to correspond to the actual age ethnic awareness is formed. Also, Nesdale (1999) does not distinguish between racial and ethnic awareness, but in Macedonia the ethnic groups are largely visibly indistinguishable from each other whereas for example in the United States most of the research concerning ethnic awareness is done with African American, Caucasian, and Hispanic children. The lack of visible differences between most ethnicities in Macedonia makes it more likely that children in Macedonia develop ethnic awareness at an older age than children living in a multi-racial country such as the United States.

Ethnic self-identification is developed soon after ethnic awareness is created (Nesdale, 1999). Children also start to develop feelings about the ethnic group they self-identify with. Ethnic attitude is the term used for these feelings about one's own ethnic group. Ethnic self-identification and ethnic attitude together form ethnic identity. Ethnic identity thus refers to the degree to which individuals have explored their ethnicity, are clear about what their ethnic group membership means to them, and identify with their ethnic group (Phinney, 1996, as cited in Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin, 2006). Besides developing feelings about their own ethnic group, children also develop feelings about other ethnic groups. Interestingly enough, the research by the OSCE (2010a) reports

that more than half of the students developed positive as well as negative feelings about other ethnic groups after the age of ten. Thus, it seems that ethnic awareness does not immediately result in positive or negative feelings about other groups. These findings are supported by both Nesdale (1999) and Brewer (1999). Nesdale (1999) acknowledges a pattern of four consecutive phases ranging from undifferentiated to ethnic prejudice. Ethnic awareness is the second phase and is followed by ethnic preference, which only relates to ingroup self-identification and not to ethnic prejudice which he describes as the last phase. Furthermore, Nesdale (1999) notes that children do not choose their playmates by ethnic category, instead, at least until the age of 10 or 11, the gender category plays a much bigger role in determining friendships. Brewer (1999) believes that ingroup liking does not have to lead to outgroup hating. Although the risks of outgroup hating as well as ethnic friendship segregation are larger when a single primary categorization such as ethnicity is important enough to divide a population in subgroups (Brewer, 1999); as is the case in Macedonia.

Teachers also play an important part in the process of ethnic prejudice and are described by the OSCE (2010a) as the single most important school factor to affect ethnic attitude. Results indicate that teachers affect about 40 percent of the ethnic attitude of students. Teachers thus have an important role to play when it comes to ethnic attitude; therefore it is concerning that almost half of the interviewed students in Macedonia state they have often or sometimes heard negative comments about other ethnic groups from their teachers (OSCE, 2010a).

Integrated education

Because of the influence of education on social and ethnic development as well as on academic achievement, the educational system is not only seen as a yet another domain in which segregation is clearly visible, but also as a big contributor to the segregation in society (Green & Dreier, 2009; Petroska-Beska & Najcevska, 2004; Vollebaek 2009). In line with the above described negative effects of segregation on social development and academic achievement it should be wise for Macedonia to move towards a multicultural society. According to Berry's model of Acculturation (Berry, 2008) a multicultural society is defined by a high maintenance of heritage culture and identity while at the same time seeking relationships with other groups. To accomplish this multicultural society the ethnic groups need to integrate, a process in which ethnic groups keep their own ethnic characteristics but also engage in day-to-day contact with the other ethnic groups (Berry, 2008). Although the educational system is described as a contributing factor to the current level of segregation in Macedonia it can also be seen as a potential starting point to break the cycle. Integrated education can be part of the solution and can contribute to the process of Macedonia becoming an integrated society (Vollebaek, 2009).

From a macro-perspective the necessity for integrated education can be found in

international regulations and the broader educational goal of training children to become democratic citizens within a multicultural society. Macedonia is a member state of the Council of Europe [CoE] an international organization that works towards European integration. Education for Democratic Citizenship is said to have a prominent place in the Macedonian school curriculum (CoE, n.d.). A number of different programs are implemented to enable young people to participate in society and to help them develop inter-ethnic tolerance, cooperation, peaceful solutions for conflicts, a sense of belonging, and an understanding of the importance of ancient cultures for the development of European culture in general (CoE, n.d.). In other words, the Council of Europe believes that schools should help to raise a future generation of citizens who lead integrated lives, not divided by boundaries of ethnic communities, which is said to be reached by overcoming the segregation in schools (Galubeva et al., 2009).

A first step would be promoting integrated education, although even in integrated schools Petroska-Beska and Najcevska (2004) observed a lack of interaction between ethnic groups during breaks and extra-curricular activities.

Two important aspects of friendship formation are similarity and propinquity (nearness) (Santrock, 2007; Hallinan & Williams, 1989). Similarity refers to the fact that throughout adolescence a predominant aspect of friendship formation is noticing a certain degree of similarity between friends. Friends are often similar in factors such as age, ethnicity and social class (Santrock, 2007, Moody 2001). A similar ethnic background is thus likely to be an important factor in friendship formation, especially because ethnicity is such an important aspect of everyday life in the Macedonian society (Myhrvold, 2005). However preference towards one's own ethnic group does not mean excluding possible friendships with people from other ethnic groups. It is possible that other similarities such as common activities, age or gender overwrite the importance of ethnicity (Hallinan & Williams, 1989). Another important aspect in friendship formation is propinquity which is a term used in social psychology to describe physical or psychological proximity between people. Propinquity refers to the fact that people who are closer to each other have more opportunity to interact and are therefore more likely to become friends (Hallinan & Williams, 1989). In a segregated society people automatically experience more propinquity with people from their own ethnic background.

