GRASS-ROOT LEVEL PERCEPTIONS ON THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION IN THE MULTI-ETHNIC MUNICIPALITIES IN MACEDONIA

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to uncover how the process of reconciliation is perceived within and between Macedonians and Albanians, within and across municipalities and what explains the different levels of reconciliation in the municipalities in Macedonia. As to better understand the essence of reconciliation from the grass-root level, this research relies on intergroup contact theory while disaggregating both the response and the explanatory variables. Relying heavily on fieldwork data, I employ sequential quantitative-qualitative mixed methods design. Initially, I disaggregate reconciliation by ethnic municipality and ethnic belonging so as to unravel if individuals' perceptions on reconciliation vary along these lines. Thereupon, I conduct Cumulative Logit Estimation on nine multi-ethnic municipalities so as to find which of the three characteristics to the contact situation influence the level of reconciliation. Finally, I engage in cross-case thematic analysis in two municipalities – Kumanovo and Struga as to understand which additional factors can explain the differences in the level of reconciliation.

The study showed that the differences in individuals' perceptions on reconciliation are more pronounced between municipalities than within municipalities. Furthermore, the statistical analysis yielded that reconciliation is influenced by contact attributes, ethnic identity, authority recognition, deterrents, size of municipal minority, population size of municipality and proximity to violence. The cross-case thematic analysis indicated several additional elements – out-group perceptions, communal culture and Macedonia's constituent body, which need to be further investigated.

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I am the most grateful to my parents for their support, motivation and joyful ways to make me laugh and forget about my worries even for a moment. I thank them for accompanying me to my fieldtrip to Struga and their help in dealing with the data from the survey questionnaires. I am thankful to my sister for the encouragement and the numerous pictures and video clips that made these years much more joyful.

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Introduction

Considered as one of the three miracles during the decade of Yugoslav conflicts, the Macedonian 'oasis of peace' managed to divorce itself from Yugoslavia in an extraordinary peaceful way, simultaneously handling its own conflict potential (Vankovska 2006, 2). Correspondingly, many Westerners have adopted the expression "successful story" in depicting the uniqueness of Macedonia (2006, 2). The delayed outbreak of an armed conflict in 2001 however, seems to have deprived Macedonia of any chance to find its way through a backdoor exit out of the Yugoslav chaos. Anticipating the devastating consequences in the event of a protracted conflict, international pressure assured the quick ending of the conflict with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (hereinafter: OFA) by both Macedonian and Albanian political parties (Vankovska 2006; Maleska 2013). Notwithstanding the challenges it posed to the institutional stability of the state, the small scale conflict also inquired systematic mechanisms for grass-root reconciliation.

The existence of peaceful and cooperative relations among ethnic communities is of immense importance for the development of powerful civil society and states' democratic and economic progress. As Kufman explains, "violence, fear and hatred during war nonetheless result in the modernization of old myths and stereotypes in explaining one's own and other group's behavior committed" (2001, 22), and thereby ethnic segregation. Since the societal and cultural fabric becomes drenched with these beliefs, they must be systematically questioned and transformed in the post-conflict environment.

Undoubtedly, the OFA aimed at minimizing the post-conflict tensions as it contained the obligation to 'disarm the rebels ', their socialization and a law on amnesty for participants in the conflict. Not only did it stop the hostilities, but it greatly improved the rights of the

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ethnic communities, especially the Albanian one which felt that their status has been degraded to 'second class citizens' (Vasilev 2013; Risteska and Daskalovski 2011). Nevertheless, it is a 'minimalist program' as it did not incorporate any provisions that would lay the foundations for social integration of the ethnic communities, that is, instruments that would assist in establishment of peaceful interethnic relations and healing the wounds in between the grass root actors (Frckoski 2011)

Reconciliation differs from all other conflict-handling mechanisms because the conflict parties are "not only meant to communicate one's grievances against the actions of the adversary" (Assefa 1999, 17). Instead, reconciliation entails a voluntary initiative of the parties to engage and bring together both sides in a pursuit of changing identity, values, attitudes, and patterns of interaction (Merwe 1999), hence, to build or rebuild relationships that are not haunted by the conflicts and hatreds of yesterday (Hayner 2000, 161).

The formal termination of the conflict was a determinative starting point (Hjort 2004) and a crucial catalyst (Bar-Tal 2000a) of reconciliation, yet the former does not automatically lead to the latter. Moreover, given that Macedonian authorities did not develop any programs for grass-root reconciliation, making the ethnic belonging of the Macedonian citizens salient through the institutionalization of ethnic differences with OFA (Vankovska 2006) may deepen the ethnic cleavages and hinder reconciliation (Simonsen 2005).

It is puzzling that notwithstanding the policy makers' inertia in the sense of creating systematic programs, mechanisms and policies that would directly involve the grass-root actors in achieving sustainable common and shared visions, Macedonia did not "fall into the conflict trap after 10 years of conflict" (Elbadawi, Hegre, and Milante 2008; Collier and Sambanis 2002). Thereupon, it might be that, by providing a change in the factors within the subsequent situation, the OFA has challenged peoples' goals, motives, past experiences and

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expectations and led them to adopt a more inclusive identity category, thus, to reconcile. In the words of Lambourne, the ending of violence or the so-called post-conflict situation provided "new set of opportunities that could be grasped or thrown away" (2004, 2).

In understanding the process of reconciliation in Macedonia, majority of the scholarly research relies on macro-level approaches, including the impact of the international community, and the implications from the new consociational arrangement and its principles (Risteska and Daskalovski 2011). Others, who assessed the public opinion through national surveys, have expressed doubts about the success of reconciliation, given that their results show divergence in the perceptions of the people belonging to the Macedonian ethnic community from those people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community[1] (Dyrstad et al. 2011, 382).

Notwithstanding the valuable insight that these studies provide, it has been established that there is a tremendous heterogeneity even within ethnic communities that should not be disregarded (Phinney 1996, 919). In that respect, Ringdal et al. (2007) disaggregated the differences among Albanians and Macedonians on the basis of a three-level model, however, their study has been limited to the grass-root perceptions on few characteristics of reconciliation, namely, the causes of the conflict, desirability of ethnic reintegration, and the implementation of the peace agreement.

Many have argued that, in order to advance the study of group relations, a further exploration of how ethnicity is made and unmade in the everyday interactions between individuals is in place (Wimmer 2013, 46). Through studies in a number of different social contexts, social psychologists have shown that intergroup contact, along with intra-group

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[1] Throughout the thesis, I use the terms 'Macedonian' and 'Albanian' to refer to the members belonging to the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community respectively so as to avoid repeated use of the latter terms.

identity, is the key to successful reconciliation as it engenders mutual acceptance, while reducing prejudices and stereotypes towards the out-group members (Thomsen and Peter 2012; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008; Noor and Montiel 2009; Wagner et al. 2006; Allport 1954) As no study has tried to understand reconciliation in its entirety, nor the impact of intergroup interactions on reconciliation, the question of this research is: *How is the process of reconciliation perceived within and between Macedonians and Albanians, within and across municipalities and what explains the different levels of reconciliation in the municipalities in Macedonia?*

This research is situated in the socio-psychological understanding on intergroup and intra-group relations in overcoming intra-state conflicts in divided societies. The fundamental theoretical framework that I employ in my research builds upon *the intergroup contact theory* developed by self-categorization theorists (Pettigrew et al. 2011; 2010; Pettigrew 1998). The emphasis I have put on grass-root actors and subnational level analysis derives from Lederach's reasoning that reconciliation is constituted by a focus and a locus (1997, 30). The 'focus' of reconciliation is upon building new and better relationships between former enemies as it is the relationships that are both the root-cause and the long-term solution of conflict. The 'locus' is the space, the place or location of encounter, where former adversaries meet, formulate the traumas of the past and the vision on the future and discuss issues of truth, forgiveness, justice, and peace (1997, 30).

By adopting a bottom-up approach, my focus is on grass root actors, thus having Macedonians and Albanians as my units of observation. The units of the analysis are multi-ethnic municipalities in Macedonia as created with the Law for Territorial Organization of the Municipalities in the Republic of Macedonia from 2004. Aside secondary sources, the thesis relies mainly on fieldwork data collected through survey questionnaire in nine multi-ethnic

municipalities as well as semi-structured interviews conducted in two multi-ethnic municipalities. For the purpose of this research, I employ a sequential quantitative – qualitative mixed-methods design. The survey data are analyzed by using cumulative logit estimation, whereas the interview data are analyzed by utilizing the cross-case thematic approach. The methodology is not to be bounded to the particular culture, and therefore applicable to analysis of other divided societies.

In the first chapter, I begin with an overview of the status of the ethnic communities of interest in the Macedonian context. Afterwards, I bring in the debate on the process of reconciliation, as well as intra-group and inter-group relations, while locating the gap existing in the literature. Consequently, I provide the conceptual framework and finish this chapter by enclosing a set of hypotheses. In the second chapter which is dedicated to research design, I bring the variables, as well as delimit the selection of cases and the units of observation. Then, I turn to the process of data gathering, coding and aggregation, and finish with the methodological framework. Chapter III provides the empirical results obtained from the two phases. It begins with the results from the quantitative analyses, through the qualitative analysis to a general discussion. Finally, I endorse my concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Whereas socio psychologists argue that transformation and repairing of the societal fabrics is established through intergroup interactions (Thomsen and Peter 2012; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005; Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a; Pettigrew 1998), they do not provide a comprehensive assessment to reconciliation. This research aims to strengthen this tie by addressing reconciliation through the *intergroup contact theory*. Investigating grass-roots reconciliation on individual and municipal level allows to understand the degree to which the hostile tensions and psychological barriers constructed during the years of conflict (Riesenfeld 2008, 9), transformed among the Macedonian citizens, as well as the factors affecting it. Hereinafter, I shed light on the concept of reconciliation and the theory guiding my research. Before proceeding, I briefly explain the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia

1.1 Ethnic Communities in Macedonia

Along with Slovenia, Macedonia's dissolution from Yugoslavia was marked by successful non-violent establishment of independent and autonomous state. Apart from domestic and external threats to its survival, the subsequent years were characterized by peaceful transition towards liberal democracy and market economy. Consequently, the international community got an insight that, apart from the barriers in its processes towards democratic consolidation, Macedonia was finally a country on its own. This was a huge step forwards in the minds of Macedonians as it seemed that the historical struggle for territorial and societal unification has ended.

With its neutral policies towards the ethnic minorities (Kymlicka 2001, 232), Macedonia was considered the most liberal country, even within Tito's regime. Nonetheless, the fears of the Macedonians of potential conflict were transformed into principles of power

centralization, which in the final instance provoked the Albanian community, culminating in an armed conflict in 2001

Figure 1.   Albanian Population and Location of Violent Events in Macedonia
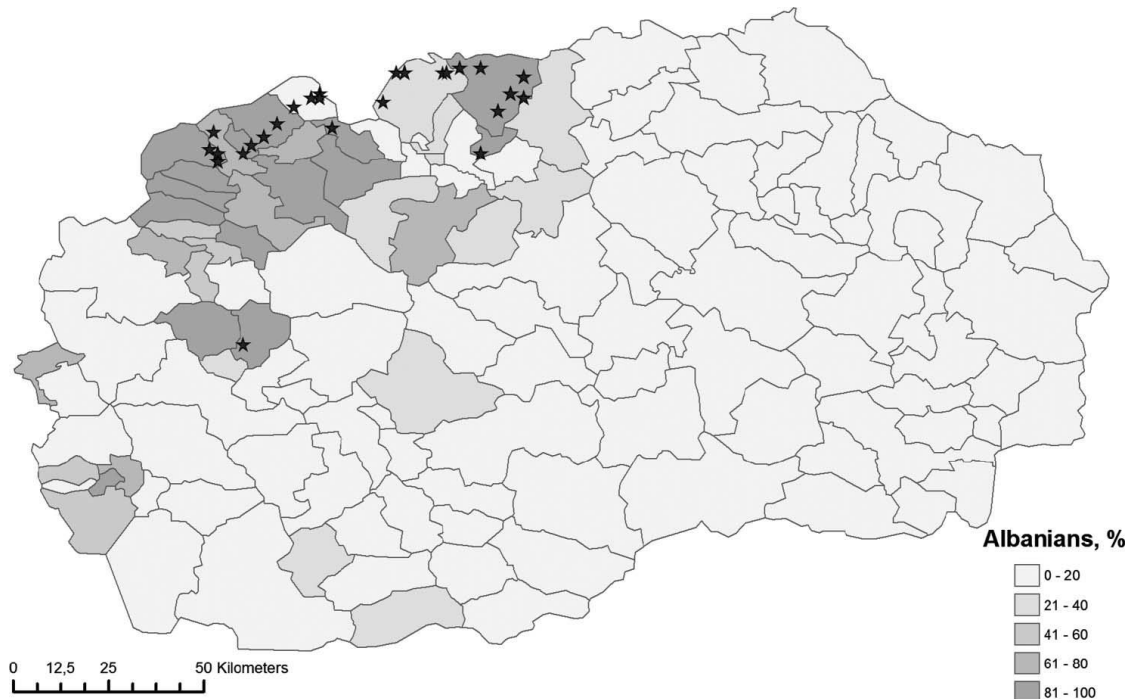
The figure shows the relative share of Albanians per municipality (darker shades denote larger Albanian presence), whereas stars represent locations of reported battles during the 2001 civil conflict.
Source: Dyrstad et al., 2011

From February to August 2001, Macedonian security forces and the National Liberation Army were fighting around Kumanovo, Skopje and Tetovo, the conflict being mostly concentrated in the North-West part of Macedonia where the majority of Albanians reside (Figure 1), whereas Anti-Albanian upheavals broke out in Prilep and Bitola. As a consequence, many civilians were displaced – approximately 170 000 and more than hundred were killed (IDMC 2004). After several failed attempts, US and EU mediators finally assembled the main political parties' leaders in the City of Ohrid for peace talks, what resulted in signing the FA on 13 August 2001 (Dyrstad et al. 2011, 370–371).

