Age
Contact
Perceptions

Возраст
Контакт
Перцепции

Mosha
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Yaş
Temas
Algilama

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Co-operation in Europe
Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje

Age Contact Perceptions

How Schools Shape Relations Between Ethnicities

January 2010

Contents

Foreword

This analyis was carried out by the Education Team of the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje. The aim of the study was to gain a better understanding of prevailing perceptions and attitudes among secondary school students in regards to their peers from other ethnic groups. The study allowed young people to express their views on an issue that concerns them directly, but until now has been discussed mainly by adults. Furthermore, projects, programmes and policies in this field have been developed and implemented largely, if not exclusively, without taking into account views and attitudes of the primary target group. This study is a first step toward a more thorough understanding of current ethnic relations in schools, including young people's viewpoints.

Education Team of the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje

Skopje, January 2010

Acknowledgements

Methodology

Instrument

The main instrument used for data collection was the questionnaire (see Annex 1) consisting of 18 questions, three of which were of demographic character. The first section of the questionnaire addresses students' attitudes towards other ethnicities, including the age at which these attitudes were formed and the factors affecting the formation of these attitudes. The second section focuses on students' opinions regarding school management of ethnic differences, as well as potential origins for ethnic-based disagreements in schools.

In order to determine the reliability and validity of the questionnaire, it was first pilot tested with 60 students (Macedonians and Albanians) from the same geographical area, before being distributed to the entire sample. Subsequent to the pilot test, and in accordance with the students' comments, some questions were modified.

Data were processed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in order to obtain a sound analysis of the relations between school factors (teachers, classmates, textbooks etc.), the frequency of interethnic contact and the attitudes towards different ethnicities. The data analysis is presented disaggregated for Macedonians, Albanians and Turks, whereas the respondents of other ethnicities were grouped and placed under a common category – "other," as their number was insufficient for separate analysis.

Sample

The sample covered 4,032 second and third year students from 40 secondary schools throughout the country (see list of schools in Annex 2). During the process of site selection, special effort was taken to include various types of schools (standard, vocational and art schools) so as to ensure a sample that was representative of the student population as a whole. The field research was conducted during the period of June 1 – 5, 2009. The surveyors distributed the questionnaires

to approximately 100 students (3-4 classes) from each school, ensuring that students of different ethnic communities were included. The questionnaires were distributed in three languages (Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish), depending on the language of instruction in the schools of the respondents.

Characteristics of the sample: The sample was relatively gender balanced – with 50.3% of the respondents being male and 48.4% female, the remaining percentage of the respondents having not answered the question.

City / Town	Number	%
Skopje	601	14,9
Kumanovo	204	5,1
Kratovo	97	2,4
Kriva Palanka	100	2,5
Sveti Nikole	100	2,5
Stip	199	4,9
Radovis	100	2,5
Strumica	95	2,4
Valandovo	98	2,4
Veles	200	5,0
Negotino	110	2,7
Krusevo	102	2,5
Prilep	200	5,0
Bitola	300	7,4
Resen	100	2,5
Demir Hisar	101	2,5
Ohrid	200	5,0
Struga	218	5,4
Kicevo	96	2,4
Debar	100	2,5
Makedonski Brod	109	2,7
Gostivar	140	3,5
Tetovo	462	11,5
Total	4032	100,0

The number of respondents per city/town was determined by the number of operating secondary schools, which also corresponds to overall population.

The **ethnic distribution** of respondents
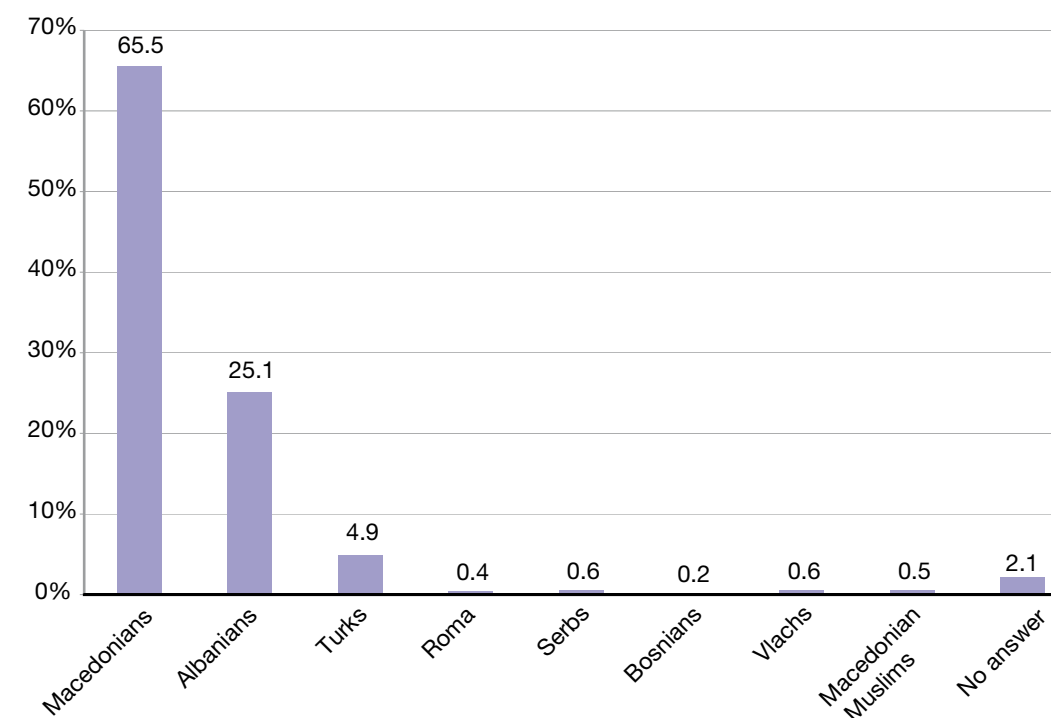
(Chart 1) corresponds to the ethnic composition of the population as a whole, particularly regarding the representation of Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish students[1]. However, the surveyors encountered difficulty including an adequate number of Roma students, due to the low representation of their ethnic group in secondary education. As a result, the total number of Roma respondents was 18 (i.e. 0.4% of the sample).

Methodological explanation

The main statistical indicators that were used in the data analysis are percentages and cross-tabulations, through calculating statistical differences in data distribution.

When significant differences are mentioned in the text, it refers to **statistically significant differences**. This means that the specific data distribution did not appear at random and that among the population used for sampling there were also differences in the distribution of different variables. For example, the

difference between the answers given by the Macedonians and Albanians to the question of adequate representation of their ethnic group in textbooks did not appear at random, but there is high level of probability (from 99% to 95%) that this difference also exists among the population of Macedonian and Albanian high school students.

In order to determine the relatedness of certain variables, the **chi-square (x^2) test** was used to analyze the independence of two variables (i.e. whether they are interdependent and vary together). For example, to determine whether the frequent contact of the Macedonians with the Albanians is related to having positive feelings for them, or is not related at all.

During the research process several methodological limitations arose, and thus suitable measures were taken to overcome them or minimize their effect. Firstly, the **sensitive nature of the research topic** posed a threat to the validity of the answers, since the students were asked to disclose any

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1 According to the 2002 census (the last census), 64.1% of the citizens declared themselves as ethnic Macedonians, 25.1% as ethnic Albanians and 3.8% as Turks.

negative feelings they may harbour for certain ethnic groups during a period of high ethnic tensions. In order to decrease disclosure-related bias, the students were provided with questionnaires in the language of instruction in their schools (which is most often their mother tongue). Moreover, the surveyors also spoke the corresponding language. These measures were taken in order to ensure creation of a safe atmosphere in which students would feel comfortable freely expressing their attitudes.

Although most of the **questions** included in the questionnaire are closed, two are **open format** (3 and 5), in order to reduce the possibility of students being lead towards certain alternatives and to prompt spontaneous answers. However, some students found this difficult, as they were asked to identify specific ethnic groups towards which they have negative feelings.

During the data processing phase, some irregularities were noticed which seemed to occur because students did **not read the instructions properly.** For example, although some questions emphasise that students should not state their own ethnic group, a small fraction of the respondents did the contrary. However, since fewer than 5% of respondents made these errors, the validity of data remains sound.

A final methodological threat relates to potential misunderstanding or misinterpretation of technical questions and concepts. These phrases included: "active improvement of positive interethnic relations", "awareness of different ethnic groups", and "frequent and rare contact," among others. In order to increase comprehension, as well as obtain a unified meaning of the terminology, the surveyors were trained to clarify the questions and concepts to the students while they were answering the questionnaire, if asked.

Results

Attitudes towards different ethnic communities

The first section of the instrument analyzed the main factors which influence the awareness of different ethnic groups in the country, positive and negative feelings towards certain communities, as well as the age when these feelings were created. The aim of this analysis was to determine the connection between the frequency of contact with certain communities and the positive and negative feelings for them.