Moody (2001) analyzed ethnic friendship segregation in two ethnic heterogeneous high schools in the United States. In one of them he found that ethnicity did not matter much in creating friendships while in the other school clear segregation existed between ethnic groups. It thus seems that integrating education is more than just placing children from different ethnic backgrounds in one classroom, and that schools therefore have an important role to play in reducing ethnic segregation. Ervin Staub (2000, as cited in Green & Dreier, 2009), an expert in the psycho-social

aspects of ethno-political conflict, correctly notes that “*Significant contact between previously hostile groups can help overcome hostility, superficial contact, however, does not do this*” (Green & Dreier, 2009, p.4). The quantity of contact is, however, not the only important aspect; more important appears to be the quality of inter-ethnic contact. The contact theory by Allport (1954) provides four conditions for optimal inter-ethnic contact so that this contact can lead to friendship instead of conflict. First is a need for equal status between all ethnic groups, second is a collective goal which can be reached through extra-curricular activities such as team sports or theatre lessons, third the ethnic groups have to cooperate to reach this goal, and fourth is the need for support from authority figures such as teachers and administrators. Without following these guidelines it is possible that even in integrated classrooms segregation continues to occur along ethnic lines.

Research question and hypotheses

The current study is guided by the following questions: Do the few integrated classrooms in Macedonia contribute to an integrated society, or is this integration merely superficial and restricted to the classroom setting? What are the ways in which the education in a segregated environment influences ethnic identity and how does it influence inter-ethnic relations? What is the degree to which categories of ethnicity, age, gender and geographic area influence the ethnic identity process? Therefore, the following research question and its two sub-questions will be answered in this article:

What is the opinion of primary and secondary school students in Macedonia concerning their own ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations?

- Are there significant differences between ethnicities, age-groups, gender or geographic areas concerning ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations?
- What is the quality of interaction between students from different ethnicities in an ethnically mixed classroom?

Following previous research certain results are expected. The results for the first sub-question are expected to be the following: Ethnic identity is believed to be more important to smaller ethnic groups than to the largest ethnic group in a region (Phinney, 1992; Worrel, Conyers, Mpofu & Vandiver, 2006) This leads to the expectation that smaller ethnic groups in Macedonia will express a higher sense of ethnic identity than the majority group in Macedonia. It also leads to the expectation that geographic differences will be found, because in Macedonia ethnic composition varies widely across regions (MSSO, 2002). This means that in areas where Albanians form a majority their sense of ethnic identity is expected to be lower than in areas where Albanians form a

minority. Gender differences are not expected to be found for ethnic identity, but might be found for attitude towards other ethnic groups. Previous studies have found mixed results with girls sometimes scoring higher on willingness to interact with other ethnic groups than boys (Dandy, Durkin, McEvoy, Barber & Houghton, 2008). Age differences are expected to be found only for the exploration aspect of ethnic identity formation since secondary school is associated with exploration of identity (Phinney, 1993). No differences are expected concerning the attitude of Albanians and Macedonians towards other ethnicities. Other minorities such as the Roma population are likely to be more positive towards other ethnic groups. This is explained by the idea that Albanians and Macedonians are highly segregated from other ethnic groups while smaller minorities are more exposed to other ethnic groups and therefore more likely to have a positive attitude towards them (Green & Dreier, 2009).

The results of the second sub-question, concerning interaction between different ethnicities in mixed classrooms, are difficult to predict since the quality of interaction plays an important role in inter-ethnic friendship development. Students in ethnically mixed classes do experience propinquity since they live in the same area and follow classes together, but they might not experience enough similarity to form constructive inter-ethnic friendships (Santrock, 2007; Hallinan & Williams, 1989). It is thus expected that in the mixed ethnic classrooms ethnicity does play a role in friendship formation. But the importance of this role depends on the level of similarity established. This assumption is supported by Moody (2001) who also found differences in ethnic segregation between similar schools. Other important aspects for positive interaction between ethnicities are the four conditions proposed by Allport (1954). It is expected that in schools where the conditions of Allport (1954) are met, other similarities between students might be more important when forming friendships than ethnicity. Therefore, if students in integrated classrooms do frequently and positively interact with other ethnicities this can either be the result of well-constructed integration supported by the organizational characteristics of the school, or simply because other social categories such as gender are more important than ethnicity to determine friendships (Hallinan & Williams, 1989). In comparison to students who attend mono-ethnic classrooms the expected result is that students in mono-ethnic classrooms express higher levels of ethnic identity, and lower levels of willingness to interact with other ethnicities than students in mixed ethnic classrooms.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

The sample of the present study consisted of 410 students (43% boys and 57% girls) attending nine primary and nine secondary schools in Macedonia, with a mean age for primary

Ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations school students of 13 years (range 11 – 15 years, 6th, 7th and 8th grade, SD = 1 years) and a mean age of 18 years (range 16 – 19 years, 3rd and 4th grade, SD = 1 years) for the secondary school students. Three primary and three secondary school classes were ethnic Macedonian; three primary and three secondary school classes were ethnic Albanian, and three primary and three secondary school classes were ethnically mixed. A classroom was defined as 'mixed' when at least twenty percent of the students were from a different ethnicity. The selected schools were from the capital Skopje and three other geographically distinct regions in the country ranging from the predominately ethnic Albanian region in the northwest to the predominantly ethnic Macedonian region in the east of the country (Annex 1). Macedonian was the language of instruction in twelve of the classrooms and Albanian was the language of instruction in six of the classrooms. Contact with the schools was established with the support of the OSCE Educational Reform Unit in Skopje in 2011.

The ethnic composition of the sample was determined by means of ethnic self-identification; these were controlled by parental ethnicity. 196 of the students identified themselves as Albanian, 166 as Macedonian, 26 as Roma, 11 as Turkish, 4 as Vlach, 3 as Bosniak, 2 as Macedonian Muslim and 1 as Serbian. However, a total of twenty-two students came from ethnically mixed marriages and two children identified themselves as Macedonian even though both parents were not ethnic Macedonian (i.e. American, Bulgarian, and Turkish). Because ethnicity is generally considered a fluid and subjective concept (Oxfam, 1995, Smith, 1986) the decision was made to solely rely on students ethnic self-identification.

Data was collected by means of a questionnaire which took the students approximately twenty minutes to complete (Annex 2). The questionnaire was first translated from English to Macedonian; then from Macedonian to Albanian; and finally from Albanian back to English to check for inconsistency in the translations. A pilot study among six students was conducted before the actual sample was obtained. This resulted in minor adjustments to the formulation of one question; deleting one of the questions as well as leaving out respondents' last name, also a few changes in the translation were made.