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The OFA not only stopped the conflict, it also provided group-specific rights for the ethnic communities, simultaneously responding to Albanian demands for improving their status of "second class citizens" (Vasilev 2013; Risteska and Daskalovski 2011). In accordance with the OFA provisions, sixteen constitutional amendments and series of changes in the laws have been made, including development of decentralized government bodies, redrawing of municipality borders to fit their ethnic structure, non-discrimination and equitable representation in public administration, double majority voting system on national and local level for issues of special concern to ethnic communities, and teaching in primary and secondary schools in languages spoken by more than 20% of the population (Ilievski and Wolff 2011, 32). Thereupon, the appeal to the Albanian community that the equal rights – equal citizens' policy creates justices and their bloody rebellion yielded a "recognition of differences" (Taylor 1994, 36). Notwithstanding the difficulties in implementing the OFA provisions, Macedonian authorities did not develop programs that would facilitate grass-root reconciliation.

1.2 Locating the "Gap"

Within the past few decades, issues on post-war regeneration have gained paramount importance among scholars. This section brings in light the state of the field, aiming to recapitulate the scholarly literature related to reconciliation and intergroup relations.

Peace and conflict scientists have tackled the entire process of a conflict, beginning with its structural causes, through resolution to the assurance of peaceful living. Until the last decades of the twentieth century however, this scholarship used to equate reconciliation with conflict resolution and it is only afterwards that it started arguing that reconciliation is a condition that goes beyond mere conflict resolution (Kriesberg 1998a; Lederach 1997).

In understanding reconciliation, a considerable amount of the literature utilizes the macro-level approach. Scholars have scrutinized the transformation of political institutions, establishment of power sharing systems, legal issues, transitional justice, instruments of diplomacy and economic development (Hartzell and Hoddie 2003; Walter 2002; Conces 2002). Nevertheless, the common practice of focusing on tangible issues as money or property, and the ignorance to intangible issues that relate to adversaries' psychological needs, is insensitive to the true societal impact of a settlement and inappropriate heuristic for tapping the progress of peaceful processes among the masses (Dyrstad et al. 2011).

These 'intangible issues' have been comprehensively grasped through the socio-psychological perspective on reconciliation. Accordingly, reconciliation must include changed psychological orientation towards the other (Staub and Pearlman 2005, 301), involve willingness to come together to work, play, or live in an atmosphere of trust, and may happen only when the parties resolve the emotional issues that estranged them (Shnabel and Nadler 2008, 116). To reconcile, as Volf (1996) asserts, adversaries in a post-conflict situation need to re-adjust their identity and accept the other as legitimate'.

Research on group relations found that, with a change of the context from hostile to hospitable, there is a change in people's relations, emphasizing the pivotal effect of intergroup contact on reconciliation. Intergroup contacts are considered to have tangible and durable consequences for the members of majority communities (Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005b; Pettigrew 1998). Not only do they increase the perceived variability of the out-group (Hewstone 2003), but also the majorities' support for minority rights (Thomsen and Peter 2012; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005; Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a; Pettigrew 1998).

Scholars have shown that intergroup contact increases out-group forgiveness for past atrocities (Hewstone and Swart 2011), enhances ethnic tolerance (Thomsen and Peter 2012; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005; Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a), out-group trust (Hewstone 2003), and reduces hatred and fear (Hewstone 2003). Since out-group interactions reduce perceived differences and generate congruence of codes and values (Pettigrew 1998; Amir 1969a; Barth 1998; Allport 1954), they are crucial assets for societal integration and creation of out-group social capital (Petermann 2013a).

Constructivist approach to the characteristics of identity overshadowed the primordialist perspective with the finding that ethnic saliency fluctuates and that each individual has numerous identities, rather than being static and fixed over time (Kuo and Margalit 2012; Yip 2005). Moreover, social identities of people belonging to different groups are maintained through networks of social relationships (Wimmer 2008).

Importantly, with the advancements in quantitative research, scholarly attention has shifted to disaggregated approaches, covering "local geographical and demographic conditions, inter-group inequalities, state – non-state actors' interaction, characteristics of insurgents and rebel groups" (Dyrstad et al. 2011, 3). Research conducted in Northern Ireland found that intergroup friendships trigger trust and forgiveness even between individuals who have experienced violence (Hewstone and Swart 2011). Others show that living in 'close proximity' to respective out-group members elevates tolerance, increases social integration and reduces the chances for violence (Kasara 2011, 6).

Moreover, scholars highlight that along in-group differences, there is 'tremendous in-group heterogeneity' (Phinney 1996). By investigating in-group homogeneity in regard to municipal size and ethnic composition, geographical location, education, generation of immigrants and family structure, scholars acknowledge that the in-group variation is greater

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than the one between groups, concluding that ethnic belonging does not have effect on individuals' attitudes.

In the particular context of Macedonia too, an extensive research has been dedicated on issues of power-sharing (Risteska and Daskalovski 2011), transitional justice and the rule of law (Lamont 2012), implementation of OFA (Risteska and Daskalovski 2011; Jovanovski and Dulovi 2002), role of the government on inter-ethnic relations (Stanisevski and Miller 2009), inter-ethnic cooperation among Albanian and Macedonian political elites and the international efforts and assistance for reconciliation (Koneska 2012). With respect to micro-level approaches, Ringdal et al. (2007) conducted a survey exploring the public opinion, while disaggregating the differences among Albanians and Macedonians on the basis of a three-level model. That notwithstanding, their study has been limited to the grass-root perceptions on the causes of conflict, desirability of ethnic reintegration, and the implementation of the peace agreement. Attempting to find the determinants of support for OFA, Dyrstad et al. (2011) conducted a geo-referenced survey, focusing particularly on municipal ethnic composition and physical proximity to conflict zones. Neofotistos (2007) examined the different collective memories by conducting an ethnographic research with Albanians in the village of Arachinovo.

Taking into account the work on reconciliation, Funk argued that 'the tie' between reconciliation and socio-psychological theories is still underdeveloped (2013, 2). Referring to Gillard, she highlights that, while identity theorists "write at length about the breaking of inter-communal relationships, very little is said about rebuilding of these relationships" (2013, 2). Not only is the research on thesis 'particular tie' underdeveloped, studies on Macedonia also lacks coherent framework for the concept of reconciliation – not only to some of its indicators.

This thesis builds on the recent trends on intra-group heterogeneity to make contribution by disaggregating the perceptions of Macedonian citizens on the municipal level. Given that the majority of studies in Macedonia rely on quantitative analyses (Buhaug et al. 2007; Dyrstad et al. 2011), this research seeks to marry qualitative and quantitative approaches.

1.3 Conceptualizing Reconciliation

Grass-root reconciliation is increasingly viewed as integral part of a peace making process through which societies moves from a divided past to a shared future (Bloomfield, Barnes, and Huyse 2003, 12–21). It is different from conflict resolution in two main respects – it emphasizes the emotional motives and interests rather than the tangible ones, and, it focuses on the healing of relations rather than mere conflict termination. Moreover, it is a process (Bar-Tal 2000a) rather than a goal, output, result of a process (Ross and Hermann 2004, 197–224), through which former adversaries turn hostile relations into relations based on mutual trust, acceptance, cooperation, and consideration of each other's basic needs for identity (Lederach 1997).

Since scholars often focus on very different dimensions that fit specific contexts (Ignasi 2011, 21), this phenomenon is not exact and constant, but quite vague and elusive, whereas its definitions are typically hazy and broad (Hagenboom and Vielle 2010, in Dyrstad et al. 2011). For that matter and building upon the scholarly work (Bar-Tal and Bennink 2004; Bloomfield, Barnes, and Huyse 2003), the definition of reconciliation, as utilized for this research is the following: *In its essence, reconciliation is a long process of identity negotiation, an emotional and cognitive reordering on three dimensions – looking backwards, current feelings and facing forwards, thus transformation of individual's*

perception on the self and the other in the sense of legitimizing the 'other' and the solution to the conflict, being able to continue with life without feeling hatred and fear, but trust and tolerance in the pursuit of collaborating for a better and shared future. The next subsections further elaborate the dimensions of reconciliation and their elements.

1.3.1 Looking Backwards

A set of conditions comprise what Bloomfield et al. label, the looking backwards dimension (2003, 19). Although some claim that reconciliation can be achieved even without it, I concur with Cox et al. that one cannot talk of reconciliation by leaving the old warring sides to retain their version of 'the truth', while agreeing on how to 'manage' the present and deal with the future (2006).

Most scholars agree that reconciliation cannot take place without acknowledging and dealing with the past (Kelman 2010; Romocea 2003). Considering that this mean re-examination of historical narratives and establishing a single, objective truth is highly idealistic because each individual herself, and as a part of an ethnic community, has her own truth reflecting her personal experience that might be different, but equally valid as that of any other individual (Trimikliniotis 2013; Kelman 2010; Cox, Guelke, and Stephen 2006) Instead, admitting other's truth into one's own narrative – at least accepting and legitimating the other (Kelman 2010, 4), seems more reasonable than arriving at one, still inexistent truth.

Essential characteristic of reconciliation, especially when former adversaries continue to live together, is the *personal healing of survivors,* as it reduces the chances for new conflicts (Staub and Pearlman 2005). Furthermore, former enemies need to 'give up' the idea of complete justice – the feeling that there is *reparation of past injustices* should be settled for partial justice (Kaufman 2006, 207). Finally, both sides need to consider that the *solution*

to the conflict was the only viable at the time (reference, year, see). In fact, politicians and scholars from Macedonia shared their claims that OFA was the only option at the time (MRT 2014; E-VESTI 2012; DW.DE 2011).

1.3.2 Current Feelings

While reconciliation cannot be achieved without transformation of intergroup emotions, it seems that the latter is often neglected by researchers. For reconciliation to take place, individuals must put aside feelings of *hate, fear, and loathing,* to discard views of the other as dangerous and subhuman, and to abandon the desire for revenge and retribution (Kriesberg 1998b, 84). Furthermore, it is an "extension of dignity and esteem to those of other races and cultures", through the development of *willingness to trust each other* (Gibson 2004a, 202). Finally, reconciliation includes *tolerance* - individuals accept the position that living together with former adversaries is not a threat to them (Nadler, Malloy, and Fisher 2008, 452)

1.3.3 Facing Forwards

There is widespread agreement that one of the dimensions of reconciliation is what Bloomfield et al. call the facing forwards dimension (2003, 19). This indicates that developing a shared vision on the future plays very important role in moving away from the divisive past. This in turn shows the willingness of the communities to mutually collaborate, to further integrate and build a common future under a more inclusive identity. Scholars dealing with reconciliation in the aftermath of a violent conflict argue that it does not require forgiveness, explaining that at those stages, it is undesirable to require it (Bloomfield, Barnes, and Huyse 2003; Brounéus 2003). Since they consider both reconciliation and forgiveness as personal processes, and the former as an overarching process that includes the latter, I

consider the willingness to forgive is another indicator that former adversaries are already getting on with life (Bar-Tal 2000b, 358).

1.4 A Socio-Psychological Understanding of Reconciliation

So as to elaborate the *intergroup contact theory,* it is inevitable to briefly touch upon the two theories comprising the Social Identity Perspective (hereinafter: SIP) – Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT). According to SIP, social identity forms an important part of the self-concept and rests on two fundamental premises. First, because of the limited ability of individuals to process information and the enormous complexity of the social and physical environment, they, often automatically, make *in-group– out-group* categorizations (Stets and Burke 2000). Second, since individuals strive for a positive self-concept, they also strive to maintain positive social identity.

Contrary to SIT, which assumes that social behavior fluctuates around an "intergroup – interpersonal continuum" (Tajfel 1982, 13), SCT highlights that personal and social identities represent different levels of inclusiveness of self-categorization (J. C. Turner et al. 1989; J. C. Turner et al. 1987). Hence, while the activation of personal identity signifies "seeing oneself as distinct from others" (Stets and Burke 2000, 226), the situation in which the social identity is more salient, is considered as a process of depersonalization[2] – shifting the perception of oneself from being unique towards the self as the embodiment of the in-group prototype (Hogg, Hardie, and Reynolds 1995).

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[2] Depersonalization does not have negative connotation and should not be mixed with dehumanization and de-individuation. Rather, it means, not a loss of one self's personal identity, but a contextual change in the level of identity – from personal to group basis of identity (Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995; Hogg, 1993).

'Stereotyping', as one of its products, reflects the rational selectivity of perception in which it is more appropriate to see people in some contexts at the level of social rather than personal identity. In conflict situations, groups or individuals employ stereotypes as to reduce anxiety, restore predictability and explain one's own and other group's behavior (Hogg and Terry 2000). Importantly, SCT criticizes the traditional assumption that stereotypes are fixed mental representations (Barrett, Wilson, and Lyons 1999), but rather fluid, context-dependent categorical judgments in which people are defined in terms of group characteristics.

The contact hypothesis, originally developed by Allport, is considered one of the most prominent and effective strategies for challenging stereotypes and prejudices (Pettigrew and Tropp 2012; Pettigrew et al. 2011; Wagner et al. 2006; J. F. Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami 2003; Amir 1969b). Its core idea is that daily interactions across group boundaries lead to mutual acceptance (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005; Allport 1954) in a way that they promote positive, or at least less negative attitudes towards the out-group members (Hewstone 2003; Stein, Post, and Rinden 2000a). For the contact to have the desired effects, Allport (1954) specified four conditions – equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and supportive norms to the goals of contact.