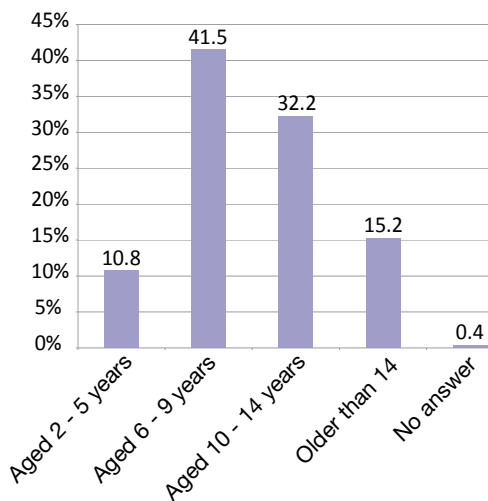### Age when awareness of different ethnic groups is created

In general, respondents reported achieving awareness of different ethnic groups when they were in primary school (ages of 6 to 9 and 10 to 14). The percentage of Turkish respondents who reported developing awareness even earlier (between the ages of 2 and 5) was significantly higher than the percentage of Macedonian or Albanian respondents who achieved awarenress at this young age.

Chart 2: Age and awareness of ethnic groups

Likewise, the fraction of Macedonians and Albanians who developed awareness of other ethnic groups during the older ages of 10 to 14 is much higher than the number of Turkish students (see Chart 2 and Table 1 in Annex 4)[2].

2 This question surveyed students' opinion about the period when awareness is created, which does not mean that the stated age corresponds to the real age when awareness of ethnic differences is created.

Chart 3: Factors influencing awareness of ethnic groups
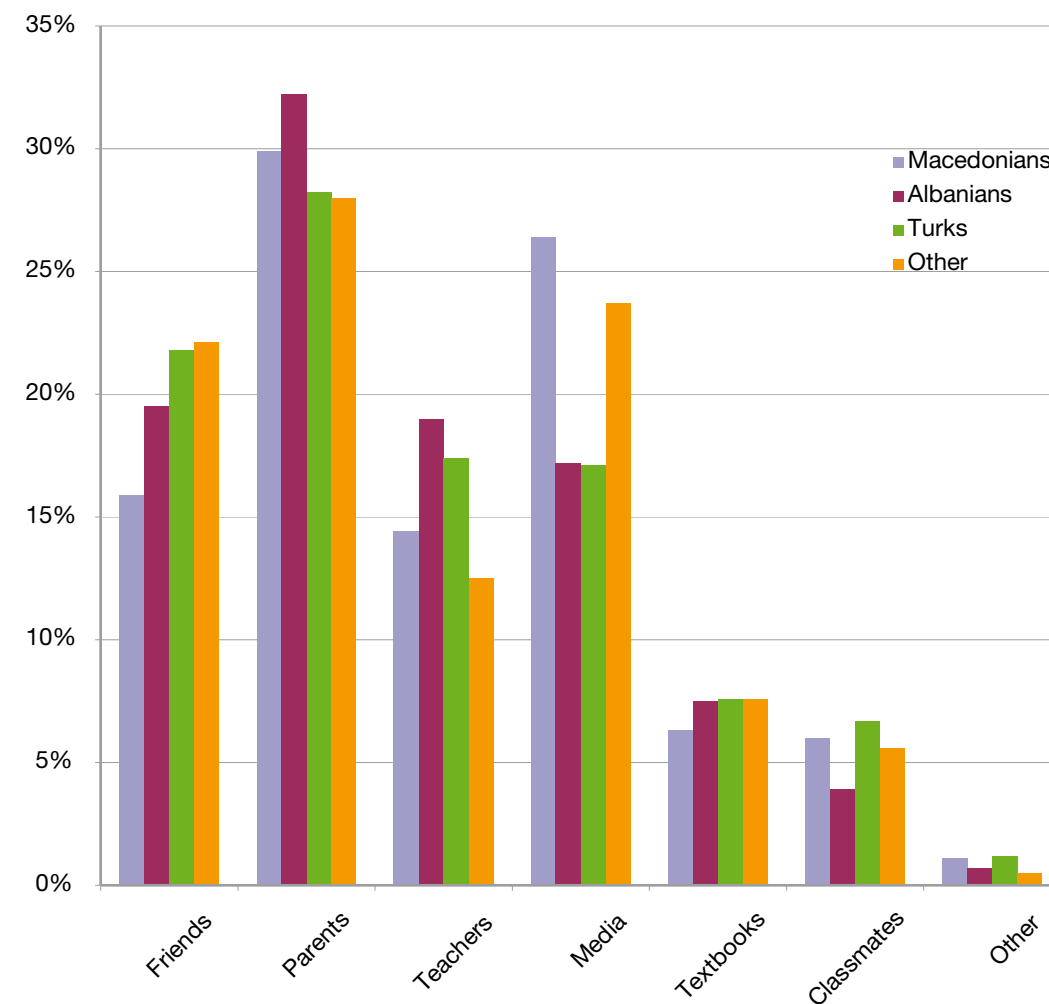
Factors that influence creating awareness of ethnic groups

For the sample as a whole, parents are the most influential factor in creating awareness of other ethnic groups (28%), followed by media (23.7%) and friends (22.1%) (Chart 3). However, there was significant variance in the importance attached to certain factors by students of different ethnicities. For instance, the number of Albanian students who consider parents and teachers to be a significant factor is higher than the number of Macedonians and Turks, while the number of Macedonian students who consider media to be a significantly influential factor is greater than the number of Albanians and Turks. Furthermore, the number of Turkish students who believe that friends influence their awareness is higher than the number of Macedonians or Albanians. Regarding additional factors, there are no significant differences among different ethnic groups. Overall, respondents of all ethnicities reported that classmates and textbooks have only a minor influence on creating awareness of different ethnicities.

Feelings for other ethnic communities

Students of different ethnic communities expressed varying attitudes (positive and negative) towards other ethnicities. The perceptions Macedonian and Albanian students share for each other stands out greatly, both in terms of positive and negative feelings.

Positive feelings[3]

In general, Macedonians expressed the most positive feelings for Serbs (40%) and Turks (26.9), while in regards to Roma and Albanians these numbers are somewhat lower – 17.3% and 13.1% respectively.
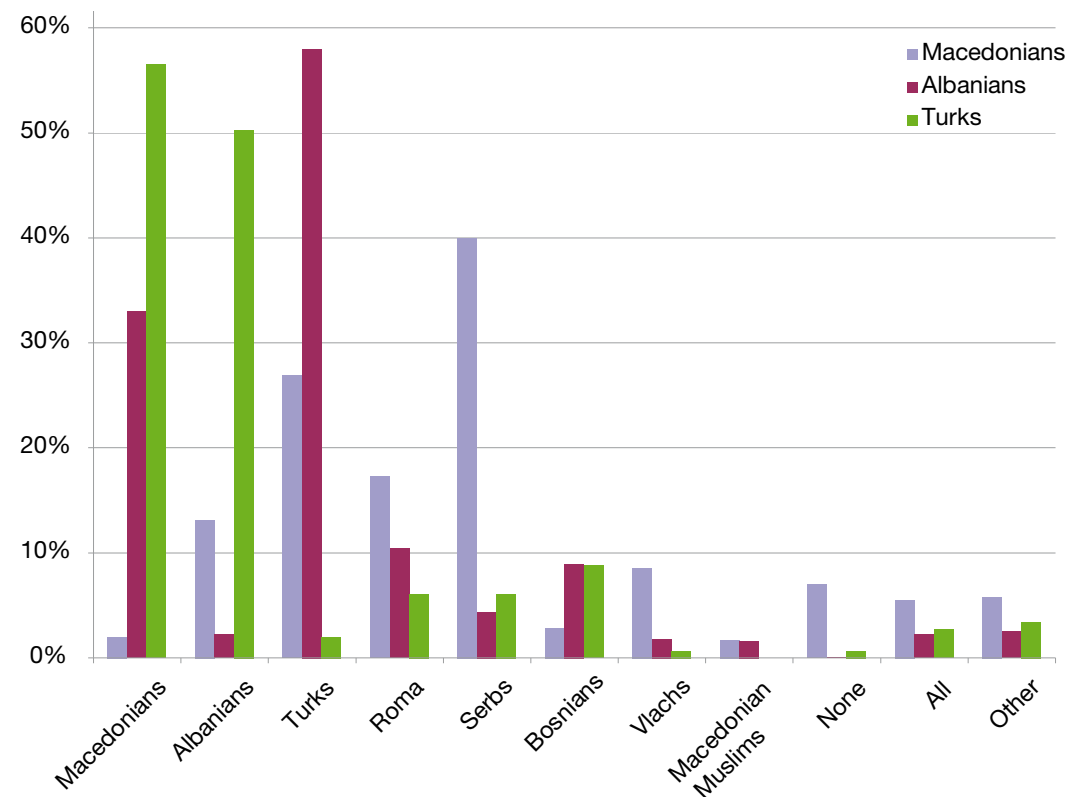
More than half of the Albanians stated that they have positive feelings for Turks (58%), one third for Macedonians (33%), followed by Roma (10.4%) and Bosnians (8.9%).

The majority of Turks expressed positive feelings for Macedonians (56.5%) and Albanians (50.3%)[4]. (Chart 4 and Table 3 in Annex 4)

How to read the chart: The three different ethnic groups (Macedonians, Albanians and Turks) whose attitudes toward other groups were assessed are presented on the right side of the chart, each with a different colour. The ethnic groups presented on the horizontal axis are those who expressed positive feelings. The columns mark the percentage of Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish respondents who expressed positive feelings for each of the ethnic groups presented on the horizontal axis.

The data indicates that attitudes towards other ethnicities are based, in part, on shared religion (e.g. Macedonians – Serbs; Albanians – Turks), due to closeness of traditions and customs. Yet this is not a rule, as it can be seen that Turkish students have quite a positive attitude towards both Macedonians and Albanians.