Measurements

Ethnic identity measure, ethnic identity was measured by using the Revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R) (Roberts et al., 1999). The original MEIM was published in 1992 and consisted of twenty questions (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM-R consists of twelve questions to determine ethnic identity which can be divided into the two factors: ethnic identity exploration (a developmental and cognitive component), and affirmation, belonging, and commitment (an affective component) (Roberts et al., 1999). The MEIM-R was chosen to measure ethnic identity because it is a frequently used measure in multicultural research and has shown to be consistently

reliable (Dandy et al., 2008; Phinney, 1992). The MEIM-R rates questions along a four-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' (Roberts et al., 1999; Phinney, 1992), which is a forced choice method since no neutral answer can be given. Scores range from 1 (low level of ethnic identity achievement) to 4 (high level of ethnic identity achievement) a total score for the MEIM-R and its two subscales was determined by obtaining the mean of the items. The ethnic identity exploration subscale consisted of 5 items with a medium correlation between the items ($\alpha = .65$), and the affirmation, belonging and commitment subscale consisted of 7 items with a high correlation between the items ($\alpha = .87$). The complete MEIM-R had a high Cronbach's alpha of .82. The Cronbach's alpha measures homogeneity between items. A high Cronbach's alpha means that there is a high association between different items on a scale. The Cronbach's alpha can vary between .00 and 1.00. Above .70 the homogeneity between items is considered to be high (Field, 2005).

Other-group orientation, the other-group orientation (OGO) scale was originally included in the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) however; the MEIM-R (Roberts et al., 1999) did not include the OGO scale. In this study the scale was included as a separate construct to measure willingness to interact with other ethnic groups. The OGO scale was chosen because the items in the scale give a good indicator of someones willingness to interact with other ethnicities, and the scale is used in numerous other studies which makes comparison possible and therefore increases the usefulness of the data (Dandy et al., 2008; Phinney, 1992). The OGO scale consists of six questions concerning inter-ethnic interaction (e.g. 'I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups'). One of the items of the OGO scale was reversed (i.e. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together). Each item was rated along a four-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Scores range from 1 (low level of inter-ethnic contact) to 4 (high level of inter-ethnic contact) a total score for the OGO scale was determined by obtaining the mean of the items. The OGO scale shows a high internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha for the complete other-group orientation scale was .71, and after deleting the reversed item the internal reliability increased to .79.

Social network analysis, to measure inter-ethnic interactions between students within a classroom two extra social network questions were asked in the six mixed classrooms. One of the primary classrooms was not suitable for a network analysis because the principal had put students who normally don't attend classes together into one classroom. Sociograms were used to display the quality of inter-ethnic contact within the other five mixed classrooms. For each classroom two sociograms were created. A positive sociogram which shows the answer to the question "Name your two best friends in this classroom" while a negative sociogram shows the answer to the question: "Name the two people in this classroom who you interact with least". These questions were

matched with the adolescent's ethnic self-identification and gender to create the sociograms revealing positive and negative relationship patterns within the classroom. The sociograms were created by using the program Walsh's Classroom Sociometrics (Walsh, 2011). This computer application creates a sociogram by case and gender, while ethnic variation was added to the output by using a color scheme. A nomination chart was also produced to reveal how many times students were nominated by their classmates for the positive sociogram and the negative sociogram. Students were referred to as neglected when not nominated at all, rejected when mostly negatively nominated, popular when mainly positively nominated and controversial when they are both positively and negatively nominated (Coie, Dodge & Coppotelli, 1982). Students without extreme nominations were referred to as average.

Results

In the following section the results of the survey will be addressed. First the motives for including only the Roma, Albanian and Macedonia sample in the ethnic comparisons will be explained. Second a confirmatory factor analysis will be carried out to verify the different factors expected for the MEIM-R and OGO scale. It is expected that the correlation between the items can be explained by forming three different factors, namely the OGO scale, and the MEIM-R subscales exploration and affirmation. If this is the case, the separate items will be reduced to these three factors. Third a Pearson correlation, which calculates the correlation between different interval or ratio variables, will be carried out to test for possible correlations between the expected factors: the OGO scale and the MEIM-R subscales exploration and affirmation. Fourth the descriptives and group comparisons will be addressed and finally the social network analysis of the mixed classes will be addressed.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16.0 was used for analyzing the results of the survey. All tests were run with a .05 alpha level which is common in the social sciences and indicate that significant results obtained in statistical tests are with 95 percent certainty correctly defined as significant. Missing values were excluded by using the function *exclude cases analysis by analysis*. Which ensures maximum use of data because correspondents are only excluded when they have missing values in a particular analysis, instead of in all possible analyses. In the present dataset < 1% of the data was defined as missing value.

Ethnic sample size

Due to small sample size no ethnic group comparisons could be made for the Turkish, Vlach, Bosniak, Macedonian Muslim and Serbian ethnicities. However, these small samples were still included in the gender, age, and geographic group comparisons as well as in the social network

analysis. The Albanian and Macedonian samples were the largest and together they accounted for 88.5 percent of the total sample. The small Roma sample accounted for only 6.3 percent of the total sample. Decided was to include the Roma sample in the ethnic group comparisons because the sample size was 26 and approached the generally accepted sufficient sample size of 30 (Grimm, 1993). Another reason for inclusion of the relatively small Roma sample is that the sample is representative for the population since only 2.66% of the general population in Macedonia is Roma (MSSO, 2002), whereas both Albanians (25%) and Macedonians (64%) have a much larger population size in Macedonia (MSSO, 2002).

The difference in sample size between the two large samples of Macedonians and Albanians and the smaller sample of Roma has consequences for the results of this study. Significant results are less likely to be found. The reason for this is that the statistical dispersion of the Roma data can be expected to be larger and therefore to be statistically significant a bigger mean difference is needed.

