



MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

“Managing Cultural Diversity Throughout the Development of the Nation-State in the Republic of Macedonia since the Signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in August 2001”

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2014

Studienkennzahl It. Studienblatt: 066 656

Studienrichtung It. Studienblatt: Masterstudium CREOLE-Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes

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Foreward:

My intrigue and personal interest in Macedonia is something that I could not have foreseen happening at the beginning of my studies. Now, near the end, this country is not only the focus of my thesis, but it is also a passionate interest of mine. I was worried, at first, that because I am not fluent in a 'Balkan' language that I would not be able to conduct appropriate fieldwork. However, a series of events took place which ended in me having direct contacts with Macedonian Members of Parliament and the opportunity to intern in the Macedonian Parliament. My time spent in the country, though, was not only limited to the Parliament. I was also able to broaden my research to consist of various organizations that have a strong presence within Macedonia (Macedonian center for International Cooperation, MCIC; and Macedonian Civic Education Center, MCEC/US.AID) as well as with the local Macedonian people. The language barrier proved to be far less of an issue, as almost all of the people I encountered were able to converse with me in English.

Macedonia is a culturally diverse country, the French actually use the term '*salade macédoine*' to refer to a 'mixed salad'. This stems from the diverse and mixed backgrounds of the people living in Macedonia. Also, it is a relatively young nation. As a country that is 'defining' itself during these times of globalization, I find it especially interesting and worthwhile to examine what methods and policies the government has set in place to manage the ethnic diversity within the country. The chapters in this study specifically relate to four different parts of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA)¹ and the topics are decentralization, language use, protection/maintaining of identity, and education – all with relation to the various ethnicities that live in Macedonia. However, in order to fully understand the creation and implementation of those policies and programs, it is imperative to have an understanding of the political situation in Macedonia in relation to handling ethnic matters throughout the formation of the republic over the past 20 years.

1 The conflict resolution document in 2001

The introduction and the literature review of this project will put into perspective different stages of ethnic diversity management that have taken place within Macedonia over the past 20 years. A particular emphasis is placed on the ethnic conflict of 2001, as well as the build up to this conflict, following with an overview of the measures that were taken in order to manage and eliminate that conflict. In order to have a clear understanding of the angle that the government and the organizations that deal with ethnic diversity are coming from, it is important to have a historical understanding about how the country has become what it is today. I believe it is important to break down and understand specific terms, such as *nation vs. state* as well as *ethnic solidarity* and *national cultural autonomy*, as well as certain concepts, such as *strength in ethnic variation*. Specific attention will be placed on possible reasons that conflict occurs in a country and also possible positive outcomes of conflict as well coping mechanisms.

Laura Nadar called for anthropologists to *study up* in the late 1960's, claiming that studying social contexts that involved people of a higher status than the researchers own could shed new light on otherwise already known topics. Ulf Hannerz, in 2007, questioned just what Nadar could have meant by 'studying up' by asking what this allusive 'up' meant. If one chooses to study up, it is important to be clear about who the 'higher status people' are, and why they are given that title. Hannerz introduces the concept of *studying sideways*, which is studying people of similar background and statuses as oneself and also *studying through*, which means to study different statuses and their relation to one another. A combination of these three approaches have been used in my ethnographic fieldwork in the sense that I examine the political realm and what has been done in Parliament as well as with policies in order to manage cultural diversity (up). I then examine different organizations and programs in which managing cultural diversity is the focus (sideways). Then I compare the relationship that the government and these organizations have with one another and whether they are working together in order to manage cultural diversity within Macedonia (through).

Concerning images, graphs, and tables used throughout this paper for clarification, I did my absolute best to secure copy right privileges, as well as to use proper citations throughout the thesis. However, if for some reason a copy right issue has taken place, I would ask the relevant

parties to get in touch with me.

Introduction:

Almost every country in the world consists of a multi-ethnic society. What is important is the way in which that society is managed, particularly in the areas of democracy, human rights, and minority rights. In order for a society to develop and prosper, it is crucial to develop and adopt a legal framework for handling multiculturalism and diversity. Macedonia, a young nation only gaining recognition as a republic in 1991, is no different. In the 1990's Macedonia was considered a beacon of hope in the former Yugoslavia. The country, as explained by Ortakovski, has “maintained a more or less successful coexistence between various nationalities, and having made efforts to improve the situation and to solve the problems that appeared concerning periodic ethnic tensions, the Republic of Macedonia succeeded in not participating in the war that followed the dissolution of former Yugoslavia” (2001:24). This allowed the country to gain independence by peaceful means. Peace as a means to avoid conflict. Over the years, Macedonia, a country of many different ethnicities, has shown that handling conflict in peaceful ways proves to be a more effective course, particularly in the area of cultural management.

Two important concepts for this cultural management study are cultural diversity and ethnic minorities. Although they may be used in slightly different contexts depending on the situation, for the context of this thesis, the following definitions and explanations are understood. To begin with, cultural diversity is viewed as the cultural variety or the cultural differences that exist and make up a society, which is viewed as an organized group of people that are associated with one another. Having cultural diversity means that diverse (different) people are being included in a 'larger group'. Ethnic minorities, on the other hand, are the smaller parts that make up that larger group. Ethnic, for the sake of this study, refers to the belonging (or deriving from) the racial, religious, or linguistic traditions of a people or a country. Ethnic minorities are the diverse cultures that make up a society. When referring to a national minority/ethnicity the definition understood “is a group of people belonging to a particular ethnic group/religion which represents less than 50% of the total population” (Constitution of Macedonia 2001; Ilievski 2007:14). Moreover, the;

“Macedonian legal and political system does not use the term 'ethnic minority', instead, in the Preamble of the Constitution it [states] '*...citizens* living within its borders who are part of the Albanian people, the Turkish people, the Vlach people, the Serbian people, the Romany people, the Bosniac people and others'... Throughout the Constitutional text and in the entire legislation the definition 'communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia is used as Macedonia's concept of what is elsewhere defined as national minorities'(Ilievski 2007:14; Constitution of Macedonia 2001).

To be clear, 'community' or 'minority community' may be used interchangeably with the term 'ethnic minority' throughout this research.

Though the 2012 census in Macedonia was not able to be completed, a look at the 2002 census will aid in the understanding of the diversity of the country.

Table 1: Ethnic structure of the Republic of Macedonia 1953-2002² (Ilievski 2007:10-11; Ortakovski 2001:26)

	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	1994	2002
Total	1,203,514	1,406,003	1,647,308	1,909,136	2,033,964	1,945,932	2,022,547
Macedonian	860,699	1,000,854	1,142,375	1,279,323	1,328,187	1,295,964	1,297,981
Albanian	162,524	183,108	279,871	377,208	441,104	441,104	509,083
Vlach	8,668	8,046	7,190	6,384	7,764	8,601	9,695
Roma	20,462	20,606	24,505	4,3125	52,103	43,707	53,879
Turkish	203,938	131,484	108,552	86,591	77,080	78,019	77,959
Serb	35,112	42,728	46,465	44,468	42,775	40,228	35,939

“The census figures clearly show that ethnic Albanians comprise the largest minority ethnic group in Macedonia [and that] in nearly 50 years their percentage in the overall population has doubled (from 12.4% in 1953 to 25.17% in 2002)”(Ilievski 2007:11). The reason for this being the “higher birth rate of the Albanian people along with a steadier migration flow into Macedonia over the years”(Ilievski 2007:11). During that time the Turkish population also experienced a

2 Censuses of Population 1948-2002 State Statistical Office. Retrieved from http://www.stat.gov.mk/Default_en.aspx.

drastic decrease as a result of the Yugoslav-Turkish agreement in the 1950's in which the Turkish people of Yugoslavia were able to move to Turkey and gain citizenship (Ilievski 2007:11). The Roma population has also doubled its size over the 50 year time frame, which is also due to their high birth rate. Additionally, over the years, the protection and respect for Roma rights has increased in Macedonia, resulting in people proudly declaring themselves as Roma, as opposed to Albanian, Turk, or Macedonian as they had done in the past. The above table also shows that the other ethnicities living within the country have maintained more stable demographics over the years.

The different cultural characteristics (language and religion are viewed in this research as important cultural attributes of ethnic groups) and attributes of the “ethnic groups in Macedonia are [quite] varied. Ethnic Macedonians, Vlachs and Serbs are predominantly Orthodox Christians, whereas the Albanians, Turks, and Roma are predominantly Muslim” (Ilievski 2007:11). Along with religious differences, the various ethnic groups also have language differences and there is a tendency for 'territorial concentration' of certain ethnicities (see appendix for territorial distribution). This separation, whether based on religion, language, or location, is something that must be monitored and controlled. If it is not, the relationship between different ethnic groups could become strained and distant and ethnic conflict becomes more of a likelihood.

“The Ohrid Agreement, which was signed on August 13, 2001 as the result of [inter-ethnic] armed conflict in Macedonia which lasted from January to August 2001, is a compromise document between the warring parties – Macedonians as the majority and Albanians as the largest national minority in Macedonia” (Škaric 2010:94). The framework of this document set the grounds for developing not only the rights of the Albanians, and other minorities, living in Macedonia. Albanians have expressed dissatisfaction with the document over the recent years, claiming that the agreement does not go far enough, as they still strive to achieve a bi-national state, on the other hand the Macedonians along with other minorities claim that the document favors the Albanians and that it does this at the expense of all other nationalities living in the country (Trajkovski 2012). Though the Ohrid document is indeed an excellent representation of

solving conflict in a peaceful way, 12 years have now passed and it is appropriate to review the document and to more closely examine the results since its formulation – albeit positive and/or negative.

Keeping in mind how young the country of Macedonia is, and also the ethnic variation that exists within the borders, this project aims to more closely examine policies and projects that have enhanced cultural autonomy while at the same time have handled and managed the cultural diversity that stems from the ethnic diversity of the country.

A basic hypothesis of this study is that, although major violent conflict was avoided 12 years ago with the initial signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, those 12 years have all been years of nation-state forming in the country. Peace may have been established quickly, but it is the after-effects that are in need of examination and evaluation.

With this knowledge the following research question, as well as sub-research questions, have been developed.

Research Question: How are the government, as well as specific organizations, defining cultural diversity in Macedonia and how do they manage that cultural diversity, and how are they involving different ethnic minorities within the nation-state, since the signing of the Ohrid Agreement in 2001?

- ⤴ What measures have been taken to handle the ethnic differences within the country?
 - Four main areas will be closely examined
 - Decentralization
 - Use of languages
 - Maintaining/Managing of cultural identities
 - Education
- ⤴ How are these steps taking in to consideration the ethnic diversity in the country?
- ⤴ How effective have these steps been? Do all ethnicities involved benefit?

- What good has come of these efforts? What consequences have come from these efforts?

The purpose of this research is to examine the Macedonian approach to not only conflict management, but also conflict resolution, and to assess whether or not the measures taken have been successful. In a world where almost every country is faced with ethnic diversity, it is important to study the various ways in which these differences are handled. Some countries have success stories with their management of diversity, while others do not. An aim of this project is to determine what can be learned from the Macedonian approach and to see if it, or any part of it, could be applied in the future to other countries in similar situations.

Macedonian Conflict History and Understanding:

Throughout the years there have been positives and negatives to how Macedonia has handled the ethnic diversity within its borders. Nevertheless, in 2001, conflict broke out in the country. Even though in terms of conflict, what Macedonia faced was mild, and it was handled almost immediately, there were still casualties – the death toll between the two sides was around 200, an unfortunate number, regardless.

Although there have been various theories and researches done as to 'why and what' caused the conflict, there are two commanding explanations. According to Ilievski the first is that the “violent conflict was essentially an aggression from Kosovo and a spill-over effect from the battles fought by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Southern Serbia” (2007:18). While the other is that “the violent conflict was exclusively the result of internal factors. It was a domestic rebellion resulting from the repression and discrimination of the Albanian population in Macedonia” (Ilievski 2007:18). Like most instances when there are arguments, the answer lies somewhere in the middle. “It is true that the constitutional status of ethnic Albanians was downgraded by the 1991 Constitution [and] it is also true that ethnic Macedonian politicians were short-sighted in their ethnic conflict management and avoided complex negotiations, pacts or consociational arrangements in this period” (Ilievski 2006:41; Marko 2004/2005). No matter the exact causes,

the result of these tensions was a discord between the two largest ethnic groups in Macedonia, which escalated into using force as a means to an end.

It has been speculated that the build up to the conflict of 2001 was years in the making. From 1990 Macedonia was exercising domestic conflict management processes within the country. These processes included an unsuccessful attempt of integration to talk and plans for dividing the country. Examining Lyubuv Mincheva's classification of the strategies and activities of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia will clarify the situation. I believe that by having a clearer understanding of these strategies and activities it will be easier to interpret and comprehend not only the 2001 conflict, but also the decisions made in the formation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement as well as with its implementation³.

- ⤴ **Affinities: 1990-1994.** Mincheva explains that during this time there was an ethnic consolidation and communal self-establishment of Albanians in Macedonia. “From 1990 through early 1994 the activities of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia aimed at the federalization of the country, and even at secession of Albanian populated areas” (Mincheva 2003:Section 6.1; Ilievski 2007). Mincheva explains the reason for this as being that from 1990-1994 “ethnic identity became a strong source for intra-communal mobilization throughout the ex-Yugoslav region”(Mincheva 2003:Section 6.1; Ilievski 2007). With this sudden focus on 'ethnic identity', it is unsurprising that within a short period of time the Albanians living in Macedonia demanded to have more ethnic rights within the country. During the first part of the 90's the radicalism seemed to escalate at a rapid pace, resulting in “the arrest of ethnic Albanian leaders [in 1994]. The leaders were charged with separatist activities, as well as with involvement in a plot aimed to smuggle weapons in Macedonia and develop an Albanian ethnic militia” (Mincheva 2003:Section 6.1; Ilievski 2007).
- ⤴ **Rational Choice: 1994-1999.** As of “1994, however, the ethnic Albanian radicalism seemed to be weakening. A new period of ethnic politics began where rational calculations were gathering momentum” (Mincheva 2003:Section 6.2; Ilievski 2007). At

3 The concept for the following section was retrieved from <http://www.isanet.org/noarchive/mincheva.html>

this time, the federalization of Macedonia was abandoned and new goals were made by the Albanians. These “goals included proportional representation of the ethnic Albanians in state institutions; change of [the] Constitution in its part specifying the status of the ethnic Albanians; establishment of an ethnic Albanian university; establishment of media and education in minority language” (Mincheva 2003: Section 6.2: BBC 17 August, 1994; Reuters, 13 October, 1994; Ilievski 2007). However, unrest still occurred during this time period, such as issues with the census reports in 1994 as well as reported incidents between Albanians and Macedonian police. It was also during this time that the Albanian language University in Tetovo illegally opened. “What distinguishes that ethnic unrest from the conflicts of the previous period, however, were the newly formulated objectives of ethnic Albanians” (Mincheva 2003: Section 6.2). The demands made by Albanian citizens at this time did not abuse the basic norms of democratic group participation.

- ▲ **Opportunities: 1999-2001.** It was “the militarization of the Kosovo conflict [that] created an opportunity for the Macedonian Albanians to exert additional pressure on their own government”(Mincheva 2003:Section 6.3;Ilievski 2007). As the conflict progressed (in 2001) it was not a surprise that more and more domestic ethnic Albanians joined in the uprising. The Albanian Ethnoterritorial Separatist Movement (ETSM) had “evolved into a factor capable of challenging states at both sides of their borders (Kosovo and Macedonia). Moreover, the trans-border ethnic network of the Albanian ETSM enabled Kosovo paramilitary groups to even challenge the Macedonian government on its own soil” (Mincheva 2003:Section 6.3; Ilievski 2007). There was no statement made in relation to the insurgence made to the public during the first month of the conflict. The only thing known was that the groups crossing the border of Kosovo into Macedonia were wearing National Liberation Army (NLA) insignias.

The response strategies undertaken by the Macedonian state leadership to this threat of force from the NLA, not only within Macedonian territory, but particularly the threat to the capital, as well as to the stability of the country, have been defined by Ilievski, a professor of ethical leadership who has done thorough research in the ex-Yugoslavic region, as 1: Peace and co-existence, 2: Gradual concessions and use of force, and 3: Partition, exchange of territory and population. For

the sake of clarification and understanding, below is a very brief overview of the strategies⁴.

1: Peace and co-existence. Although the Constitution of 1991 shifted in the direction of Ethnic Macedonians as a 'titular' nation – this shift was made clear in the preamble of the Constitution which declared the country as a nation state that is made up by 'Macedonian' people (Marko 2004/2005). This was not the intention of the President at the time, Kiro Gligorov, whose idea was one of peace and co-existence. However, this concept of a peaceful and co-existence was not reached, as the Albanians had instead developed (as previously mentioned) a demand for a federalized state between the Macedonians and the ethnic Albanians at this time (early 1990's). It would be fair to assume that a cause of tension between these two ethnic groups during this period was a result of the Albanians being unable to accept the title of 'national minority' (as stated by the Constitution) and instead believed that they should be seen as standing equals in both individual and citizenship terms while at the same time demanding the “status of a constituent nation as a group” (Ilievski 2007:14). Furthermore, from the “beginning of Macedonia's independence ethnic [political] parties were formed. In addition, the emerging civil society became ethnically divided.” Because of this, “integration as a method of eliminating differences could not be implemented” (Ilievski 2007:11), as the division of ethnic groups into political groups had already taken place.

2: Gradual concessions and use of force. In order;

“to preserve fragile inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia, the ethnic conflict was managed through a combination of gradual concessions towards the requirements of ethnic Albanians, coercive means, and corrupt exchanges between ethnic elites (Marko 2004)... A positive development towards the stability of inter-ethnic relations in this period was that all governing coalitions from 1992 until the present have included ethnic Albanian political parties” (Ilievski 2007:11).

However, these ethnic parties are separate and distinct from Macedonian political parties. These

4 The concept for the following 3 strategies was received from
<http://www.eurac.edu/en/research/institutes/imr/Documents/MacedoniaReport.pdf>

ethnically separate political parties are still in existence today in Macedonia, and are potentially a set-back for the nation in its attempt to move forward. This ethnic split in political groups demonstrates that there is still an ethnic split in government, and until that split is overcome, I believe ethnic tensions will always exist in one form or another.