Chart 4: Positive feelings for other ethnic groups

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3 These percentages were derived only from the respondents who answered this question. 22.8% of the respondents did not answer the question.
4 As multiple answers were allowed for this question, the total percentage is higher than 100.

It is a notable finding that a considerable lack of reciprocity exists in terms of positive feelings towards other communities. While one third of Albanians expressed positive feelings for Macedonians, only 13% of the latter share the same feelings for Albanians. Furthermore, half as many Macedonians expressed positive feelings for Turks, as did Turks for Macedonians. It seems that the larger an ethnic group is, the fewer positive feelings expressed by its members for other communities. This may result from an ethnic group's perception that they are self-sufficient and do not require the support of "allies".

Developing positive feelings

Although the largest percentage of respondents answered that they became aware of other ethnic groups between the ages of 6 and 14, roughly half of them claim that they developed positive feelings after the age of 10, and about 20% after the age of 14 (see Table 4 in Annex 4). Consequently, it appears that positive feelings may not develop at the same time as awareness of other ethnicities is created, but at a later age. This data is especially significant concerning the possibility to undertake activities to develop positive feelings for other communities at an earlier age.

Another significant finding was the discrepancy between development of positive feelings amongst Macedonian and Turkish respondents. Most Turkish respondents stated that they developed positive feelings between the ages of 6 and 9, whereas most Macedonian respondents stated that this occurred after the age of 14. Since a larger percentage of Turks live in a mixed ethnic environment than Macedonians, it is likely that they become familiarised with the concept of different ethnicities earlier in life and, accordingly, develop attitudes towards certain communities.

Regional disparities

The analysis of data disaggregated by cities/towns revealed great regional disparities in terms of the expressed positive feelings, especially between Macedonians and Albanians.

In ethnically mixed cities where students of these two ethnic communities study together (Skopje, Kumanovo, Struga, Tetovo), positive feelings are at a very low level among both groups. Nonetheless, there is a significantly higher number of Albanians that express positive feelings for Macedonians (about 30%), as opposed to the smaller number of Macedonians who express positive feelings for the Albanians (from 2.6% in Struga to 14.7% in Tetovo).

The situation is similar in cities/towns where the highest percentage of the population is Macedonian (e.g. Bitola, Stip, Strumica). With reference to the expressed positive perceptions, Debar, where the highest percentage of the population is Albanian, stands out. Here 36% of the Macedonians stated that they have positive feelings toward Albanians students.

Gender disparities

In general, respondents' answers regarding positive feelings towards other ethnic communities were not gender-related. Such a relation was detected only in one case - 40.5% of the female Albanian students expressed positive feelings for Macedonians, as opposed to 25.6% of the male Albanian students.

Negative feelings[5]

The differences between Macedonians and Albanians are most evident in the expression of negative perceptions. The students of these two ethnicities expressed by far most negative feelings for one another, compared to the negative feelings expressed for other communities. More than half of the Macedonian students (53.7%) stated that they have negative feelings for Albanians, and more than one third of the Albanian students (37.6%) reported negative feelings for the Macedonians. While 15.6% of the Macedonian students also reported negative feelings for the Roma, a relatively small percent reported negative feelings for other communities. Conversely, a significantly high number of Albanian students reported negative feelings for the Serbs (29%) and the Roma (17.9%) (see Chart 5).

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5 These percentages were derived only from the respondents who answered this question. 19.1% of the respondents did not answer the question.

Students of Turkish nationality reported negative feelings for Albanians with the greatest frequency (40.9%) and to a lesser extent for Serbs (19.1%), Macedonians and Roma (10% each).

Only a small number of the respondents (6.7%) answered that they had no negative feelings for other ethnicities. This was a more frequent response among Macedonians and Turks.

It is notable that the negative feelings Macedonians and Albanians have for one another are substantially more predominant in comparison to positive feelings. Furthermore, respondents state more ethnic groups for which they have negative feelings, than for which they have positive feelings. It is likely that these findings result from a societal atmosphere in which differences between the ethnic communities are constantly emphasised (particularly between Macedonians and Albanians), while simultaneously the common

Chart 5: Negative feelings for other ethnic groups
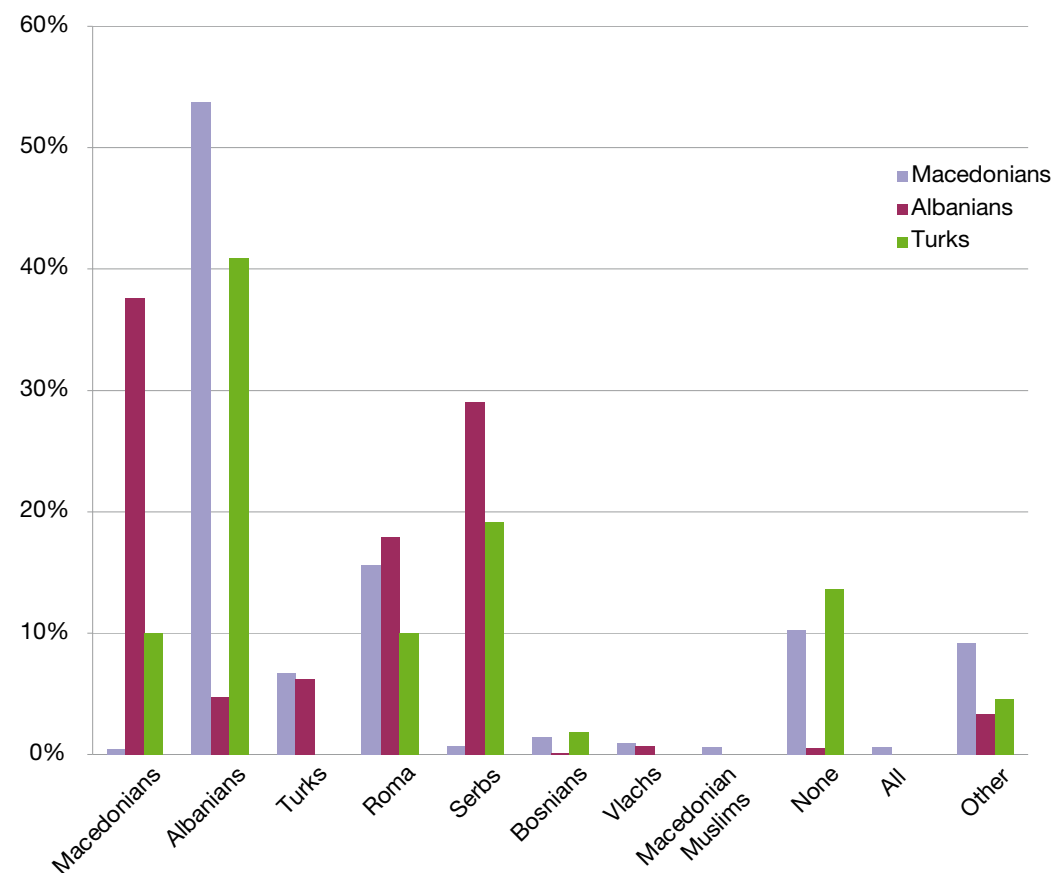
aspects of these groups are neglected.
How to read the chart: See page 10, Chart 4 for instructions

Development of negative feelings

Nearly half of respondents stated that they started developing negative feelings after the age of 10 (27.9% from 10 to 14, and 21% after the age of 14). This refers mainly to Macedonian and Albanian students, whereas nearly half of the Turkish students did not answer this question (see Table 6 in Annex 4). In regards to development of negative feelings, the same rule applies as in the case of positive feelings–the feelings usually develop after creating awareness of the existence of different ethnic groups.

Regional disparities

In regards to negative feelings between Macedonians and Albanians, regional disparities are even greater than those recorded in the case of positive feelings.

The mutual negative feelings reported by both ethnic groups are most evident in Struga, where 98% of Macedonians and 96% of Albanians stated that they have negative feelings for the other ethnic community.

These same results extend to other ethnically mixed cities/towns, where negative feelings between the two communities are more prevalent than positive. Once again the negative feelings are more common amongst Macedonians towards Albanians (53.7% in Skopje, 82.4% in Tetovo and 73.3% in Kumanovo), rather than Albanians towards Macedonians (37.6% in Skopje, 53.3% in Tetovo and 28.4% in Kumanovo).

In the towns where Macedonians outnumber other ethnicities, less than half of the Macedonian students expressed negative feelings for the Albanians (38% in Bitola, 37% in Strumica, 47% in Stip and 48.5% in Veles)[6].

It is likely that in mixed cities the Macedonian population perceives the Albanian population as a threat more than in the ethnically homogeneous cities (threat to identity, territory, tradition etc.). Therefore they may be more inclined to create a negative perception of the "others." Conversely, these tensions may not be directly felt in the ethnically homogeneous cities, thus diminishing negative perceptions.

Gender disparities

In regards to negative perceptions, differences were found based on the sex of respondents of the two largest ethnic groups. A larger fraction of Macedonian males reported negative feelings for Albanians (68%), as opposed to 58.7% of females. In addition, there were more females who declared that they had no negative feelings for any of the ethnicities (15.5%) in comparison to 8.5% of males.

Likewise, there were more male Albanian students who expressed negative feelings for Macedonians (51.5 %), than female (43.8%). In contrast, the findings indicated that female Albanian students harbour more negative feelings for Roma (28%) than do male Albanian students (18.6%).