Although some have discarded the contact hypothesis as their hopes in its effect failed to materialize (Pettigrew and Tropp 2012, 14), the vast majority of scholars have built on Allport's pioneering work developing a socio-psychological group theory. (Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a; Stein, Post, and Rinden 2000b; Pettigrew 1998; Amir 1969a; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008; 2006a).Whereas it is beyond the scope of this research to engage in explaining their taxonomies, I classify these conditions into three types of characteristics of the contact situation: attributes to the contact situation, contextual form of the contact situation and moderators of the contact situation, elaborated hereinafter.

1.4.1 Attributes to the Contact Situation

There is unanimous scholarly agreement that contact situations involve an *interaction* between individuals that are "deemed typical members of particular groups" (Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a, 699). When referring to intergroup interactions, I rely on a modified version of Sherif's definition – *whenever individuals with ethnic belonging to one group interact with members of another ethnic group, there is an instance of intergroup behavior* (Sherif 1966a, 12).

Hewstone and Swart indicate that there are two *forms of contact*, direct and vicarious – observing in-group members having successful cross-group contacts (2011). Although Allport did not anticipate the latter form of contact as his vision was directed towards face-to-face encounters, Mazziotta et al. (2011) found that direct contacts have secondary transfer effects that generalize beyond the original setting from the experience of the original participants to those uninvolved.

Furthermore, scholars emphasize that *frequent contacts* improve intergroup relations even when Allport's conditions are not fulfilled (Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006a; Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a). Others have shown that the *social context of the contact* situation also exerts effects (Allport 1954). Besides Allport's claims that superficial intergroup contacts could, by the "law of frequency" strengthen adverse associations (Allport 1954, 264), others found that positive effects stem even from superficial contact (Pettigrew et al. 2011), yet these are more likely to take place when contacts are comfortable, pleasant and voluntary (Geeraert and Demoulin 2013)**.** The latter is closely linked to the *arenas of contact* – contacts should occur in a variety of social settings nonetheless the informal contacts create more positive effects (Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a, 699).

Evidence from Europe suggests that *friendships* – intergroup contacts based on long term relationships, are most successful at reducing hostilities, and generalize to the entire out-group (R. N. Turner and Feddes 2011; Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005; Levin, van Laar, and Sidanius 2003a; Pettigrew 1998). The latter is so because people with out-group friends are more likely to *self-disclose* to out-group members – exchange personal information, and have more positive attitudes towards them (Thomsen and Peter 2012; Pettigrew et al. 2011; Ensari and Miller 2006; Pettigrew 1998). Moreover, the reason why Allport's conditions are unnecessary is that friendships *per se* invoke his optimal conditions (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006a).

1.4.2 Contextual form of the Contact Situation

Scholars acknowledge that mere co-presence of different ethnic groups at one place is itself sufficient to hinder stereotypes and prejudices (Petermann 2013a; Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005a). As this research deals with Macedonian multi-ethnic municipalities, the question is not 'for whether', but 'how much' *contact opportunities* there are.

The latter are a function of other conditions, one of them being the *percentage of minority group within a specified area*. Unlike group threat theory, contact theory asserts that higher percentage of minority members in municipalities provides greater chances for interethnic contact (Petermann 2013a; Pettigrew, Wagner, and Christ 2010; Wagner et al. 2006; Stein, Post, and Rinden 2000b). Pettigrew reminds that there are studies which discovered negative curvilinear relation, or a positive curvilinear relation, yet the majority show positive linear relation.

Contrary to group-threat theorists, contact theorists argue that *perceived out-group size* corresponds to the objective out-group size and hence, improves intergroup relations

(Schlueter and Scheepers 2010, 287). Nonetheless, Schlueter and Scheepers highlight that no evidence exists for the effect of subjective out-group size in smaller local contexts as municipalities (2010, 288). Although they assess it through a survey item (2010, 289), this research considers semi-structure interviews as more appropriate for investigating its effects.

The contact effect is also dependent on, and negatively related with *population size* of a certain area for two reasons – freedom of choice and segregation effects (Petermann 2013a). Although the former is positively related to population size, in larger municipalities individuals prefer intragroup over intergroup contact, and therefore the contact processes 'shift from opportunity-driven to preference-driven' (Petermann 2013a; Fischer 1976). Since segregation is greater in municipalities with larger population, it also limits intergroup contacts (Blau 1994).

Furthermore, Blau (1994) explains that *group density within a specific geographic area* too, affects the intergroup relations, arguing that because of large variability of municipal sizes, neighborhoods and municipalities exhibit 'separate and divergent' effects. In largely heterogeneous municipalities and neighborhoods, a process of learning about the other starts to develop, leading to reduction of preconceived opinions (Petermann 2013a). When individuals belonging to different communities leave segregated in a particular municipality, then there are fewer opportunities for intergroup contact (Petermann 2013a, 1219). Due to lack of quantitative data, the impact of groups' density is utilized through semi-structured interviews.

Host of evidence supports the effect of *proximity to violent events* on intergroup relations (Kanas, Scheepers, and Sterkens 2013; Buhaug et al. 2007; Dyrstad et al. 2011). Despite the scholarly recognition that not all contact types improve intergroup relations, limited evidence exists on intergroup contact in settings which experienced destructive

contact forms (Kanas, Scheepers, and Sterkens 2013). Contrary to Bakke et al., Dyrstad et al. claim that vast number of scholars agree that exposure to violence increases intolerance, hatred, and feelings of revenge (2011, 369). In their study, Kanas et al. show (2013) that, because of the experience and memory of extremely negative contacts, individuals residing in historically conflict-affected areas continue to experience negative intergroup contacts however, they report more positive and frequent contacts than before the conflict.

According to SCT, broader factors existing in the new context may act as *external stimuli or deterrents* to reconciliation because they "unconsciously influence people, without requiring instrumental considerations on one's behalf" (Kuo and Margalit 2012, 41). To achieve reconciliation, individuals should support the democratic institutions having the authoritative means of enforcing public policies (Gibson 2004b, 4). Although this seems reasonable, one is directed to expect the opposite as the frequent elections and the nationalistic project 'Skopje 2014' received negative evaluations by individuals from members of both communities (ISSHS 2013; IPRG 2012; Abazi 2014). Thereafter, I modify this theoretical proposition, expecting *authority recognition* to hinder reconciliation.

Other pinpoint that good economic conditions of a country are also an essential stimulus for reconciliation (Walter 2002; Collier and Sambanis 2002). Bearing in mind the ineffective allocation of resources to monuments and frequent elections along with the high rate of unemployment[3], Macedonia's economic situation may act as a deterrent rather than a stimulus to the inter-ethnic relations. Despite the fact that political and economic factors may exert negative effects, them being deterrents to reconciliation seems less threatening than perceiving the history and the mere belonging to different ethnic community as deterrents.

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[3] State Statistical Office, 2013. Available at: http://www.stat.gov.mk/pdf/2014/2.1.14.04.pdf

The latter is so because citizens "follow the media and are well aware of the political climate" (UNDP-DFID 2010, 30).

1.4.3 Moderators of the Contact Situation

Guided by constructivists' studies, contact theorists have identified *ethnic identity* as moderator of the contact situation (Hewstone and Swart 2011; Brown and Gaertner 2002; Van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud, and Hewstone 1996). Ethnic identity is a multifaceted and dynamic construct, whose *salience*, *attachment* and *strength* changes over time, contexts, and across individuals (Brubaker 2009; Phinney and Ong 2007; Fearon and Laitin 2000). Tajfel defines it as "that part of individual's self-concept which derives from [his] knowledge of [his] membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Hornsey 2008, 206).

Pettigrew suggests that, for the intergroup contact to have positive effect on intergroup relations, ethnic salience should be different at different phases of contact, introducing three models under the label *Reciprocal Process Models*. The *Personalization Model* implies that group members interact as individuals without concerns about group membership, that is, de-categorization (Eller and Abrams 2004, 230). The *Common In-group Identity Model* implies that participants in the contact situation develop overarching group membership with their respective out-groups, hence, re-categorization (Eller and Abrams 2004; John F. Dovidio, Saguy, and Shnabel 2009). The *Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model* implies that the participants in a contact situation are fully aware of their belonging and come to appreciate the respective differences – salient categorization (Eller and Abrams 2004, 230).

As it is central for this research to assess the views of Macedonians and Albanians, I control for ethnic belonging. Whereas ethnic identity refers to person's subjective relation to

her ethnic community, ethnicity refers to membership that can be objectively established. Empirical evidence shows that ethnicity may be mediated by broader contextual influences that affect intergroup relations – age, gender, socio-economic status, occupation, religious group, and education (Williams and Husk 2013; Frable 1997). The scholarship has come to very different findings ranging from no effects (Kanas, Scheepers, and Sterkens 2013; Pettigrew et al. 2011), through gender being more important for females, or greater divider than ethnicity, age being more important for older (Hewstone 2003), to strong effects on the basis of the demographic parameters (Ata, Bastian, and Lusher 2009). Having elaborated the theoretical framework, below I deduce a set of hypotheses. In addition, graphical presentation the concept of reconciliation and intergroup contact theory is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2.   Conceptual Logic of Reconciliation and Intergroup Contact Theory

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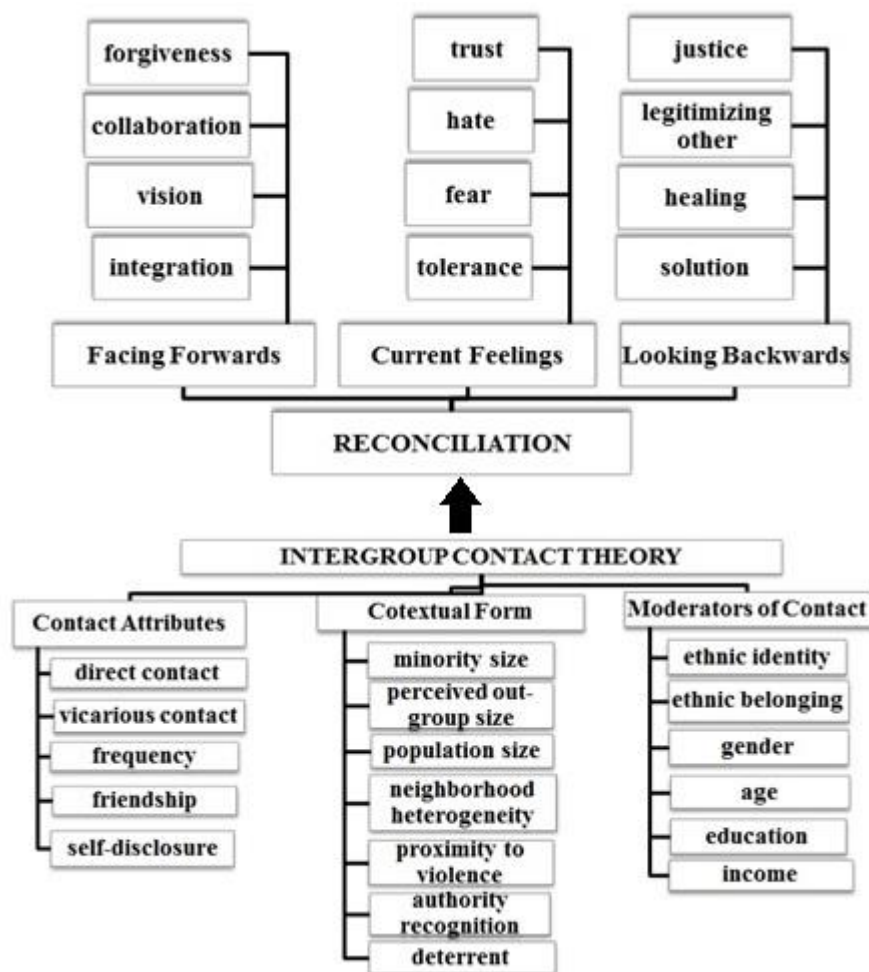
1.5 Propositions

Having employed mixed methodology, I derive two types of hypotheses corresponding to the two types of approaches – testable for the quantitative and non-testable for the qualitative. With regard to the former, I test the following hypotheses:

H1: The more informal, voluntary and frequent the intergroup contacts, the more out-group friends and the more frequent the self-disclosure, the higher the level of reconciliation.

H2: The more equal the percentage of Macedonians and Albanians in a municipality, the higher the level of reconciliation.

H3: The lower the municipal population size, the higher the level of reconciliation.

H4: The greater the distance from places that experienced direct violence, the higher the level of reconciliation.

H5: The lower the recognition of state authorities, the higher the level of reconciliation.

H6: Perceiving state's economy and authorities rather than ethnic belonging and history as deterrents, engenders reconciliation.

H7: The higher the salience of ethnic identity, the greater the level of reconciliation.

In qualitative analyses, a hypothesis is considered to be a hunch or "educated guess" derived from observations of specific people or events (Maykut and Morehouse 2002, 21). Accordingly, they are formulated as questions that should generate hypotheses for further research. Building upon the results obtained from the quantitative phase, the question guiding the qualitative analysis is the following: What is the influence of vicarious contacts, perceived out-group size and neighborhood heterogeneity on reconciliation in Kumanovo and Struga? Moreover,

Which factor is the most influential in the municipalities of interest?

What other factor(s) specific to particular municipality influence reconciliation?

My hunch is that the effect of these aforementioned factors is opposite for Kumanovo and Struga and that there are that different factors are most important in Kumanovo and Struga. Below I elaborate the methodology employed so as to test my theory.

CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH DESIGN

Following Bryman, in this chapter I devise the strategy to the conduct of my research (2001, 20), elaborating the selection of cases and units of observation, the methods of data collection and data analysis, and, the scope of my research.

2.1 Why Municipalities?

Lederach rightly points that reconciliation can happen only at the locations of encounter, as it is in those places that the former adversaries "formulate the traumas of the past and the hopes for the future, and discuss issues of truth, forgiveness, justice, and peace" (1997, 30). The case selection criteria were developed so as to be in line with the purpose of my inquiry, while being wary that case selection without randomization must be done with caution (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994). Thereupon, the multi-ethnic municipalities in Macedonia, as created with the Law for Territorial Organization of the Municipalities in the Republic of Macedonia from 2004, are the universe of analysis.