Although ethnic Albanian political parties have been ever-present in Parliament, as well as in “vice-presidents of governments, directors of state-owned companies, and other top managerial positions in public administration” (Ilievski 2007:11), as well as holding positions of mayor in municipalities where the population was majority Albanian, they were underrepresented in public administration. The reason behind this being the severe lack of “ethnic Albanians that were educated at the tertiary level. This was a combined result of the closing of Pristina University in Kosovo, a higher education hub for Albanians in the region” (Ilievski 2007:11). In the early 1990's there was a decrease of ethnic Albanians in secondary education, and although measures were taken to improve that situation, none were taken to resolve the issues of higher education for Albanians. This lack of effort, along with the forceful (government initiated) closing of The University of Tetovo, were factors that lead up to the conflict of 2001. According to Ilievski, much of Macedonia's idea of 'conflict management' in the 1990's consisted of a combination of “small concessions, use of force, and turning a blind eye to ethnic issues” (Ilievski 2007:11) instead of trying to find ways to solve them. It was from such government missteps as these that resulted in an increased radicalization of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia (Ilievski 2007). “Needless to say, a high quality education, in which individuals experience inter-ethnic tolerance and peaceful conflict resolution, is one of the best and most important long-term investments in the stability of future inter-ethnic relations that a multi-ethnic country can make” (Ilievski 2007:12). A specific U.S. Aid program (Interethnic Integration in Education Project, IIEP) that aims to promote cultural diversity understanding (and tolerance), an indirect result of the Ohrid Agreement and a specific way in which the government is aiding in managing the ethnic diversity of the country, is an important program for the country today, and is a chapter of this research.

What is important to realize is that “for ethnic Albanians the exit options in the early [1990's] all

looked dreadful [because] Kosovo was under the brutal subjugation of Milosevic, and Albania was preoccupied with the recovery from its severe communist experience”(Hislope 2005:35-36; Ilievski 2007). During this time the 'Albanians in Macedonia enjoyed political pluralism and faced none of the repressive measures inflicted on the Kosovars' – stated by Nevzat Halili, a politician from the PDP (Party for Democratic Prosperity)(Ilievski 2007). “With the costs of repression too high for Macedonians, and the price of exit too great for Albanians, peace was [fragile] maintained by Macedonian and Albanian elites mutually adjusting the terms of their partnerships” (Hislope 2005:35-36). As a result of that, the peace that followed between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians was established due to a combination of circumstances, it was conjectural.

Unfortunately, the peace was not able to last, as it was merely a temporary solution, and by March 2001 a violent conflict had begun in Macedonia. An analysis done by Mincheva, formed as a result of the International Fact-Finding Mission to the Republic of Macedonia in 2001, shows in which ways the Macedonian armed conflict can be separated into two stages. The first stage “embraced the month of March [2001] alone. Crisis at this stage was clearly imported from Kosovo” (Mincheva 2009: Section 6.4; Ilievski 2007). The second stage of the conflict, which took place from early April until August 2001 was when the Macedonian ethnic Albanian fighters joined and the National Liberation Army (NLA) grew in numbers. Initially, the NLA fighters “spoke about targeting the uniform of the Macedonian occupier until the Albanian people are freed”(Ilievski 2007:14; BBC News, January 26, 2001) but then changed their war slogan to one that advocated human rights. The term was meant to refer to the Albanians rights to not be seen as a collective minority, but instead as an ethnic group that shared the same level of power/ethnic rights as ethnic Macedonians. An official in the NLA even went so far as to state “that we do not want to endanger Macedonia's stability and integrity, but we will fight a guerrilla war until we have won our basic rights, until we are accepted as equal people in Macedonia” (Daskalovski 2005:121; Ilievski 2007:14). Other NLA leaders claimed that they would not stop fighting until “an independent, separate Albanian state of Western Macedonia [is formed]”(The Christian Science Monitor, May 3, 2001). It was not until the final stage of the conflict that the NLA was able to put together a more cohesive and coherent rhetoric. The NLA demanded that

the Albanians be seen as equals within Macedonia, that their language be recognized as a State official language, that higher education be made available to them in their native language, and that clear changes be made in the Constitution pertaining to their overall treatment and equal status within Macedonia.

The swift emergence of a militant ethnic Albanian guerrilla movement was especially a shock to outside countries as Macedonia had been a country that had been praised for the peaceful coexistence of its different ethnic groups, as well as its democratic rule. The violent conflict spread to the area surrounding the city of Tetovo and threatened to move towards Skopje, this prompted the Macedonian military to swiftly embark on a military campaign. The political party in power at the time (VMRO-DPMNE)⁵ was strongly in favor of “a military solution to bring an end to the conflict, and the political party was also in support of proclaiming a state of war in Macedonia” (Ilievski 2007:20). However, it was the intense pressure from the international community that actually lead to the OFA peace negotiations.

“With strong international backing, the government opened all party talks on inter-ethnic issues in April. A new national unity government comprised of all major political parties was created in May. Clashes between rebel and government forces continued in some areas of the country, as marathon talks among all coalition parties on political reforms remained deadlocked. An open-ended cease-fire agreement reached on July 5 allowed talks to continue, in spite of intermittent truce violations. Negotiations finally reached agreement on key reform issues in early August” (Kim 2001:1).

Although the government attempted to meet 'force with force', Western mediators flew in and out and insisted on the need for Macedonia to establish a dialogue with the Albanians, resulting in yesterday's “terrorists being viewed instead as partners in a peace-process”(Ilievski 2007:20; Sunley 2001).

Macedonia did not experience a drawn out and bloody war, however, there were still casualties during the conflict of which both the rebels and the government forces are responsible.

5 Currently the leading (right wing) political party in Macedonia

3: Partition, exchange of territory and population. Lastly, in 2001, “there was a proposal to partition the country along the Macedonian-Albanian ethnic lines” (Ilievski 2007:20). It was proposed that there be an exchange of population and territory between the Albanian populated areas of Macedonia with the Macedonian populated areas of Albania. Although this proposal “was supported by Ljubco Georgievski, the Prime Minister of Macedonia at that time, and by Arben Xhaferi, the leader of the DPA (Democratic Party of Albanians), due to strong domestic and international resistance to such an idea, the proposal was abandoned”(Ilievski 2007:20). As there was such an outspoken resistance to this idea, both domestically as well as internationally, the proposal was buried.

Post-Conflict Peace Measures:

Programs:

It is important to understand the events that lead up to the 2001 conflict and the different ways in which the Macedonian government handled them because without this conflict the Ohrid Framework Agreement would not have existed, and perhaps ethnic rights would not have improved and changed in the same way that they have over the past 12 years. What stands out especially about the OFA and the effects it has had on the Macedonian society is that from this agreement, and from the conflict that lead up to it, the country has been able to implement and carry out different programs that promote peace and harmonic living. One particular program that has demonstrated this is the Re-Socialization of Ex-Combatants (RPB) program conducted by the Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (MCIC). MCIC is a non-governmental, non-profit organization that has been actively taking part in social-humanitarian aid as well as sustainable development projects. The organization was established in 1993 with the basic overview of creating an organization that would support and help develop both local and national initiatives as well as conduct sustainable developments of human resources both within Macedonia and also abroad. The organizations main strategies and goals are in developing a civil society, promoting peace, and assisting those in need. For any country that faces conflict, it is important to not only handle that conflict, but to also handle the after-effects of that conflict, both in society as well as on the people directly involved.

The RPB Project was based on another assessment done by the MCIC in 2003 (the Assessment of the Reintegration of Displaced People and Revitalization of Conflict Affected Areas in Macedonia). It was the results of that study that lead MCIC to develop a project that would focus on the re-socialization of ex-combatants from the Macedonian conflict in 2001.

“This re-socialization project aimed to prevent social exclusion of ex-combatants, as well as their asocial and potentially dangerous behavior; to improve their skills for access to the labor market, through vocational and on-job training which will also serve as occupational therapy; to provide psycho-social assistance for the persons in need for that; to increase capacities of the associations of ex-combatants to maintain contacts, inform their members about opportunities, cooperate with local self-government and businesses and advocate for their members rights with the State institutions” (Rebohle and Poposka 2006:3).

Activities set in place to meet these aims included “English language courses and PC literacy courses, business skills training, vocational training and 'On the Job Training', psycho-social support, provision or information on investment possibilities and credit schemes, [as well as] capacity building for the organizations of the ex-combatants” (Rebohle and Poposka 2006:3). Although all areas were not successfully implemented, the efforts put forth by MCIC resulted in positive feedback from the actants – both the government security forces (police and the army) as well as by members of the National Liberation Army (NLA). “The associations of the ex-combatants were strengthened” (Rebohle and Poposka 2006:3) and the positive impact was very high. This project is especially relevant because it “addressed a relevant target group for the future of the Macedonian society because stable and positive conditions regarding the ex-combatants are an important contribution to social peace and because the beneficiaries express[ed] that they feel that specific attention has to be given to their [ex-combatants] needs even if as a small drop in the sea”(Rebohle and Poposka: 2006:16).

I believe that managing cultural differences sometimes demands going back to the beginning, or in the above program, going back to those directly involved in the conflict. All members of a country, no matter their ethnic background, are important for the growth of that country. It is

necessary for all members of a society, despite their background, to be treated and respected as equals within the country and as assets for the country. It is also important for the government, as well as organizations of high standing, to make the effort to promote that within the country.

Campaigns:

One of the most well remembered campaigns (done by MCIC) in Macedonia is the *Whole is When There is Everything* campaign. This campaign had the overall goal of not only developing democratic principles, but also to preserve the national stability of Macedonia while at the same time reduce the inter-ethnic tensions. The campaign aimed to do this through the promotion of positive values. The purpose of the project was to draw the attention of the people of Macedonia to human rights issues within the country, in particular inter-ethnic relations, through the promotion of positive values. This was done through various activities including media campaigns, workshops, seminars for teachers in bilingual schools, billboard campaigns throughout the country, and also through distributing printed materials., Even today this campaign is a well-respected and remembered campaign in the minds of the people of Macedonia. The slogan, *Whole is When There is Everything*, has been used over the years (since the conflict) to help remind the people of Macedonia that their differences are what unite them as a nation and they should be recognized and appreciated. It will also be made the official slogan of MCIC and will be publicly announced at the 20th anniversary of the organization in 2014.

Results of Programs and Campaigns:

From the below graph it is evident that these campaigns and programs are not going unnoticed. Awareness and understanding of cultural and ethnic differences are important steps in uniting a culturally diverse nation-state. The Macedonian Social Values survey done by MCIC;

“...the survey was conducted in December 2010 on a representative sample of 1,066 people. The population frame of the sample was people older than 18, and the criteria for the representation were: gender, ethnic affiliation, age, place of living, and regions... [The survey showed that the] five most important values that best represent Macedonia are peace/non-violence (12.6%), democracy (10.5%), respect of other cultures (9%) tolerance (7.4%) and human rights (7.1%)”(Klekovski, Krzalovski, and Stojanova

2010:5).

Graph 1: Values that best represent Macedonia. (Klekovski, S., Krzalovski, A., & Stojanova, D. 2010: 5)⁶



The study showed that there are certain differences between the different ethnicities “with respect to the values that represent Macedonia, [regardless], they have a shared perception that peace/non-violence, democracy and respect for other cultures best represent Macedonia” (Klekovski, Krzalovski, and Stojanova 2010:5).

If this is what the people of Macedonia feel best represents the country, then that is an important first step. The next step is taking action on those values, and providing on-the-ground programs and policies that will enforce them. This study directly looks at on-the-ground examples of programs and policies that manage the cultural diversity of the country in the specific areas of decentralization, the maintaining of identity (through adaption of holidays, broadcasting privileges, as well as formation of Assembly committees), use of languages, and education.

The Field:

In Anthropology a significant factor in the research is the time and the experience that takes place within the 'field'. Anthropological fields do not just sit and wait to be discovered, instead

⁶ Graph retrieved from <http://www.mcms.mk/images/docs/2011/macedonian-societal-values-2011.pdf>

they have “...to be laboriously constructed, prised apart from all the other possibilities for contextualization to which its constituent relationships and connections could be referred” (Amit 2000:6). As an ethnographer, construction of a field is not only dependent on external conditions but also on “...the conceptual, professional, financial and relational opportunities and resources accessible to the ethnographer”(Amit 2000:6). The job of the ethnographer is to be both an observer as well as an interactant in the 'field'. According to Bourdieu, fields by themselves cannot be observed, instead, they are understood through the actions and relations of concrete social actors, who/which are emanations of this field and incorporate it (1992: 107, 136). The social actors that a field consists of are both the producers and the products of the field.

A majority of the research for this project was conducted in Macedonia, but the field itself was more precise. The social actors that I was interested in observing and understanding further were the policies that were designed and supported by the Macedonian government, as well as programs that were designed and supported by major organizations, that involve the management of cultural diversity.

The two fields that this research falls under are Anthropology of Policy and the Anthropology of Organizations. A majority of this research can be placed in the Anthropology of Policy field since the research examines policies and implementation. However, it is more than just the anthropology of policy field that is used, it expands to a political realm. Researching policy requires knowledge and research from a political angle. Grimley brings this perspective into his definition that “policy is...an expression of values by a politically dominant group” (1986:20). This type of definition creates an idea of power and control. When this definition of policy is used, the concept shifts from one of a neutral conveyer of procedures to one that actually conveys and promotes the values and interests and policies of a particular group. Although a general feature of policy is “their political nature is disguised by the objective, neutral, legal-rational idioms in which they are portrayed” (Sigona 2005; Shore & Wright 1997:8), my understanding of political policy, and the understanding that was used throughout this research, is not one of neutrality, but instead, one of political embodiment of dominant values. By studying policies at an anthropological level one is able have a better understanding of the functions of

policy, particularly in the shaping of a society. I am not interested in looking at what policy is, but instead, at looking at what is done in the name of policy, particularly from a political standpoint.

The other part of this research can be placed in the Anthropology of Organizations. Two organizations and their campaigns and programs were used in the analysis (MCIC and US.AID/MCEC)⁷. According to Schwartzman, “organizations are 'formal' in the sense of having explicit tasks to accomplish and 'informal' in the sense of the way members continually negotiate with one another in the interpretation and carrying out of such tasks” (1993:vii: Bate 1997). Gellner and Hirsch would further that definition by claiming that Organizations are many and various, but they all have explicit rules, a division of labor, and aims that involve acting on or changing everyday life” (2001:2).

What makes these two anthropological fields different than other engagements of disciplines in these areas is the significance and importance of ethnography as a practice and a product. Through ethnography, participant observation becomes a key aspect in research. From this observation, the anthropologist tries to gain access to a viewpoint close to the interlocutors to learn about everyday practices from the inside out (Schwartzman 1993:4). This type of ethnography is seen as a privileged viewpoint to the everyday practice and experience of people and it allows the researcher the opportunity to observe the discourses and practices within a broader field.

Methods:

The main methods used for this research were participant observation as well as structured/unstructured interviews. I gained access to the political field through my father, and it was through these political connections that I was able to carry out the ethnographic research necessary for this project. I have been in contact with people from The Assembly of Macedonia since January 2013 and from August 2013-September 2013 I was able to live in Skopje and

7 *Macedonian Center for International Cooperation and Macedonian Civic Education Center*

intern at the Parliament. During my internship I was able to conduct structured, as well as unstructured, interviews with various Members of Parliament (MPs) as well as with personal assistants to Members of Parliament. I was also able to make direct connections with program leaders on the US AID project, Inter-ethnic Integration in Education Project (IIEP), as well as with program leaders from the Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (MCIC). I understand that my connections for this project cause the angle of my research to come from a higher, more political, viewpoint.

Interviews:

Through talking to political/governmental members, as well as people involved directly with the chosen organizations, as well as with everyday members of society, I was able to gain a valuable amount of information. The use of both structured and unstructured interviews was used throughout the research. The interview questions were developed inductively as well as deductively, when applicable. The interviews consisted of both expert interviews as well as ethnographic interviews.

The work of James Spradley on the ethnographic interview was especially helpful. According to Spradley (1979) ethnographic interviews are interviews that take place during ethnographic fieldwork, and should therefore be adapted to the fieldwork situation. Spradley (1979) views the ethnographic interview as a close relative to the friendly conversation which is an apt conception of the method, since the tone between researcher and research partner in the field should be casual and friendly. This is particularly important for ethnographers as the information received is from research partners, and therefore rapport is of great importance. While conducting the interviews it was important to integrate two distinct but complementary processes: keep the conversation rolling in a friendly tone (developing rapport) while at the same time explicitly dig for information. My time spent interning in the Parliament was incredibly beneficial as a means of developing rapport as throughout the day there was a constant stream of people in the office that I was able to establish a relationship with prior to interviewing them.

Participant Observation:

As Fontana and Frey (1994) note, unstructured interviews go hand in hand with the other method of data gathering that was used for this research, namely the participant observation. The strength of anthropological fieldwork lies in the access it can provide to lived experiences (Amit 2000:12). Anthropology has cultivated participant observation as a way in which scientific researchers are able to achieve the double goal of also 'looking through the eyes of the researched'. Ernst Halbmayer and Jana Salat (2011) distinguish between different forms and degrees of participation and observation. I observed *unstructurally*, meaning I just lived and observed on a daily basis, not following any particular framework. I was as overt as possible, when it was necessary, informing those around me of my project and my purpose. This was practiced especially in the office at the Parliament. I also observed *structurally*, which took place when I specifically asserted myself into a specific scenario. For example, the IIEP teacher training seminar that I attended in Skopje.

Other Methods of Data Collection:

I also collected additional types of data: virtual and visual data as well as documents. A vast amount of organizational and governmental activity and information is available online, both through e-mails as well as through web pages. From January 2013 until August 2013 e-mails and phone calls were the only types of direct information gathering available. Over that time, multiple e-mails were shared between myself and various contacts in Skopje, providing me with a basis for the research. Online versions of major documents, such as the Ohrid Framework Agreement as well as The Constitution of Macedonia, were also used. These two documents are the backbone of the research, and having instant access to them was important.

Vast amounts of information have also been gathered from the home pages of the Macedonian Parliament, with links to all committees and also to laws and policies, as well as from the home pages of MCIC and also the US. AID project IIEP. Contacts from the field also provided me with information. Some in print form (such as from MCIC) and others provided links to information that could be found online. Other documents used as data were newspaper articles. All information that was collected was used for the analysis of this research, and each different form

is viewed as an asset.

Theory:

Policies are particularly interesting for anthropologists to look at because they enable us to look through a new lens at larger processes of governance, power and social change. “Policies belong to – and are embedded within – particular social and cultural worlds or 'domains of meaning'. But they create as well as reflect those worlds.” (Shore & Wright 2011:1). From an anthropological perspective, according to Shore & Wright, policies are not simply external, generalized or constraining forces, and they also are not contained only to texts. Instead, they are productive, performative and continually contested (2011). A policy is more than that. A policy is “able to create new social and semantic spaces, new sets of relations, new political subjects and new webs of meaning” (Shore and Wright 2011:1). Identifying on the ground policies (and programs in response to policies) that the Macedonian government has set in place in response to the Ohrid Framework Agreement is one way in which Shore and Wright's concepts of policy making can be applied to the Macedonian model.

Shore and Wright claim that the term *policy worlds* “does not imply essentialized or bounded entities, rather, we see policies as windows onto political processes in which actors, agents, concepts and technologies interact in different sites. The issues that these policies deal with lie at the center of anthropology”(2011:2). Shore and Wright would agree that these issues “include institutions and power, interpretation and meaning, ideology, rhetoric and discourse, the politics of culture, ethnicity and identity, and interactions between the global and the local” (Wedel and Feldman 2005:1-2; Shore and Wright 1997) . It is through these theoretical windows that perspectives can be provided and analyzed concerning the underlying meaning, ideology, interest and power which are embedded in the policy process.