Although negative feelings between the two largest ethnic groups (Macedonians and Albanians) are common among female students, they are still, nonetheless, even more widespread among male students. This is likely a reflection of the direct hostile behaviour (fights, verbal disputes etc.) which is manifested largely among the male student population.

Frequency of contact with other ethnic communities

When it comes to frequency of contact with different ethnic groups within the school, interactions with ethnic Macedonian students are most frequent. – 41.5% of the students who are not ethnic Macedonians report frequent exchanges with them, an expected finding, as they are the majority population. A significant percentage of the respondents who are of non-Albanian origin (40%) have no contacts with Albanians in the school, whereas 33.7% have rare contacts. (see Table 7 in Annex 4)

The results show that students of Macedonian nationality are most isolated within their ethnic group. Nearly half of them (46%) have no contact with the Albanian students, and about 40% have no contact with Turks or Roma. Only 20% of them stated that they had frequent contacts with Turks and Serbs, and only 15% with Albanians and Roma.

The largest fraction of Albanian students stated that they have frequent contacts with Macedonians (40%), while only half as many report interactions with Turks (20%). More than 60% of them have no contact with Roma in their schools.

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6 *Although in Bitola and Veles there is an ethnic Albanian population and since recently classes with Albanian as a language of instruction, still its size is negligible, compared to the above-mentioned cities/regions.*

According to reports from Turkish respondents, they are the nationality with the most frequent contact with other ethnic groups. A significant majority of Turks (66.3%) stated that they have frequent interactions with Macedonians, 48% with Albanians and 20.7% with Roma students.

Macedonian students have the most frequent contact with the Serbs, as opposed to the Albanians and Turks, who rarely have contact with them (81% and 68% respectively).

The frequency of contact with different ethnic communities was **not gender-related.**

Frequency of contact and feelings for other ethnic communities

It was hypothesized that frequency of contact would be associated with respondents' attitude towards a certain community. The research confirmed the existence of this relationship, although the direction of this correlation could not be determined – whether it is the frequency of contact that influences the feelings, or if it is the feelings that influence the frequency of contact.

It is a significant finding that in the case of **Macedonian students**, more frequent interactions with the Turks, Albanians and Roma were related to positive feelings for these communities, whereas rare contact or lack of contact was related to negative feelings for these same ethnicities. In regards to Albanian students the findings were similar. Those Albanian respondents who reporting having more frequent contact with Macedonian and Roma students expressed more positive feelings for these ethnic groups. Likewise, those who had no contact with them expressed substantially greater negative feelings.

Although the direction of this relationship cannot be determined, the current findings seem to indicate that interactions among ethnic groups are not solely a result of mutual co-existence, or tolerance. On the contrary, it appears that contact between communities is meaningful and a critical aspect of development of positive feelings and respect for other ethnicities.

Regional differences in frequency of contact

Interestingly, in some towns where a large majority of the population is Macedonian, but there is also a small Albanian population (e.g. Bitola, Resen, Demir Hisar), Macedonian students stated that they have more frequent contact with the Albanians, in comparison to towns where the population is more equally mixed (e.g. Gostivar, Tetovo, Kicevo). This may result from the necessity for Albanian students to interact more with Macedonians in communities where the latter are predominant and where it is more difficult for Albanians to maintain friendships only within their own group.

In many of the ethnically mixed towns (e.g. Tetovo, Gostivar, Kicevo, Kumanovo), a high percent of the Macedonian students stated that they have no contact with the Albanians (from 50.6% in Kumanovo to 33.6% in Tetovo). Thus physical proximity of ethnic communities does not guarantee that the groups will interact. On the contrary, if tensions exist, there is a risk that this interaction will be reduced to a minimum.

Albanian respondents reported similar patterns in contact. The percentage of those having frequent contact with Macedonians is highest in places where they are less numerous than the Macedonian population (e.g. Veles, Bitola, Resen, Skopje). A relatively small number of them answered that they have no contacts with Macedonians. This lack of contact is most evident in Struga (20.9%), Gostivar (23.1%) and Kumanovo (18.4%).

Schools and interethnic relations

The section of the questionnaire which refers to the education system aims to analyze students' attitudes towards the role of schools and certain factors of schools (teachers, students, classmates) in the development and quality of interethnic relations. These factors were then analyzed in relation to the perceptions of certain ethnic groups in order to determine any possible association.

School factors that affect attitude formation towards ethnic communities

Teachers

Teachers are one of the most significant school factors that affect attitude formation. Their role is not only significant in terms of education, but also in terms of upbringing. Therefore they should take care to develop positive moral values, including inter-ethnic respect and cooperation. Having this in mind, it is concerning that nearly half of the respondents (47.6%) stated that they have (often or sometimes) heard teachers making insulting comments against other ethnic communities (Chart 6). Although a relatively small number of students answered that they often hear

such comments made by their teachers, there was a significantly higher number of Albanian students who confirmed this, compared to Macedonians and Turks.

In terms of the frequency of negative comments made by teachers, there were no differences between the towns in the eastern and the western part of Macedonia.

Results indicate that what teachers say affects approximately 40% of students' attitudes. The number of Albanian students influenced by teachers' comments is considerably higher (44.5%) than the number of Macedonian students (34.1%) (Chart 7). This is most likely related to the finding that, for Albanian students, teachers are a more significant factor defining their relationship with other ethnic communities, in comparison to students of other nationalities (see Table 2 in Annex 4). Teachers' negative comments are especially influential if they are made frequently.

In certain cases, frequency of negative comments is related to negative feelings for certain ethnic groups. In the case of Macedonian students, frequent negative comments made by teachers appear to be connected with negative feelings for Albanians, but not for Turks. Regarding responses from

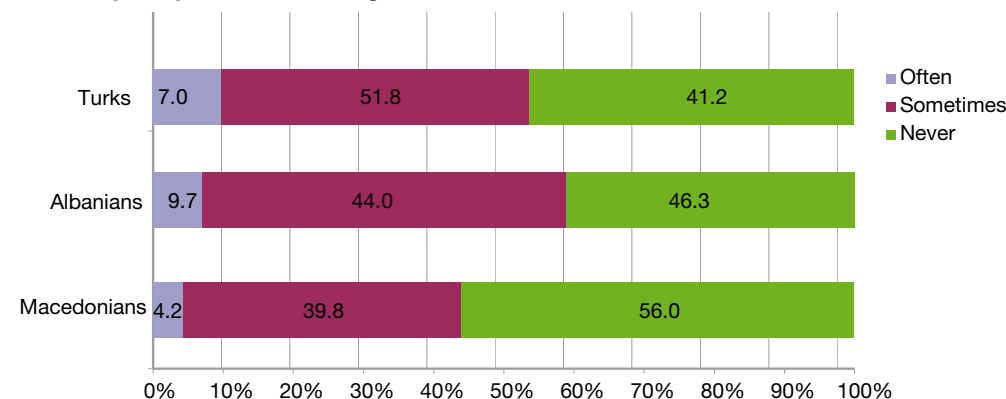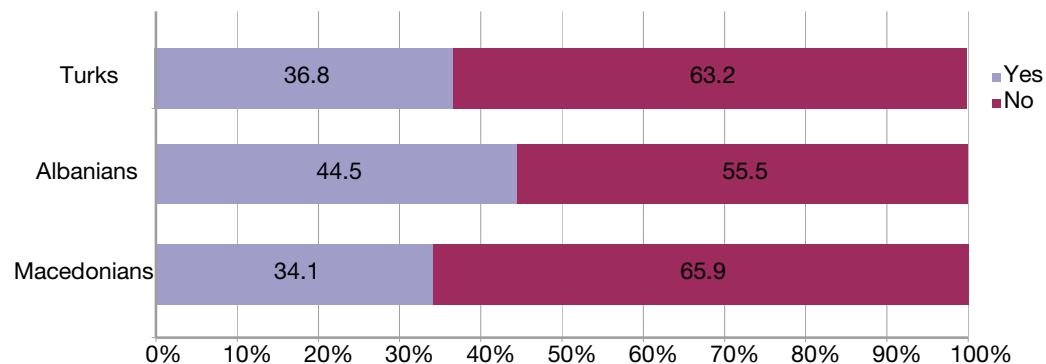*Chart 6: Frequency of teachers' negative comments on students*

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Turks	7.0	51.8	41.2
Albanians	9.7	44.0	46.3
Macedonians	4.2	39.8	56.0

Chart 7: Impact of teachers' negative comments on students

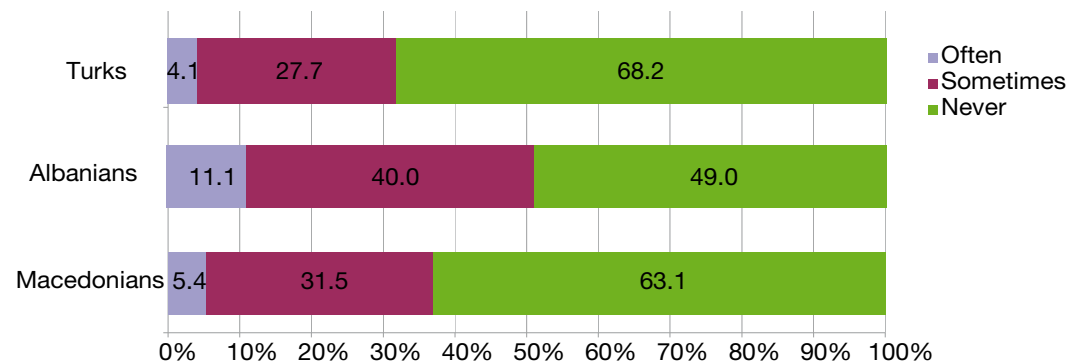|	Yes	No
Turks	36.8	63.2
Albanians	44.5	55.5
Macedonians	34.1	65.9

Albanian students, although the influence of teachers was deemed quite significant in attitude formation towards ethnic groups, no connection was found between their comments and negative feelings toward other ethnicities.