Factor analysis

A confirmatory factor analysis with an unrotated factor solution was performed to verify the two factors for the MEIM-R as found in other studies, namely exploration and affirmation, and the one expected factor for the OGO scale (Roberts et al., 1999). The reversed item 'I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together' did not load on any factor and was therefore removed from the OGO scale. All other 17 items loaded on the expected factors. As a cut-off point for factor loading a loading of minimal .30 is generally seen as adequate loading (Field, 2005). Only three factors had eigenvalues higher than 1.00, which is a criteria for selecting an individual factor (Field, 2005). The three factors accounted for 52% of the common factor variance: Factor 1 (Affirmation, eigenvalue = 4.78) accounted for 28% of the common variance, Factor 2 (OGO, eigenvalue = 2.45) accounted for 14% of the common variance, and factor 3 (Exploration, eigenvalue = 1.68) accounted for 10% of the common variance.

The item 'I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as food, music, or customs' had a factor loading of .27 and was the only item that loaded less than .30 on an expected factor. However, a sample size of more than 300, such as the sample size in this study, can justify the acceptance of a lower than .30 factor loading (Field, 2005). The other four items of the exploration subscale had factor loadings between .41 and .68. All items of the affirmation subscale had factor loadings between .63 and .75. All five items of the OGO scale loaded higher than .66 with the exception of the item 'I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own' which loaded only .36 on the expected factor. The five items of the OGO scale did not only loaded on the OGO scale but also loaded between .23 and .45 on the affirmation subscale. The five

items of the exploration subscale also had a low to medium cross-loading (range = .22 - .55) on the affirmation subscale. However, none of the items of the affirmation subscale cross-loaded on the exploration subscale or the OGO scale, therefore the decision was made to continue using the separate factors affirmation, exploration and OGO.

Pearson correlation

A Pearson correlation test, which calculates the correlation between different interval or ratio variables, was performed to check for an association between the OGO scale and the MEIM-R subscales exploration and affirmation. This test was carried out separately for the Albanian, Roma, and Macedonian samples. The Pearson correlation-coefficient varies between a negative correlation of -1 and a positive correlation of +1. A correlation of .10 is judged as weak, .30 as medium and .50 as a high correlation (Field, 2005). The correlations between the subscales exploration and affirmation, and the OGO scale scores were weak for the Macedonian and Albanian samples but strong for the Roma sample.

The correlations for the Macedonian sample were non-significant with correlations of $r(166) = .14, p = .08$ and $r(166) = .08, p = .28$ between OGO scores, and exploration and affirmation respectively. The Albanian sample displayed a weak but significant correlation between the OGO scale and the subscale exploration $r(196) = .15, p = .03$, but a non-significant correlation between the OGO scale and the subscale affirmation $r(196) = .11, p = .11$. In the Roma sample there was a high correlation between the OGO scale and the subscales exploration: $r(26) = .68, p < .001$ and affirmation: $r(26) = .64, p < .001$.

Descriptive statistics & group comparisons

Ethnic group, gender, type of classroom, type of school and geographic region comparisons were made for the following dependent variables: total MEIM-R, the subscale exploration, the subscale affirmation, and the OGO scale. Due to the large amount of variables only significant results will be presented.

Different Multivariate analyses of variance (Manova's) were used to make the group comparisons. A Manova is a statistical test to measure whether or not the means of several groups are statistically equal on two or more dependent variables (Field, 2005). To run these tests three conditions need to be met (Grimm, 1993). In this study the criteria of a random sample drawn from a normally distributed population, the condition of homogeneity of variance, and independent observations have been met. Kurtosis and skewness measures can be used to check for the normal distribution. This means that the distribution is centered relatively equally on both sides of the mean and there are not many extremely high or low values (Field, 2005). The kurtosis and skewness of

the MEIM-R, its subscales exploration and affirmation, as well as the OGO scale all fall between the range of -1 to +1 which indicate that all the scales can be considered as normally distributed (Field, 2005). Levene's test was executed to control for the condition of homogeneity of variance. The results of the Levene's test were non-significant which means that the condition of homogeneity of variance was met as well.

Table 1

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of the Macedonian, Albanians and Roma sample on Measured Concepts.

Concepts	Macedonian		Albanians		Roma	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>MEIM-R</i>	3.25	0.43	3.24	0.40	3.48	0.45
Subscale exploration	2.94	0.55	3.07	0.46	3.22	0.51
Subscale affirmation	3.46	0.48	3.37	0.50	3.66	0.49
OGO scale	2.93	0.60	2.95	0.53	3.59	0.50

A Manova was executed for the ethnic group and gender comparison. The group means are presented in Table 1. Significant differences were found between the three major ethnic groups: Albanian, Macedonian, and Roma on all four measured concepts. Subsequent results of this Manova for the MEIM-R was $F(2, 388) = 4.80, p = .018$, for the subscale exploration $F(2, 388) = 4.24, p = .015$, for the subscale affirmation $F(2, 388) = 5.80, p = .003$, and for the OGO scale $F(2, 388) = 17.23, p < .001$. A Bonferroni post-hoc analysis showed that the differences on the MEIM-R and OGO scale were entirely due to the Roma students reporting higher scores than the Macedonian and Albanian students. The differences on the exploration subscale were due to Macedonian students scoring lower than the Albanian and Roma students, whereas on the affirmation subscale Albanian students scored significantly lower than Roma students.

No significant gender differences were found. However, an interaction effect was found between gender and ethnic-self identification on the MEIM-R, $F(2, 388) = 5.84, p = .003$ and its two subscales exploration $F(2, 388) = 5.19, p = .006$ and affirmation $F(2, 388) = 3.52, p = .03$. As Table 2 shows, Macedonian girls scored lower on these three concepts than Macedonian boys, whereas the opposite was true for Albanian girls and boys. In comparison to Roma boys the Roma girls scored lower on the MEIM-R, and the subscale exploration, but slightly higher on the subscale affirmation.

Table 2

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations divided by gender of the Macedonian, Albanians and Roma sample on Measured Concepts.