In agreement with Shore and Wright (1997) the anthropology of policy focuses on three main aspects of policy study: policy as language and power, policy as a cultural agent and policy as political technology. This first aspect, policy as language and power, emphasizes the importance

of the written text and uses that as the main source for analysis. However, the meaning of policy does not reside problematically in the text itself, but in the relationship between the social structure and the text and practice (Olssen et al. 2004). Therefore, it is important to also consider social factors that took place during the development of a policy text. The second aspect, policy as a cultural agent, “sees how policy aims to provide certain roles, characteristics or social identities to particular actors and how these actors understand, internalize and act upon the roles and characteristics given to them. More specifically, it is the ways whereby the state aims to construct and infuse certain characteristics and identity among citizens through the vehicle of policy” (Khanal 2010:4). The final aspect, policy as political technology, “looks at the political phenomena and technology of governance with a view to understanding how policy helps to reinforce a new form of institutional regime and power” (Khanal 2010:4). The first two aspects were important for this research. Understanding the social context in which the Ohrid Framework Agreement was written, as well as understanding what parties were involved in the writing of the document, allowed me to have a clearer understanding of what exactly the purpose of the document was in the greater social context, while using policy as a cultural agent allowed me to see how different people act on the roles given to them by the policy, and in which ways new identities are constructed. The actants are both political individuals that constructed the policies, as well as the citizens that the policies affect.

When looking at policy from a sociocultural approach, one of the differences that can be found is that here the emphasis is to explicate “policy as a practice of power,” and to “interrogate the meaning of policy in practice” (Sutton and Levinson 2001:1). Thus, a sociocultural approach to policy analyzes the policy in respect to its action. In other words, the analysis is done on how the people appropriate meaning to the policy. “The major argument of this approach is that people do not necessarily apply the same meaning that policy makers intend to articulate through policy documents; rather they ‘take in’ elements of policy and negotiate and reorganize in the form of institutional life” (Khanal 2010:6). Sutton and Levinson (2001) coined a term, *appropriation*, to communicate the process of “taking of policy and making it one’s own”(3). For this study, not only were political policies analyzed, but also the steps taken by organizations in response to those political policies. “This approach [sociocultural] also views that along with the notion that

public policy is conferred the status of official tool of governance, organizations may enact their own policies [i.e. programs and projects] to specify proper procedure and conduct” (Khanal 2010:5).

Policies have the ability to actively reshape the environment into which they have been introduced (Power 1997). As Shore and Wright point out, an even better way to theorize policies is to think of them as exemplars of what Bruno Latour (1996) terms 'actants' – that is, policies have agency; they shift action; and, like machines, they perform tasks and are endowed with certain competencies. What is important to note is that actants typically interact with other social agents in processes that are dynamic and contingent, and therefore have unpredictable effects (2011). The way in which the people of Macedonia respond to the policies and programs that are set in motion cannot be 'predicted', but the responses can be studied and analyzed.

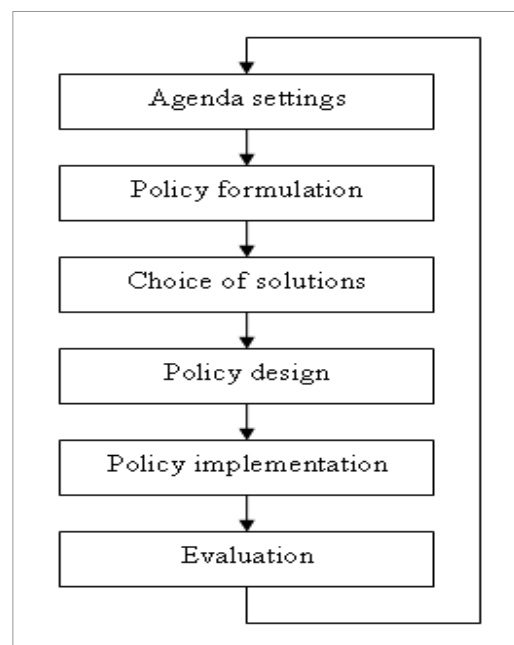


Figure 1.1 The Stage Model of the Policy Process (adapted from Shore & Wright 2011:5)

The above is a shortened diagram of the policy making process, indeed there are more steps than are represented, but the main points are clear. Shore and Wright especially emphasize the following as important factors of policy formation: *analyzing* the problem and appraising the

range of possible responses, *selecting* a response on sound and rational grounds, *implementing* the chosen course of action, *evaluating* whether the action produced the desired outcome and, in the light of that, *revising* the policy to be more effective in the future (2011). The above structure portrays policy as something that can be handled mechanically and is manageable. Policies have the ability to be formed and followed at a local, national, and international level. For the sake of this research, a closer look was made at local and national policies implemented as a result of the Ohrid Agreement. The *problem analyzed* is how the government handled the buildup of ethnic conflict in Macedonia. The *selected response* was to minimize the violence and to end it as quickly and peacefully as possible, the result being the Ohrid Framework Agreement. In order for a document such as the OFA to be successful, it must be *implemented* as completely and thoroughly as possible. After a period of time it is important to *evaluate* the implementation and to conclude whether it has been successful, or whether it must be *revised* and re-implemented. By choosing to approach “policy as a lens through which to study processes of political transformation, the field of research becomes not a particular people or organization – far less a reified policy itself – but a social and political space articulated through relations of power and systems of governance” (Shore & Wright 1997:14).

Parliamentary committees are examples of such 'spaces'. They were designed as places in which the political and the social can meet, where the citizens of Macedonia can interact in a political realm. Two specific committees that are relevant for this study are *The Committee on the Political System and Inter-Ethnic Relations* and the *Committee of Culture*. A need arose for such committees to be created, the need was recognized, and action was taken. Like policies, these committees have the power to re-shape the environment in which they were introduced (Shore and Wright 2011). Further information on the importance of these committees and the role in which they play will be discussed in an upcoming chapter. It is important to note that I did not have the opportunity to sit in on any committee meetings while I was in the field. For that matter, all information concerning the committees was gathered based on interviews with committee members as well as online sources.

Other policies that were set into motion as a direct result of the OFA include policies concerning

decentralization, language matters, expression of identity, and education. These four specific areas will also be more closely examined. Specific policies in correspondence with the above areas will include; decentralization, does the Macedonian system work, or not, broadcasting in native languages, adoption of holidays as well as specific programs introduced in the education system as means to manage the cultural diversity of the country. The policy formula recommended by Shore and Wright emphasizes the importance of 'evaluation'. It is important to, after time has passed, return to policies and to evaluate whether they have been successful. If they have not been, a revision stage would be imperative (Shore and Wright 2011). This evaluation can be performed by organizations through surveys, as well as interviews. Or, as is the case for this research, an anthropologist. The above policies (as well as programs) set in motion by the Macedonian government in accordance to the OFA of 2001, for the sake of this research, have been evaluated and analyzed.

Literature Review:

It was the Ohrid Framework Agreement that greatly changed and shifted the Republic of Macedonia. Instead of being a nation-state that is made up wholly of Macedonian people and “other citizens living within its borders who are part of other ethnicities”⁸, the new preamble (as of 2001) reads as follows:

“Macedonia is established as a national state of the Macedonian people, in which full equality as citizens and permanent co-existence with the Macedonian people is provided for Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Romanics and other nationalities living in the Republic of Macedonia, and intent on the guaranteeing of human rights, citizens, freedoms and ethnic equality [as well as] the provision of peace and a common home for the Macedonian people with the nationalities living in the Republic of Macedonia” (Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia 2001; Preamble).

As strongly stated by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov in 1995, “We are Macedonians. We are all citizens of this country. In the ethnically colorfully mixed Balkans it is impossible to form compact nation states in which only members of one nation live”(Wieland 2003:2). Since

8 Preamble of the 1994 Constitution of Macedonia

becoming a republic, Macedonia has, legally, developed a constitutionally based state for all ethnic groups within the country (Perry 1994). The preamble of the Constitution has been adapted and now emphasizes the “full equality and the permanent co-existence of the Macedonian people with the Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Romanies and other nationalities living in the Republic of Macedonia” (The Republic of Macedonia Constitution 2001; Preamble). In 1997 Xhaladin Mruati, a member of the moderate Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity (PDP) stated “We see Macedonia as a multi-ethnic state, in which Macedonian, Albanians, Serbs and other Slavs live” (Wieland 2003:3).

Accepting this statement to be true, that the Republic of Macedonia is indeed a country of diversity, of mixed cultures, of multi-ethnicities, than the term 'nation' is difficult to use when discussing the country as a whole. Unlike a nation, which is many times used to mean a homogeneous social group, “a state is a legal and political organization with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens” (Danforth 1995:14; Seton-Watson 1977:1). Citizens, in this sense, mean all members of a society – regardless of ethnic or cultural background. Henry Bretton (1984) argues that it is also important to understand that the term 'nation' has two different meanings. It can refer to a group or a community of people that all share a common language, culture and ethnicity. However, it can also refer to people who share a common government and territory. When the latter definition is meant, the term 'nation state' is more commonly used – to help draw a distinction. For the sake of clarification, it would be accurate to label the Republic of Macedonia as a nation-state, and as nation-states do, the country must constantly keep in mind the different cultural backgrounds living within its boundaries, and it must continuously work on strengthening the bond and the nation building within its borders while at the same time regulating and governing the diverse population. It is important to understand how difficult building and maintaining nation-states is – and one with a united national identity is nearly unreachable. Even in countries that are considered to be nation states that have a united national identity, such as France or Spain, in actuality they contain one or more ethnic or national minorities, which might possibly never fully adopt the true national identity (Danforth 1995:15). This existence and presence of ethnic and cultural differences must be recognized and accepted, and policies and programs should be developed that manage those

differences in a positive manner.

According to Eric Hobsbawm (1983), nation-building and inventing traditions are necessary in the creation of ethnic solidarity. However, in an area such as the ex-Yugoslavic region where multiple cultures and traditions exist, and specifically Macedonia, ethnic solidarity (understood in this sense to occur when a group of people who share a common ethnicity or cultural bond work together to achieve a common goal) is not a viable aim, as the cultural and ethnic diversity within the country is too different. As opposed to having the main objective be to achieve ethnic solidarity, it is more worthwhile for Macedonia to focus on establishing national cultural autonomy. This concept of national cultural autonomy stems from Otto Bauer's idea that nations should be organized in the association of people living within the country and not on territorial bodies and space (1907). Instead of focusing on creating and promoting an 'ethnic Macedonian', using the previously mentioned concepts, it would be more constructive for the country to focus on the blending of the different ethnicities, in the sense that they are able to live and work side-by-side. This blending of ethnicities could potentially strengthen Macedonia as a country.

In order for nation-state building to even begin, a diverse governance must be established within the country, and this government must create policies and programs that will unite the different cultures while at the same time strengthen the nation-state. "A nation[-state] is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation[-state] will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991:224). This image is what the Macedonian government needs to foster, develop, and grow. It is the image of one country, multiple ethnicities, uniting.

Throughout the years, since the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, various policies have been implemented that have attempted to (and successfully) unite the people of Macedonia, however, it is an ongoing process and one that will take not only the full support of the government, but also of all people living in Macedonia. According to Thomas Eriksen, "You can have ethnic variation without cultural variation. Cultural mixing, creolisation or hybridity says nothing in itself about group identities and forms of boundedness" (2007:172). Eriksen believes

that different group identities make up and constitute a larger group. It is possible to maintain an ethnic identity, even in the midst of many other cultures and ethnic identities. For a country such as Macedonia that has these ethnic differences (Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Serbians, etc.) it is especially important for the different ethnic groups to unite. The differences between the citizens should be recognized and then utilized in the development of the nation-state. The issue then arises, as Ronald Beiner put into question, “[h]ow to privilege the majority cultural identity in defining civic membership without consigning cultural minorities to second-class citizenship?” (Beiner 1999:222).

In countries with ethnically divided societies, it is almost inevitable to avoid ethnic conflict. This conflict is often the only measure that can bring peace to a country. In the case of Macedonia, the conflict in 2001 was the result of a many year build up. Macedonia was able to handle the conflict with limited violence - countries can only hope to be this fortunate. The way in which a country handles conflict is important not only for democracy, human rights, and minority rights, but often for the security of the nation-state. In many cases, as stated by the University of Belgrade professor Vesna Pesic, ethnic conflicts occur in the context of “fear of the future, lived through the past” (Lake and Rothschild 1998:7). What do the different aspects of ethnic fear look like in ethnic conflict, where do these ideas stem from? There have been many different ideas to go along with that concept. Volkan associates it with the 'fear of dying off', while Rothschild believes that it is rooted in a 'fear of the future', meanwhile, Horowitz talked about the concept of 'fear of extinction' (Utterwulghé 1999). Utterwulghé(1999) furthers this discussion by associating this 'fear,' whether actual or perceived, to be something that stems from a long history of humiliation, as well as victimhood, feelings of oppression and inferiority, along with other types of discrimination.

The Albanian nationality is the highest numbering ethnic group in Macedonia. Since the 1950's the Albanian number has grown, this is a result of the Albanians have higher birth rates in comparison to other ethnic groups in Macedonia (Ortakovski 2001:25). Schneckener raises the point that;

“since the late 1980's, interethnic relations between the majority and the largest minority

[Albanians] had been far from relaxed; the extent of mutual distrust between the two communities increased when the majority proclaimed a 'Macedonian nation-state in 1989' and the minority [Albanians], in turn, largely rejected Macedonian independence and subsequently boycotted the referendum on this issue in 1991” (2002:29; Ilievski 2007:4).

Prior to this, “the preamble of the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia defined the country as the *national state* of the Macedonian nation and *state* of the Albanian and Turk nationalities. It was changed in 1989 using the formula of [the] national state of the Macedonian people”(Ilievski 2007:4; Marko 2004/2005:3). Finally, it was the 1991 Constitution and its preamble that shifted the ethnic Macedonians in the direction of being a 'titular' nation. (Ilievski 2007:5). At the time that the shift occurred, the Macedonian language - along with its Cyrillic alphabet – had been declared official within the country, while the “official use of the languages of [other] nationalities was limited to the local level in the units of local self-government where the majority, or a considerable number (20%) of inhabitants belonged to a nationality” (Ilievski 2007:5). Additionally, the Macedonian Orthodox Church was the only religious community that was explicitly mentioned in the constitution (The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia: Art. 19, Marko 2004/2005). “The 1991 Constitution did not envisage a group right to political representation nor the use of [the] Albanian language in Parliament. In addition, due to a decision of the Constitutional Court, the provision in the law on administration [from] 1985 requiring respect for the languages of the nationalities, [was] erased in 1991” (Ilievski 2007:5; Marko 2004/2005). It was this new constitution that shifted the balance a considerable amount between the Slavic Macedonians and the other minorities (Ilievski 2007:4-5; Marko 2004/2005). It sent the message that other ethnic groups living in the country were not seen as being equal to Slav Macedonians.

Naturally, the Albanians of Macedonia were not pleased with this turn of events, and over the years the tensions grew stronger (Ilievski 2007). The 1974 SFRY Constitution actually provided a high level of protection to the Albanian speaking communities. One major aspect of the SFRY Constitution was the declaration of the languages of the different groups of people as being equal. It was at this time that the Albanian minority was also constitutionally recognized as being

free to use their own language and writing as well as develop their culture within the country (Marko 2004/2005). Laws were even published in both Macedonian and Albanian at this time. However, the constitution of 1994 greatly downgraded the Albanian rights within Macedonia, which resulted in discontentment from the Macedonian Albanians who had once enjoyed certain rights that were quickly taken away from them in the early 1990's (Ilievski 2007). Before the conflict in 2001 “Albanian leaders put forward the following demands: state-forming constitutive status for the Albanian community with veto powers, and recognition of the Albanian language as the official language in use with public authorities in Albanian settled territories, and in Parliament” (Ilievski 2007:5). Prior to the Ohrid Agreement, and after these demands were made but unanswered - the requests made by the Albanians at this time were similar to the rights that they once had - the violent conflict in 2001 occurred. The Ohrid Agreement marked the end of the conflict and the result of conflict management.

The three concepts to know when discussing conflict are conflict management, conflict settlement and conflict resolution. **Conflict management** (also called “**conflict regulation**”) can be defined as the attempt to contain, limit, or direct the effects of an ongoing ethnic conflict on the wider society in which it takes place” (Schenkener and Wolff 2004:12; Ilievski 2008).

“In contrast, **conflict settlement** aims at establishing an institutional framework in which the conflicting interests of different ethnic groups can be accommodated to such an extent that incentives for cooperation and the non-violent pursuit of conflicts of interest through compromise outweigh any benefits that might be expected from violent [confrontations]” (Schenkener and Wolff 2004:134-135; Ilievski 2008).

Lastly, **conflict resolution** finds ways in which to deal with the causal factors behind the conflict that have been identified (Spangler 2003). Spangler furthermore states that the Ohrid Framework Agreement is seen as the means by which Macedonia managed conflict by agreeing on a solution with the Albanians, aspects of which are applicable to other minority groups in Macedonia.

Integration vs. Assimilation:

When faced with a multi-cultural society, two methods of managing cultural differences are integration and assimilation. McGarry and O'Leary group these two methods together. They

define civic integration as having the more modest objective of something that creates within society a common civic, national, and patriotic identity, while ethnic assimilation is defined as being more aimed at merging the differences of a society (melting pot) and creating a common ethnic identity (1993). It could be said that “civic integration, which involves equal citizenship without ethnic assimilation, should be characterized as a strategy for maintaining rather than eliminating differences” (Ilievski 2006:12). McGarry and O'Leary (1993) argue that because integration aims to exclude ethnicity from the public arena, it can be considered a strategy for eliminating differences. If a country is to fully embrace that integration as a method respects ethnic differences while at the same time prevents those differences from entering the political realm, than it would be executing the method correctly.

The problem with this aspect of the integration method in Macedonia is that the minority groups (specifically the Albanians) demanded to have their own political groups and representation and they also refused to be viewed as a national minority. Concerning political groups within the framework of the integration process (as put forward by McGarry and O'Leary), when various members of Parliament (of Macedonian origin) were approached with the question of why Albanians and Macedonians, within Parliament, are parts of different political parties (that have the same political agenda) instead of joining together to form one party, the members consistently responded with “It would not work”⁹. When further asked if they saw Macedonia as a country that applies the McGarry and O'Leary 'integration' approach, the response was also “No”¹⁰. One member of Parliament, Mr. Antonio Miloshoski, expressed that there is awareness that having dividing political parties is potentially harmful to the ethnic management steps that have already been taken (post OFA), and that he does believe it would be better if the political parties joined together. However, Mr. Miloshoski went on to further say that he does not see this happening in the near future in Macedonia. Because of this, full implementation of the McGarry and O'Leary integration method is not completely taking place in Macedonia since there are still ethnic splits at the political level.