Classmates

About 40% of respondents stated that they feel pressure from their classmates of the same ethnic group not to socialize with other ethnic groups. According to Albanian students, this pressure is stronger (11% stated they feel it often and 40% sometimes) than for Macedonians and Turks (see Chart 8).

The pressure that Macedonian students experience seems to be related to having negative feelings for Albanians, but not for other ethnic groups. Likewise, findings indicate that the pressure Albanian students feel from their classmates is related to having negative feelings only for Macedonians. Although the question did not specify which ethnic group,

it is most likely that Macedonians experience pressure not to socialize with Albanians, and the other way round.

However, the pressure that both ethnic groups are facing does not appear to be connected to frequency of contact with other ethnic groups. Therefore it is possible that the interactions reported by students are often not friendly, but, merely the result of common existence in an environment.

Textbooks

Although a relatively small number of respondents mentioned textbooks as a factor which influences awareness of other ethnic communities, they are still regarded as a factor that can affect attitudes toward ethnicities.

In this respect, the viewpoints of Macedonians and other main minority communities greatly differ. While most Macedonians (80%) reported that their ethnic group is adequately

Chart 8: Students feelings of peer pressure

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Turks	4.1	27.7	68.2
Albanians	11.1	40.0	49.0
Macedonians	5.4	31.5	63.1

Chart 9: Students' view of how their ethnic groups is represented in textbooks

	Yes	No
Turks	56.3	43.7
Albanians	56.3	43.7
Macedonians	80.3	19.7
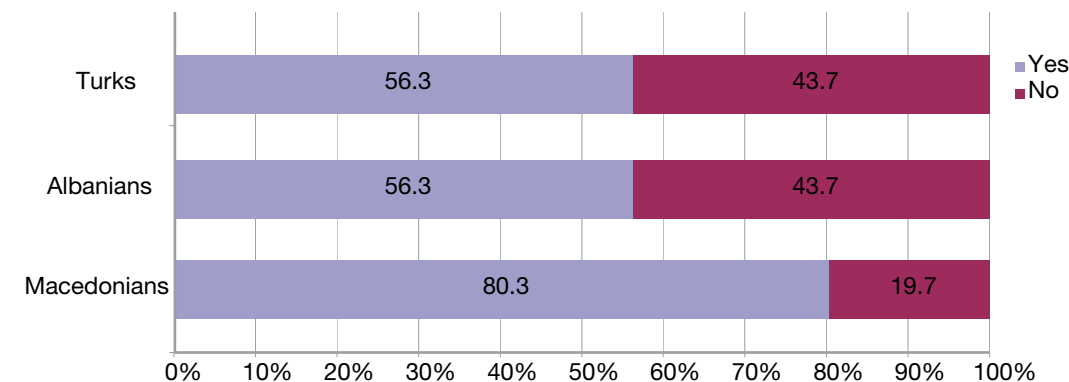
represented in textbooks, more than 40% of other ethnicities believe that they are not adequately represented (Chart 9). It is concerning that approximately one third of all respondents felt that their ethnic group is not adequately represented in textbooks.

Reasons for hostility in schools among students of different ethnicities

Students state three factors that they think most affect the emergence of hostile behaviour (arguments and fights) between students of different ethnicities: students' prejudices (43%),

the political parties' influence (43.8%) and cultural differences (44.2%). However, students of different ethnicities do not place these factors in the same order of importance.

There is a significantly higher number of Albanians than Macedonians who believe that the most salient factors are teachers, cultural differences and the ways schools are managed (where one ethnic group is favoured). Conversely, the largest percentage of Macedonians stated that students' prejudices are one of the most significant factors (see Chart 10, Table 11 in Annex 4)

Chart 10[7]: Students' view of the reasons for hostilities in schools

	Percentage
Media influence	23.7
Way schools are managed	22.6
Students' prejudices	42.9
Dominant students	28.1
Political parties' influence	43.8
Teachers' influence	11.9
Cultural differences	44.2
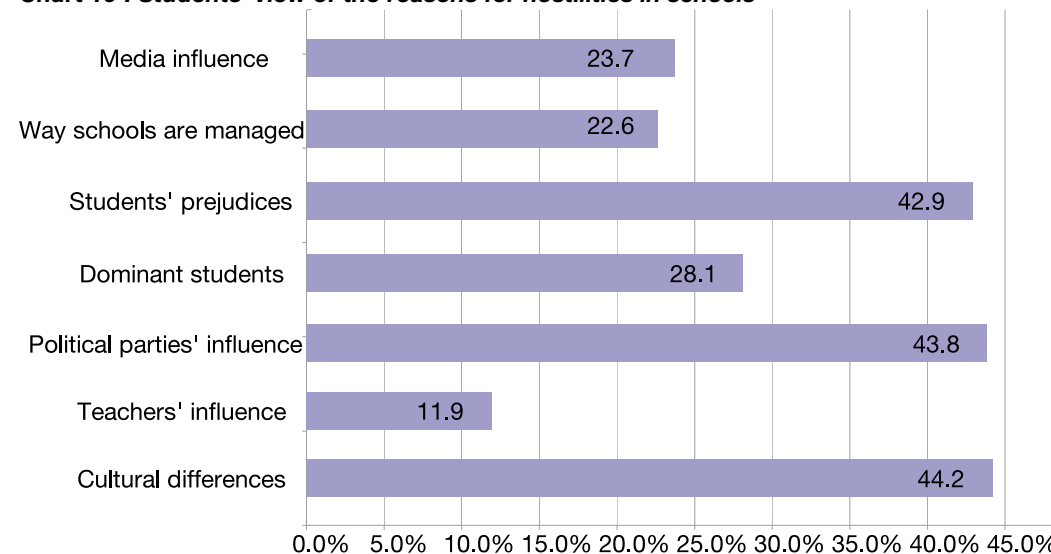
7 As multiple answers were allowed for this question, the total sum of percentages is higher than 100.

Role of schools in promoting interethnic relations

Respondents reported a considerable number of reasons for tense interethnic relations in schools, some of which were school-related. Therefore, they were asked to assess the role of their school in developing positive interethnic relations.

Most of them (nearly 70%) answered that their schools take measures to improve interethnic relations. A third of students stated that these measures were active, as opposed to 38% less active. (Chart 11).

The viewpoint that schools actively promote positive interethnic relations was most common among the Turkish students. It is likely that this is due to the frequency with which Turkish students study in ethnically-mixed environments where such measures are more frequently taken. There were more Albanians

Chart 11: Promotion of interethnic relations by schools

It does not take measures as there is only one ethnic group in the school

It actively promotes positive relations among students of different ethnic groups — 30.2%

It does not take measures, but it should — 21.1%

11.1%

37.6%

It takes certain measures to promote positive relations

than Macedonians who reported that schools take active measures.

The measures that schools take are not sufficient in the absence of students' motivation to participate in activities with other nationalities. The answers show that most of the students (80%) are willing to participate in activities with students of other nationalities. Albanians more readily expressed

this willingness, whereas Turkish respondents reported the least desire to engage in activities with students of other ethnicities. (see Chart 12 and Table 13 in Annex 4)

The unwillingness of Macedonians to participate in such activities appears to be related to the negative feelings they harbour for Albanians, Turks and to a lesser extent for Roma. Although such activities aim at reducing prejudices against other communities, there is risk that those students who have the most negative perceptions would not take part.

Female Macedonian and Albanian students are more inclined to participate in such activities, in comparison to their male classmates of the same nationality. Regarding the Turkish student populatio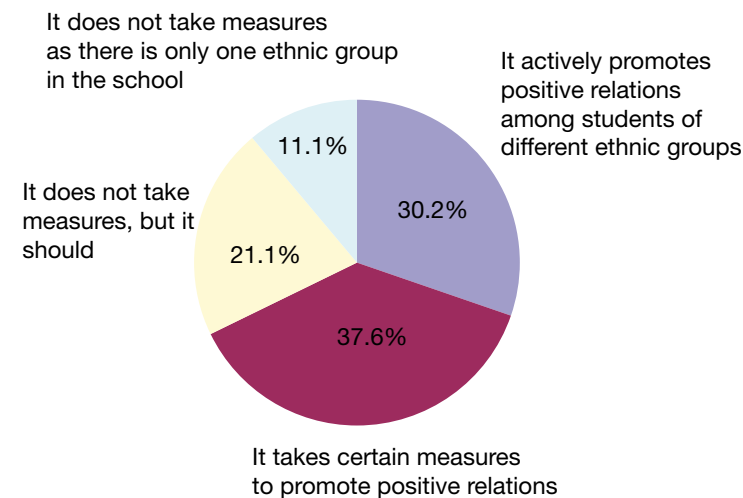n, there are no gender-based differences in terms of their readiness to participate in activities with other ethnicities.