2.1.1 Selecting Cases for Quantitative Analysis

In selecting cases for the quantitative analysis, I follow Van Evera's (1997) 'rule' for selecting cases of intrinsic importance. Consequently, I choose three municipalities in which direct violent confrontation between the Macedonian armed forces and NLA occurred, hence, which are 'most likely' to have the most difficult reconciliation.

Considering these three municipalities as my reference points, I choose three more that are located in radius of 50km and another three located in radius of 100km from the municipalities that experienced direct violent confrontation. The latter six municipalities must satisfy the following criteria:

1. Have similar ethnic composition to the three referent municipalities;

2. Have not experienced direct violent confrontation.

In finding the municipalities that experienced direct violent confrontation, this research was informed by the dataset compiled by Raleigh et al. (2010). For the ethnic composition of the municipalities, I use the official state statistics from 2002, as the census of 2011. Fortunately, the census data were harmonized with the Law on Territorial Organization of Municipalities to match their contemporary ethnic structure and their reliability should not be doubted. Table 1 presents the municipalities selected as cases to be analyzed.

Table 1   *Municipalities by Distance from Violence, Ethnic Composition and Population Size*

Distance from Violence	Municipality	Percentage of the Ethnic Communities of Interest out of the Total Municipal Population*		Total Population Size*
		Macedonian	*Albanian*	
	Arachinovo	5.14	93.8	11 597
0 km	Cucher Sandevo	47.32	22.88	8 493
	Debar	20.01	58.07	19 542
	Gostivar	19.59	66.68	81 042
50 km	Kichevo	53.55	30.53	30 138
	Kumanovo	60.43	25.87	105 484
	Lipkovo	0.63	97.42	27 058
100 km	Saraj	3.89	91.53	35 408
	Struga	32.09	56.85	63 376

* The Percentage of declared ethnic Macedonian and ethnic Albanian affiliation out of the total municipal population and the population size of the municipalities are according to the Population Census 2002 adapted to the Administrative Territorial Organization from 2004

2.1.2 Selecting Cases for Qualitative Analysis

The selection criteria for cases that are scrutinized to qualitative analysis build upon the results obtained from the quantitative analysis. Hence, depending on the number of municipal

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level determinants that the municipalities satisfy, they were categorized into three groups. Satisfying a criterion means being located in a category that engenders reconciliation or in an adjacent category. Struga and Kumanovo – cases with the highest and the lowest level of reconciliation respectively were selected.

2.2 Who is to be Reconciled?

Moving on to the heavy analytical content, the second question to be asked is 'who is to be reconciled?' (Ross and Hermann 2004, 39–60). Lederach (1997) explains that reconciliation can be analyzed on three societal levels: Top-Level, Middle-Range, and Grassroots, whereas Bar-On urges that reconciliation needs both the orchestration of top-down and bottom-up processes (Beč-Neumann 2007, 62–84).

Seemingly, scholars' preoccupation with institutional design and system-level effects has resulted in "too little concern for how these processes affect people" (Chapman and Backer 2009, 66). Moreover, given that intergroup relations are both the root-cause and the long term solution of conflict (Lederach, 1997) reconciliation should be focused on establishing cooperative relationships among formed adversaries. As Saunders outlines, "only governments can write peace treaties, but only human beings - citizens outside government - can transform conflictive relationships into peaceful relationships" (Clark 2005, 339). Consequently, I adopt the bottom-up approach to reconciliation focusing on grass-root actors, and therefore having ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians as my units of observation.

2.3 "Working in the Fields"

This thesis relies heavily on fieldwork data collected through two techniques: survey questionnaire in nine municipalities comprising the first phase of the research, and semi-

structured interviews in two multi-ethnic municipalities comprising the second phase of the research.

2.3.1 Data Gathering: Survey Questionnaire

The Survey Questionnaire, constituted of closed multiple-choice questions, was conducted in nine municipalities in Macedonia during December, 2013[4]. The sample size is 450 – fifty participants per municipality, and the target were Macedonian residents of Albanian and Macedonian descent that live in households in the municipalities of interest and are at least eighteen years old[5]. For the sample to be representative, a comparison with the population parameters was made by utilizing the 2002 census data.

Despite the fact that the municipalities were not selected randomly, the sample is probabilistic since the choice of the households follows the logic of random selection, employing the technique – 'random walk'. One individual per household was selected using the 'last birthday' technique. Due to the voluntary nature of the survey, those who refused to participate were documented and comprise the non-response rate.

Notwithstanding the opportunities provided by the technological advancements for less expensive data collection, this survey was conducted through *in-home face-to-face interviewing,* due to its superiority in controlling the interview situation. Furthermore, although computerized data collection – Computer Assistance Personal Interviewing allows for dynamic error detection and more rapid electronic data release (Axinn, Link, and Groves 2011), this research relied on the traditional *paper and pencil layout* as to decrease the social distance between the interviewees and interviewers, and avoid answers that deviate from the 'truth'. Finally, as to reduce the odds of something unexpected occurring and influencing the

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[4] I thank Daniel Davkovski and Florim Rexhepi for helping me conduct the data collection.
[5] The definition excludes the diaspora and the imprisoned residents of these municipalities.

results' validity, the data collection period was brought to minimum. In addition, the full questionnaire and documentation of the data collection process are presented in Appendix B.

2.3.2 Data Gathering: Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in two municipalities in Macedonia during May, 2014. Five participants, resembling the ethnic composition of the municipalities were interviewed and accessed through main informants (Appendix B Sections A and B). Although the interviewees were not resistant during the interview (Adler and Adler 2012), most of them feared if they are to be interviewed by a Ministry of Interior personnel, and were not sure if they are the 'right person' to give 'correct answers'. All interviews were tape-recorded, fully transcribed and comprise the data corpus (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79). In addition, the full topic guide and the documentation are presented Appendix B Section C.

2.4 Turning Latent Constructs into Manifest Indicators

Theories and measures inform each other and enhance each other's development (Ponterotto and Mallinckrodt 2007). As there are no hard and entrenched measurement rules, the concept of reconciliation is deficient as an operational method for bolstering the conflict resolution process as a whole (Ignasi 2011, 29). This section deals with one of the most elusive challenges in the social sciences - relating unobservable 'latent variables' to 'observable indicators' (Munck and Verkuilen 2002, 15).

2.4.1 Operationalization and Coding of Survey Data

A task that one faces in the measurement formation process is the choice of measurement scale for the respective attributes. In order to maximize homogeneity within the measurement categories with minimum number of necessary distinctions, hence "to avoid

distinctions that are either too fine-grained or too coarse grained" (Munck and Verkuilen 2002, 17), all questions[6] present four options to the respondents. The preference of an uneven number of choices stems from that it is the middle position that invokes problems as respondents treat it as a device to escape giving an opinion (Keats 2000, 36). Moreover, because of the burden of proof in testing choices, a single scale of measurement was employed. For most of the questions, a four-point Likert scale was utilized, with 1 – Completely Agree; 2 – Mostly Agree; 3 – Mostly Disagree; and 4 – Completely Disagree. The options provided for the residual questions were driven by the possibility for empirical testing primarily, and not solely theoretical justification. To illustrate, one cannot offer 'never' as option to a question that asks participants for their out-group contacts if they reside in multi-ethnic municipalities.

In constructing a measure of the response variable – reconciliation, sets of questions were asked for each of its dimensions. For *looking backwards*, the respondents were asked for whether they agree or disagree with the following statements: 'OFA was the only solution for stopping the conflict'; 'The traumas, pains and wounds from the conflict are fully healed and I have no desire for revenge'; 'I don't blame it completely to Albanians for the conflict because they, as the Macedonians, had their own reasons and story during the conflict, and I consider them equally reasonable and true as the reasons and the story of the Macedonians'; and 'OFA brought justice making all Macedonia citizens, regardless of ethnicity, equal in their rights'.

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[6] The questionnaire was administered both in Macedonian and Albanian language. For the sake of simplicity, the questions presented here are translation from the questionnaire that was filled in by respondents belonging to the Macedonian ethnic community. Therefore, whenever one reads 'Macedonian' in the Macedonian version, that word is changed with 'Albanian' in the Albanian version.

For the dimension *current feelings*[7] the respondents were asked: 'Do you mind living in your municipality together with Albanians?' (1 – Yes, totally; 2 – Mostly yes; 3 – Mostly no; 4 – Not at all); 'Do you fear Albanians?' (1 – I feel fear from all Albanian s; 2 – From time to time I feel fear from Albanians; 3 – I feel fear from some Albanians; 4 – My feelings of fear don't depend on one's ethnic belonging); 'Do you feel hatred towards Albanians?'(1 – I feel hatred towards all Albanians; 2 – From time to time I feel hatred towards Albanians; 3 – I feel hatred towards some Albanians; 4 – My feelings of hatred don't depend on one's ethnic belonging); and 'Do you feel you can trust Albanians?' (1 – I can never trust Albanians; 2 – Most of the time I cannot trust Albanians; 3 – Most of the time I can trust Albanians; 4 – In whom I trust doesn't depend on one's ethnic belonging).

In assessing *facing forwards*, the respondents were asked for whether they agree with the following statements: 'The Macedonians and Albanians have bright and shared future: peaceful living, harmony and cooperation'; 'I feel ready to collaborate with Albanians so that we can build together a better future'; 'In future, I would be able to forget and forgive for the happenings in the past', and 'What is your opinion regarding future cohesion and integration of Macedonians and Albanians?' (Both communities: 1 – need to further integrate in all the spheres of life; 2 – need to further integrate in the private sphere only; 3 – need to further integrate in the public sphere only; 4 – should not further integrate).

Now, I explain the operationalization and coding of the explanatory variables. So as to construct a measure for *contact attributes*, the respondents were asked: 'Do you have personal contacts with Albanians?' (1 – Yes, both formally and informally; 2 – Mostly formally; 3 – Yes, but only formally; 4 – I avoid having contacts with Albanians); 'How frequently do you make informal and personal contacts with Albanians?' (1 – Every day or

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[7] So as to fit the positive – negative order of the options for the other questions measuring reconciliation, this set of questions was recorded in the reverse order during data analysis.

almost every day; 2 – Few times a week; 3 – Few times a month; 4 – Few times a year); 'Do you have Albanian friends?'[8] (1 – Yes, I have a lot; 2 – Yes, but few; 3 – No, but I would like to; 4 – I contact with Albanians however I don't consider them as friends); 'How frequently do you discuss these topics with your Albanian friends' (1 – On every meeting; 2 – Very often, almost on every meeting; 3 – Rarely, from time to time; 4 – Never); and 'How would you describe your relations with Albanians compared to the period before the conflict?' (1 – The same, I have always been in good relations with Albanians; 2 – Improved; 3 – The same, neither good nor bad, distanced; 4 – Worsened).

The measure *ethnic identity* was constructed by asking the respondents for whether they agree or disagree with the following statements: 'I am strongly connected with my ethnic community'; 'Macedonians and Albanians are totally different'; and, 'It is of crucial importance for me that I am ethnic Macedonian'. For the explanatory variable *authority recognition* the respondents were asked: 'Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I recognize and accept the central authorities – the government, the parliament and the judiciary as being legitimate', whereas for *deterrent* the following question was asked: 'According to you, what is the biggest issue that might affect the 'coexistence' of the Macedonians and Albanians?' (1 – different ethnic belonging; 2 – history; 3 – poverty; 4 – authorities).

Furthermore, I control for the potential effect of several demographic variables[9]. Thus, *'belonging to ethnic community'* is coded as *1- Macedonian* and *2 – Albanian.* Next,

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[8] Do you have friends that belong to the Albanian ethnic community? Under 'friends' I mean people with whom you meet besides other places, but also at each other's home and cafes', with whom you can talk intimately, in whom you trust, from whom you can get support when you need and with whom you can share your opinion and discuss on various topics such as life, family, health, work, political parties, the functioning of the state, poverty and so on. Friends are not people that you only greet when you meet them on the street.
[9] So as to keep up to the rule of a single scale of measurement, the demographic questions with more than four options were recoded into four categories each.

'gender' is coded as *1 – male* and *2 – female*. *'Age'* is coded as *1 – 18–29; 2 – 30–40; 3 – 41-51;* and *4 – 52 and more*, whereas *'education'* is coded as *1 – no or elementary education, 2 – high school level of education; 3 – post-secondary education* and *4 – university degree*. Finally, *'income'* is coded as *1 – very low; 2 – low; 3 – high,* and *4 – relatively high level of household income*.

Along with the individual-level variables, this research utilizes three municipal-level predictors. For *'proximity to violence',* I look for whether the respective municipality has experienced direct experience and its geographic distance from the closest municipality in which direct violence occurred (*1- Direct experience of violence; 2 - Geographical proximity to municipalities where direct violence was experienced in radius of 50km; 3- Geographical proximity to municipalities where direct violence was experienced in radius of 100km*).

The variable *'population size'* was operationalized on the basis of total municipal population. The categories were created by utilizing the Law on Local Self-Government, which divides the municipalities into eight categories. The distribution of the scores for the population size of municipalities (Figure 3) however, shows that there is a natural cut and existence of three categories: *1 – 0 – 20 000; 2 – 21 000 – 40 000;* and *3 – 40 001* onwards.