9 Personal fieldwork conducted at the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia: August 2013-September 2013

10 Personal fieldwork conducted at the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia: August 2013-September 2013

Donald Horowitz, a very well-known and respected advocate for the integrative approach, has made the claim that it is better to have 'conflict reduction' rather than to have 'conflict resolution'. He believes that it is not only more practical, but also that it is a more reachable goal to aim for conflict reduction, particularly in this modern world we live in that is made up of many ethnically diverse societies (Crossroads 2011). He proposes that it would be best for a nation and a society to live with ethnic differences, as opposed to trying to move beyond them. Horowitz also believes it to be more important to stabilize divided societies over the long run, as opposed to short-term and in the moment solutions. It is not necessarily easy to follow these guidelines when a country is in the midst of conflict as “the irony is that it is more difficult to induce them to act when action promises greater results” (Horowitz 2000:684). Regardless, Macedonia was able to achieve conflict reduction in 2001, with the support of international mediators, and instead of an outbreak of war the country was able to bring together the members from the differing ethnic sides and agree upon a method of resolution. The result being the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which has been proclaimed as one of the most successful conflict management documents. It is because of this document that Macedonia can be viewed as an 'ethno-cultural' state, meaning, it is a state with group rights and ethnic quotas.

As peace and stability within the country rely not only on building relationships between all ethnicities living within the borders - the OFA was specifically written to help strengthen the existence between the Macedonians and the Albanians - the challenge then becomes how to implement it (years later) in a way that positively affects all ethnicities living in the country. Some have noted that the challenge of the OFA is not to create a multi-ethnic society, because that already exists in Macedonia, but instead for the state to function like a multi-ethnic one¹¹. According to Ali Ahmeti¹² the OFA assigns the main directions on how the state can move forward as a multi-ethnic state, so it is still important, even today (12 years later) to respect the Agreement¹³. Multi-ethnicity should be viewed as a great advantage of Macedonia, and even the smaller ethnic communities can aid the relations between the larger ones. Although it has been

11 MCIC study on the Ohrid Framework Agreement 2011

12 Political leader of the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI)

13 Interview conducted by MCIC in their study of the Ohrid Framework Agreement

argued that the framework agreement is a way in which Albanians are pushing for bi-nationality¹⁴, the agreement was intended to create a movement towards a multicultural society. It is important to note that the ways in which Macedonia views and handles this concept of 'bi-nationalities' are not evident at the moment. It is very possible that the only way in which that issue, and other difficult ones faced by the country, will ever be resolved is through the entrance of Macedonia to NATO and the EU. However, for the sake of this research, the OFA is viewed as a positive document that, although the most positive outcomes have been for the Albanian minority, has also been a major actor in creating positive outcomes for other minorities living in the country.

The Strategy of the OFA:

The first heading of the OFA – Basic Principles – clearly state the strategy that was envisaged by the agreement. These state that (Ohrid Framework Agreement 2001):¹⁵

- “The use of violence in pursuit of political aims is rejected completely and unconditionally. Only peaceful political solutions can assure a stable and democratic future for Macedonia.
- Macedonia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the unitary character of the state are inviolable and must be preserved. There are no territorial solutions to ethnic issues.
- **The multi-ethnic character of Macedonia’s society must be preserved and reflected in public life**
- A modern democratic state in its natural course of development and maturation must continually ensure that its Constitution fully meets the needs of all its citizens and comports with the highest international standards, which themselves continue to evolve.
- **The development of local self-government is essential for encouraging the participation of citizens in democratic life, and for promoting respect for the**

14 Kenan Hasipi interview conducted by MCIC project

15 The sections in bold are directly relevant to this research

identity of communities”(Ohrid Framework Agreement 2001)¹⁶.

Following the definitions of the principles of the OFA are the subsequent chapters:

2: “Cessation of hostilities and agreement for the voluntary disarmament and disbandment of the 'ethnic Albanian armed groups' under NATO supervision and assistance;

3: Development of Decentralized Government: enhanced competencies in the areas of public services, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, local economic development, culture, local finances, education, social welfare and health care, revision of municipal boundaries under international supervision and the election of local heads of police by municipal councils from lists of candidates proposed by the Ministry of Interior;

4: Non-Discrimination and Equitable Representation: the principle of non-discrimination and equal treatment of all under the law, measures to assure equitable representation of communities in all central and local public bodies and at all levels of employment, election of one-third of the members of the Constitutional court, three members of the Judicial Council as well as the Public Attorney by a special parliamentary procedure that came to be known as the 'Badinter majority' [majority of the total number of representatives in the parliament that includes a majority of the total number of representatives claiming to belong to the communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia];

5: Special parliamentary Procedures: these procedures, i.e. the 'Badinter majority' are to be used for adopting a number of Constitutional amendments, the Law on Local Self-Government as well as laws that directly affect culture, use of language, education, personal documentation, use of symbols, laws on local finances, local elections, the city of Skopje, and the boundaries of municipalities;

16 Retrieved from http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/2001/1753.html

6: Education and use of Languages: state funding for university level education in languages spoken by at least 20 percent of the population of Macedonia and the principle of 'positive discrimination' in the enrollment at State universities of candidates 'belonging to communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia.' Regarding the use of languages, any language spoken by at least 20% of the population is also an official language in Macedonia that can be used in: 1. Municipalities where at least 20% of the population speaks that language; 2. In communication with a main office of the central government and 3. In a regional office of the central government if it is located in 'a unit of a local self-government in which at least 20% of the population speaks an official language other than Macedonian';

7: Expression of identity: next to the emblem of the Republic of Macedonia local authorities are free to place on front of local public buildings emblems marking the identity of the community in the majority in the municipality;

8: Implementation: timetables for the adoption of necessary Constitutional and legislative amendments which were annexed to the OFA and an invitation to the international community 'to convene at the earliest possible time a meeting of international donors that would address in particular macro-financial assistance; support for the financing of measures to be undertaken for the purpose of implementing this Framework Agreement, including measures to strengthen local self-government; and rehabilitation and reconstruction in areas affected by the fighting';

9: Annexes: Constitutional amendments, legislative modifications, implementation and confidence-building measures and final provisions” (Ilievski 2009; Ohrid Framework Agreement 2001)¹⁷.

17 Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17449050903086955#.UyBGlvMswuc>

There have been different perceptions as to the success of the OFA. Ali Ahmeti¹⁸ contends that the agreement should be understood as a philosophy of life, and not as a process of implementation expressed in percentages. This is an important way to view the document. Although it is an excellent example of conflict management, and the results from the agreement have been positive over the years, what will make it continue to be successful is if the people of the country use it as a guideline for their every day lives. Twelve years later the agreement is still being implemented. Like most societal processes, it takes time. Time to really see a difference, to see changes, to see outcomes (both positive and negative). Osman Kadriu¹⁹ considers the agreement to be an important source in the constitutional-legal issues and the solutions stated in the Agreement have been appropriately applied into Constitutional amendments. Ali Ahmeti agrees that the OFA has been reflected and rendered in the Constitution of Macedonia and Ervan Fuere²⁰ believes that the greatest improvement can be found in the legislation²¹.

Overall, the Framework has been implemented on a political level but it is equally as important to implement it on a civil level. Changing a preamble, or even writing new amendments, does nothing if there is not 'on the ground action' taking place simultaneously. For this research, specific policies, as well as committees and programs that have been developed with the intent of managing cultural diversity, have been more closely examined. Decentralization and its application in Macedonia has been analyzed and critiqued. Policies in which maintaining ethnic identity and culture have been researched. This includes the use of languages throughout the country, the adoption of holidays, the creation of committees whose intent is to better ethnic relations and conditions within the country, and lastly, how cultural diversity is being managed and made aware within education. It is important for the ethnic community in Macedonia, particularly the Albanian minority, to view their social and economic existence in Macedonia as being significantly better than their fellow citizens in other countries – Albania and Kosovo for

18 Leader of DUI and a MP since 2002

19 President of the Helsinki Committee

20 EU Ambassador in Macedonia

21 Interviews and information from MCIC research project on the OFA: 2011

the Albanians. It is only when this realization is made that the OFA will be able to actually help resolve the ethnic tensions within Macedonia.

The following chapters and analysis will look more closely at policies and 'on the ground' programs that have been implemented and are currently taking place in Macedonia in which managing cultural differences, while at the same time developing a national cultural autonomy in which all ethnicities are embraced and respected, are the main objectives. This project is 'revisiting' these various policies, examining how they have developed over the years and what they have achieved and evaluating whether they have been successful or not within the country.

Decentralization:

“The development of local self-government is essential for encouraging the participation of citizens in democratic life, and for promoting respect for the identity of communities” (OFA 2001: Art. 1.5; Lesnikovski, 2012).

Decentralized government, as explained by Sandevski (2009), has the ability to enhance certain areas such as urban and rural planning, public services, culture, and education. The post-Ohrid Agreement “decentralization process in the Republic of Macedonia has been widely regarded as a success story by regional and international actors alike. It is frequently considered a suitable non-territorial model of ethnic conflict management that can be replicated elsewhere” (Lyon 2012:80). These reforms, which took place as a part of a larger peace process set in motion by the Ohrid Agreement, increased “the number of competencies administered at the municipal level, the reforms aimed to provide local, culturally diverse communities greater control over the management of their own affairs” (Lyon 2012:80). By allowing communities this right the government acknowledges them as being a part of the country on a deeper level. This allows the citizens of all ethnicities to see themselves as 'being a part' of the nation-state, and not as second class citizens.

“Decentralization is an institution that, if properly designed, can potentially benefit both political minorities, who can be induced or compensated not to secede from the state, and political

majorities, who gain countrywide acceptance of state institutions” (Lyon 2012: 85; Lake and Rothchild 2005:122). It has been argued that, if carried out correctly, decentralized communities would have the ability to promote locally different concepts, such as social cohesion.

Decentralization can also balance the “relationship between majority and minority communities at the state level” (Lyon 2012:84). These smaller, local types of government “can help local politicians build trust among groups and acquire political and conflict resolution skills that can be used in different social arenas” (Lyon 2012:84), but it is necessary to understand that in order for the process to be fully implemented, a certain degree of power sharing must occur.

Furthermore, “incentives for the formation of inter-ethnic coalitions may therefore be enhanced” (Horowitz 2007:962).

Decentralization allows minority groups to have limited control and power over their own affairs. “By granting non-majority groups greater control over their own destinies, decentralization is believed to instil a greater sense of security within these groups that they will not be subject to discriminatory practices and unwanted intrusions in the future” (Manor 1999:97;Lyon 2012:84). It is also important to mention, “however, and akin to decentralization, autonomy (both territorial and personal) is normally a feature of an otherwise unitary state” (Wolff 2010:5' Lyon 2012:83). Horowitz would explain this as, “The creation or enhancement of sub-national units can allow a group [that] is a minority at the state level, but constitutes a majority locally, to exercise governmental power in ways that would otherwise be foreclosed if the whole country was one undifferentiated territory” (Horowitz 2007:958;Lyon 2012:83). Lyon further explains that these,

“carefully designed self-governance regimes can provide the institutional structure that offers sufficient space for non-majority groups to experience genuine self-governance (2012:83; Weller and Wolff 2005:270). Decentralization's promise of limited autonomy also provides greater scope for promoting minority rights and the protection of their cultural identity. In this respect, devolved competences relating to education, culture and language policy are of particular importance” (Lyon 2012:83).

These areas are specific to the research of this thesis.

Decentralization Strategies:

There are two different strategies for accomplishing decentralization, the accommodationist strategy and the integrationist strategy. Integrationists “focus primarily on the long-term normative vision of the state; while accommodationists are (allegedly) more concerned with the immediate, short-term pressures states face” (Pildes 2008:175; Lyon 2012:86).

Accommodationists have a tendency to “advocate equality with institutional respect for difference” (Choudhry 2008:27; Lyon 2012:86). Although they tend to believe that ethnic identities are; “not susceptible to short-term transformation, they do not necessarily believe identities are primordial and fixed” (Choudry 2008b:27; Lyon 2012:86). “Accommodationists seek to ensure each ethnic group has the public space necessary to express its identity, make its own decisions in areas of critical importance, and to protect itself against the majority” (McGarry et al. 2008:42; Lyon 2012:86). On the other hand, integrationists hold the view that;

“political instability and even further conflict are a consequence of group based partisanship in political institutions, since they empower elites that have a vested interest in maintaining these social divisions. They reject the idea that ethnic difference should necessarily translate into political differences, and instead argue for the possibility of a common (civic) public identity” (Choudry 2008b: 27; Lyon 2012:87).

Integrationists do not see ethnic identities to be as deep or longstanding as accommodationists see them to be.

Table 2: Decentralization as a tool for mitigating ethno-political conflict (Lyon 2012: 88²²)

Accommodation of ethnic difference	Integration of ethnic difference
Seeks to address (limited) self-determination claims	Maintains the territorial integrity of the state
Minority control over political, social, economic affairs	Creates proliferating points of power-sharing
Promotes minority rights and multiple identities	Facilitate inter- and trans-ethnic alliances locally

22 Retrieved from <http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2012/Lyon.pdf>

Balances the power of the majority	Provides a training ground for local politicians
Territorial boundaries coincide with ethnic or other group cleavages	Territorial boundaries disperse ethnic communicate across different heterogeneous units

Decentralization in Macedonia:

Before the 1991 constitution there was an established and well-equipped local self government in Macedonia under the socialist system, however, it was the 1991 Constitution that lessened the municipalities power and strengthened the central governments power. Prior to 1996, there were only 36 municipalities in Macedonia. These municipalities were based on towns and their surrounding areas. It was the Law on Territorial Organization, in 1996, which increased the number of municipalities to 123. Meaning that the size and the population of the municipalities became much smaller and instead of creating an increased citizen participation concerning local government issues, the opposite actually took place\ and the citizens were given fewer governmental powers. At this time, the municipalities were also excluded from being active in decision making in areas such as housing, culture, social welfare, and education. The centralization process resulted in a majority of decisions going through the central government. School principals, for example, were appointed by the Ministry of Education. This meant that the central government was even in control of the teaching aid supply (National Human Development Report 2004:23). Other issues included mayors looking ineffectual due to most requests having to go through the central government. Those requests were also approved very slowly, and also rejected very slowly, resulting in resentment and frustration from citizens. Decentralization was on the governments agenda as a reform priority as early as 1999, but the conflict in 2001 caused no legislation to be adopted. As a result, the decentralization process was unanimously recognized as being a priority that required immediate attention by the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

Since the Ohrid Agreement, Macedonia's decentralization has slowly devolved various responsibilities to the municipalities. These responsibilities include fiscal responsibility, political responsibility, as well as administrative responsibility. Over the years the country has increased the responsibilities of the municipalities in various areas , such as health care, education, social

welfare, housing, and culture within their communities. Now, a main challenge of the decentralization process has been the fact that, as the Ohrid Framework states, “Macedonia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the unitary character of the state are inviolable and must be preserved - there are no territorial solutions to ethnic issues”(OFA Art. 1.2.' Lyon 2012:89). Meaning, the municipalities in Macedonia, although delegated more power, still remain “subordinate to the authority of central government even though, significantly, their right to the devolved competences is constitutionally entrenched” (Lyon 2012:90). Although the municipalities have 'face power', they do not have as much power as perhaps they ought to have because the central government still holds a majority of the power. It has been claimed that Macedonian decentralization [ensures] “that municipalities remain ultimately subordinate to the central government, [and] have no explicit ethnic identity” (Lyon 2012:93). What has happened is that, during the initial stages of the decentralization process, the municipalities were not represented directly at the central government level, so therefore, they were unable to have any significant amount of power to enact any form of change without the consent of the central government. Over time, as the decentralization process has developed, what has been delegated to the municipalities, as a means by which they can influence central government policy, “is the municipal association, ZELS (known by its Macedonian acronym). However, despite its energy and boasting full membership of all 84 municipalities plus the City of Skopje, ZELS is frequently marginalized by central government because of its non-governmental organization status” (Lyon 2012: 90). Overall, ZELS holds a very important role in the moving forward of the decentralization process, and in 2010 they opened a joint office with the City of Skopje in Brussels which has since enabled them to have a closer relationship with EU institutions, a very important step for Macedonia at this time as they are putting forth great effort to join the EU. ZELS is the voice of the municipalities, and over the years it has grown louder. It has been viewed more as an organization in the past, however, since opening an office in Brussels, more power has been given to it, which results in more power being given to the municipalities within the central government. This is considered a step in the right direction for Macedonia concerning the decentralization process and is one that has only over the past few years taken place.

Although it is important for the central government to have power, it is equally important that the

smaller municipalities also view their level of power as being just as important and effective. If the smaller municipalities do not believe that their role holds significant importance, they could potentially be less likely to actively participate in the areas that they are designated (education, culture, etc. within the municipality). This is a weakness of the decentralization process in Macedonia. The municipalities need to believe that the role they play in the governmental system is important and valued, it is necessary for the central government to show that they are valued and the central government could do this by providing certain conditions to the municipalities and by giving them more power to actually enact change within certain areas that have already been designated to them (education, culture, etc.). Overall, the transfer of competences is a work in progress, although many municipal powers are still exercised in effect by Skopje, municipal power has increased since the Ohrid Framework Agreement. However, this has not necessarily increased local participation in decision-making, as the governing parties, who control 70 of the 84 municipalities, maintain a heavy hand (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:19). Because of this, smaller communities and the opposition parties have little roles locally. Using decentralization as a way to gain political votes is not one of the original goals of the process. It is unclear what the current ruling political party will do to manage this issue, but it is clear that it is an area that will need to be taken care of, and soon.

Another area to evaluate in the Macedonian decentralization process is the territorial reorganization which took place in 2004, when the municipalities were redrawn from 123 to 84. This particular example illustrates the discrepancies between the provisions of the OFA and the actual implementation of the OFA in regards to decentralization. “According to the Law on Local Self-Government, municipal boundary changes should take into account ethnically neutral factors, such as economic, geographic and infrastructure features; meanwhile, the council of Europe recommended that the population of a municipality should not be less than 5,000 citizens” (Marko 2004/2005:713; PER 2004:18; Lyon 2012:94). In addition, the minister of Macedonia cited yet another criterion for the reorganization. It was based on certain historical and cultural features and it was not originally registered in the government document. These features were cited as criterion in order to preserve certain ethnically distinct municipalities (ICG 2003:20) as this was a major aspect of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The result of the

planning and discussions was 84 new municipalities, with 14 having fewer than 5,000 citizens. This suggests “that instead the reorganization was based largely on political and ethnic compromises and was more concerned with accommodating group [particularly political] needs rather than integrating them into state structures” (Friedman 2009:217; Siljanovska-Davkova 2009:112; Lyon 2012:94).