The lack of motivation to participate in interethnic activities is also related to factors that, according to the students, most affect interethnic tensions. Most students who believe that cultural differences are the prevailing reason for interethnic tensions would not participate in such activities. On the contrary, most students who stated prejudices as the most significant factor would participate.

These findings may result from students' perception that cultural differences are more difficult to overcome, whereas prejudices can be reduced and eliminated through contacts with the others. This tendency was prevalent among both Macedonian and Albanian students.

It is encouraging that the majority of respondents (61.1%) **agreed that "Schools with mixed ethnic composition contribute to better relations among ethnic groups in the country."** However, the viewpoints of students from different ethnic communities vary greatly once again. Chart 13 illustrates that Turkish

Chart 12: Students' readiness to participate in activities with other ethnic groups

	Yes	No
Turks	70.8%	29.2%
Albanians	83.9%	16.1%
Macedonians	80.1%	19.9%
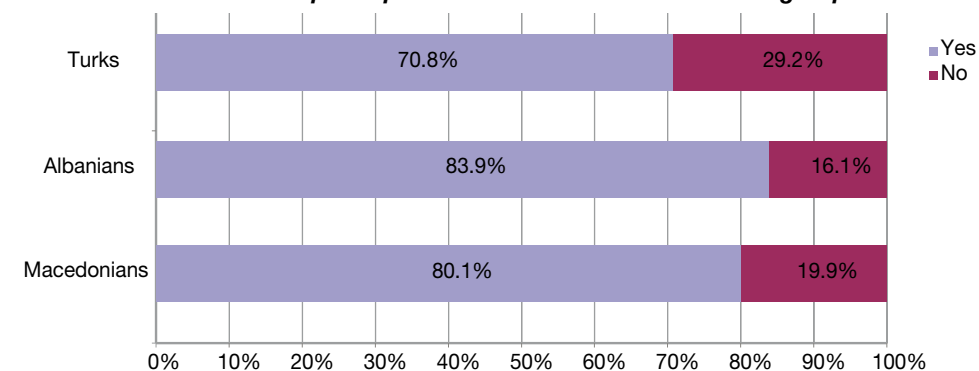
students were most likely to agree with this statement (77.5%), while Albanian students agreed to a slightly lesser extent (68%), and Macedonians were least likely to agree (57%).

Disagreement with this statement seems to be related to the attitudes towards certain ethnic communities. For instance, Macedonian students who expressed negative feelings for Albanians and Turks were more opposed to the idea of ethnically mixed schools than those Macedonians who did not declare negative feelings for these communities. Those Albanians who harboured fewer negative feelings for Macedonians were more likely to agree with the idea of multiethnic education. This indicates that those who have already developed positive feelings for one ethnic community are more likely to accept the concept of multiethnic schools. This leads to the conclusion that the initial attitude (positive or negative) towards other ethnic communities is crucial in the development of further attitudes towards multiethnic education.

The agreement with the positive effects of

multiethnic education was related to nearly all school indicators that were analysed: less frequent negative comments made by teachers about other ethnicities, less pressure from classmates about socializing with other ethnicities, greater willingness to participate in multiethnic school activities, and more frequent contacts with classmates of other nationalities.

The data indicates that these factors interact and both teacher and student attitudes affect the acceptance of the idea that ethnically mixed schools are beneficial.

Case study – Struga

The city of Struga was selected for a more in-depth case study due to data which indicated a high level of hostile feelings among the students of the two largest ethnic communities – Macedonians and Albanians. The intent of the case study is to give an overview of specific indicators and determine possible reasons for the high level of tension among the students of both ethnic communities.
Results from the main questionnaire instrument

Chart 13: Students' view of the impact of mixed ethnic schools on interethnic relations

	I agree	I disagree
Turks	77.5	22.5
Albanians	68.0	32.0
Macedonians	57.0	43.0

revealed that nearly all members of the same ethnic group were unanimous in stating the ethnic group for which they have **negative feelings.** For instance, the largest fraction of Macedonians reported negative feelings for Albanians and vice versa. However, it is important to note that over half of students (of both ethnicities) did not answer this question. This intriguing finding suggests that students were afraid to express their opinion, considering the high ethnic tensions during the previous school year (2008/09).

Although they live and study in an ethnically mixed environment, Macedonian and Albanian students rarely have **mutual interaction.** Only one third of students (30.8% Macedonian, and 34.9% Albanian) stated that they have frequent mutual contact, whereas the highest percentage of them had rare or no contact at all. Furthermore, the students have rare contacts with other ethnicities (especially Roma). Since these mutual contacts are often a result of an external need (e.g. school event) rather than a personal initiative, the results suggest that students are substantially isolated within their own ethnic group.

Most students of both ethnic groups (88% of Macedonians and 74% of Albanians) think that **the main reason for hostility in schools** are the opposing political parties. However, a significantly higher number of Albanians than Macedonians (63% versus 21.7%, respectively) see cultural differences among the ethnicities as one of the main reasons. It is notable that the two most significant factors vary in regards to origin – the first (political parties) is external and beyond students' control and abilities, while the second (cultural differences) is internal, although complex and also difficult to overcome.

Results reveal a major discrepancy between ethnicities in regard to level of acceptance of the statement that **mixed ethnic composition of schools contributes to improved interethnic relations**. Whereas the significant majority of Albanian students (73.3%) shared this viewpoint, less than a third of the Macedonian students (28.6%) agreed. Nonetheless, the majority of students (82% Macedonian and 80% Albanian) stated that they would participate in activities with students of other nationalities. However,

despite their motivation for participation in interethnic activities, nearly half of students (43.6%) believe that the school does not take appropriate measures to promote positive interethnic relations, a viewpoint especially present among Macedonian students. This percentage is significantly higher than the rest of the sample, although Struga is a city in which interethnic tensions were magnified during the past school year.

It is important to note that around half of the respondents of both ethnicities have heard **their teachers make insulting comments** about different ethnic groups. However, the perception of how these comments affect the formation of personal viewpoints differs by ethnic group. Namely, there are more Albanians than Macedonians who think that teachers' comments affected their personal attitude formation. A similar pattern was present in regards to **pressure from classmates** not to socialize with students of other ethnic groups, which is more common among Albanian students.

The attitudes of students from Struga differ from the overall sample in several respects. Students from Struga stated that they often hear insulting comments from their teachers; they experience more pressure from classmates not to socialize with students from other ethnicities; and a much greater percentage of them report that political parties and school management contribute to interethnic tensions. Moreover, in comparison to the rest of the sample, a lower percentage of Struga students think that schools implement effective measures to deal with tension. These results suggest that negative perceptions are caused, to a significant extent, by external factors which can be modified and improved through the system, but factors over which students have little control.

Conclusions

According to respondents, the awareness of other ethnic communities appeared between the ages of 6 and 14, whereas attitudes toward specific communities frequently developed much later – after the age of 10. Unsurprisingly, students find parents to be the most significant factor in creating awareness, followed by media (especially for Macedonians) and friends (especially for Turks).

Between Macedonian and Albanian students, negative feelings prevail over positive. Furthermore, negative perceptions are most prominent in ethnically mixed cities (especially in Struga) and are more frequently expressed by male students from the two communities.

The results indicate that more frequent contact with other ethnic communities is related to positive perceptions for these communities. However, in general, the larger the ethnic community, the more isolated it is within its group. Thus, Macedonian students have fewest interactions outside their ethnic group, whereas Turkish students have the most frequent contact with students of other ethnicities. Further analysis is required to confirm whether these interactions affect the development of positive feelings, or whether positive feelings lead to more frequent contact. Nevertheless, it is clear that living in a multiethnic environment does not necessarily guarantee frequent interactions between ethnicities. During a time of high ethnic tensions, interethnic contact is often reduced to a minimum.

School factors (e.g. teachers, classmates, textbooks, school activities) are interrelated with other indicators and significantly affect students' attitudes towards multi-ethnic contact, as well as their perception of other ethnic groups. Nearly half of the students stated that they had heard insulting comments made by their teachers regarding other ethnic groups, and about one third of students felt peer pressure not to socialize with students of other ethnicities. These factors were more salient for Albanian students, in comparison to other ethnic groups. However, students believe that the main reasons for ethnic tensions are not directly related to school. Rather,

respondents stated that ethnic tensions result mainly from students' prejudices, the influence of political parties and cultural differences.

Despite reports of high ethnic tensions, the majority of respondents thought that multiethnic schools can contribute to improved interethnic relations and most of them (70%) are motivated to participate in activities with students of other ethnicities. It is notable that more Albanians and Turks than Macedonians believed that multiethnic schools promote positive interethnic cooperation.

In conclusion, although prejudices are high, students are aware that they exist and precisely identify factors which cause them to increase. Results highlighted the association between frequent interethnic contact and more positive perceptions of other ethnicities, as well as students' willingness to interact with students of other ethnicities. Thus school activities that aim at more frequent interethnic interaction are not only embraced by students, but they are also an indispensable tool in eliminating negative prejudices and overcoming cultural differences.

Recommendations for activities and further research

The goal of the current study was to gain a more comprehensive understanding of interethnic perceptions and relations among secondary school students and the results obtained provide a foundation for a number of recommendations. Although the study offers valuable insight into the students' interethnic awareness and behaviour, it also has revealed the need for further investigation that will provide a deeper understanding of matters which were touched upon in the study.