Figure 3.   Population size of municipalities
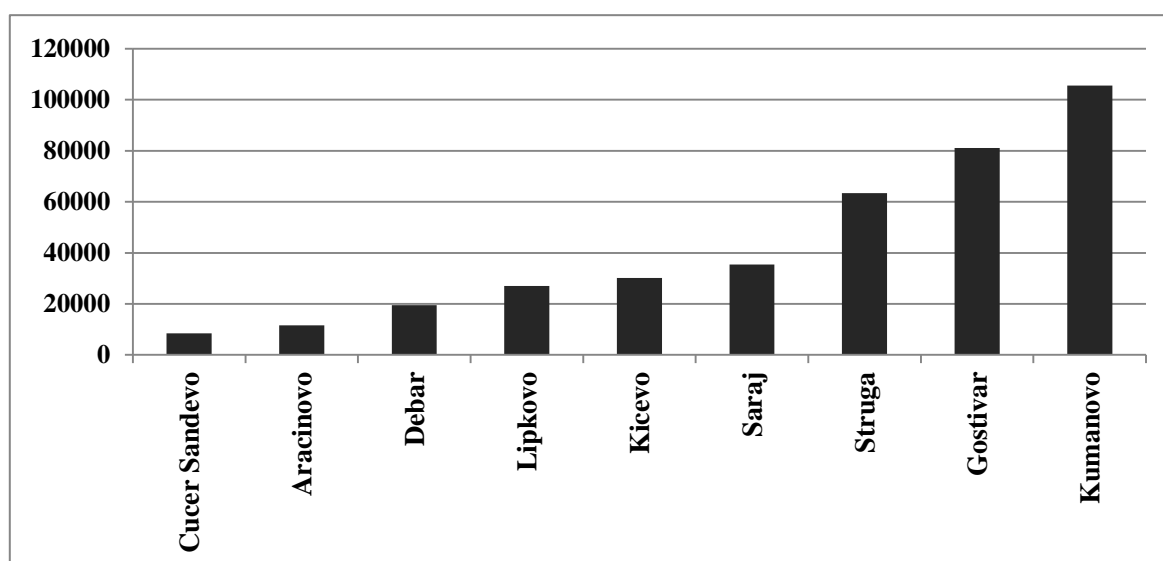
Figure 4.   *Percentage of the size of minority out of the total municipal population*
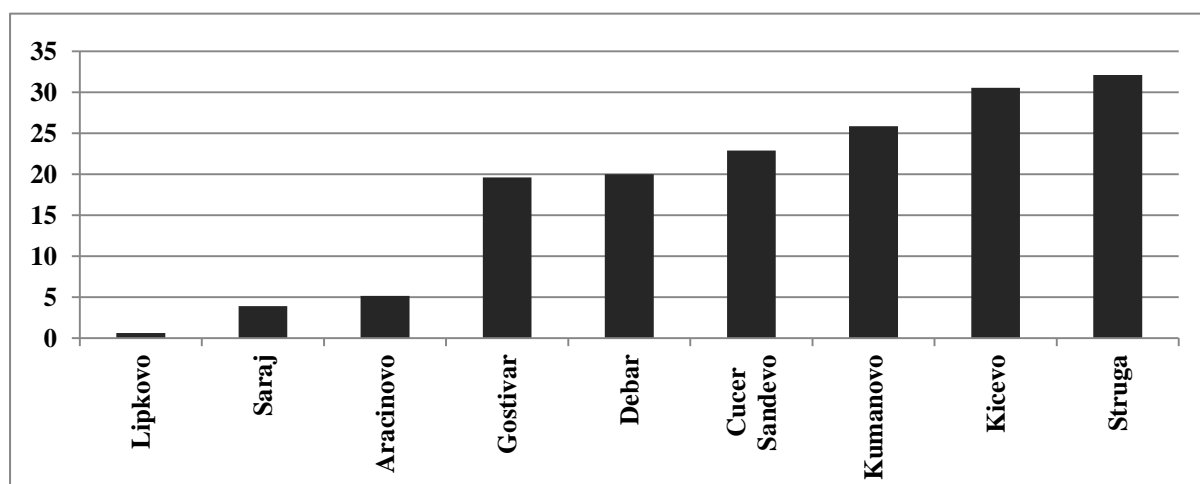
For the explanatory variable *size of municipal minority,* I looked at the percentage of people belonging to the ethnic communities of interest and who are the municipal minority. The distribution of the percentages of the municipal minorities (Figure 4) yielded three categories: *1 – the municipal minority takes between 0% – 10% out of the total municipal population*, *2 – the municipal minority takes between 10.1% – 30% out of the total municipal population;* and *3 - the municipal minority takes more than 30.1% out of the total municipal population.*

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2.4.2 Aggregation

Aggregation refers to the assignment of scores to each of the concept attributes, starting at the lowest level of abstraction and proceeds by climbing the ladder of abstraction. It is crucial to be sensitive to the multiple paths in which the attributes are to be linked and the weight given to each attribute on the one hand, and to rely on a theory as a guide on the other hand. As my concepts consist of attributes and their components having the same weight, I use the aggregation rule of 'averaging'. Thus, scores of attributes that appear on the same horizontal level in the organization of attributes are averaged so as to obtain a single score. The same logic is applied at each level on the ladder of abstraction.

With the construction of the measures for the three dimensions of reconciliation, the single scores that are obtained for each of the dimensions are classified into four categorical ranges depending on the value of the single score. Thereafter, the level of reconciliation in general, and each of its dimension in particular coded as *1 – extremely low level, if the scores fall between 1 and 1.75; 2 – low level, if the scores fall between 1.76 and 2.5; 3 – high level, if the scores fall between 2.51 and 3.25,* and *4 – extremely high level, if the scores fall between 3.26 and 4.* The same scale applies to the construction of the measures contact attributes and ethnic identity.

2.4.3 Operationalization and Coding of Interview Data

Since one cannot know what is meaningful to each respondent before meeting him (Hermanowicz 2002, 479), the topic guide used for this research is a combination of structure and flexibility (Berg 2009; Legard, Keegan, and Ward 2003). The questions included in the topic guide were broad enough so that they could be asked from each respondent, allowing me to probe specific questions that were meaningful for a particular respondent. Although I

am familiar with the special language that these respondents use (Berg 2009), the questions were not abstract and complex, but rather simple and concise enough so that they could lead a respondent to directly answer my research question.

The topic guide was strategically constructed, starting with warm-up questions, through the main questions and finishing with cooling down questions, organized by key topics (Hermanowicz 2002, 488–489), informed by the theoretical framework. In asking the questions, a constructivist approach was adopted so as to assess the interviewees' definitions of the concepts under concern. Initially, the interviewees were asked contextual questions regarding their employment status, age, household income, educational background, employment status and how it is to live in the respective municipality.

With regard to the main part, the topic guide was divided into several sets of questions. First, the interviewees were asked set of questions in regard to the attributes to the contact situation, with focus on vicarious contacts. Afterwards, the interviewees were asked questions regarding the contextual form of contact, with special emphasis on group density in neighborhoods and perceived group size, as there were no quantitative data available for them. The next set of questions surrounds characteristics of the communal culture, ending with questions regarding wider factors that influence inter-group relations. Finally, the interviewees were asked what should be improved in their municipality, as well as if they are willing to make a point that was not raised before. Particular attention was paid to interviewees' expressions.

2.5 Methodological Framework: A Mixed-Methods Design

Apart from the on-going 'paradigm wars' between the protagonists of the quantitative and qualitative tradition, this research employs comparative mixed methodology. This

strategy is helpful in overcoming the deficiencies of mono-method research that has been largely discussed for more than fifty years, and compensating for their mutual and overlapping weaknesses (Kelle 2006, 295).

As it is beyond the scope of this research to engage in enumerating the various types of mixed methods designs existing in the social science methodology, I briefly outline Morse's classification. Morse (1991) differentiates between simultaneous and sequential use of qualitative and quantitative methods, whose combination yields four types of mixed-methods designs. Bearing in mind the function of each tradition in my research, I employ the sequential quantitative – qualitative mixed-methods design.

The aforementioned strategy is particularly useful when a researcher aims to identify a certain phenomenon of interest and gain an overview of its presence and distribution nonetheless she needs to further investigate so as to understand the phenomenon with additional sociocultural knowledge (Kelle 2006). The qualitative phase of the design provides with heterogeneity unobservable with the quantitative method, enhances the understanding of statistical findings as it produces information that is essential for fully-fledged explanations, but it also helps discovering a lack of measurement validity done within the quantitative phase (Kelle 2006). Thereafter, the two phases within the mixed-methods design elucidate different aspects of the very same phenomenon, with the words of Kelle,

> *The quantitative methods provide a general picture of the surface of the research field, whereas qualitative methods are applied so as to drill deep holes into the field generating information that is necessary for a thorough understanding. (Kelle 2006, 309)*

I agree with Kelle (2006) that the use of methods should be predominantly influenced by the research question, not by the methodological and epistemological considerations

alone. Correspondingly, the utilization of the sequential quantitative – qualitative mixed methods in this research is driven by the aim of this study - to access the variation between and within the ethnic communities in their perceptions on the process of reconciliation, as well as between and within the municipalities of interest. In interpreting the data, the combination of the results from both the methods is tailored to attain complementarity (Brannen 2005) – treating the quantitative and qualitative results as different, yet enhancing each other. Another question that is of crucial importance – the appropriate quantitative and qualitative tools that are to be used for data analysis, are discussed bellow.

2.5.1 Reducing Dataset Dimensionality and Regressing X_s on Y

In order to conduct the statistical analysis, measures for the theoretical concepts need to be constructed. Factor Analysis (hereinafter: FA) is a statistical technique utilized when a researcher attempts to reduce the number of observed variables and discover factors that represent the areas that are being measured (Tabachnick and Fidell 2012, 607). It is the most appropriate statistical method for reducing the dimensionality of a dataset when the variables are correlated with one another, yet independent of other subsets of variables (2012, 608). The latent factors are extracted by using maximum likelihood extraction and rotated with varimax rotation which does not change the underlying mathematical properties, but makes the results more interpretable (2012, 609).

The selection of a statistical tool for analyzing survey data was guided by the level and scale of measurement of the variables. Given that all the variables are categorical – ordinal and nominal variables measured on a three-point and a four-point scale, and that there are two levels – individual and municipal level, one may conceive of multilevel modeling as the most appropriate statistical technique. The small number of observations on the municipal level (nine) however, cannot be handled well with multilevel modeling, since the latter is also a

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regression modeling which requires larger number of observations so as to produce good estimates. This issue is resolved by conducting a regression model with dummy variables for the municipal-level predictors, and qualitatively assessing the differences among municipalities. The choice of referent category is arbitrary (Hardy 1993, 10), yet the ones at the lower boundary were chosen as the referent categories to which the others are compared.

The optimal statistical technique for treating ordinal outcomes is a challenge even to prolific researchers (O'Connell 2000). O'Connell argues against treating the ordinal outcomes as interval-level variables, and therefore, applying multiple linear regression, but she also highlights that log-linear modeling is unsuitable when one is interested in the distinction between the ordinal categories (2006, 3). Moreover, since some variables have small number of observations in particular categories, log linear regression could not be performed. The analysis is performed by utilizing the 'cumulative link model for ordinal outcomes' (hereinafter: CLM), which is similar to logistic regression modeling (Christensen 2013, 3). Its advantages is in that it offers greater parsimony over fitting the logistic models and can consider the effects of an independent variables across the cumulative splits in the data (O'Connell 2006, 28).

2.5.2 Analyzing Interviews' Content

So as to assess the content of the interviews – 'what is being said during the interviews', I performed thematic analysis. In 'reading' the interviews, I adopt the constructivist approach and examine the 'interviewee's narratives' as stories of individual experience, but at the same time as stories embedded in specific cultural contexts. In spite of the fact that the qualitative phase is a small-scale study, I apply cross-case thematic analysis and examine similarities and differences among the interviews in regard to the themes, co-occurrence of themes and relationships that have been established among different themes.

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To avoid taking the role of a 'passive' researcher', but at the same time not to ignore themes that emerge from the data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79–89), I develop a 'hybrid' coding scheme, deducing categories from the theory, while at the same time inducing some relevant categories directly from the data. Having coded the data, I developed a thematic map which organized the previously coded extracts into meaningful clusters (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79–89). The data set consists of all instances in the data corpus where the themes identified are referred (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79–89). In addition, the thematic map and the thematic coding scheme are presented in Sections D and E in the Appendix B.

Two issues are of particular concern with respect to inferences from the qualitative phase − reliability and validity. Perfect replication seems naïve (Ritchie and Lewis 2003), however, the initiation of this research with a qualitative technique provided me with a sampling frame from which the cases were selected (Ritchie and Lewis 2003, 272). Thereupon, the issue of *internal reliability* was avoided. Although one cannot completely dismiss bias to ensure *external reliability*, I strived to conduct interviews covering host of perspectives, and provide an interpretation that is comprehensive and supported with evidence. That notwithstanding, I acknowledge that the answers of the Albanian respondents might be slightly different if the interviews are conducted by Albanian. Regarding *internal validity*, I sought to ask the interviewees with simple language, avoiding double-barrelled questions and probing so as to ensure that the information is valid. In safeguarding *external validity*, being an insider allowed me to judge the credibility of the information brought by respondents, as well as through methods triangulation − comparing the interview data with the survey data (2003, 276).

CHAPTER 3. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Following the conceptual and analytic guidelines outlined in the previous chapters, my empirical analysis aims to uncover how Macedonians and Albanians perceive reconciliation, whether there are variations within and between them, within and between municipalities, and what explains the different levels of reconciliation. In this chapter, I examine the findings obtained by analyzing survey data and semi-structured interviews.

3.1 Findings from Quantitative Analysis

This section deals with the analysis of survey data. I begin with the presentation of results from the Factor Analysis and continue with the descriptive statistics of reconciliation and its predictors. Next, as the research question consists of two sub-questions, I describe and discuss the findings through two separate regression analyses.