During the re-creating of municipalities there were also controversial boundary changes, perhaps the greatest ones taking place in Struga and Kicevo²³. The enlargement of these municipalities took place in order to secure the Albanians as a majority (Lyon 2012). The city of Skopje was also enlarged in order to establish a large enough Albanian population (reaching the 20% threshold) in order to make Albanian an official language (in the capital). A comment by an ethnic Albanian politician accurately shows how the governing coalition felt at the time and what their motives were: “We want to maximize the number of municipalities where Albanians make up 20% of the population...and we want to bring Albanians into connection with the urban center; the Macedonians want the opposite.” (ICG 2003:20; Lyon 2012:95). Because of this mindset of a majority of Albanian leaders at the time, it is unsurprising that there were government tensions throughout the decentralization process between Albanians and Macedonians. It was due to those controversial manners in which decentralization was carried out (redrawing of municipality boundaries in order for minorities to meet the 20% threshold) that caused the territorial reorganization, which was “originally intended to be an ethnically-blind process, [to] immediately [become] ethnicized” (Lyon 2012:95). In November 2004, during the national referendum on the proposed municipalities boundary changes, ethnic tensions reached a level that the country had not experienced since the aggression in 2001 (Lyon 2012). It was at this time that the decentralization process was branded as a process equivalent to “ethnic cleansing and, to a certain extent, has tainted the implementation of decentralization ever since (Petrov 2004). As a consequence of difficulties experienced during implementation, therefore, the initial emphasis the Framework Agreement placed on the *integration* of ethnic diversity through decentralization has in practice been”(Lyon 2012:95) combined with the

23 Boundary changes to Kicevo were later postponed and in 2012 they had still not been implemented.

accommodationist approach.

Despite the challenges Macedonia faced during the implementation of decentralization, and the years that it took to put everything in order, the response has been surprisingly positive from the people of Macedonia in support of the entire process.

“In 2003, almost the same share of Slav Macedonians and Albanian Macedonians found an 'increase' in the decentralization process 'acceptable', namely 53.0% and 58.9% respectively. These figures increased in 2004, before the referendum, to 59.5% and 63.7% and in 2005, after the local elections, even increased to 73.7% and 81.2%. When asked whether 'the new law on territorial organization will improve the relations in your municipality?' as many as 75.7% of Slav Macedonians responded that they would stay the same or improve, in comparison to 78.4% positive answers from Albanian Macedonians” (Marko 2004/2005:29)²⁴.

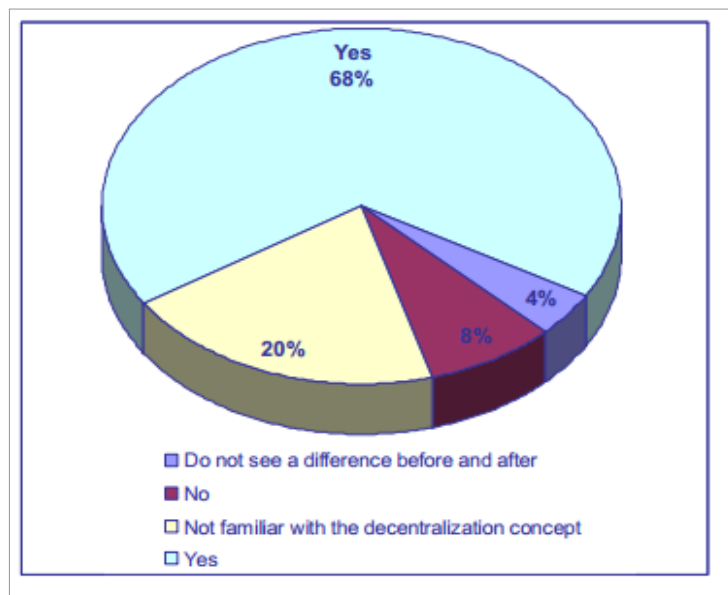
Although Macedonia's decentralization approach raises questions about whether the dichotomous process is even the correct way to manage societies that tend to blend the integrationist and accommodationist approaches, it is apparent that “the reform's combined use of consociational techniques locally [actually] suggests that Macedonia's decentralization seeks to simultaneously accommodate ethnic diversity at the municipal level” (Lyon 2012:97).

A report done by OSCE²⁵ between 2006-2011 measures the response of citizens from different municipalities concerning the decentralization process. For this report, 74 of the municipalities were given questionnaires, the results of which are evident in the following chart.

24 Retrieved from http://www.uni-graz.at/opv/www_macedonia.final.doc

25 Organization for Security and and Cooperation in Europe

Chart 1.1: “Do you think that the citizens in your municipality are satisfied with the process of decentralization and increased competencies in the municipality?” (Decentralization Assessment Report, OSCE, 2006-2011:9)²⁶



This graph is able to tell us a great deal about the thoughts of the citizens of Macedonia.

“When asked whether they think citizens were satisfied with the decentralization process, 50 out of 74 municipalities (68% of respondents) perceived that citizens were satisfied with the increased competencies acquired by their municipality. However, in 15 municipalities (20%) representatives think that citizens remained unfamiliar with the aims of decentralization and the changes brought about by the reforms. Six municipalities (8%) stated they believed citizens were not satisfied with the decentralization process whilst a smaller proportion (4%) held the opinion that citizens remained unable to identify changes resulting from the decentralization process” (Decentralization Assessment Report, OSCE, 2006-2011:9).

From this chart one is able to have a clearer understanding of the municipalities response to the decentralization process. Overall, there seems to be a positive response to the changes that have been made, but it is also evident that there is not complete satisfaction with the process. The Decentralization Assessment Report also shows that 85% of the respondents surveyed (or 63

²⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.osce.org/skopje/87514>

municipalities) claimed that they had struggled with financial difficulties during the implementation, making lack of financial resources the biggest problem faced in the municipality stemming from the decentralization process. Although the financial aspect is not one that was covered in my research, it is important to understand that it is an area in which Macedonia is especially struggling. The concept of decentralization within the country has been well-adapted for the country, however, without appropriate finances, municipalities are unable to fully implement the process. This is an area that will have to be handled in the near future within the country if the decentralization process is to continue being successful.

Overall, the current response is that this dichotomous (both integrationist as well as accomodationist) decentralization process has been positively received by the communities.

“Despite granting local communities enhanced autonomy over the management of their own affairs and resources, as in most decentralization processes, the reforms in Macedonia predominantly represent an attempt to *integrate* non-majority communities (particularly the ethnic Albanians) into unitary state structures. Macedonian decentralization does this by ensuring [the] municipalities remain ultimately subordinate to the central government, have no explicit ethnic identity, and are sufficiently numerous to fragment the power base of non-majority communities across multiple local units. In doing so, decentralization intends to balance the more [integrationist]/accommodationist aspects of the [OFA]. For example, greater use of non-majority languages; proportionality in parliament, the constitutional court, public administration, army and the police; special voting procedures in parliament; and the establishment of a parliamentary Committee on Inter-Community Relations” (Lyon 2012:93, 98).

Perhaps only time will tell whether the dichotomous decentralization approach of Macedonia is strong enough to unite a diverse nation-state; however, the present situation is, for the most part, applauded.

Table 3: “Accommodation and integration of ethnic difference through decentralization in the Republic of Macedonia”
(Lyon 2012: 93)²⁷

27 The following table is borrowed from Aisling Lyon, *Between the Integration and Accommodation of Ethnic Difference: Decentralization in the Republic of Macedonia*, 2012:93) Retrieved from

Accommodation of ethnic difference	Integration of ethnic difference
<i>“The multi-ethnic character of Macedonia's society must be preserved and reflected in public life” (OhridFramework Agreement: Art. 1.3)</i> <i>“The development of local self-government is essential for...promoting respect for the identity of communities” (Ohrid Framework Agreement: Art. 1.3, 1.5)</i>	<i>“Macedonia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the unitary character of the State are inviolable and must be preserved.” (Ohrid Framework Agreement: Art. 1.2)</i>
Enhanced municipal competences	Municipalities remain ultimately subordinate to central government authority
Increased language rights for non-majority communities	Relatively large number of municipalities (proliferating points of power) and no regional level of government
Recognition and use of community emblems (flags, etc) Consociational arrangements locally: proportional elections to municipal councils/committees, equitable representation in municipal administration, special voting procedures, Committees for Inter-ethnic Relations	Symmetrical decentralization: municipalities comprising significant minority ethnic community do not enjoy special special status Competences remain limited and are not exclusive Municipalities participate in institutions of the common state No formal recognition of the ethnic character of municipalities No explicit recognition of communities benefiting from language rights

Maintaining/Managing of Cultural Identities:

Language:

“The official language throughout Macedonia and in the international relations of Macedonia is the Macedonian language” (OFA 2001; Art. 6.4).

6.6 : “With respect to local self-government, in municipalities where a community comprises at least 20% of the population of the municipality, the language of that community will be used as an official language in addition to Macedonian. With respect to languages spoken by less than 20% of the population of the municipality, the local authorities will decide democratically on their use in public bodies”(OFA 2001:Art. 6.6; Daskalovski 2009).

It is important to distinguish between the rights on paper and the actual implementation of rights. Although the Macedonian Constitution, as well as the Ohrid Framework Agreement, go quite far with language rights for ethnic minorities living in Macedonia, what needs to be evaluated is how this actually translates into practice. Status on paper can be different than status in daily life.

“Under the terms of the [Ohrid Framework] Agreement and the subsequent Law on the Use of Languages (2008), the Macedonian language remains the official language in the country and is used for international relations. However, any other language spoken by at least 20% of the population locally is also recognized as an official language within municipalities” (Lyon 2012:91; Ohrid Framework Agreement: Art. 7).

It should be noted that “prior to the OFA the official use of a community language in Macedonian municipalities was 50%, although this was rarely respected and was annulled by the Constitutional Court in 1994” (Caca 2001:152; Ilievski 2007:5). Furthermore, in municipalities where “languages [are] spoken by less than 20% of the population the OFA also allows the possibility for their use as official languages, but the decision to do so remains at the discretion of the local authority” (Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia: Art. 6.6: Lyon 2012:92). This means that if the local authority feels that official recognition of a language spoken by less than 20% should take place, the authority in charge has the power to make that language an official language in the community along with all languages spoken by more than 20% of the community population as well as Macedonian. These municipality languages, if adopted, are used along side Macedonian, which is the country's official language. Recognizing community languages is partially in response to demographics, not necessarily a recognition, by the central government, of the equal status of minority languages. It is important to make clear that Albanian is the only language that meets the 20% threshold at the state level, meaning it is the only language in the country that is recognized at the state level in present day Macedonia. However, it is important

to understand that “nowhere in the [OFA] is the use of the Albanian language *specifically* mentioned. Such an arrangement is at risk of causing friction in the future if a situation arises where local demographic changes mean a particular community no longer meets the required 20% threshold” (Lyon 2012: 91).

In July 2008 the Law on Languages²⁸ was passed actually defining Albanian as the second official language at the municipal level, and allowing municipalities where minorities represent less than 20% to implement [an ethnic minority language] if their municipal councils so decides (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:16). The same provisions are provided by the Skopje City Law (2003). Where their language is official, ethnic Albanians are able to use it with all central authorities, legally. Again, Albanian is the only minority language that is recognized at the state level, as was agreed upon in the OFA due to the overall population of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia exceeding 20% of the total population. However, the Albanian language is not the only language with this right at municipal levels. In all municipalities where the minority population exceeds 20%, the language of that ethnic group is lawfully an official language in that municipality. As a result, there are municipalities in Macedonia where Turkish, Serbian, and Romane are all official community languages alongside Macedonian.

Although this is the law, in theory, it is important to recognize that it is not necessarily consistently and constantly practiced. There have been complaints (by ethnic Albanians) that ethnic Macedonian mayors of municipalities where Albanians meet the 20% threshold are not interested in implementing the law, and desk officers in State institutions allegedly seldom reply to citizens in Albanian. This is partially due to lack of funding and translation, but also of political will (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:16). There have also been complaints by ethnic Macedonians that Albanians that hold higher positions in governmental positions (some to fill a quota) do not use Macedonian in communication, and some ethnic Albanians do not even have a high competency level of the Macedonian language²⁹. These complaints should not be

28 The full name is the “Law on the Use of Languages spoken by 20 per cent of the population of the Republic of Macedonia and in the Units of Local Self-Government”.

29 Personal Fieldwork. Skopje, Macedonia. August 2013.

discarded, and it would be worthwhile for action to be taken in order to lessen them. However, even though there have been complaints, there have also been positive responses to the language rights laws. An ethnic Albanian who works in the field said, “my experience shows that it took time to get used to Albanian as a second official language, but lately the environment is much more relaxed and the bilingual issue is accepted fully” (Crisis Group Correspondence, UNDP, Skopje, May 11, 2011). Perhaps if the government positively endorsed the language usage at central and municipality levels, there would be a trickle down effect, and people in smaller governmental offices would be more willing to communicate in different languages.

The Albanian Language usage was one of the most difficult issues in the Ohrid negotiations (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:15). At the time of the negotiations, the Albanians demanded 'equal status' with Macedonians, but the Macedonians argued that this would break the first basic principle of the agreement. The principle referred to stated that, “the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia as well as the unitary character of the state cannot be violated and must be sustained” (Popetrevski and Latifi 2003:55; Ohrid Framework Agreement 2001: Art. 7). Although accepted as a second state language, to be used in state and government scenes, Albanian is not a second official language of the country. Nowhere in the Ohrid Agreement, or in the constitution, is there any agreement upon creating a bi-lingual nation. Macedonian has been, and still remains, the official language of the country.

Language seems to have two principle functions; it is, of course, an instrument of communication, but it can also constitute a means of asserting one's identity or one's distinctiveness from others (Jaspal 2009:17). A common language may be the ideal vehicle to express the unique character of a social group and to encourage common social ties on the basis of a common identity (Dieckhoff 2004). However, this is not the direction that Macedonia takes language. Yes, Macedonian is the national language, as was established in the constitution, but the OFA is what lead to the Law on Languages, which clearly states that if the population in a municipality is large enough, other languages may also be recognized within the country on certain levels. I believe it is important to note that the Macedonian government recognizes the ethnic variety present in the country and by allowing other languages to be represented

alongside Macedonian, they are showing ethnic respect. The mother-tongue is said to be a particularly important aspect of (ethnic) identity since both are frequently viewed as being immutable and inherited from birth (Fishman 1991) and in order to maintain a sense of one's culture, maintaining and use of the mother tongue is important. Nevertheless, when living in a country that is not one's 'ethnic motherland' it is important to respect the cultural identity (particularly in the area of language) of the country in which one has chosen to live. Also, it is equally important to assert oneself into the national identity, for this case, that would mean ethnic minorities learning the national language, Macedonian. Indeed, linguistic diversity is frequently perceived as a threat to national unity (Windisch 2004). However, in the case of Macedonia, and the development of the country as a nation-state that respects all ethnic minorities that make up the cultural majority, having linguistic diversity (and ethnic respect) is a distinction of the country that sets it apart from others.

Language rights have an important role in cultural recognition, but can language recognition also be a political right to speech? In Macedonia there have been cultural rights of ethnic minorities in the country since the country became a republic in 1991, this, of course, includes the Albanian minority. Even though the Albanians had political rights as well, they did not seem to think that those political rights were enough for recognition as a separate political entity within Macedonia. In that sense, the language issue between the ethnic Albanians and the ethnic Macedonians has been used as a vehicle for asking for those political rights. In this way, language rights have become political, as stated by Dona Kolar-Penov of the University of Skopje. Monika de Frantz of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy asks thought provoking questions when she says; "But does the concept of the nation have to be linked to language in Macedonia? Would it not be possible to link it instead to a shared constitution, and in this shared constitution there is a right to free expression of speech? How far is it really possible just to accept Albanians speaking Albanian in Macedonia, but still being part of the constitutional nation?" (Busch and Kelly-Holmes 2004:59) The problem with just 'accepting Albanians speaking Albanian in Macedonia' is that there will be less motivation to learn Macedonian, which is the official language of the country. Whether the concept has to be linked to language is not really the question, because although the central government has constitutionally recognized

Macedonian as being the official language, they have also developed laws and policies that allow minority languages to also be recognized. Dona Kolar-Panov expands on this excellently, while answering the questions posed by Monika de Frantz:

“Well, this was the case even before the agreement in 2001, when the Albanian language was granted the status of 'almost' the second official language of Macedonia. There were political, linguistic and cultural rights written into the Macedonian constitution for the Albanian minority. What the Albanian minority was asking for was to nominate the Albanian language as a second official language of Macedonia. This was partly granted in that the constitution says Albanian is an official language in every area of Macedonia, because 20% of the population is speaking Albanian, which, when we come down to the level of implementation of that clause in the constitution, puts the ball very much into another court, namely that of the local self-government. This means that the local self-governments have the right to determine whether a language is going to be an official language in an area or not, according to the number of [ethnic minorities] living there. So, in terms of language rights and political rights, there is consensus by most of the international community that Macedonia has the greatest recognition of minority rights of almost all the Yugoslav successor states, and indeed, compared with many other countries in the world as well.” (Busch and Kelly-Holmes 2004:59)

However, according to the Crisis Group Europe Report of 2011, further implementation of bilingualism should be made. The report expressed that further implementation should especially be made in the capital of Skopje with regard to the street signs. The Macedonian government has responded to this suggestion, and on many street signs in Skopje, Macedonian, as well as English and Albanian, are written. Overall, it appears as if the implementation of the use of languages set in motion by the OFA and further establishment of the Law of Languages (2008) has been implemented throughout the country. This is witnessed through the countries two official state-languages, Macedonian and Albanian, as well as through the 20% law. Although *full* implementation and acceptance and use has not yet been achieved, it seems as if the country is moving in the right direction and progress has been made in this area. What is particularly interesting about the Macedonian model is the delegation from the national government to the

municipal government in regards to the language law. This allows the municipalities to have a greater say in how the cultural differences are managed in their regions, which enhances the participation of all ethnicities in political matters. Ethnic minorities that are given equal rights and privileges tend to live more harmoniously amongst their fellow countrymen.

Media:

6.1 : “The parties invite the international community, including the OSCE³⁰, to increase its assistance for projects in the area of media in order to further strengthen radio, TV and print media, including Albanian language and multi-ethnic media. The parties also invite the international community to increase professional media training programs for members of communities that are not in the majority in Macedonia. The parties also invite the OSCE to continue its efforts on projects designed to improve inter-ethnic relations” (Constitution of Macedonia 2001:Annex C).

Although media freedoms have fluctuated over the years (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:12) the current information would lead one to believe that the reforms and alterations throughout recent years have had a positive impact on the industry as a whole. In the beginning, “due to the absence of appropriate laws, changes and reforms were rather abrupt and somewhat improvised” (Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1169). The “media landscape was flooded with more than 300 private radio and television stations, so, in order to manage the chaos on the airwaves, the government introduced a moratorium on issuing new licenses for frequencies”(Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1169).