Considering the early age at which awareness of ethnic diversity is developed, the role of schools in fostering positive relations and understanding among different ethnic communities is of great importance. In addition to the activities developed within the schools, it is also critical that families, friends and media, be involved, since respondents identified them as the most significant factors in creating awareness of ethnic differences.

When activities are planned, the factors which various ethnic groups identify as the most significant causes of intolerance should be taken into account. While most ethnic Macedonians reported that misconceptions and prejudice toward other ethnicities plays a major role, most ethnic Albanians highlighted the importance of teachers, cultural differences and school management which favours a particular ethnic group. In accordance with the various origins of prejudice, activities should be comprehensive, multi-faceted, and cover a broad range of possibilities – from reducing prejudices and accepting cultural differences to systematic changes in managing multi-ethnic schools.

Furthermore, ethnically-mixed extracurricular activities should focus not only on the most interested students. While these kinds of school-wide initiatives aim to reduce prejudice towards other communities, there is a risk that students who harbour the most negative perceptions of other ethnic groups will avoid them. Therefore, engaging students in interethnic activities should accompany other indirect measures to reduce prejudices and negative attitudes towards other groups (e.g. promoting common values through media, curricula, school management).

While the present research provides a more comprehensive understanding of multiethnic relations in secondary schools, it also highlights areas which require further examination. In order to gain deeper insight into the current results, it would be beneficial to undertake further research regarding the level and quality of interactions among students of different ethnicities. This would allow researchers to determine whether interethnic contact between students is largely superficial or deeper and more meaningful. Furthermore, it is necessary to gain a more thorough understanding of the type of negative comments made by teachers and how they are perceived by students. Consideration must be given to the measures schools currently utilize to develop positive interethnic relations and how students view these measures. Finally, there is a need to determine whether students' opinion that their ethnicity is not objectively represented in study materials is based on a general perception or on concrete examples. A more in-depth analysis of this issue could ascertain the manner in which textbook presentations of ethnicity can shape the formation of inter-group perceptions and attitudes.

Annex

ANNEX 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE

EDUCATION AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. At what age did you become aware of the different ethnic groups in your country?
   a) AT THE AGE OF 2-5 YEARS
   b) AT THE AGE OF 6-9 YEARS
   c) AT THE AGE OF 10-14 YEARS
   d) AFTER THE AGE OF 14

2. Who or what has made you become aware that there are other ethnic groups in your country? Please circle no more than three.
   a) FRIENDS
   b) PARENTS
   c) TEACHERS
   d) NEWSPAPERS, RADIO, TV, INTERNET
   e) TEXTBOOKS
   f) OTHER STUDENTS
   e) _____

3. Write down the name of the ethnic group(s) with which you associate positive feelings: Do not mention your own ethnic group!
   _____

4. When did you begin to develop these positive or negative feelings?
   a) AT THE AGE OF 2-5 YEARS
   b) AT THE AGE OF 6-9 YEARS
   c) AT THE AGE OF 10-14 YEARS
   d) AFTER THE AGE OF 14
   e) _____

5. Write down the name of the ethnic group(s) with which you associate negative feelings:
   _____

6. When did you begin to develop these positive or negative feelings?
   a) AT THE AGE OF 2-5 YEARS
   b) AT THE AGE OF 6-9 YEARS
   c) AT THE AGE OF 10-14 YEARS
   d) AFTER THE AGE OF 14
   e) _____

7. How often do you have contact with the following groups? Add other groups to the list if needed.
   Please circle how often you have had contact. Do not circle your own ethnic group!
   Macedonians……………………   OFTEN – RARELY – NEVER
   Albanians………………………..   OFTEN – RARELY – NEVER
   Roma ……………………………   OFTEN – RARELY – NEVER
   Turks...   OFTEN – RARELY – NEVER

Serbs..	OFTEN – RARELY – NEVER
_____............	OFTEN – RARELY – NEVER

8. What is your opinion on the following statement? "Ethnically mixed schools contribute to better relations among the ethnic groups in a country."
      a) AGREE
      b) DISAGREE

9. Have you heard teachers make derogatory comments about students of other ethnic groups?
      a) OFTEN
      b) SOMETIMES
      c) NEVER

10. If yes, has this influenced your behaviour toward students of other ethnic groups?
      a) YES
      b) NO

11. Do you feel pressure from classmates of your ethnic group not to socialize with students from other ethnic groups?
      a) OFTEN
      b) SOMETIMES
      c) NEVER

12. What do you consider the most frequent causes of tensions between students of different ethnic backgrounds in schools? Please mark no more than three.
      a) CULTURAL DIFFERENCES SUCH AS LANGUAGE AND CUSTOMS
      b) TEACHERS' INFLUENCE
      c) POLITICAL PARTIES' INFLUENCE
      d) INFLUENTIAL STUDENTS
      e) STUDENTS' MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS
      f) SCHOOL MANAGEMENT WHICH FAVOURS ONE PARTICULAR ETHNIC GROUP
      g) MEDIA INFLUENCE
      h) _____

13. How would you assess the role of your school in the development of positive interethnic relations?
      a) ACTIVELY PROMOTES POSITIVE RELATIONS AMONG STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS
      b) TAKES SOME MEASURES TO PROMOTE POSITIVE RELATIONS
      c) TAKESNO MEASURES TO PROMOTE POSITIVE RELATIONS, BUT SHOULD DO SO
      d) TAKES NO MEASURES, BECAUSE THERE ARE NO OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS IN MY SCHOOL

14. Do you think that your ethnic group is adequately presented in textbooks?
      a) YES
      b) NO

15. Would you participate in extracurricular activities together with students of other ethnic groups?
      a) YES
      b) NO

PERSONAL INFORMATION

16. I am   MALE   FEMALE

17. I am a member of the following ethnic group _____

18. My school is in the town of _____

ANNEX 2 - LIST OF SCHOOLS

No.	LOCATION	NAME OF SCHOOL	PROFILE	Language/s of instruction
1.	Skopje	SUGS "Dimitar Vlahov"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
2.	Skopje	ASUC "Boro Petrusevski"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
3.	Skopje	SUGS "Josip Broz Tito"	Gymnasium	Mac & Tur
4.	Skopje	SUGS " Zefljus Marku"	Gymnasium	Alb
5.	Skopje	SMUGS " D-r Pance Karagjozov"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
6.	Skopje	DUFK "Metodi Mitevski- Brico"	Vocational	Mac
7.	Kumanovo	STU "Nace Bugjoni"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
8.	Kumanovo	SOU "Goce Delcev"	Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
9.	Kratovo	SOU "Mitko Pendzukliski"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
10.	Kriva Palanka	SOU "Gjorce Petrov"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
11.	Sveti Nikole	SOU "Koco Racin"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
12.	Stip	SOU "Jane Sandanski"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
13.	Stip	DEMU "Kole Nehtenin"	Vocational	Mac
14.	Radovis	SOU "Kosta Susinov"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac & Tur
15.	Strumica	DSU "Nikola Karev"	Vocational	Mac
16.	Valandovo	OSU "Goce Delcev"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
17.	Veles	SOU "Koco Racin"	Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
18.	Veles	SSOU "Kole Nedelkovski"	Vocational	Mac
19.	Negotino	SOU "Sv. Kiril I Metodi"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
20.	Krusevo	SOU "Naum Naumovski Borce"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac

No.	LOCATION	NAME OF SCHOOL	PROFILE	Language/s of instruction
21.	Prilep	SOU "Kuzman Josifovski Pitu"	Vocational	Mac
22.	Prilep	SOU "Mirce Acev"	Gymnasium	Mac
23.	Bitola	SOU " Josip Broz Tito"	Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
24.	Bitola	SOU "Taki Daskalov"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
25.	Bitola	SOUZ "Kuzman Sapkarev"	Vocational	Mac
26.	Resen	SOU "Car Samuil"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac, Alb & Tur
27.	Demir Hisar	SOU "Krste P. Misirkov"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
28.	Ohrid	OSU 'Sv. Kliment Ohridski"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac
29.	Ohrid	OUTU 'Vanco Pitosevski"	Vocational	Mac
30.	Struga	SOU "Niko Nestor"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
31.	Struga	SOU "Dr. Ibrahim temo"	Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
32.	Kicevo	OSU ' Mirko Mileski"	Vocational/ Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
33.	Debar	CSNO " Zdravko Cockovski"	Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
34.	M. Brod	SOU " Sv. Naum Ohridski"	Gymnasium	Mac
35.	Gostivar	SOU "Cede Filipovski"	Vocational	Mac, Alb & Tur
36.	Gostivar	CSNO "Zlate Malakoski"	Vocational	Mac, Alb & Tur
37.	Tetovo	SOUT "Goce Stojcevski"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
38.	Tetovo	OSEU " 8mi Septemvri"	Vocational	Mac & Alb
39.	Tetovo	SOU "Kiril Pejcinovik"	Gymnasium	Mac & Alb
40.	Tetovo	SOM "Nikola Stejn"	Vocational	Mac, Alb & Tur

ANNEX 3 - TABLES

Table 1. At what age did you become aware that there are different ethnic groups in your country?

	No answer	At the age of 2-5 years	At the age of 6-9 years	At the age of 10-14 years	After the age of 14	Total
Macedonians	7	220	1062	942	409	2640
%	,3%	8,3%	40,2%	35,7%	15,5%	100,0%
Albanians	6	138	452	278	139	1013
%	,6%	13,6%	44,6%	27,4%	13,7%	100,0%
Turks	2	51	96	24	26	199
%	1,0%	25,6%	48,2%	12,1%	13,1%	100,0%
Other	0	26	62	55	37	180
%	,0%	14,4%	34,4%	30,6%	20,6%	100,0%
Total	15	435	1672	1299	611	4032
%	,4%	10,8%	41,5%	32,2%	15,2%	100,0%

Table 2: Who or what has made you become aware that there are other ethnic groups in your country?