	Macedonian				Albanians				Roma			
	Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>MEIM-R</i>	3.17*	0.41	3.34*	0.42	3.30*	0.36	3.17*	0.45	3.45	0.51	3.51	0.39
Subscale exploration	2.84*	0.52	3.07*	0.55	3.11	0.45	3.02	0.48	3.10	0.61	3.35	0.35
Subscale affirmation	3.41	0.46	3.53	0.48	3.43*	0.45	3.28*	0.56	3.69	0.55	3.61	0.46
OGO scale	3.02*	0.55	2.81*	0.65	2.95	0.56	2.94	0.48	3.49	0.58	3.70	0.36

* $p < .05$

Another Manova which included the other smaller ethnic groups was performed to test for type of classroom, type of school and geographic region comparisons. Secondary and primary school differences on the OGO scale, the MEIM-R and subscale affirmation were not found, however there was a significant difference between primary ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 0.53$) and secondary ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 0.49$) school students on the subscale exploration $F(1, 408) = 4.00$, $p < 0.001$. The geographical location of the schools was not a significant factor for any of the four measured concepts. Differences between mixed and mono-ethnic classrooms were only found on the OGO scale $F(2, 393) = 11.70$, $p < .001$. A Bonferroni post-hoc analysis showed that the difference was due to the students in the mixed classrooms scoring significantly more willingness to interact than the students in the Albanian and Macedonian classrooms.

Social network analysis

A social network analysis was performed in the five mixed classrooms. The nomination charts revealed that of the total of 82 students attending the five mixed classrooms 39% had an average nomination, 22% were popular, 22% were rejected, 8.5% were controversial and 8.5% were neglected. The 19 Roma students accounted for 23.17% of the total mixed classroom sample, however they represented 44% of all the rejected students, whereas they represented only 5% of all popular students.

Although no significant differences were found between the five mixed classroom on their willingness to interact with other ethnic groups (OGO scale) $F(4, 82) = .530$, $p = .714$, the sociograms did reveal differences in the quality of inter-ethnic relations between the five mixed

classrooms. The sociograms of the two primary classrooms displayed a clear pattern of ethnic segregation in the classroom, while in the three secondary classrooms a clear pattern of ethnic integration was visible.

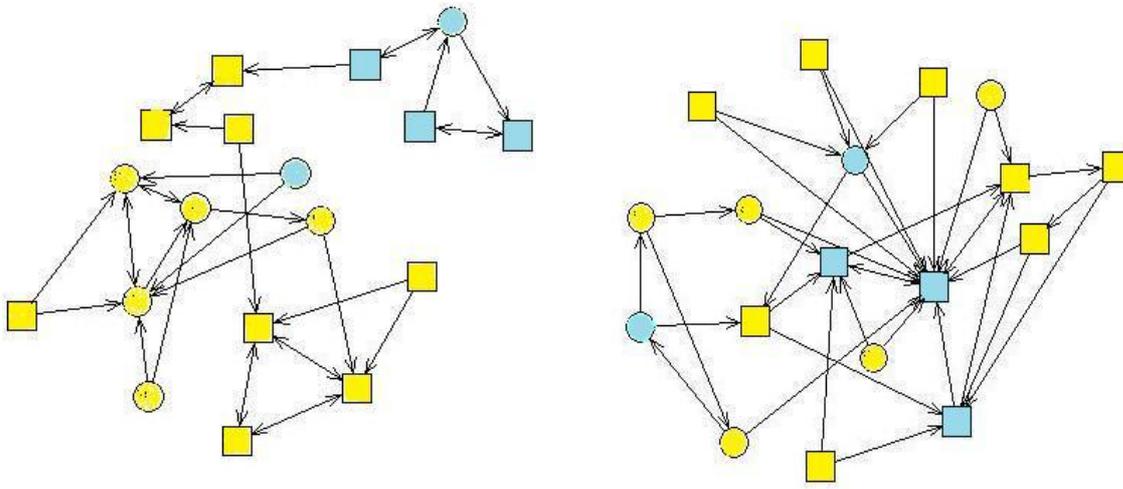
Classroom observations were done while conducting the questionnaires and revealed a difference in seating arrangements between the segregated and integrated mixed classrooms. In the two primary schools, which show clear ethnic segregation, the Roma students were physically separated from the other students by sitting in the back of the classroom. However, in the three integrated secondary schools the students had ethnically mixed seating arrangements.

The positive and negative sociograms of two mixed classes can be found below in Figure 1, the first set of sociograms are an example of ethnic segregation. Three of the five Roma students in this classroom are nominated as rejected and there are no positive interaction arrows from Macedonian towards the Roma students. The other primary school classroom displayed a similar segregated pattern, with four of the six Roma students being nominated as rejected, one as average, and also one female Roma as popular. The second set of sociograms is an example of positive inter-ethnic relations within a classroom. Four mutual inter-ethnic relations between Turkish, Roma, Macedonian, and Macedonian muslim students can be counted in this classroom. The other two secondary school classrooms did not display clear ethnic boundaries. One school had three inter-ethnic mutual choices, as well as a Roma boy who had eight nominations for the positive sociogram question. The other secondary school had four inter-ethnic mutual choices.

For some students the questions for the negative sociogram proved to be difficult with one student stating: *“but I interact with everyone in this class.”* For this reason not every student has filled in the requested two names at both social network questions.