3.1.1 Measure Construction: A Factor Analysis

Factor Analysis was utilized so as to construct the measures for the above-elaborated concepts. As Table 2 displays, three underlying dimensions of reconciliation have been extracted. The multiple R square of scores with factors and the correlation of scores with each factor show that all the factors are internally consistent (Tabachnick and Fidell 2012, 667), whereas the factors explain 67% of the total variance. Following Matsunaga's advice, I do not look at the chi-square statistic, which is traditionally considered the most conventional fit index, because it is vulnerable to the violation of certain assumptions (2010, 106), in this case the non-normality assumption, shown through the Shapiro-Wilk test (W=.62, p = 2.2^{e-16}).

Table 2   *Factor Analysis: Latent Dimensions of Reconciliation*

	Factor		
	Looking Backwards	*Facing Forwards*	*Current Feelings*
Variable			
Solution to the conflict	.90		
Healing of wounds	.92		
Legitimization of the 'other'	.88		
Partial justice	.91		
Further integration		.58	
Vision for shared future		.76	
Willingness for collaboration		.72	
Willingness to forgive		.54	
Fear			.95
Hate			.97
Trust			.83
Tolerance			.44
Within Factor Correlation	.97	.98	.88
Multiple R^2	.95	.97	.77
Proportion of variance explained	.28	.16	.23

Instead, since the Tucker-Lewis Index (.99), which is an 'incremental fit index', is higher than .90 according to the conventional wisdom, and .95 according to Hu and Bentler (2010, 106), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (.01), called the 'approximate fit index', is smaller than .06, this model seems adequate. Table 3 presents two factors extracted to explain reconciliation – contact attributes and ethnic identity.

Table 3   *Factor Analysis: Latent Explanatory Variables*

	Factor	
	Contact Attributes	**Ethnic Identity**
Variable		
Contact arena and social context	.43	
Contact frequency	.63	
Friendship	.76	
Self-Disclosure	.75	
Attitude	.73	
Attachment		.90
Salience		.93
Strength		.91
Within Factor Correlation	.91	.97
Multiple R^2	.82	.94
Proportion of variance explained	.29	.32

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As can be seen from the multiple R square of scores with factors, and the correlation of scores with each factor, these measures are internally consistent, altogether explaining 61% of the total variation. This is in line with the expectations that not only contact attributes and ethnic identity can explain reconciliation. The Shapiro-Wilk test for the two latent factors shows that the normality assumption is violated (W=.99, p = .001). This notwithstanding, the Tucker-Lewis Index (.96) and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (.04) show that model is appropriate. Finally, as the results from these analyses confirm that "the latent factor structure underlie the data well" (Matsunaga 2010, 108), the next step involves constructing the measures by the 'rule of averaging'.[10] In addition, Spearman correlations, as well as loading of each variable on each factor are presented in Appendix C.

3.1.2 Basic Data Features: Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics on reconciliation and its dimensions for all the municipalities (Table 4) show that the average level of reconciliation is slightly less than three (2.79). The disaggregation by ethnic belonging indicates that, although the level of reconciliation is slightly higher among Albanians (2.86) than Macedonians (2.67), no wide discrepancies exist across ethnic lines.

Table 4   *Descriptive statistics of reconciliation and its dimensions, average and by ethnic belonging*

			Ethnic Belonging			
			Macedonian		*Albanian*	
	Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Looking Backwards	2.96	1.19	2.81	1.25	3.06	1.14
Facing Forwards	3.01	1.08	2.84	1.44	3.12	1.03
Current Feelings	2.54	0.98	2.49	1.01	2.57	0.97
Reconciliation	2.79	0.95	2.67	0.95	2.86	0.87

N = 450

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[10] The syntax is presented in Appendix C, Section C.

Table 5 disaggregates the response and the explanatory variables by municipality. Given its scores, Struga seems to have extremely high level on reconciliation (3.72). This is in line with the theory in that, on the basis of proximity to violence and size of municipal minority, Struga is located in the category that is most likely to be reconciled. Contrary to the theory, which suggests that municipalities with larger population size will exhibit lower levels of reconciliation, Struga shows the opposite.

Whereas Kichevo has high level of reconciliation (2.76), it does not have as high a level as Struga albeit sharing two contextual characteristics. Moreover, given its score on the predictor population size, Kichevo should score higher than Struga on reconciliation. Similar to Struga and Kichevo, Debar satisfies two contextual characteristics – proximity to violence and population size however, its level of reconciliation is comparable to that of Kichevo. Both Arachinovo and Chucher Sandevo meet one contextual characteristic – population size, nonetheless, the former has high (2.68), whereas the latter has low (2.42) level of reconciliation. From the remaining four municipalities, only Lipkovo (3.00) is, on two parameters – proximity to violence and size of municipal minority, located in categories that are expected to produce the lowest level of reconciliation, yet its score is higher than that of Gostivar (2.50) and Kumanovo (2.28). On two contextual characteristics, Saraj, Gostivar and Kumanovo have scores that should lead to high level of reconciliation, but only Saraj (3.18) seems to comply with the theoretical underpinnings. In fact, along with Chucher Sandevo, Gostivar and Kumanovo exhibit low levels of reconciliation, Kumanovo being the municipality with the lowest level relative to the other municipalities.

Table 5   Descriptive Statistics of the explanatory and response variables by municipality

				Explanatory Variables									Response Variable							
													Measures							
Municipality	Proximity	Pop. Size	Size of Municipal Minority	Contact Attributes		Ethnic Identity		Authority Recognition		External Deterrent		Looking Backwards		Facing Forwards		Current Feelings		Reconciliation	
				Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Arachinovo	1	1*	1	2.68	0.79	2.14	1.29	1.82	1.19	3.38	0.78	3.20	1.11	3.00	0.90	2.00	0.86	2.68	0.77
C. Sandevo	1	1*	2	2.68	0.96	2.26	1.19	1.82	1.14	3.24	1.04	2.82	1.21	2.74	1.14	2.04	0.67	2.42	0.73
Debar	3*	1*	2	2.04	0.81	2.26	1.19	2.00	1.28	2.92	1.10	2.86	1.18	2.60	0.99	2.34	0.75	2.54	0.71
Gostivar	2	3	2	2.46	0.86	1.94	0.96	2.02	1.25	2.90	1.07	2.94	1.28	2.66	1.17	2.14	0.88	2.50	0.79
Kichevo	3*	2	3*	2.76	0.87	2.42	1.13	2.10	1.22	3.40	0.97	2.96	1.23	2.88	1.10	2.46	0.95	2.76	0.94
Kumanovo	2	3	2	2.44	1.16	2.24	1.27	2.60	1.23	3.26	0.99	2.26	1.27	2.48	1.25	2.54	1.11	2.28	1.14
Lipkovo	1	2	1	3.26	0.56	2.78	1.09	2.76	1.30	3.66	0.75	2.74	1.16	3.50	0.79	2.76	0.87	3.00	0.73
Saraj	2	2	1	3.16	0.71	2.74	1.21	2.68	1.28	3.74	0.53	3.24	0.98	3.42	0.93	3.02	0.91	3.18	0.75
Struga	3*	3	3*	3.70	0.61	3.40	0.99	2.78	1.26	3.82	0.52	3.64	0.75	3.82	0.48	3.56	0.70	3.72	0.54

N = 450

* indicates places where highest level of reconciliation is expected

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The disaggregation of the response variable by municipality and ethnic belonging (Table 6) displays striking results. Evidently, the differences in perceptions are more pronounced between municipalities than within municipalities. Thus, Macedonians and Albanians residing in the same municipality generally have convergent views, and thereafter, divergent within municipal views seem to be the exception rather than norm. Conversely, Macedonians, and Albanians residing in different municipalities seem to view reconciliation differently. To illustrate, Albanian or Macedonian from Kichevo, seems more reconciled than Macedonian and Albanian from Kumanovo. To put it differently, it matters much more if an individual is a resident of Struga or Kumanovo, than if he is of Macedonian or Albanian descent.

Table 6   *Descriptive Statistics on each dimension of reconciliation and 'reconciliation' by municipality and ethnic belonging*

Municipality	Ethnic Belonging	Measures							
		Looking Backwards		Facing Forwards		Current Feelings		Reconciliation	
		Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Arachinovo	*Macedonian*	2.75	1.26	3.00	0.82	2.75	0.96	2.50	0.58
	Albanian	3.24	1.10	3.00	0.92	1.93	0.83	2.70	0.79
C. Sandevo	*Macedonian*	2.67	1.22	2.78	1.20	1.97	0.61	2.36	0.76
	Albanian	3.21	1.12	2.64	1.01	2.21	0.80	2.57	0.65
Debar	*Macedonian*	3.00	1.25	2.47	0.99	2.47	0.83	2.53	0.74
	Albanian	2.80	1.16	2.66	1.00	2.29	0.71	2.54	0.70
Gostivar	*Macedonian*	3.13	1.36	2.60	1.18	2.13	0.83	2.60	0.63
	Albanian	2.86	1.26	2.69	1.18	2.14	0.91	2.46	0.85
Kichevo	*Macedonian*	2.88	1.30	2.85	1.10	2.44	0.96	2.76	1.02
	Albanian	3.13	1.09	2.94	1.12	2.50	0.97	2.75	0.77
Kumanovo	*Macedonian*	2.19	1.28	2.29	1.22	2.55	1.18	2.26	1.12
	Albanian	2.37	1.30	2.79	1.27	2.52	1.02	2.32	1.20
Lipkovo	*Macedonian*	2.64	1.21	3.36	0.92	3.09	1.04	3.09	0.83
	Albanian	2.80	1.16	3.54	0.76	2.67	0.81	2.98	0.71
Saraj	*Macedonian*	3.40	0.89	3.20	1.09	2.60	1.34	3.20	0.84
	Albanian	3.22	1.00	3.44	0.92	3.07	0.86	3.18	0.75
Struga	*Macedonian*	3.47	0.84	3.84	0.37	3.37	0.96	3.58	0.61
	Albanian	3.74	0.68	3.81	0.54	3.68	0.48	3.81	0.48

N = 450

This notwithstanding, my inspections of the main features of this data cannot be used for drawing conclusions, but a regression analysis was conducted, discussed below.

3.1.3 Cumulative Link Estimations: Is the Ethnic Cleavage Politically Constructed?

In assessing *how the process of reconciliation is perceived within and between Macedonians and Albanians, within and across municipalities,* nine models in each of which a different municipality was used as a referent to which the others were compared, were statistically tested by utilizing Cumulative Logit Estimations[11]. The finding, to which I have come (Table 7), shows that it is indeed useful to make comparative analysis on sub-national level and to examine in-group heterogeneity. Each of the nine models is statistically significant at $\alpha=2.2^{e-16}$ and assuming that the null hypotheses are true, one expects to obtain the same results for the models 99.9% of the time.

The logit coefficients for the predictors estimate the chances for observing respondents in the higher categories and lower categories of reconciliation[12] with respect to the referent municipality. Since the values from the last column of the table are statistically significant, it is evident that the differences between a particular referent municipality and most of the other municipalities in each of the nine models are statistically significant. Correspondingly, one can conclude that the differences in the level of reconciliation are more pronounced between municipalities than within municipalities, exactly what the descriptive statistics showed. This funding is of special importance because the ethnic cleavage is very salient in the public space.

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[11] The calculations were made using package 'ordinal' in R. Syntax is presented in Appendix C, Section D.
[12] Reconciliation is operationalized as follows: 1 – extremely low, 2 – low, 3 – high and 4 – extremely high.

Table 7   *Wald summary for nine models differing in the referent municipality*

Referent Municipality	Municipality	Estimate	Standard Error	Z value	Pr(>|z|)
Arachinovo	C. Sandevo	-0.5438	0.3592	-1.514	0.13003
	Debar	-0.3380	0.3576	-0.945	0.34454
	Gostivar	-0.3818	0.3618	-1.055	0.29120
	Kichevo	0.2101	0.3742	0.561	0.57449
	Kumanovo	-0.9933	0.3981	-2.495	0.01260 *
	Lipkovo	0.6736	0.3661	1.840	0.06578 .
	Saraj	1.1531	0.3715	3.104	0.00191 **
	Struga	2.8330	0.4283	6.615	3.72e-11 ***
Chucher Sandevo	Arachinovo	0.5438	0.3592	1.514	0.130034
	Debar	0.2058	0.3545	0.581	0.561564
	Gostivar	0.1620	0.3587	0.451	0.651638
	Kichevo	0.7539	0.3730	2.021	0.043263 *
	Kumanovo	-0.4496	0.3934	-1.143	0.253183
	Lipkovo	1.2173	0.3662	3.324	0.000887 ***
	Saraj	1.6969	0.3731	4.549	5.40e-06 ***
	Struga	3.3768	0.4314	7.828	4.95e-15 ***
Debar	Arachinovo	0.3379	0.3575	0.945	0.34454
	C. Sandevo	-0.2058	0.3545	-0.581	0.56156
	Gostivar	-0.0438	0.3574	-0.123	0.90240
	Kichevo	0.5480	0.3713	1.476	0.13994
	Kumanovo	-0.6553	0.3929	-1.668	0.09536 .
	Lipkovo	1.0115	0.3641	2.778	0.00548 **
	Saraj	1.4911	0.3707	4.022	5.77e-05 ***
	Struga	3.1710	0.4290	7.391	1.45e-13 ***
Gostivar	Arachinovo	0.3818	0.3617	1.055	0.29120
	C. Sandevo	-0.1619	0.3587	-0.451	0.65164
	Debar	0.0438	0.3574	0.123	0.90240
	Kichevo	0.5919	0.3753	1.577	0.11476
	Kumanovo	-0.6115	0.3966	-1.542	0.12316
	Lipkovo	1.0553	0.3682	2.866	0.00415 **
	Saraj	1.5349	0.3746	4.097	4.18e-05 ***
	Struga	3.2148	0.4322	7.438	1.03e-13 ***
Kichevo	Arachinovo	-0.2101	0.3742	-0.561	0.57449
	C. Sandevo	-0.7539	0.3730	-2.021	0.04326 *
	Debar	-0.5481	0.3713	-1.476	0.13994
	Gostivar	-0.5919	0.3753	-1.577	0.11476
	Kumanovo	-1.2034	0.4107	-2.930	0.00339 **
	Lipkovo	0.4635	0.3780	1.226	0.22018
	Saraj	0.9430	0.3824	2.466	0.01366 *
	Struga	2.6229	0.4367	6.006	1.9e-09 ***
Kumanovo	Arachinovo	0.9933	0.3981	2.495	0.01260 *
	C. Sandevo	0.4496	0.3934	1.143	0.25318
	Debar	0.6554	0.3930	1.668	0.09536 .
	Gostivar	0.6115	0.3967	1.542	0.12316
	Kichevo	1.2034	0.4107	2.930	0.00339 **
	Lipkovo	1.6669	0.4054	4.112	3.92e-05 ***
	Saraj	2.1465	0.4119	5.211	1.88e-07 ***
	Struga	3.8264	0.4656	8.219	< 2e-16 ***