	Friends	Parents	Teachers	Roma	Serbs	Bosnians	Vlachs	Textbooks	Media	Classmates	Other	Total
Macedonians	989	1864	898	348	804	56	172	393	1644	377	67	6232
%	15,9%	29,9%	14,4%	5,6%	12,9%	,9%	2,8%	6,3%	26,4%	6,0%	1,1%	
Albanians	465	770	454	71	30	61	12	180	412	93	16	2390
%	19,5%	32,2%	19,0%	3,0%	1,3%	2,6%	,5%	7,5%	17,2%	3,9%	,7%	
Turks	94	122	75	9	9	13	1	33	74	29	5	432
%	21,8%	28,2%	17,4%	2,1%	2,1%	3,0%	,2%	7,6%	17,1%	6,7%	1,2%	
Other	87	110	49					30	93	22	2	393
%	22,1%	28,0%	12,5%					7,6%	23,7%	5,6%	,5%	
Total	1635	2866	1476	428	843	130	185	636	2223	521	90	9447
%	17,3%	30,3%	15,6%	15,1%	29,6%	4,6%	6,5%	6,7%	23,5%	5,5	0,9%	

Table 3: Ethnic groups that respondents have positive feelings for

	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks	Roma	Serbs	Bosnians	Vlachs	Macedonian Muslims	None	All	Other	Total
Macedonians	41	263	540	348	804	56	172	35	140	110	116	2008
%	2,0%	13,1%	26,9%	17,3%	40,0%	2,8%	8,6%	1,7%	7,0%	5,5%	5,8%	
Albanians	226	15	397	71	30	61	12	11	1	15	17	685
%	33,0%	2,2%	58,0%	10,4%	4,4%	8,9%	1,8%	1,6%	,1%	2,2%	2,5%	
Turks	83	74	3	9	9	13	1	0	1	4	5	147
%	56,5%	50,3%	2,0%	6,1%	6,1%	8,8%	,7%	,0%	,7%	2,7%	3,4%	
Other	350	352	940	428	843	130	185	46	142	129	138	2840
%	12,3%	12,4%	33,0%	15,1%	29,6%	4,6%	6,5%	1,6%	5,0%	4,5%	4,8%	

Table 4: Age when positive feelings are developed

	No answer	At the age of 2-5 years	At the age of 6-9 years	At the age of 10-14 years	After the age of 14	Total
Macedonians	624	103	501	857	555	2640
%	23,6%	3,9%	19,0%	32,5%	21,0%	100,0%
Albanians	256	44	181	320	212	1013
%	25,3%	4,3%	17,9%	31,6%	20,9%	100,0%
Turks	48	16	57	54	24	199
%	24,1%	8,0%	28,6%	27,1%	12,1%	100,0%
Other	56	17	32	44	31	180
%	31,1%	9,4%	17,8%	24,4%	17,2%	100,0%
Total	984	180	771	1275	822	4032
%	24,4%	4,5%	19,1%	31,6%	20,4%	100,0%

Table 5: Ethnic groups that respondents have negative feelings for

	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks	Roma	Serbs	Bosnians	Vlachs	Macedonian Muslims	None	All	Other	Total
Macedonians	9	1225	153	356	17	33	21	14	234	14	207	2283
%	,4%	53,7%	6,7%	15,6%	,7%	1,4%	,9%	,6%	10,2%	,6%	9,1%	
Albanians	326	41	54	155	251	1	6	0	4	0	29	867
%	37,6%	4,7%	6,2%	17,9%	29,0%	,1%	,7%	,0%	,5%	,0%	3,3%	
Turks	11	45	0	11	21	2	0	0	15	0	5	110
%	10,0%	40,9%	,0%	10,0%	19,1%	1,8%	,0%	,0%	13,6%	,0%	4,5%	
Other	3	52	9	14	2	3	1	2	16	0	8	110
%	2,7%	47,3%	8,2%	12,7%	1,8%	2,7%	,9%	1,8%	14,5%	,0%	7,3%	
Total	349	1363	216	536	291	39	28	16	269	14	249	3370

Table 6: Age when negative feelings are developed

	No answer	At the age of 2-5 years	At the age of 6-9 years	At the age of 10-14 years	After the age of 14	Total
Macedonians	803	99	389	805	544	2640
%	30,4%	3,8%	14,7%	30,5%	20,6%	100,0%
Albanians	265	60	186	255	247	1013
%	26,2%	5,9%	18,4%	25,2%	24,4%	100,0%
Turks	95	8	37	36	23	199
%	47,7%	4,0%	18,6%	18,1%	11,6%	100,0%
Other	83	12	24	29	32	180
%	46,1%	6,7%	13,3%	16,1%	17,8%	100,0%
Total	1246	179	636	1125	846	4032
%	30,9%	4,4%	15,8%	27,9%	21,0%	100,0%

Table 7: Frequency of contact with other ethnic groups within the school

	Macedonians			Albanians			Turks			Roma		
	often	rarely	no contact	often	rarely	no contact	often	rarely	no contact	often	rarely	no contact
Macedonians				395	876	1086	500	989	882	359	1068	915
%				16,8%	37,2%	46,1%	21,1%	41,7%	37,2%	15,3%	45,6%	39,1%
Albanians	332	375	113				152	345	264	66	202	451
%	39,8%	46,3%	14,0				20,0%	45,3%	34,7%	9,2%	28,1%	62,7%
Turks	116	50	9	78	51	32				29	50	61
%	66,3%	28,6%	5,1%	48,4%	31,7%	19,9%				20,7%	35,7%	43,6%
Other	113	8	1	24	61	55	22	52	57	26	56	48
%	92,6%	6,6%	0,8%	17,1%	43,6%	39,3%	16,8	39,7%	43,5%	20,0%	43,1%	36,9%

Table 8: Opinion on the following statement: Ethnically mixed schools contribute to better relations among the ethnic groups in a country

	I agree	I disagree	Total
Macedonians	1488	1124	2612
%	57,0%	43,0%	100,0%
Albanians	680	320	1000
%	68,0%	32,0%	100,0%
Turks	148	43	191
%	77,5%	22,5%	100,0%
Other	115	63	178
%	64,6%	35,4%	100,0%
Total	2431	1550	3981
%	61,1%	38,9%	100,0%

Table 9: Frequency of derogatory comments about other ethnic groups made by teachers

	often	sometimes	never	Total
Macedonians	110	1047	1471	2628
%	4,2%	39,8%	56,0%	100,0%
Albanians	98	443	466	1007
%	9,7%	44,0%	46,3%	100,0%
Turks	14	103	82	191
%	7,0%	51,8%	41,2%	100,0%
Other	24	71	84	178
%	13,4%	39,7%	46,9%	100,0%
Total	246	1664	2103	3981
%	6,1%	41,5%	52,4%	100,0%

Table 10: Frequency of pressure by classmates not to socialize with other ethnic groups

	often	sometimes	never	Total
Macedonians	142	823	1647	2612
%	5,4%	31,5%	63,1%	100,0%
Albanians	111	400	490	1001
%	11,1%	40,0%	49,0%	100,0%
Turks	8	54	133	195
%	4,1%	27,7%	68,2%	100,0%
Other	13	72	92	177
%	7,3%	40,7%	52,0%	100,0%
Total	274	1349	2362	3985
%	6,9%	33,9%	59,3%	100,0%

Table 11: Most frequent reasons for hostility (arguments, fights) in schools between students of different ethnic backgrounds

	Cultural differences	Teachers' influence	Political parties' influence	Dominant students	Students' prejudices	Ways schools are managed	Influence of media	Total
Macedonians	1078	270	1146	726	1233	498	658	2601
%	41,4%	10,4%	44,1%	27,9%	47,4%	19,1%	25,3%	
Albanians	505	148	416	296	307	319	203	987
%	51,2%	15,0%	42,1%	30,0%	31,1%	32,3%	20,6%	
Turks	86	31	92	42	82	39	33	192
%	44,8%	16,1%	47,9%	21,9%	42,7%	20,3%	17,2%	
Total	1669	449	1654	1064	1622	856	894	3780
%	44,2%	11,9%	43,8%	28,1%	42,9%	22,6%	23,7%	100,0%

Table 12: Do you think that your ethnic group is adequately presented in textbooks?

	yes	no	
Macedonians	2083	511	2594
%	80,3%	19,7%	100,0%
Albanians	549	426	975
%	56,3%	43,7%	100,0%
Turks	111	86	197
%	56,3%	43,7%	100,0%
Other	113	59	172
%	65,7%	34,3%	100,0%
Total	2856	1082	3938
%	72,5%	27,5%	100,0%

Table 13: Would you participate in extracurricular activities together with students from other ethnic groups?

	yes	no	
Macedonians	2084	518	2602
%	80,1%	19,9%	100,0%
Albanians	829	159	988
%	83,9%	16,1%	100,0%
Turks	136	56	192
%	70,8%	29,2%	100,0%
Other	137	36	173
%	79,2%	20,8%	100,0%
Total	3186	769	3955
%	80,6%	19,4%	100,0%