“Major laws – such as the law on Broadcasting Activity, and the Law on the Establishment of the Public Enterprise Macedonian Radio & Television (MRT) – were passed six years after the country became independent, and they are still implemented today” (Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1169). Drafted in 2005, a new law on Broadcasting Activity was carried out, and this document pays particular attention to minority rights in the media realm. The language

30 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

rights that were set in place by the Ohrid Framework Agreement are further implemented in the field of media in Macedonia through MRT.

For such a small country, the media sector is not only vast, having “126 commercial terrestrial broadcasting outlets, including two national television channels and three national radio stations” (Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1175). However, it is also quite fragmented. MRT, which consists of Macedonian Television (MTV) as well as Macedonian Radio (MR), “operates three national television channels, three national radio channels and 29 local radio stations, of which 12 also broadcast television programs” (Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1175). What is more, there is both a television station, as well as a radio station, that only broadcast programs in minority languages.

“Albanian, Turkish, Romanes, Vlach, Serbian and Bosnian – in accordance with the share of these minorities in the overall population of the country. Four local stations broadcast programs in Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish (Tetovo, Gostivar, Struga, Debar); one station in Macedonian, Albanian and Romanes (Kumanovo); two stations in Macedonian and Vlach (Štip and Krusevo); and one in Macedonian and Albanian (Kičevo)” (Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1175).

These local stations are not affiliated with the public station and they were created locally in municipalities where the 20% minority threshold is met (Monitoring Television Across Europe 2005:1175). This is an example of municipalities exercising their rights to recognize community languages and actively incorporating the different ethnic groups at the community level. This is not only a positive effect of decentralization and the central government sharing power, it is also a positive effect of the post-OFA revised constitution in the area handling minority language rights in media.

In addition to broadcasting programs in the Macedonian language as well as minority languages, MRT has also set in place a broadcasting council in response to the Law on Broadcasting Activity. The Broadcasting Council consists of nine members, who should “be experts in the field of public information, business, education, culture, and other related sectors and the members of ethnic minorities should be *equitably* represented in the Council” (Law on

Broadcasting Activity 2005:Art 23). The representation of minorities on the board of this council (as a requirement) is another means by which the government is managing the diversity of the country (especially pertaining to the media field) in a positive way – as all members of this council are chosen by Parliament, and they can also be removed by Parliament. Over the years the council has assumed a large number of tasks, such as the following:

1. “preparing proposals to the Government for granting broadcast licenses;
2. preparing proposals to the Government for the regulation of cable radio and television programs; and monitoring the content of broadcasting in the country”(Law on Broadcasting Activity 2005)

The content that is broadcasted by MRT is required to adhere to the following articles of the Law on Broadcasting Activity.

Article 117 (Law on Broadcasting Activity 2005):

1. “On the territory of the republic of Macedonia, MRT shall broadcast one television program service in the Macedonian language, and one program service in the language spoken by at least 20% of the citizens that is different from the Macedonian language, as well as in the languages of the other non-majority communities.
2. On the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, MRT shall broadcast at least two radio program services in the Macedonian language, and one program service in the language spoken by at least 20% of the citizens that is different from the Macedonian language, as well as in the languages of the other non-majority communities.

MRT shall broadcast special radio programs intended for the neighboring countries and Europe in foreign languages”(Law on Broadcasting Activity 2005: Art.117)³¹.

Article 21 (Law on Broadcasting Activity 2005):

MRT is also compelled, in order to satisfy public interest, the following:

1. “ensure protection of the programs that are produced and broadcasted, from any kind of influence from government, political organizations, or centers of economic power;
2. develop and plan the program scheme in the interest of the entire public and to produce and broadcast programs for all segments of society without discrimination, taking

31 Retrieved from <http://www.srd.org.mk/WBStorage/Files/08.12.2005-EN-FINAL-Law%20on%20Broadcasting%20Activity.doc>

consideration for the specific groups in society;

3. ensure that the programs reflect diverse ideas, nurture the cultural identity of the communities, respect the cultural and religious differences and promote the culture of public dialogue, with the aim to strengthen the mutual understanding and tolerance aimed at promotion of the relations between the communities in a multi-ethnic and multicultural environment” (Law on Broadcasting Activity 2005: Art. 21)³².

Lastly, the MRT is obliged to produce and broadcast “news and current affairs programme services [that] adhere to professional principles and [that] provide equal access to diverse interests in society [and] to advocate freedom of speech and pluralism [in the expression] of public opinion” (Jakubowicz 2005). Furthermore, the MRT is “to prevent any kind of racial, religious, national, ethnic and other kind of intolerance (Law on Broadcasting Activities 2005: Art. 122). As an organization, the MRT has a vast role to play in the broadcast realm of Macedonia, and the Broadcasting Council is responsible for guaranteeing that the organization meets the (high) standards that are expected of it. Media is a strong social tool, and if utilized properly, its affects can be very rewarding.

As was previously touched upon in the language section, there is a connection between ethnic identity and the maintaining and usage of one's mother-tongue. To have public television and radio stations that cater to all ethnicities living within a country is a positive achievement and indirectly can be related to minority rights that were outlined in the Ohrid Framework Agreement. During my time spent in Skopje I had the opportunity to talk to a variety of ethnically different people about the media and what the government has accomplished with MRT and I was able to ask them what their opinion on the media policy was. I repeatedly received positive responses concerning television programs being broadcasted in different languages. My fieldwork led me to form the conclusion that it was unanimously felt that the Macedonian government has been successful in the area of embracing and respecting minority languages within the country in relation to media. Many people agreed that, even if they do not regularly watch (or listen) to the programs provided by MRT, they appreciate that they are

32 Retrieved from <http://www.srd.org.mk/WBStorage/Files/08.12.2005-EN-FINAL-Law%20on%20Broadcasting%20Activity.doc>

available.³³

Committees:

“The Assembly shall establish a Committee for Inter-Community Relations and the Assembly shall elect the members of the committee. The committee considers issues of inter-community relations in the Republic and makes appraisals and proposals for their solution...The Assembly is obliged to take into consideration the appraisals and proposals of the Committee(s) and to make decisions regarding them” (Constitution of Macedonia 2001: Art. 78)³⁴.

When issues arise in a community that demand (sometimes immediate) action, a common solution is the creation and development of committees. Committees allow people of different backgrounds, with possibly different ideas and solutions to problems, to work together to arrive at an agreed upon solution. These committees are created either as a response to an issue, or as a preventive method for handling problems in the future.

Further measures that have been taken to protect and develop the multi-ethnic society in Macedonia have been the creation of different committees, both within the Parliament as well as within municipalities. The two parliamentary committees examined for this research were *The Committee on Culture* and the *Committee on the Political System and Inter-Ethnic Relations*. The Parliament established these working bodies with the intent that the working bodies would review draft laws as well as draft regulations and other acts passed by the Parliament, along with monitor and implement various acts of Parliament as well as other duties and debates on issues of the committees competence. The above committees are permanent working bodies in the Parliament, the former of which was created in direct response to the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Additionally,

“Finally, the Ohrid Framework Agreement re-established Committees for Inter-Community Relations in municipalities where at least 20% of the local population belongs to a certain non-majority community (Law on Local Self Government: Art. 55).

33 Personal Fieldwork. Skopje, Macedonia. August 2013-September 2013

34 Retrieved from http://www.usip.org/library/pa/macedonia/pa_mac_08132001.html.

Municipalities may also establish committees in areas where local communities comprise less than 20%, although this decision is at the discretion of the municipal council” (Lyon 2012:92-93).

The role of these committees “is to enable [and promote] institutional dialogue locally between different ethnic communities and to settle disputes affecting intercommunity relations (Lyon 2012:92-93). These committees have been established in over 30 multi-ethnic municipalities, but the effectiveness of them has been questioned “regarding the equitable accommodation of non-majority group needs” (CDI 2007; Forum 2008; OSCE 2009; Lyon 2012:96). One of the main criticisms made by the European Commission concerning these municipality committees is that their existence and their role in the community is not widely known and understood by the public (CDI 2007:9; EC 2010:21; Lyon 2012:96). In addition, a United Nations program in Macedonian also researched in which ways these committees “are generally found to convene for the sake of demonstrating that they have done so, and they rarely provide advisory, preventive or reactive recommendations” (UN 2010:5; Lyon 2012:96). Lastly, “membership of the committees in particular has been the focus of much criticism. Smaller communities, notably the Roma, are often unrepresented and, when they are [represented], they are frequently outnumbered by more dominant local communities, notably Macedonians and ethnic Albanians” (ZELS 2010:96; Lyon 2012:96). Macedonia does have a strong institutional framework for promoting inter-ethnic dialogue both nationally as well as locally, however, it is undermined by weak political and financial support and coordination (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:14).

Another problem area is that the committee members are perhaps not properly trained and informed, meaning, expectations are not understood. Convening for the sake of saying that they convened is not productive. Convening for the sake of helping issues that have risen in the community is productive. The problem stems from a lack of knowledge and understanding of the specific job and role of the committee both by the members as well as by the community. For the people, having access to this committee – as a place to bring up issues within the community – has the potential of being a great asset. It is also a strength of the Macedonian government in regards to managing cultural diversity because the committee deals specifically within the community with inter-ethnic topics. However, in order for this committee to be more worthwhile,

it is important that its responsibilities are clearly laid out and also that the central government follows-up to be sure that they are convening, that the public is informed, and that there is productivity. It is important that the Committees for Inter-Community Relations exist and it is equally important that they be 'checked-in' on regularly to ensure that they are providing as much assistance to the growth and development of the community as possible. Weak areas of the decentralization process have been its uneven implementation in the country, and also the lack of follow up. Although the municipality committees need to have more attention directed towards them so that they can actually be a benefit to the community, the parliamentary committees have been rather successful with handling the ethnic minorities and the cultural differences within the country.

In addition to community committees, parliamentary committees have also been formed as a way in which to help maintain and manage the diverse ethnic identities within Macedonia. *The Committee on the Political System and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, consists of a chairperson and twelve members. The committee is in charge of handling questions and situations pertaining to the following, not all areas are listed (Working bodies - Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, n.d.):

1. “the right of citizens to associate and establish political organizations;
2. voting right and method of election of members of parliament and members of the councils;
3. Macedonian Orthodox Church, as well as the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia, the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Methodist Church of Macedonia, the Jewish Community and other religious communities;
4. holidays in the Republic of Macedonia;
5. organization of the state administration;
6. right of use of languages and alphabets of the communities;
7. guaranteeing of protection of the ethnic. cultural, linguistic and religious identity of the communities” (Working Bodies – Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, n.d.)³⁵.

35 Retrieved from <http://www.sobranie.mk/en/default-en.asp?ItemID=F93F0D46635F364C8C28D5E6702B0B2B> and <http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/WBStorage/Files/USTAV-eng.pdf>.

The committee deals with a rather vast array of topics, but a large responsibility of it can be associated with cultural management within the country, with an emphasis on the management of certain ethnic group identities being maintained.

An interesting achievement of the committee in regards to this idea of 'maintaining identity' is their assistance in the adoption of minority holidays on the official Macedonian calendar, of which full implementation has since taken place. By showing national acceptance and respect for different holidays celebrated by different ethnicities and different religions, Macedonia proves that managing cultural diversity is more than just 'implementing policies', it involves knowing the citizens of your country on a deeper level, understanding them, accepting their beliefs and celebrations, and overall, respecting them. The celebrations were already being recognized on the local town/city level, but the committee agreed that they should be recognized on the national level. Although all citizens do not celebrate all holidays on the calendar, there are specific national holidays that do apply to everyone living in Macedonia, while there are certain cultural and religious holidays that only apply to particular ethnic groups. This is not only an excellent example of handling ethnic diversity, but it is also an excellent example of helping all citizens of Macedonia maintain certain aspects of their ethnic-identity.

The committee also handles inter-ethnic issues that take place in Macedonia between the citizens of Macedonia. I learned about one such [unfortunate event] from MP Antonio Miloshoski, who is also a member of the committee. A few months ago there were some fights that took place between youths of different ethnicities on public transportation buses. According to Miloshoski, these fights actually lasted for several days and there were many injuries, even so far as some of the youths being hospitalized. This event captured the attention of the media and from there it became an 'issue'. More than being an issue for the school or the parents or of the youths involved, it became a national issue. At this point that the committee stepped in to help mediate and to smooth things over. This is, of course, an unfortunate situation, but it is important for a government to have committees that are specifically created to handle them. I asked Mr. Miloshoski if the committee prepares for situations like these, or if they handle them as they arise. He responded by explaining to me about how officials are sometimes afraid to discuss (potential) 'issues' because by talking about them, they are making them issues. With that in

mind, it is sometimes better to not just open and discuss issues just for the sake of it. Politicians are careful and aware of this. Now, that does not mean that certain steps should not be taken in order to A: prevent and B: handle potential areas of conflict, but it is not necessarily helpful to discuss 'hypothetical' solutions to 'hypothetical' issues.³⁶ This is one of the responsibilities of The Committee on the Political Systems and Relations Among the Communities, to step in when necessary and mediate. In multi-ethnic countries, it is important to have committees such as this. Tensions and conflict cannot always be avoided amongst different ethnic groups, but if and when they do arise, it is important to manage and handle them appropriately – so as to avoid further issues.

The other parliamentary committee that is directly involved with managing the cultural diversity within Macedonia is the *Committee of Culture*. This committee has been incredibly active within the country, especially in response to EU cultural regulations, and from my research I would say that what the committee has and is accomplishing within the country is remarkable. The committee is responsible for questions and issues pertaining to (not all are listed) the organization, development and promotion of culture (Working Bodies - Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, n.d):

1. “protection of the natural and cultural heritage in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia;
2. promotion and protection of exceptional cultural values;
3. monument marking activities and protection of cultural monuments;
4. use and protection of the Macedonian language;
5. information, cultural and other activities aimed at the expression of the identity and characteristics of the communities;
6. decisions on marking anniversaries of events and persons of special importance for the national and legal development of the country, promotion of the historical and cultural heritage, and promotion of the general civilization values;
7. manner and forms of celebrating and honoring certain events and persons;
8. activities of special committees established on the occasion of certain anniversaries; and

36 Personal Interview with Antonio Miloshoski. Skopje, Macedonia.

9. other issues regarding culture and commemoration of important events and persons”(Working Bodies – Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, n.d.)³⁷.

I had the opportunity to interview Liljana Zaturksa, a member of the Committee of Culture, and to learn more about the 'mindset' of the people on the committee. This specific committee began in 2006 and has been assisting the Macedonian government manage the cultural diversity of the country since then. Much of the work of the committee was established in order for Macedonia to meet European Union regulations. Although that was the reason for its development, Ms. Zaturksa specifically stated that the purpose of the committee is to help do something good for the entire country. Ms. Zaturksa was very confident that this particular committee is an asset to the country because it gets results, and all members are active. The committee is especially committed to raising awareness within the country and to personally promote various projects that they are a part of. They do this by traveling throughout the country to give presentations to the public and also meeting with mayors of towns, and other political figures, in order to promote the concept of peaceful living and respect for all citizens. Helping raise the awareness of the citizens, and giving them the opportunity to get involved – through round table discussions as well as with designing and implementing programs within their communities - is one of the strengths of the Committee of Culture. A specific example of a topic that the committee promotes is co-existence in all areas of life, but especially in education. The committee, according to Ms. Zaturksa, has seen towns where the people live and work together side by side as 'citizens of the same country' and not as 'different ethnicities' and they feel it is important to spread this to all areas of Macedonia and to help people understand that there is nothing wrong with having different identities but it is imperative to understand that they all share one, they are all 'citizens of Macedonia'.

The committee itself consists of people from different religious, political, and ethnic backgrounds working together to strengthen the cultural community in Macedonia. This is an important characteristic of the committee, as a strong aspect they promote is for people to respect the values of others and to live together and to go to school together and to co-exist

37 Retrieved from <http://www.sobranie.mk/en/default-en.asp?ItemID=58FB7399D32A074BAEF6F4B4A5D549A9>.

harmoniously. The committee sees this viewpoint as one that is good and healthy for the entire country, which is why they devote so much time and energy traveling the country and working with various NGO's in order to promote this concept of co-existence.

The three above mentioned committees are all ethnically diverse, and they are all important in the management of diversity within Macedonia. Hopefully, within time, the *Committees for Inter-Community Relations* will develop a stronger presence within, and between, the communities. Perhaps the *Committee of Culture* will be able to influence and motivate the smaller inter-community municipality committees into taking action and having more of a presence within the communities, instead of convening merely for the sake of convening. Lastly, although *The Committee on Political Systems and Relations Among the Communities* may not be as 'active' in the community as the Committee of Culture, their presence is an important aspect to the management of ethnic diversity. Also, their ability to create solutions that increase the co-existence between the citizens of Macedonia is an asset to the government. This, itself, is a significant development of the Macedonian government.

Education:

“With respect to primary and secondary education, instruction will be provided in the students' native languages, while at the same time uniform standards for academic programs will be applied throughout Macedonia”(OFA 2001:Art.6.1)³⁸.

“State funding for university level education in languages spoken by at least 20 percent of the population of Macedonia and the principle of 'positive discrimination' in the enrollment at State universities of candidates belonging to communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia”(OFA 2001: Art. 6.2)³⁹.

The issue of education, and languages used in education, has been an ongoing 'hot topic' in

38 Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan030443.pdf>

39 Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan030443.pdf> and http://www.hsrgroup.org/documents/ISA_Ohridframework.pdf

Macedonia. Much of the tension in this area stemmed from the debate of the legality of the Albanian-language Tetovo University. Since its founding, and its almost-immediate shut down by the Macedonian government in 1995, Tetovo University has long been viewed as a symbol of the ethnic-Albanian's struggle for their rights. It is important to note that at the time of its shut-down, on the State level, the Albanian language was not an official language and for this reason the government did have the authority to shut it down, although the unnecessary forcefulness used to accomplish this was not appreciated by the Albanian community and was perhaps not the best way for the government to handle the situation. For the Albanians, this ban on their university was viewed as a denial of their rights to higher education, which resulted in preventing them (ethnic-Albanians) from occupying governmental posts (U.S. English Foundation Research 2004). These views and the bitterness that went along with them added to the tensions that led up to the 2001 conflict.

Perhaps the better way to have handled the Tetovo University situation would have been for the Albanian political representatives to have set up a negotiation along the lines of offering instruction in both Macedonian and Albanian and the university.

“In that way, the requirement for education in Albanian would be fulfilled, at the same time enabling students to learn the Macedonian language and use it in their work on any level of public and private employment in the country. In addition, in these negotiations the ethnic Macedonian side could have insisted on introducing high educational standards, as well as the inclusion of programs on inter-ethnic tolerance and peaceful conflict resolution in the curricula of the university - as well as in the other state universities” (Ilievski 2006:12).

However, those discussions did not take place, and the consequence “was that Tetovo University became a reservoir of political radicalism and a [focus of] the political platforms of all the ethnic Albanian political parties” (Ilievski 2006:12). It was not until 2003 that the government publicly recognized Tetovo University as a state university in response to the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which claims that state funding must be made available for tertiary level education in all languages spoken by at least 20% of the population, of which the Albanians are legally recognized as being.