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Referent Municipality	Municipality	Estimate	Standard Error	Z value	Pr(>|z|)
Lipkovo	*Arachinovo*	-0.6736	0.3661	-1.840	0.065784 .
	C. Sandevo	-1.2173	0.3662	-3.324	0.000887 ***
	Debar	-1.0115	0.3642	-2.778	0.005477 **
	Gostivar	-1.0554	0.3682	-2.866	0.004153 **
	Kichevo	-0.4635	0.3780	-1.226	0.220184
	Kumanovo	-1.6669	0.4054	-4.112	3.92e-05 ***
	Saraj	0.4796	0.3712	1.292	0.196351
	Struga	2.1595	0.4251	5.080	3.78e-07 ***
Saraj	*Arachinovo*	-1.1531	0.3715	-3.104	0.00191 **
	C. Sandevo	-1.6969	0.3731	-4.549	5.40e-06 ***
	Debar	-1.4911	0.3708	-4.022	5.77e-05 ***
	Gostivar	-1.5350	0.3746	-4.097	4.18e-05 ***
	Kichevo	-0.9430	0.3824	-2.466	0.01366 *
	Kumanovo	-2.1465	0.4119	-5.211	1.88e-07 ***
	Lipkovo	-0.4796	0.3712	-1.292	0.19635
	Struga	1.6799	0.4236	3.966	7.30e-05 ***
Struga	*Arachinovo*	-2.8330	0.4283	-6.615	3.72e-11 ***
	C. Sandevo	-3.3768	0.4314	-7.828	4.95e-15 ***
	Debar	-3.1710	0.4290	-7.391	1.45e-13 ***
	Gostivar	-3.2148	0.4322	-7.438	1.03e-13 ***
	Kichevo	-2.6229	0.4367	-6.006	1.90e-09 ***
	Kumanovo	-3.8264	0.4656	-8.219	< 2e-16 ***
	Lipkovo	-2.1595	0.4251	-5.080	3.78e-07 ***
	Saraj	-1.6799	0.4236	-3.966	7.30e-05 ***

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
N=450

As it would be unreasonable to interpret the estimates for each two municipalities, I interpret few of them. For instance, being in Kumanovo rather than in Struga (referent municipality) increases the chances for observing respondents with lower levels of reconciliation for 3.83[13]. Residing in Struga, rather than in Debar (referent municipality) however, increases the chances for higher level of reconciliation for 3.17. Likewise, residing in Saraj rather than Kumanovo (referent municipality), increases the chances for higher levels of reconciliation for 2.15.

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[13] Negative values indicate the probability of observing objects in the lower categories of the response variable (in my case – extremely low and low level of reconciliation, whereas positive values indicate the probabilities for observing respondents in the higher categories of the response variable (extremely high and high level of reconciliation).

This finding is in line with the scholarly indications to greater in-group than out-group heterogeneity (Phinney 1996), and has substantial implications. Nevertheless, it is opposite to the numerous studies that have pointed to ethnic belonging as 'the divider'. It seems to me that scholars usually make dangerous assumptions that all Macedonians or Albanians are the same, linking specific behavior to particular group. Given that previous national-level studies have pointed to ethnic belonging as very meaningful, future studies that will include mono-ethnic municipalities in a research design too, should illuminate for whether ethnic belonging differs between multi-ethnic and mono-ethnic municipalities[14].

3.1.4 Cumulative Link Estimations: What explains these differences?

The saturated model as specified in the theory was statistically tested by utilizing Cumulative Logit Estimations, both with and without the demographic variables. In choosing the model that fits the data better, each of the two models was compared with the null model[15] by means of likelihood ratio statistic (Table 8). The probability of obtaining the chi-square statistic indicates that they are equally statistically significant and assuming the null hypotheses are true, one expects to obtain the same results for the models 99.9% of the time.

Table 8   Comparison of the Null and two Saturated models

Model	AIC	Log-Likelihood	LR Statistic	Df	Pr (>Chisq)
Null	1152.7	-537.37			
M1 (saturated without moderators)	1034.2	-496.12	154.5	18	2.2^{e-16}***
M2(saturated with moderators)	1049.0	-492.50	161.7	29	2.2^{e-16}***

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
N=450

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[14] The same analysis was tested using post-hoc test (SPSS) yielding the same results (see Appendix C).

[15] Null Model is one with no other structure in the data than the intercept.

Table 9   Comparison of two fitted models

Predictors	Model 1			Model 2		
	AIC	**LRT**	**Pr (>Chi)**	**AIC**	**LRT**	**Pr (>Chi)**
Contact Attributes	1078.6	50.325	6.811e-11 ***	1088.8	45.754	6.396e-10 ***
Size of Municipal Minority	1053.2	22.977	1.025e-05 ***	1061.6	16.584	0.002505 ***
Municipal Population Size	1050.6	20.349	3.812e-05 ***	1065.0	20.015	4.507e-05 ***
Proximity to Violence	1042.0	11.708	0.002868 **	1055.5	10.445	0.0053937 **
Authority Recognition	1034.7	6.437	0.092189 .	1048.5	5.546	0.1359284
Deterrent	1034.8	6.564	0.087179 .	1049.2	6.191	0.1026672
Ethnic Identity	1036.1	7.847	0.049282 *	1051.5	8.530	0.0362375 *
Ethnic Belonging				1047.2	0.151	0.6973969
Gender				1047.0	0.024	0.8768357
Age				1047.0	4.016	0.2597746
Education				1043.5	0.453	0.9291471
Income				1045.0	1.957	0.5814718

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

N = 450

Further examination of the internal structure of the models facilitated the choice of a more fitting one (Table 9). Evidently, all the predictors included in *Model 1* are statistically significant, at least at α = .1. Adding the demographic variables in a model (*Model 2)* not only reduces the significance of two predictors – authority recognition and deterrent, but the former are not even statistically significant. Consequently, I consider *Model 1* as fitting the data better and use it for further analysis. The finding that ethnic belonging, like other demographic variables, is statistically insignificant once more confirms that indeed in-group heterogeneity exceeds inter-group heterogeneity.

The Wald summary presented in Table 10 shows the parameter estimates for each category comprising the predictors included in *Model 1*. The threshold coefficients "are not of primary interest" (Christensen 2013, 7), and as intercepts in standard linear regression, they are not interpreted individually.

To start off, going from the second through the third to the fourth category of *contact attributes,* increases the chances for observing respondents in the higher categories of reconciliation. This is in line with the theoretical proposition and since *contact attributes* is significant at α = .000 (Table 9), hypothesis 1 is confirmed. Indeed, informal, voluntary and frequent contacts coupled with cross-group friendships and frequent self-disclosure (category 4) rather than formal, casual and superficial contacts (category 2), invoke higher levels of reconciliation. Moreover, given that the latter contacts are not statistically significant, their effects are rather negligible. Seemingly, although intergroup interactions are crucial remedy for successful reconciliation (Pettigrew et al. 2011), the latter is more likely to be achieved when the contacts are pleasant, involving intimate share of information (Levin, van Laar, and Sidanius 2003b; Amir 1969a).

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Table 10   Estimates for the predictors of Model I

		Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr (>|z|)
	2	0.47790	0.33224	1.438	0.150323
Contact Attributes	3	0.92785	0.33432	2.775	0.005514 **
	4	2.22399	0.37286	5.965	2.45e-09 ***
Size of Municipal Minority	2	-1.42053	0.31865	- 4.458	8.28e-06 ***
	3	-1.85812	0.55610	-3.341	0.000834 ***
Municipal Population Size	2	-0.16143	0.37724	-0.428	0.668709
	3	1.28213	0.43593	2.941	0.003270 **
Proximity to Violence	2	0.02768	0.37030	0.075	0.940411
	3	1.20653	0.35637	3.386	0.000710 ***
	2	-0.02884	0.28113	- 0.103	0.918290
Authority Recognition	3	-0.66608	0.28731	- 2.318	0.020433 *
	4	0.03970	0.22754	0.174	0.861479
	2	0.22246	0.52171	0.426	0.669807
Deterrent	3	0.75062	0.35642	2.106	0.035203 *
	4	0.78409	0.35000	2.240	0.025074 *
	2	0.01026	0.25700	0.040	0.968162
Ethnic Identity	3	0.06271	0.27019	0.232	0.816455
	4	0.61318	0.24825	2.470	0.013512 *
Threshold Coefficients					
	1|2	-1.3389	0.4812	-2.782	
	2|3	0.8248	0.4784	1.724	
	3|4	3.0443	0.4978	6.116	

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

N = 450

Contrary to what the theory argues, the analysis shows that an increase in the *size of municipal minority* increases the chances for observing respondents in the lower categories on reconciliation. Presuming that the null hypothesis is true, one expects to obtain this finding 99.9% of the time (α=.000), and therefore, hypothesis 2 is disconfirmed. The latter nonetheless, is not implausible, but in line with the claims of intergroup threat theorists who assert that larger municipal minority is perceived as a threat to the municipal majority. Recalling the results from the descriptive statistics by municipality (Table 5), it becomes evident why Lipkovo and Saraj have higher levels of reconciliation than majority of the other

municipalities of interest. Arachinovo, which has small municipal minority as Lipkovo and Saraj however, has lower level of reconciliation. This is what Yinger and Simpsoin label "the paradox of contact theory" (Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux 2005b, 698) – sometimes the lack of opportunities for intergroup contacts invokes low level of reconciliation. What comes at surprise however, is Struga as it has the largest municipal minority relative to the other municipalities and at the same time it has extremely high level of reconciliation.

Similar to the findings on size of municipal minority, the confrontation of the data yielded statistically significant effect of *municipal population size* (α=.000) but in the opposite direction than expected. Hence, an increase in the size of the municipal population increases the chances for observing respondents with higher level of reconciliation. Furthermore, the effect of population size ranging from 21 000 to 40 000 (category 2), appears to be statistically insignificant (p=.67). Assuming that the null hypothesis is true, one expects to get the same result 99.9% of the time and consequently, hypothesis 3 is disconfirmed. Evidently, despite Petermann's claims that individuals residing in larger municipalities are preference-driven (2013), more populated municipalities also increase the opportunities for all types of contacts, even superficial and formal, making reconciliation more likely than in less populated ones. Gostivar and Kumanovo are nonetheless the most populated municipalities (Table 5), yet among the least reconciled. This not surprising given that the level of reconciliation in the aforementioned municipalities cannot be evaluated by dismissing the other predictors that are at play.

With respect to *proximity to violence,* the statistics indicate that residing in municipalities that are the furthest from places that experienced direct violent confrontation have chances for higher levels of reconciliation. The latter finding corresponds to the theory,

and given that it is statistically significant at α=.01, hypothesis 4 is confirmed. Indeed, the evidence shows that "experience and memory of extremely negative intergroup interactions" (Kanas, Scheepers, and Sterkens 2013) are important determinants of reconciliation. Hence, individuals that have witnessed direct violent confrontations find it hard to 'pass through' the negative experience and reconcile with the former enemy. Lipkovo nonetheless, scores way better on reconciliation than many of the municipalities that have not experienced inter-ethnic violent confrontation.

Regarding *authority recognition,* it appears that being less supportive to the central authorities, increases the chances for reconciliation. As the effect of the later predictor validates my expectations and has statistical significance of $\alpha = .1$, hypothesis 5 is confirmed. Notably, the modification of the original theoretical proposition in the opposite direction, is a relatively strong proof lending concerns to the policies and legitimacy of Macedonian authorities. Interestingly, as O'Loughlin argues, elite manipulations that may have had effects in the aftermath of the war, start to vanish (2010, 9). This is an important finding because it reveals that, individuals who are well aware of the intentions of the central authorities and the implications from implementing certain policies cannot be 'deceived' by the rightness of its authoritarian rule and nationalistic policies.

Many factors in the post-conflict situation may act as *deterrents* to intergroup relations, and by the same token, to reconciliation. Importantly, the analysis shows that going gradually from the second through the third to the fourth category of deterrent, increases the chances for observing respondents exhibiting higher level of reconciliation. In other words, perceptions on political parties (category 4) and economy (category 3) as 'greater' threats to peaceful mutual living rather than the history (category 2) and the mere belonging to different ethnic

communities (category 1) facilitate reconciliation at higher levels. Assuming that the null hypothesis is true, one expects to obtain this result 90% of the time and given that it is statistically significant at α = .1, hypothesis 6 is confirmed. The latter finding is yet another indicator that the ethnic cleavage in Macedonia is a political construction, manipulated so as to put at ease the exercise of policies that otherwise could not be practiced. This implies that partition (Suzuki 2011; Kaufman 2001), segregation (McGarry and O'Leary 2004) or ethnic concentration in one part of the country (Lijphart 2007, 52) is not the only or the best strategy for interethnic cohabitation, as the latter can be maintained by crossing ethnic lines (Horowitz 1991, 214–226).