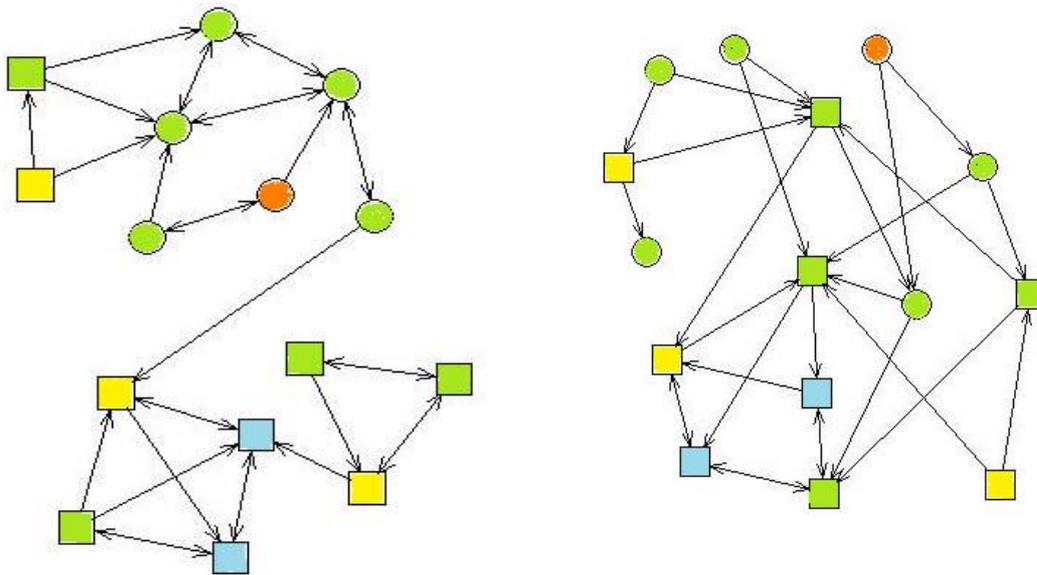
Figure 1²

Positive and negative sociograms from one segregated and one integrated mixed classroom.



A. Positive sociogram, segregated

B. Negative sociogram, segregated



C. Positive sociogram, integrated

D. Negative sociogram, integrated

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to get more insight in the opinion of primary and secondary school students in Macedonia concerning their own ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations. Two research sub-questions were formed and data was collected by means of a

²

Circles = females, Square = males. Colours indicate self-identified ethnicity:

Yellow = Macedonian, Blue = Roma; Green = Turkish; Red = Macedonian Muslim.

The arrows indicate the connections, one arrow = one-way choice, two arrows = mutual choice

questionnaire. The students were very cooperative and the questionnaire was appreciated by the students, with one Albanian student stating at the end of the questionnaire: “*Thank you for giving us the opportunity to express our opinion*”. The results of this study add to the growing literature of the MEIM-R, the OGO scale, and ethnic identity in general.

MEIM-R and OGO scale

Differences between ethnic groups, age-groups, gender or geographic areas concerning ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations were hypothesized to be found. As expected differences between primary and secondary schools students were only found on the subscale exploration. Phinney (1993) associated secondary school with exploration of identity, however this study found that the primary school students scored higher. In this study the secondary school students were an average of 18 years, it could be that they have already ended their process of exploration whereas the 13 year old primary school students just started with the process. As expected the Roma students have a higher sense of ethnic identity and a higher level of willingness to interact with other groups than the larger ethnic groups of Macedonians and Albanians. The results confirm the assumption that ethnic identity is more important for small ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992; Worrel, Conyers, Mpofu & Vandiver, 2006). No geographic differences were found although the ethnic composition differs greatly between regions. Perhaps the national ethnic composition is more important than regional variations.

Negative correlations between the scales and subscales were not found, this indicates that a high ethnic identity does not mean students are less willing to interact with other groups. The positive correlation between the scores of the Roma students indicate that the opposite is true. The higher students score on ethnic identity, the more open they are to inter-ethnic interaction.

This study excluded the reversed item on the OGO scale: ‘I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn’t try to mix together’. A study by Dandy et al. (2008) also found a weak loading of the same item. One explanation could be that not all students realized that the item was reversed and therefore requires a different answer. In a study by Roberts et al. (1999) two negatively phrased items of the MEIM-R were also rejected. Another explanation is proposed by Dandy et al. (2008) who addressed that the item seems to reflect a more meta-cognitive believe about the desirability of inter-ethnic contact in general, whereas according to Dandy et al. (2008) the other five items involve expressions of personal willingness to interact with other groups. Phinney (1992) also describes the OGO scale, designed by her, as a measure to determine a person's willingness to interact with other ethnic groups. However, a few questions such as ‘I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own’ do not describe willingness to interact but describe actual interaction with other ethnic groups. Not all students have the opportunity to interact

Ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations with other ethnic groups, even if they are willing to. Differences in opportunity to interact could be an explanation why the students in the mixed classrooms scored higher on the OGO scale than the students from mono-ethnic classrooms. However, significant differences also occurred between both groups with the questions measuring willingness for interaction (e.g. 'I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own') indicating that there is indeed a more positive attitude towards inter-ethnic contact among students from mixed ethnic classrooms.

Network analysis

It was hypothesized that differences in the quality of inter-ethnic relations would occur between the five ethnically mixed classrooms. The results showed that there was indeed a difference between the mixed classrooms. In the three secondary classrooms a pattern of integration between ethnic groups was found, whereas in the two primary classrooms a pattern of ethnic segregation was found. Since only five mixed classrooms were included in this study no explicit conclusions can be drawn about the reason for these differences. However a few assumptions can be made based on the findings of the MEIM-R, the OGO scale and previous research on the subject.

It is not likely that the differences occur because of geographic differences nor because of differences between primary and secondary schools. Only the two primary schools showed segregation, and both were from the East of Macedonia, whereas the three integrated secondary schools were situated in the South and the West of Macedonia (Annex 1). However, no significant differences were found between geographic regions nor between primary and secondary schools on the OGO scale.

Two reasons can be considered as plausible explanations for the differences between the mixed ethnic classrooms. One is the difference in ethnic composition. All classrooms had Roma and Macedonian students, however the ethnic composition differed between classrooms. Both of the segregated classrooms consisted of a majority of Macedonian students and a minority of Roma students. The three integrated classrooms all consisted of more than two ethnic groups and only one had a Macedonian majority, one had an Albanian majority and one a Turkish majority. Homogeneity between people plays an important role in friendship formation and a preference for one's own ethnicity exists (Santrock 2007; Moody, 2001). When a classroom consists of only two ethnic groups the options for friendships within one's own ethnic group increases and could lead to self-segregation of an ethnic group. This could explain the lack of mutual inter-ethnic friendships in the two segregated primary schools. Students in the classrooms consisting of more than two ethnic groups had less intra-ethnic friendship choices, which increases the chance for inter-ethnic friendships.