With the language issues resolved at the tertiary level, with classes being offered in Macedonian, Albanian, and English at all State universities, it is now time to focus on what is happening at the primary and secondary levels. One of the main issues in education in Macedonia is that the primary and secondary schools are becoming more and more segregated. In some cases, the same school will have two different buildings that they use to teach the same classes but in different languages. In these situations, the children have no interaction with one another and no opportunity to get involved on a personal level. Proponents would argue that education in mother tongues promotes equality. Although this is true that education in ones mother-tongues shows respect to the different ethnicities living within the country, to say it provides equality is not entirely accurate. Although laws and policies have been set in place that ensure children the right to be educated in their mother tongue in primary schools, it is important to not promote their mother-tongue as being equal to the national language.

The fact is that this segregation at a primary school level does exist, and it can potentially have harmful outcomes in the future. “An international official in Macedonia said the process of segregation usually starts with parents and teachers of both ethnicities writing a petition to the school board to request separate shifts for learning on the basis that “it will contribute to better management of the school” (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:17). This leads children of different ethnicities to either study in different shifts, or in separate buildings. As a result, children grow up seeing 'differences' between them and other children, and they learn to recognize those differences as 'bad' things which can potentially lead them to believe that 'their way' is superior, and all others are inferior. This direct separation of ethnicities can only lead to dissent and possibly conflict, which is why it is important to provide opportunities in which children of different ethical backgrounds are able to interact with one another in a positive environment.

Because primary and secondary education is now a municipal priority (result of decentralization and the delegation of responsibilities to smaller state sectors) there is some local autonomy to design activities, which is seen “as a golden opportunity for stimulating integrated education

from an early start” (Crisis Group interview, civil society representative, Skopje, April 2011). However, the issue still remains that the municipal authorities, who should be supporting the development of inter-ethnic relations in the community, only tend to get involved themselves with inter-ethnic school issues when fights escalate (UNICEF 2009:9). This lack of involvement and input is a weakness of the Macedonian decentralization process. Although there are parliamentary committees (Committee of Culture) that devote time and energy to traveling around the country to train and inspire the municipal community committees, and the response has been positive, more action still needs to be taken by the municipal communities. These inter-community committees have been delegated the power to deal with educational issues. It is important that they respect the power they have been delegated and use it responsibly to assist the community. Only in time will it be apparent whether or not they are functioning in a way that benefits society.

The Macedonian central government has been urged to address the alarming segregation trends. Although some authorities recognize the need to respond they do not know “how to achieve integration while avoiding perceptions that integration will undo what has been achieved in the past ten years for community rights” (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:17). This puts the government in a difficult position. In 2009, after the consultation with the civil society and with the support of the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities, the government pledged to implement an integrated education strategy (Crisis group Europe Report 2011:17). The program was known as the 'Steps Towards Integrated Education Strategy' and it was implemented by the Ministry of Education and Science. The strategy is divided into five themes that deal with democratic school governance in a decentralized environment; joint curricular and extra-curricular activities; language acquisition; curriculum and textbooks; and teacher training. One aspect of the strategy proposed a thorough review of all existing history, geography and language textbooks and changes in how textbooks are approved and controlled, as the topic of 'how much' and 'what' to teach was a rising issue in the schools.⁴⁰ Also, the Minister of Education instructed

40 Textbooks and their accuracy has been an issue between, especially, Macedonians and Albanians. “There was a difficult negotiation over what Albanian history – in Macedonia alone or the region – and how much should be studied. It was agreed that three units out of 38 instead of one should be devoted to Albanians in fifth grade and

the schools to teach Macedonian to first-year pupils of all non-majority communities, a measure that was fully supported by the government parties in the Parliament, as well as the Inter-ethnic Committee (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:17). However, Albanians quickly claimed discrimination and demanded ethnic Macedonians start learning the Albanian language at the same age. The Macedonian language learning to first-year students strategy was quickly annulled by the Constitutional Court as being incompatible with the primary education law which states that school children of non-majority communities are to start learning the official state language as of fourth grade.

Although the government had been encouraged to take the first step in initiating a strategy for language and education, it was perhaps not the wisest for the first step to be the implementation of such a strong strategy, the idea of 'too much too soon' could appropriately be applied here. In a sensitive area such as this, perhaps less controversial parts should have preceded the implementation of the language strategy, such as outreach to parents, curriculum revision and addressing the shortage of teachers (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:17). These are important areas to address before implementing educational policies, especially the outreach to parents, since without their support, inter-ethnic education can not be fully successful. Following further consultations with international supporters⁴¹, a new strategy was adopted in 2010 that allowed ethnic Albanian students to choose when they would start learning Macedonian (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:17).

The term 'human rights' is not able to be separated, and it is interdependent. The aspects of it, human and rights, must be taken together. In accordance with UNESCO and the international human rights law, it is the cultural right of a child to master his mother language and to be educated in his mother language in order to avoid psychological trauma that could possibly stem from lack of comprehension, or from being alienated from a group due to linguistic reasons. Furthermore, it is also in a child's best interest to be linguistically integrated within the society in

twelve units out of 47 in sixth grade. They also agreed to learn each others history. Macedonian teachers can choose six of the twelve units of Albanian history to teach to their pupils, and Albanians can select roughly 70% of the Macedonian history” (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:18).

⁴¹ Example: EU strategists and the UN

which he lives, in order to prevent ethnic tensions and segregation – this can be provided through multi-lingual training. Following this concept would potentially lead to a more integrative society, one in which all communities would not only be able to, but would also be comfortable with, interacting with one another, since they were integrated at such a young age (Wilson 2002;80).

The issue of language of instruction for minority education is a controversial one and one of the reasons it is this way is because some view the use of minority language as a threat to statehood (Wilson 2002; 80). However, most constitutions will recognize that the use of minority languages is important and will establish the right for minorities to learn their own language, although it must be done alongside that of the country's official language. Being educated in one's mother tongue is recognized as a cultural right. Furthermore, it also protects and promotes an ethnic group's language, which is an essential aspect of belonging to a minority (Right to Education, n.d.). “While segregated education and fragmented societies go hand in hand, so do inclusive education and integrated societies” (Right to Education, n.d). Taking that into consideration, UNESCO recommends multilingualism as being in the best interest of the young learners (UNESCO 30th General Conference 1999)⁴². Macedonia is not quite at the point where they will accept this completely, as ethnic Macedonians are not being encouraged to learn any other ethnic-minority languages. In this regard, the language issue – not only in education, but also in everyday life – has not completely been handled in the country. The bottom line is, if you want to enhance your chances of obtaining a better job in Macedonia, then it is in your best interest to learn both Macedonian and Albanian. For the citizens of Macedonia to be bilingual would greatly enhance the cultural autonomy within the nation, and tensions between Macedonians and ethnic-Albanians would certainly decrease. At the moment, though, the central government does not promote this idea. I believe this goes back to the general issue that the country is currently facing with having two official state languages. Although there has been improvement, many people have not fully accepted both Macedonian and Albanian as official languages, and without that complete acceptance at the governmental level, there will not be acceptance at the citizen level.

42 Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/education/imld_2002/resolution_en.shtml (accessed November 8, 2013)

As previously mentioned in the language section, if the government were to fully implement and support the two state languages, it would only be a matter of time before that attitude was met at the civilian level, which would most likely result in children learning both languages in schools, which would then most likely result in the enhancement of cultural autonomy within the country due to bilingualism. What is important here is that at the government level both the Macedonian and Albanian languages must be recognized and used as official state languages by everyone that holds a political position, only from there will it be able to spread to the citizens (over time through the schools).

In the end, integrating education is not an easy task, for any country, and in Macedonia the topic has constantly and consistently been a political one. Even post-Ohrid agreement, the decision on whether to integrate education, how to integrate education, when to integrate education, etc. has been a slower one to take over. The constitution allows primary and secondary education in ethnic community languages (Art 48), however, in schools where education is carried out in the language of a minority, the Macedonian language is also studied. Education has the ability to be a crucial long-term investment into reconciliation and ethnic conflict resolution. However, in order for that to occur,

“Macedonia's educational system has to reinforce the values of diversity, tolerance and the cultural benefits of living in such a [multicultural] society. [It is more than just] 'learning about each [others] culture', the education system should provide students with the possibility for elective classes in minority languages and at the same time, it should improve the quality of training in Macedonian language for students from other ethnic communities [which] have their mother tongue as [a] language of instruction” (Ilievski 2006:57).

Promoting programs that enhance inter-ethnic tolerance, within educational curriculums, is an excellent way to manage the diversity of the country by enhancing opportunities for children from different ethnic groups to learn together and to work together. Unfortunately, a lack of properly trained teachers is a chronic problem (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:18) in the country, as is a severe lack of money for education. If education is to be a government priority, more money will have to be allotted for education, this is imperative.

Inter-ethnic Integration in Education Project (IIEP):

“We at EUCOM⁴³ and USAID recognize the importance of inter-ethnic integration in public school education for the Republic of Macedonia so that your future leaders may grow up with common values and established friendships – friendships that will foster a cooperative and integrated society” (Colonel Jeff Predmore, Defense Attaché at the U.S. Embassy, 'Stronger Together' at the ribbon cutting ceremony in primary school Dimitar Miladinov in Skopje 2013⁴⁴).

Two particular organizations (with the support and help of others) in Skopje with the main goal of integration in education have teamed up to create a project that will have lasting affects on the Macedonian education system. USAID⁴⁵, in partnership with Macedonian Civic Education Center (MCEC) have joined together to create the four year Inter-ethnic Integration in Education Project (IIEP). The main aim of the project is to build a broader

“public understanding of the benefits to all citizens that will arise from integrating Macedonia's education system. IIEP will also create the political, social and economic environment needed for Macedonia to achieve a sustained interethnic integration in schools, in other educational institutions and eventually in all of society”
(About the Project – Interethnic integration in education project, 2013)

The program involves “students, parents, teachers, administrators and school board members in all primary and secondary schools across Macedonia will be the primary focus of project activities” (About the Project – Interethnic integration in education project, 2013). In addition, “advisors of the Bureau for Development of Education and education inspectors at national and regional levels will also be central and important to achieving sustained change and will actively participate in capacity strengthening activities” (About the Project – Interethnic integration in education project, 2013). The success of the project requires active engagement of the

43 United States European Command

44 Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/archive-community-outreach/stronger-together-at-the-ribbon-cutting-ceremony-in-primary-school-dimitar-miladinov-in-skopje/>.

45 “USAID works to ensure maximum impact and long-term sustainability of its development programs by providing people in the countries [they] work in with the skills and knowledge critical to the achievement of country development goals. Training to address skill and knowledge gaps is a key element of USAID's efforts to build human and institutional capacity” (retrieved on 11/12/2013 from <http://www.usaid.gov/what-we-do/education/training-people-maximum-impact>)

community as well as of the local government. It is important that the project is not just seen as something that takes place in 'schools' but that it is something that takes place in the 'community' and involves everyone. It is important that the stakeholders “build a clear understanding of the importance of inter-ethnic integration in education and take responsibility, accountability and ownership of the project and resulting success” (About the Project – Interethnic integration in education project, n.d.).

“Achieving and sustaining interethnic integration in education is a complex and long-term process. Recognizing this, core stakeholders are the center of all activities, taking the responsibility for achieving project objectives and become the agents of sustained change. Our design also carefully sequences activities so that each phase builds critical capacity for subsequent phases. Central to this is improving inter-ethnic communication and bridging ethnic, cultural, social and language gaps” (About the Project – Interethnic integration in education project, 2013)⁴⁶.

An aim of IIEP is that communities “will better understand both the need for ethnic integration for the country's stability and prosperity, and its benefits for all students, teachers, and parents” (Interethnic integration in education project, 2014)⁴⁷. The project engages the communities to openly discuss the challenges that are related to ethnic relations. Through this project, demonstration schools will provide successful models, and they will demonstrate the;

“...best practices and lessons learned on ethnic integration. There will be more student integration in selected schools in extra-curricular, and potentially, in curricular, activities. Students will become more involved in democratic processes and decision making at their schools. Teachers and parents of mixed ethnic backgrounds will cooperate more effectively” (Interethnic integration in education project, 2014)

The following are the four, mutually-supporting and inter-related, components of the program along with a brief overview of their goals and objectives

46 Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/about-the-project/>

47 Retrieved from <http://www.usaid.gov/news-information/fact-sheets/interethnic-integration-education-project>.

Component 1: Community Outreach

According to the IIEP official website, Component 1 of the program was the first step in the four-year process project, which took place over the course of 2012. During this time, an environment was created “for a better understanding and awareness of the relevance of ethnic integration in education for [Macedonia's] prosperity and stability – as well as its accession into the European Union” (Community Outreach - Interethnic integration in education project, 2012) – these are the core points of Component 1. It was during this time that key stakeholders actively spread awareness and understanding of the project. This “community outreach strategy [was] implemented at the national and the local level” (Community Outreach – Interethnic integration in education project, 2012).

The awareness was spread through a collaboration of meetings, events, round table discussions, and public debates. The target groups of these collaborations consisted of schools, communities, and municipalities – as all 3, together, are necessary for the success of the project.

Success stories have been celebrated and presented to the public, as a way to inform and to inspire. “Sharing positive examples and lessons by stakeholders at local and national levels using brochures, flyers, video, debates, conferences, and social media”(Community Outreach – Interethnic integration in education project, 2012) have been very important for spreading knowledge about the project. Specific examples of different videos made during this time, and other online resources concerning Component 1 can be found on the IIEP website.

Component 2: Capacity Building of School Management and Teachers (About the Project – Interethnic integration in education project, n.d.)

The second component is the current phase of the project. During this phase, those involved with the project have been (and are being) equipped with the skills required to have a successful inter-ethnic integration education in their schools. Those involved include school board members,

teachers, parents, as well as local government officials. Through various workshops held by key education stakeholders, participants from different schools will be able to participate in a mixture of structured professional development workshops that are aimed at better preparing them (educational workers) to implement IIEP within their schools.

The way in which Component 2 has been accomplished is through (Capacity Building – Interethnic integration in education, 2013):

1. “The empowerment of key educational institutions to coordinate stakeholders to work together to reach the common goal of achieving sustainable Inter-ethnic Integration in Education;
2. The development of a training module and the delivery of quality training in a phased rapport to education stakeholders;
3. The establishment of a follow-up and mentoring system among beneficiaries to create a system that sustains achievements beyond the end of the project (the project has a 4 year time frame, but the benefits and the implementation of the project will last for many years);
4. The provision of municipal governments with the capacity to provide resources, effectively coordinate and evaluate efforts in the municipality and the also the school in its integration of education;
5. The building of school management to provide leadership to create and sustain integrated education and to build supportive relationships with the school community;
6. The involvement of school boards in planning, decision making and management effort at the school to integrated education and the strengthening of links with local communities;
7. The involvement of parents in activities at school in order to improve inter-ethnic communication and to bridge ethnic and social gaps;
8. The improvement of the capacity of teachers to effectively apply inter-ethnic integration approaches in their classes and the whole school;
9. The improvement of active communication and cooperation among students from different ethnic background” (Capacity Building – Interethnic integration in education

project: 2013)⁴⁸.

Component 3: Demonstration Schools

Component 3, set to take place in 2014, will be carried out by IIEP's partner, Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution (CHRCR). A “holistic approach will be taken to introduce changes in all areas of school life and [will] include all stakeholders in the process of transforming selected primary and secondary schools (apprx. 5-7) from ethnically mixed areas and use them as models for integrated education”(Demonstration Schools – Interethnic integration in education project, 2013). This will be accomplished through the provision of extensive interventions which will be achieved through (Demonstration Schools - Interethnic integration in education project, 2013);

1. “The creation of models that provide evidence that integrated education in a system divided along language lines can exist;
2. The provision of examples of the best practices and lessons learned from demonstration schools to contribute to a deeper understanding of various approaches to ethnic integration;
3. The development of models of integrated schools to be used within the education system for more efficient scaling up in the other primary and secondary schools from ethnically mixed areas;
4. Increasing student integration in selected schools in extracurricular, and potentially, in curricular activities;
5. Increasing cooperation between teachers and parents of mixed ethnic backgrounds;
6. Increasing the number of schools/municipalities to integrate ethnically mixed student bodies”(Demonstration Schools – Interethnic integration in education project, 2013)⁴⁹.

Component 4: Providing Incentives to Schools and Communities (About the Project – interethnic integration in education project, n.d.)

Lastly, the goal of Component 4 is the improvement of the learning environments, as a key to

48 Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/capacity-building/>.

49 Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/demonstration-schools/>.

success. During this component, renovations will be made to a number of schools throughout Macedonia with the understanding that in “doing so, the communities will be involved, which will [further] enhance the collaboration among the stakeholders coming from school staff, school boards, parent councils, and municipalities” (School Incentives – interethnic integration in education project, 2013)⁵⁰. These stakeholders will be involved in decisions and implementations such as,

“providing the necessary documents and designs, and [they] will take part in the implementation of many steps together with the members of the project team.

[Component 4's] goals will be accomplished through: Establishing a school renovation team (SRT) comprised of school staff, school boards, parents, municipality and local community, who will work together and find out solutions for overcoming the problems and meeting the school needs”(School Incentives – interethnic integration in education project, 2013)

These teams will then renovate schools throughout the country. The aim of this project is to strengthen community relationships.

“IIEP is not about raising awareness, we are all aware, it is about doing something”

Nebojasa Mojsoski, IIEP Chief of Party

The IIEP project is the largest of its kind that is taking place in Macedonia at the moment. The four year project is currently in its second year, and it has received positive recognition not only from the community but also from the government. Even though this project is being run by various NGO's in Macedonia, it has strong governmental support and relations. Not only are the MP's aware of the program, as well as impressed with what it is achieving (and has yet to achieve) but IIEP is directly supported by the Bureau of Education⁵¹. The Bureau sends out letters to educational stakeholders in different communities introducing the program as well as inviting the stakeholders to take part in various trainings and seminars. These trainings and seminars have been a huge success, and they are at the core of the project.

⁵⁰ Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/school-incentives/>.

⁵¹ Personal interview with Mr. Nebojsa Mojsoski on September 10, 2013 in Skopje, Macedonia.

As previously touched upon, Component 1 of IIEP largely dealt with the initial outreach to the communities. During this first year the education stakeholders, as well as the parents, were approached and briefed on the project aims and goals. Emphasis was placed on the parents, because in order for a program such as IIEP to be a success, it is necessary to have their support. During Component 1 the parents were informed of the goals of the program, as well as the intended outcomes. According to Nebojsa Mojsoski, the IIEP Chief of Party, it was imperative to avoid telling the parents that this program was 'right' and the best thing for the kids. Instead, the focus needed to be on showing the parents that the program and the parents have the same common interest; that is, they both want what is best for the children of the community. By taking this approach, claims Mr. Mojsoski, the parents are more open and susceptible to the idea of the project being a part of the local schools. Once the support of the community is achieved, the next step is training the school boards and the teachers. The first year consisted of 4 municipalities, now, in its second year, the program has spread to 41 municipalities and is currently taking place in 194 schools. A key aspect of the program is the follow-up that takes place. The trainings and the programs do not just happen, and then get forgotten, there are follow-ups with the school boards and teachers, and also with the students that were involved. These follow-ups occur not only to get feedback, but also to encourage the continuation of the different projects so that the students may continue working together.

Important programs that IIEP has set in to motion include activities such as media projects, games of cooperation, debates, and art/drama shows. For media projects, the children/youths are asked to work together in order to create short media projects (such as short videos). Different projects are available for viewing on IIEP's official website, along with testimonies from the children about their experience. The games of cooperation are another aspect of the project. Earlier this year, for example, in Tetovo, IIEP held a 'Games of Cooperation' event to bring together the children of the community and to help them see that they can all work and cooperate together. Mr. Mojsoski was very clear that they are not games of competition, as the focus is not on who wins and who is better, but instead, they are games to see how well the children are able to work together. Three hundred children participated in this particular event, and by the end, they were all dancing and laughing with one another. Debates are another area of the project that

have also received a positive response from the children. Debates provide individuals with the perfect opportunity to join together and to function as a team with a shared goal. Debates are also excellent ways for participants to learn how to structure and form arguments in a controlled environment. They are excellent places to respectfully share one's views, while at the same time respecting the views of others. Teodora Gjorgjeska, from the secondary medical school Nikola Shtejn, in Tetovo, Macedonia summed up her opinion of the IIEP debates below:

“We took part as a school team with mixed ethnic composition, but that was not an obstacle in terms of obtaining our goals. That brought us together, enabled cohesion and made us stronger. It proved to us that the most important is the honesty and the irresistible wish for socializing. We even overtook the communications obstacles by speaking English throughout the debates and by that we improved our English, as well. In fact, we mutually accepted weaknesses and strengths; we helped each other, exchanged different opinions and ideas, laughed, we simply enjoyed what we were doing and by all means [these friendships] will last a very long time...We all need to provide our best in terms of development of these and similar activities, to contribute on strengthening of [inter-ethnic] friendship, tolerance and overcoming any kind of discrimination. This way we will provide great contribution in the construction and development of a healthy society, useful for us all” (IIEP official website, Success story of Teodora Gjorgjeska and Driljon Miftar, 2013)⁵².

Another participant in the IIEP debates, Bujamin Jakupi, said “We are very thankful to the USAID Inter-ethnic Integration in Education Project and the YEF (Youth Education Forum) organization, which makes these activities possible. Such activities are vital for youth, and for the whole society” (IIEP official website, Success story of Teodora Gjorgjeska and Driljon Miftar, n.d). Yet another positive comment was made by student Driljon Miftari, who said

“Even though the project was attended by students of different ethnic groups, it didn’t hinder our collaboration, by the end we became one team. On this occasion we learned about culture and religion, but more important is that we improved our Macedonian and partly our Turkish” (IIEP official website, Success story of Teodora Gjorgjeska and

52 Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/success-stories/success-story-of-teodora-gjorgjeska-and-driljon-miftari/>

Driljon Miftar, 2013)⁵³.

These youths have all expressed their appreciation of being a part of such a project, and they furthermore agree that multi-ethnic activities are important for the community. The debates are excellent examples of where IIEP has been especially successful in helping participants be more open minded and respectful of other cultures. Lastly, the art and drama aspect of the program has also been welcomed by the students, schools, parents and communities and has been another successful aspect of IIEP. Between April and June, 2013 there were a series of 12 creative workshops held by mentors together with secondary school students from Slavco Stojmenski School in Stip. These workshops were more than just extracurricular activities, they were a process of maturing via the powerful spirit of art. The aim was “to show and point out that the dynamics of our society is in the inter-ethnic cohesion of the various religions, faiths, ethnicities and all other belongings, that make the progressive unity via mutual coexistence and cooperation” (Keti Doncevska Ilic and Goran Ilic: IIEP 2013 Newsletter)⁵⁴ The workshops ended with a final presentation that was put on in front of the parents and other students, and which was followed by a rich table of traditional multi-ethnic foods prepared by the parents and students. This event sent a universal message that all people on this planet deserve their own happiness and love under the Sun, without boundaries and prejudice (Keti Doncevska Ilic and Goran Ilic: IIEP 2013 Newsletter).

These activities and programs cause schools to go through changes, and good examples of inter-ethnic collaboration and integration are evident. IIEP aspires to share these positive stories with other schools, communities, and citizens throughout the country. This is done by building a close collaboration between the media and the schools and through those connections allowing the stories to be shared. In the Spring of 2013, 12 key newsroom leaders met to discuss how to find the most appropriate approach. The result being training seminars for teachers and students in the area of multimedia production. It was agreed upon that these trainings should be given to 8 different schools and the trainings would be delivered by editors-in-chief and journalists. The goal of these trainings is to enable teachers and students to produce multimedia content in their

53 Retrieved from <http://pmio.mk/success-stories/success-story-of-teodora-gjorgjeska-and-driljon-miftari/>

54 Tatjana Kokotova and Kiril Kazandziski, teachers at Slavco Stojmenski school, Stip, Macedonia.

schools, learn how to write stories and share with the media, and to prepare newsletters. With this training the schools are then able to promote within their community the different programs and success stories of various integrated education projects. While I was in Macedonia I had the opportunity to attend one of these teacher trainings that took place in Skopje. While there, I had the privilege of talking to different teachers about what they were learning in the seminar, as well as students, and ask them how they felt they could use the information that they were given. The seminar took place over two full days, the first of which consisted of more theoretical background and understanding of how the media functions, and lessons on how to 'use the media to your advantage'. The second day was more hands on and the students and teachers were split into groups to work on mini projects. Some of the teachers I talked to were very familiar with IIEP, while others were just learning about the program. However, by the end of the seminar, they were all very positive towards what they had learned. It seemed that main points that were taken away were that media can and should be used as a positive aspect of promoting school projects and activities and also that the internet is an excellent way to integrate, and is also one of the most powerful tools, as it is so easily accessible. This two day training was lead by media specialists from Skopje, as well as by (previously IIEP trained) mentors.

These activities and programs would not be possible without the support of the community (parents and teachers), the various organizations involved, and the government. The implementers of IIEP understand this, and the program is constantly building its relationship within those areas. The support of the parents is perhaps recognized as the most important support, according to Mr. Mojsoski. IIEP provides support to schools in efforts to involve parents in activities to improve school-based inter-ethnic activities. The schools professional service staff receive guidance on how to involve parent councils and parents in the IIEP activities. Everything about the IIEP stems from trainings. These trainings are the core of the project. Through them, full understanding of the project as well as the goals and objectives can be made clear and passed on to various actants, and those actants are then able to actively do something with the training and knowledge accumulated – which will (hopefully) lead to making an impact.

The IIEP project is the only one of its kind taking place in Macedonia at the moment and it is

also the largest, the most well funded, the most supported, and it is also securing tremendous positive results. Whether it be from the renovations taking place in schools, or the events taking place to bring together the children, the response has been outstanding. What is noteworthy of this program is that they are always available for consultation. Mr. Mojsoski informed me that his full time staff of 13 at the IIEP office are always willing to offer advice and assistance. Also, the schools are regularly contacted and 'followed-up' on, to make sure that programs are running smoothly. The schools are held accountable, and they realize this, resulting in them putting in the effort to fully implement the project. Although the program itself has a specific time frame of 4 years, the knowledge learned by the schools, and the joint-efforts of the parents, teachers, and school administration, will (theoretically, and hopefully) carry on for years to come in Macedonia, because it is true that 'The garden is more beautiful with mixed flowers'.

The IIEP project is an excellent example of the Macedonian government working with organizations in order to better society. The program has strong governmental background and support, with the Bureau of Education sending out initial invitation letters to schools to get them interested in the program and to get them involved. Furthermore, the program understands the importance of involving the parents, and it stresses this aspect. The project has focused on building the capacities of school's management staffs and teachers through various trainings and partnerships with educational institutions. Schools have been able to form partnerships that have enabled them to organize joint activities and create conditions for students to develop new ideas and initiatives to amplify the inter-ethnic collaborations (IIEP official website). Students and teachers have been trained and are qualified to implement creative workshops by using culture and art through various methods to enhance the inter-ethnic integration in their schools, then promote their creations with school peers, parents, and communities. Strong relationships have been built with local media programs, and further training have been held to assist teachers and students in better understanding the powerful tool that media is. IIEP also ensures that school facilities and conditions are enhanced to make inter-ethnic integration successful. The renovated schools during 2012 were officially launched and promoted and the remaining 11 selected schools have begun the process of renovation and will be completed throughout 2013 (IIEP official website). The successes have been countless over the first two years of the program, and

it is only half way. To have such a project taking place, and one that receives such positive feedback, is a strong example of how Macedonia is recognizing the diversity of its country and also embracing that diversity while using it to strengthen the inter-ethnic relations throughout the country.

IIEP is a project that allows individuals to experience inter-ethnic tolerance, and it is a long-term investment within the multi-ethnic country towards peaceful inter-ethnic relations. The ethnic-diversity of the country is fully considered throughout the implementation of this project, and all steps of the project up until this point have been positive and well received by the Macedonian community.

Conclusion:

Macedonia has endured many challenges since it became a republic, some of these challenges were handled appropriately, others were not. However, the country has always seemed to learn from its mistakes, and it appears to do its best to never repeat them. The growth and development amongst different ethnic groups in Macedonia has been especially impressive since the Macedonian and Albanian political leaders signed the OFA and began a process of reconciliation. The level of distrust was so great a decade ago that Crisis Group made the statement that “Macedonians and ethnic Albanians may have reached the point where they are no longer much interested in living together”⁵⁵. This is no longer the case. Not only do they live together, but they also serve their country together, not only in governing and administering, but also through doing business with one another. However, a lack of progress since 2008 in Euro-Atlantic integration, due mainly to Greek obstacles, has contributed to a slow down in inter-ethnic reconciliation (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:23).

This research shows that, although complete implementation of the Ohrid Framework agreement has not been fully met, with specific emphasis on the slow and uneven progress of the

55 Crisis Group Europe Briefing, *Macedonia: War on Hold*, 15 August 2001, p.8

decentralization process, a majority of the document has been attended to by the Macedonian government and direct changes in response to the agreement have been set in place over the last 12 years. Unfortunately, due to its slow implementation, there have been some rather radical statements made by Albanian citizens. These statements stem from frustration that is felt throughout the entire country (due to the poor economy, slow reconciliations processes, inter-party strife, and Greek blockades to NATO and EU membership), and it is unsurprising that the voices of the people would explore more radical options. For example, a respected poll⁵⁶ found that two thirds of the residents of Albanian-majority areas in western Macedonia support the creation of a common Albanian state (with Albania and Kosovo), and more than half think it is likely to happen soon (Elmer 2012). Although there is no significant pressure of preparation for a breakaway, and the Greater Albania idea remains a kind of political myth, this could potentially change if conditions deteriorate further (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:20). However, if Macedonia is able to fully implement the Ohrid Framework agreement, and if the central government offers non-majority communities a meaningful role in running the state and access to good jobs, interest in more radical options should decline (Crisis Group Europe Report 2011:20).

I believe that the policies and the programs that were set in place to manage the cultural diversity of Macedonia, specifically in relation to the OFA, can potentially be used for other conflict settlements within other countries where the society is ethnically divided. The solutions that were agreed upon have proven to be sustainable compromises and they are a sound basis policies. However, it is important to note that the actual Macedonian model is specific to the area in which it was implemented, and outside of a Euro-Atlantic area, it would not be as easily implemented. Macedonia has had the support, guidance and counsel of international actants, which has greatly enhanced the Macedonian method. Nevertheless, there are key aspects of the combined integration/assimilation approach that have been successful and would be worthwhile for other countries in similar positions to apply in their own countries, as long as the method is specifically adapted to meet the needs of the country.

56 Gallup Balkan Monitor.

Macedonians are still learning to accept that although they are the majority, it is important that they no longer claim that they are the 'titular' nation-state. They are a part of a multi-ethnic nation-state, and accepting and respecting cultural differences absolutely must take place. The chapters of this study outlined specific areas where the Macedonian government and major organizations in the country have attempted, and succeeded, in doing just that. Likewise, it is also important for ethnic minorities, especially for Albanian Macedonians, to learn how to be a part of an ethnically mixed nation, which means learning how to give up their 'absolute attitude'. They must learn to develop a stronger sense of belonging to the nation-state in which they live. This is the direction that the country has been moving in since the signing of the OFA. A country that is able to step back from a civil war and come to a peaceful agreement, and a country where (except for extremist) nobody seems inclined to use violence as a means for political purpose, is a multi-ethnic country that has learned how to co-exist.

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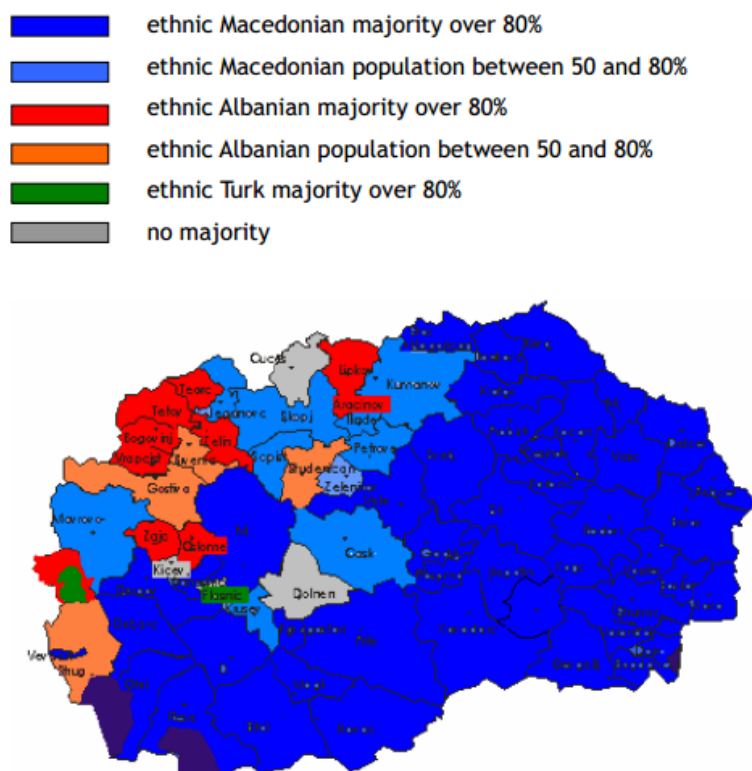
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APPENDIX:

List of Interviews

Name	Country	Occupation	Interview Date
Vladimir Gjorcev	Macedonia	Member of Parliament	29.08.2013
Antonio Miloshoski	Macedonia	Member of Parliament	03.09.2013
Hristina Runceva	Macedonia	Member of Parliament	26.08.2013
Aleksandar Spasenovski	Macedonia	Member of Parliament	07.09.2013
Liljana Zaturaska	Macedonia	Member of Parliament	03.09.2013
Daniela Paunova	Macedonia	Personal Assistant to Vladimir Gjorcev	15.09.2013
Daniela Stojanova	Macedonia	Researcher MCIC	10.09.2013
Nebojsa Mojsoski	Macedonia	Chief of Party IIEP	10.09.2013

Map 1. Ethnic map of Macedonia, Census 2002



Source: on the basis of the results of the 2002 Census, State Statistical Office

English Abstract

The purpose of this research has been to more closely examine the different ways in which the government, as well as specific organizations, in Macedonia have defined cultural diversity in the country and how they have managed that cultural diversity in regards to involving all ethnic minorities within the nation-state building process since the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in 2001. Four main areas were analyzed and reviewed; decentralization, use of languages, maintaining/managing of cultural identities, and education. Specific works that were used in this study were the Ohrid Framework Agreement of 2001 as well as the 1991 and 2001 Constitutions of the Republic of Macedonia. It was also important to have a clearer understanding of the pressures that lead up to the 2001 conflict, and then to more closely examine what measures were taken by the government in order to reduce the ethnic tensions within the country. A majority of this research was conducted in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, with qualitative interviews with various Members of Parliament. In addition, two specific organizations were also important for the qualitative research; The Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (MCIC) as well as the USAID program, Interethnic Integration in Education Project (IIEP). It was important to evaluate the efforts put forth by the government, as well as these organizations, in regards to the ethnic diversity management in Macedonia and to analyze whether the government and the organizations were able to achieve positive results. Overall, this thesis serves to more closely examine what efforts have been made, since the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, to reduce ethnic tensions in Macedonia. Also, to determine what aspects of these efforts have had positive results in the country, and which efforts are still in the process of being completed. Although the country has made excellent progress in the areas of managing cultural diversity since the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, there are still some areas that need to be enhanced. Only over time will complete implementation of the document take place.

Kurzfassung

Diese Arbeit untersucht den Umgang mit kultureller Diversität seitens Regierung und spezifischer Organisationen in Mazedonien in Hinblick auf den Staaten- und Nationenbildung und der Involvierung aller ethnischen Minderheiten seit Unterzeichnung des Rahmenabkommens von Ohrid in 2001. Die folgenden vier Schwerpunkte wurden analysiert: Dezentralisierung, Sprachgebrauch, Bildung als auch die Erhaltung/Handhabung von kultureller Identität. Spezifische Quellen die im Zuge dieser Arbeit herangezogen wurden sind das Rahmenabkommen von Ohrid aus 2001, sowohl als auch die Verfassung der Mazedonischen Republik aus 1991 und 2001. Es ist wichtig die Faktoren die zu dem Konflikt in 2001 geführt haben zu verstehen, um dann die Schritte der Regierung zur Beruhigung ethnischer Spannungsfelder genauer untersuchen zu können. Ein Großteil dieser Forschung wurde im Parlament der Republik Mazedonien mittels qualitativer Befragungen verschiedener Parlamentsabgeordneten durchgeführt. Zusätzlich waren auch zwei Organisationen wichtig für die qualitative Forschung: Das Mazedonische Zentrum für Internationale Kooperation (MCIC), als auch das Interethnic Integration in Education Projekt (IIEP) der Behörde der Vereinigten Staaten für internationale Entwicklung (USAID). Die Bemühungen der Regierung als auch der vorgenannten Organisationen betreffend dem Umgang mit ethnischer Diversität in Mazedonien wurden evaluiert und ermittelt ob dadurch positive Resultate erreicht werden konnten. Umfassend dient diese Arbeit dazu um zu betrachten welche Bemühungen seit der Unterzeichnung des Ohrid Rahmenabkommens durchgeführt wurden um ethnische Spannungen in Mazedonien abzubauen, und welche noch durchgeführt werden. Obwohl Mazedonien im Umgang mit kultureller Diversität seit dem Ohrid Rahmenabkommen ausgezeichneten Fortschritt verzeichnen kann, müssen einige Bereiche noch verbessert werden. Eine vollständige Implementierung des Dokuments wird nur über einen längeren Zeitraum möglich sein.

LEBENS LAUF

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