A second explanation is a difference in school environment. School related factors can be

Ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations responsible for the quality of inter-ethnic relations. The contact hypothesis of Allport (1954) describes that schools are responsible for creating a supportive environment and enough opportunities for positive inter-ethnic contact. Half of the students in Macedonia stating that they have heard negative comments about other ethnic groups from their teachers (OSCE, 2010a). Which indicates that not all children attending mixed classrooms study in schools which have met the conditions set by Allport (1954) for positive inter-ethnic relations.

Conclusions and recommendations

Like all research this study also has limitations. The main limitation of this research was the selection of the classrooms used in the study. The selection of the mixed classrooms with more than twenty percent minority students was not random because these classes were difficult to find in Macedonia. A total of five mixed ethnic schools were included in the social network analysis which is a low sample size. The social network analysis can thus be considered an exploratory research on the quality of inter-ethnic interaction in Macedonia. A high quality of inter-ethnic interaction was found in three classrooms and a low quality of inter-ethnic interaction was found in two classrooms. New questions are raised concerning the factors involved in these differences. Further research is needed to investigate the quality of inter-ethnic contact in other mixed ethnic classrooms in Macedonia and further research using interviews and observations is desired to determine which factors cause the difference in quality of inter-ethnic interaction between mixed classrooms.

From the results it can be concluded that education in mixed ethnic classrooms has a positive effect on student's willingness to interact with other ethnic groups. It is recommended therefore, that the current trend of ethnic segregation in education should be reversed and multi-ethnic study environments should be promoted. To optimize the quality of the inter-ethnic relations it is also recommended that schools implement the following conditions as proposed by Allport (1954) in his contact hypotheses:

- All ethnic groups should have equal status within the school setting
- Extra-curricular activities such as team sports and theater lessons will create collective goals
- Ethnic groups have to cooperate to reach these collective goals
- Authority figures in the schools such as teachers and administrators should encourage inter-ethnic contact.

In case the above mentioned conditions are realized in the school environment, students from different ethnic groups will not only study side by side but will positively interact and form constructive relations with each other.

Acknowledgments

During the realization of this thesis I have had the support of many people and I would like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to them.

I would like to start with thanking the OSCE mission to Skopje for providing me with all the resources such as transport and office facilities which I needed to conduct this research, also I'd like to thank the staff for making me feel very welcome. Special thanks goes to the full staff of the Education Reform Unit: my fellow intern Sinisha Krstov, and my co-workers Johann Schustereder, Emilija Simonovska-Janackovska, and Florim Ismaili. All of whom have invested time in my research by providing assistance, advice, and translations.

I would like to thank my supervisor Rogier van 't Rood for establishing the cooperation between the Faculty of Social Sciences of Utrecht University in the Netherlands and the Education Reform Unit of the OSCE mission to Skopje in Macedonia. Furthermore, I would like to thank him for his continuous enthusiasm, support and guidance.

My thanks also goes to the principals, teachers and other staff members of the 18 schools in Macedonia where the questionnaire has been conducted. All of them have welcomed me in their schools and have given me the trust to carry out this research among their pupils.

I would also like to thank NGO "Association of Citizens Sumnal". They arranged six students to participate in the pilot study during a school holiday.

Last but not least, thanks goes to my friends and study-mates who have provides me with ideas and feedback on my research design and to my family who have supported me throughout my studies.

References

- Allport, W. G. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Anger, J. , Van 't Rood, R. A. , & Gestakovska, Z. (2010). Learning study on the achievements and experiences of projects on inter-ethnic education and youth work in Macedonia. *In Develop-IPM International Consultants*.
- Berry, W. J. (2008). Globalization and acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 328-336.
- Bieber, F. (2005). Partial implementation, partial success: the case of Macedonia. In I. O'Flynn, & D. Russel (Eds.), *Power sharing. New challenges for divided societies*. (pp. 107-123). London: Pluto Press.
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: ingroup love or outgroup hate. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55 (3), 429-444.
- Coie, J. D., Dodge, K. A., & Coppotelli, H. (1982). Dimensions and types of social status: a cross-age perspective. *Developmental Psychology*, 18, 557- 570
- Council of Europe [CoE]. (n.d.). *Overview of EDC in 'The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia'*. Accessed on 18 December 2010, from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/edc/2_EDC_HRE_in_member_states/Country_profiles/Profile_the_former_Yugoslav_Republic_of_Macedonia_en.asp#TopOfPage
- Daftary, F. (2001). Conflict resolution in FYR Macedonia: power-sharing or the 'civic' approach. *Helsinki Monitor*, 4, 291-312.
- Dandy, J., Durkin, K., McEvoy, P., Barber, B. L., & Houghton, S. (2008). Psychometric properties of multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM) scores with Australian adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Adolescence*, 31, 323-335.
- Eade, D., & Williams, S. (1995). *The Oxfam handbook of development and relief*. Oxford: Oxfam
- European Commission [EC]. (2004). *Joint Report on Social Inclusion*. Brussels: EC.
- Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS. (2 nd ed.)*. London: Sage
- Golubeva, M., Powell, S. , Kazimzade, E. , & Nedelcu, A. (2009). Divided education, divided citizens? A comparative study of civil enculturation in separate schools. *Network of Education Policy Centers*.
- Green, P., & Dreier, O. S. (2009). Promoting ethnic tolerance and cultural inclusion in Macedonia: The Tetovo educators project. In C. Zelizer, & R. A. Rubinstein (Eds.), *Building Peace. Practical Reflections from the Field* (pp. 289-309). Sterling: Kumarian Press.
- Grimm, L. G. (1993) *Statistical applications for the behavioral sciences*. New York: Wiley.
- Hallinan, M. T., & Williams, R. A. (1989). Interracial friendship choices in secondary schools.

American sociological review, 54, 67-78.

- Jakimova, D. (2010). Differences in educational achievements of pupils belonging to different ethnicities in R. Macedonia. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2, 2917-2920.
- Moody, J. (2001). Race, school integration, and friendship segregation in America. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107 (3), 679-716.
- Myhrvold, R. (2005). Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: education as a political phenomenon. *Nordem Report*.
- Nesdale, Drew. (1999). *Social identity and ethnic prejudice in children*. Paper presented at the international conference: "Culture, Race and community: Making it work in the new millennium," Melbourne, Australia. Accessed December 12, 2010, from <http://www.vtpu.org.au/docs/crc/drewnesdale.pdf>.
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE]. (2010a). *Age, contact, perception. How schools shape relations between ethnicities*. Skopje: OSCE.
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE]. (2010b). *Bridges and divisions in education. A quantitative overview of inter-ethnic realities in education*. Skopje: OSCE.
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE]. (2008). *An updated overview of the pre-school and primary education sectors*. Skopje: OSCE.
- Petroska-Beska, V., & Najcevska, M. (2004). Macedonia, understanding history, preventing future conflict. *United States Institute of Peace*.
- Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156-176.
- Phinney J. (1993). A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence. In: Bernal M, Knight G, editors. *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Porter, J. (1999). *Reschooling and the Global Future: politics, economics and the English experience*. Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Republic of Macedonia State Statistical Office. (2002). *Census of population, households and dwellings in the republic of Macedonia, 2002 – Book 1*. Skopje: The State Statistical Office.
- Roberts, R., Phinney, J., Masse, L., Chen, Y., Roberts, C., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity in young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19, 301-322.
- Santrock, J. W. (2007). *Adolescence (11th ed.)*. New York: McGraw-Hill
- Smith, A. D. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Basil Black well.
- Stewart, F. J. (2000). Crisis prevention: tackling horizontal inequalities. *Oxford Development*

Studies, 28, 245-262.

- Turiel, E. (1983). *The development of social knowledge: morality and convention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Bhanot, R., & Shin, N. (2006). Ethnic identity formation during adolescence: The critical role of families. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27, 390- 414.
- Unicef. (2007). *Breaking the cycle of exclusion. Roma children in South East Europe*. Serbia: Unicef.
- Vollebaek, K. (2009). Integrated education: a way forward for multi-ethnic societies. *Addressed at the South East European (SEE) University*.
- Vonk, R. (2001). *Cognitieve sociale psychologie. Psychologie van het dagelijks denken en doen*. Utrecht: Lemma BV.
- Walsh (2011). Walsh's Classroom sociometrics, gevonden op 20 februari 2011 op: www.classroomsociometrics.com
- Worrel, F. C., Conyers, L. M., Mpfu, E. & Vandiver, B. J. (2006). Multigroup ethnic identity measure scores in a sample of adolescents from Zimbabwe. *Identity: an International Journal of Theory and Research*, 6, 35- 59.

Annex 1

School list for survey on ethnic identity and interethnic relations	
Macedonian classes	
Primary schools	
- Sinisha Stoilov	Zrnovci
- Koco Racin	Petrovec (Skopje)
- Dame Gruev	Bitola
Secondary schools	
-Lazar Tanev	Skopje
-Vanco Prke	Vinica
-Josip Broz Tito	Bitola
Albanian classes	
Primary schools	
- Ismael Kemali	Gostivar
- Jane Sandanski	Skopje
- Braka Miladinovci	Struga
Secondary schools	
- 8-mi Septemvri	Tetovo
- Niko Nestor	Struga
- Nikola Shtein	Tetovo
Mixed classes	
Primary schools	
- 26 Juli	Shuto Orizari
- Slavco Stojmenski	Vinica
- Rade Kratovce	Kocani
Secondary schools	
- Zdravko Cvetkovski	Gostivar
- Zdravko Cvetkovski	Debar
- Taki Daskalo	Bitola

Annex 2

Questionnaire

FIRST NAME:.....

SCHOOL:.....

CLASS:

READ THIS FIRST

In Macedonia there are many different ethnic groups living together. An ethnic group is a group of people who share a history, a language, ancestors and sometimes religion. In Macedonia the biggest ethnic groups are: Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Roma, Serbs, Bosniaks and Vlachs. But there are also a lot of other small ethnic groups. The following questions are about your ethnicity. Maybe your parents are from two different ethnic groups, in this case use the group you feel most comfortable with.

We would appreciate it if you would answer all questions, and give only one answer for each question

Sometimes you have to answer a question by checking the box of the answer that is true
For you, like this:



Carefully follow the instructions as they are stated in the questionnaire.

There are no right or wrong answers, what matters is what you feel.

Try to answer as honestly as possible.

Don't think too long about a question, follow your first impression.

All data are strictly confidential and will remain anonymous. That means that nobody will know which answers you have given, that's between you and us.

When you are finished, check once again if you have answered all questions.

The following questions are about you

1. What is your gender: Boy
 Girl

2. I am ___ years old.

3. In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be:
 Macedonian
 Albanian
 Turkish
 Roma
 Serbian
 Bosnian
 Vlach
 Other, namely _____

4. In terms of ethnic group, other people consider me to be:
 Macedonian
 Albanian
 Turkish
 Roma
 Serbian
 Bosnian
 Vlach
 Other, namely _____

5. My father's ethnicity is:
 Macedonian
 Albanian
 Turkish
 Roma
 Serbian
 Bosnian
 Vlach
 Other, namely _____

6. My mother's ethnicity is:
 Macedonian
 Albanian
 Turkish
 Roma
 Serbian
 Bosnian
 Vlach
 Other, namely _____

For the follow questions please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I have spend time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as food, music, or customs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. I understand pretty well what my group membership means to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. I feel good about my cultural of ethnic background.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
13. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't mix together.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. I try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. I think cultural differences should be a reason to educate students separately.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. I believe school should encourage contact between different ethnic groups.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. I think language differences should be a reason to educate students separately.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. I like to be taught by a teacher from my own ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. I feel that my own ethnic group is not appropriately represented in textbooks.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The following questions are about your classmates, remember that these questions are anonymous and private.

Name your two best friends in this classroom:

1. _____
2. _____

Name the two people in this classroom who you interact with least:

1. _____
2. _____

THANK YOU FOR FILLING OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!