Lastly, moving from the lower categories indicating least salience to the categories implying highest salience of *ethnic identity* increases the chances for observing respondents with higher levels of reconciliation. The latter is along the lines of intergroup contact theory and being statistically significant at α = .05, hypothesis 7 is confirmed. Indeed, Pettigrew claims that ethnic identification should be different at different stages, indicating that full awareness of one's ethnic belonging and at the same time appreciation of the other as different, is related with higher levels of reconciliation. Seemingly, as Hewstone argues, salient categorization is the most effective way to improved interethnic relations exactly because they involve both interpersonal and intergroup categorizations of the individuals belonging to different groups (2003).

To conclude, these findings confirmed that the intergroup contact theory 'works' in the Macedonian municipalities and that it is useful in explaining the process of grass-roots reconciliation. The confrontation of the theory with the data confirmed five of my hypotheses (H1, H4, H5, H6, and H7). Interestingly though, two hypotheses were disconfirmed (H2, H3),

as the effects of the predictors go in the opposite direction than hypothesized. The latter finding indicates that reconciliation is relatively complex phenomenon and that a more fine grained analysis that will shed light on other factors influencing it. For that matter, yet given the spatial and temporal limitations, two municipalities – Kumanovo and Struga were selected as cases to be analyzed qualitatively. Below, I present and discuss the latter results.

3.2 Hunches from Qualitative Analysis

Bearing in mind the purposeful sampling procedure and the small number of interviews, the aim of the qualitative assessment of interview data in two municipalities, was to provide directions for futher more in-depth research by drawing the attention to particular indicators that may explain the different levels of reconciliation in Macedonian multi-ethnic municipalities. Initially, I briefly elaborate the selection of these two cases and thereupon I proceed with the cross-case thematic analysis.

3.2.1 Case Selection

Following the selection criteria explained in the methodological chapter, the municipalities were categorized into three groups depending on the number of municipal level conditions they satisfy (Appendix B, Section A). The first group consists of municipalities that satisfy one criterion – Arachinovo and Chucher Sandevo, which share the condition size of municipal minority, with the former being located in the first category (0% - 10% municipal minority) and the latter being located in the second category (10.1% - 30% municipal minority). Considering their scores on the remaining predictors and on reconciliation, it appears that they are typical cases.

The next group consists of municipalities that meet two municipal-level criteria for high reconciliation. Except for Lipkovo, Debar, Kichevo and Struga share the same characteristic – they are located the furthest from places that experienced direct violent confrontation. Moreover, except for Debar, the remaining municipalities satisfy the condition regarding population size, while Lipkovo and Debar share one characteristic conducive to higher level of reconciliation – size of municipal minority. The scores on reconciliation of these municipalities show that, unlike all the other municipalities, Struga exhibits extremely high level of reconciliation. Thereafter, Struga is chosen as an extreme case to be further scrutinized for examination.

The last group consists of those municipalities that satisfy all the three criteria. Saraj exhibits fairly high level of reconciliation and therefore, is seems to be a typical case. Gostivar and Kumanovo share exactly the same characteristics, nonetheless, Kumanovo exhibits extremely low level of reconciliation even lower than many of the municipalities that have 'worse' conditions. Consequently, Kumanovo is selected as the second municipality that will be qualitatively assessed.

3.2.1.1 *Contextualizing Struga and Kumanovo*

For the reader to find Struga and Kumanovo 'tangible', a brief familiarization with these cases seems necessary. Struga is situated in the south-west part of Macedonia, bordering Albania on the west and lying on the shore of the Lake Ohrid. According to the 2002 census, it has 63 376 inhabitants, out of which 56.85% are Albanians and 32.09% are Macedonians. Struga was not a conflict zone, yet the redrawing of the municipal borders in 2004 changed its ethnic composition, turning it into a predominantly Albanian municipality.

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Kumanovo on the other hand, is located in the northern part of Macedonia on the borders with Kosovo. According to the 2002 census, it has 105 484 inhabitants, out of which 60.43% are Macedonians and 25.87% are Albanians. Although it did not experience violent conflict, Kumanovo was close to the conflict zones in 2001. In addition, geographical location of Struga and Kumanovo is presented in Figure 5.

Figure 5.   Geographical Location of Kumanovo and Struga
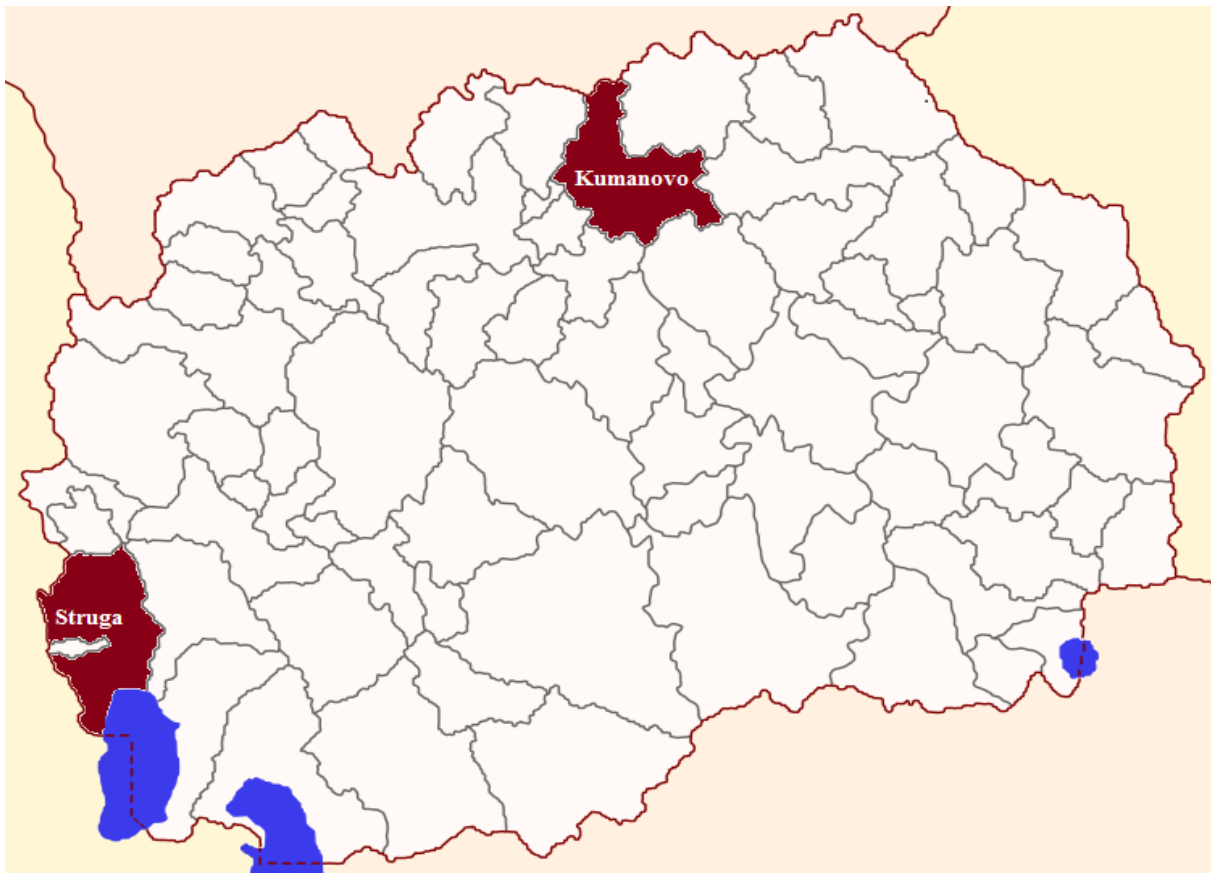
3.2.2 Cross-Case Thematic Analysis

This section presents the cross-case analysis of four themes that were discovered during the process of interview coding, namely, *perceptions on the out-group, mixed neighborhoods,*

communal culture and *Macedonia's constituent body.* In addition, demographic characteristics for the respondents are presented in Section B, Appendix B.

To start off, the analysis revealed that *perceptions on the out-group* are important indicator for the level of interviewees' reconciliation. Whereas all interviewees agreed that their inter-ethnic relations are influenced by *vicarious contacts,* the examination of this dimension showed that the different levels of reconciliation of the interviewees from Struga and Kumanovo reflect socially-desirable behavior. Accordingly, while Albanian interviewee from Struga pointed that "from observing one can feel the harmony that is all over Struga" (Interview 2), Macedonian from Kumanovo explained that gossiping prevents her from being more open to Albanians:

> *"The bad image I had for Albanians changed [...] I have no problems in contacting with them, but I don't feel comfortable even when we greet each other. I see that mixing up will make Kumanovo better place for living, but in Kumanovo it's not normal to have Albanian friend. People will point their fingers at me and blame me as if I am doing a murder. I don't really want that." (Interview 10)*

Evidently the interviewees are unconsciously conforming to and placing higher value on social norms than their own preference. Perhaps, the latter is contrary to Petermann's claim that in more populated municipalities intergroup contacts are preference-driven (2013b, 1219). It might be that preferences do not matter at all, but rather the social norms. This is not implausible because individuals, as self-categorization theorists argue, always seek to maintain a positive social identity(Stets and Burke 2000). Consequently, there seem to be a possible link between inclusiveness of self-categorization and the propensity towards higher levels of reconciliation that needs to be further investigated.

The interviewees' assessments of *perceived out-group size* showed that its' influence on reconciliation may go in the opposite direction than the theory proposes and might matter only for Macedonians. Although Albanians comprise 25% from the population in Kumanovo, Macedonian interviewees stated that the actual percentage of Albanians is 30% (Interview 6), 40% (Interview 7) and 50% (Interview 10). Moreover, the latter interviewee accused the authorities of encouraging the Albanian reproduction as means to threaten Macedonians:

"Everything is politically arranged. The politicians are trying to force us [Macedonians] to leave Kumanovo once for all. Otherwise, we will either be assimilated or we will have to start reproducing at higher rates. There is really no other explanation for them [Albanians] keeping an entire army at home." (Interview 10)

Whereas Macedonians are minority in Struga, the interviewees perceived themselves as the municipal majority. In that manner, a female interviewee highlighted that the official statistics must be disregarded as they present "wrong figures" (Interview 1). Male interviewee pointed to the equal parity as a factor that makes inter-ethnic relations work (Interview 3). Conceivably, the perceptions of Macedonians from Kumanovo are in line with threat theory in that the competition over scarce resources invokes subjective threat (Wagner et al. 2006). This however, cannot be an explanation for the perceptions of Struga's interviewees, nor could the decennial domination of Macedonians over Albanians in Struga as the latter is also the case with Kumanovo[16]. My hunch is that the Macedonian interviewees from Struga have not, consciously or unconsciously, internalized the fact that with the redrawing of its municipal boundaries in 2004, Struga has become predominantly Albanian municipality.

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[16] State Statistical Office. Population of Macedonia by ethnic affiliation and settlements 1948-2002. Available at: http://makstat.stat.gov.mk/pxweb2007bazi/Database/Censuses/Censuses%20of%20population%201948-2002/Censuses%20of%20population%201948-2002.asp

Moreover, they seem not to refer to the municipality of Struga, but the settlement of Struga, where in fact Macedonians are still the majority.

That the views of the interviewees from Kumanovo and Struga differ, is further supported by investigating their perceptions on *out-group heterogeneity.* Macedonian respondents from Struga emphasized that they are "Struzhans" who have nothing similar with the remaining Macedonians and Albanians (Interview 3), and a female Albanian clearly distinguished Albanians from Kosovars:

> *"You people from the Northern parts of Macedonia find it problematic to live together because you are not "clean". I mean, you have people from Prishtina there, Kosovars, who are totally different from Albanians." (Interview 5)*

Interestingly, interviewees from Struga judge people without ethnic consideration if they are Struga's residents, but make stereotypical categorizations for Macedonians and Albanians residing in other municipalities. This raises further questions about the diversity of identity categorizations that respondents from Struga made. Correspondingly, an inclusion of survey item offering more categories to respondents would allow for a robust finding.

In Kumanovo however, Macedonian indicated that "Albanians are 'lagging' behind the modernity of the 21st century" (Interviewee 7), whereas Albanian highlighted that "Macedonians are uncivilized and frustrated people who happen to be the majority and try to compensate non-EU membership by being nationalistic" (Interviewee 8). Seemingly, stereotypes act with full power in the perceptions of Kumanovo's interviewees as they make differences between people along ethnic lines. Given that stereotyping is present in the perceptions of interviewees from both municipalities but in different ways, one may raise the

question whether differences could be found between perceptions of Struga's interviewees and those of Kumanovo if a larger study was done.

My hunch is that differences exist and there are two explanations about them, yet this needs to be further investigated. First, departing from self-categorization theory which argues that individuals have numerous social identities adapted to particular contexts, it seems that Struga's interviewees make salient categorizations in their interactions with Struga's residents – the interviewees are fully aware of ethnic belonging and appreciate the other as different (Eller and Abrams 2004, 230). Nonetheless, Kumanovo's interviewees, and Struga's interviewees in their relations with people outside Struga make value categorical judgments defining people in terms of group characteristics (Barrett, Wilson, and Lyons 1999).

Second, an analysis of the personal pronouns used by interviewees from Kumanovo and Struga is an indicator that there is a difference in the perceptions of interviewees from Kumanovo and those from Struga. Without exception, the interviewees from Struga talked about "us" and "we" when referring to both Macedonians and Albanians from Struga. At the beginning of my interview with Macedonian from Struga, he mentioned:

> *"We are, I don't know how I should say, should I talk in terms of Albanians and Macedonians from Struga so that you can make a difference afterwards, but it doesn't come naturally to me". (Interview 3)*

Likewise, Albanian from Struga pointed:

> *"As I said, we Struhzans have established very good relations regardless whether one is Macedonian or Albanian, so when you ask me about Macedonians in Struga, it sounds weird to me". (Interview 2)*

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Interviewees from Kumanovo on the other hand, talked in terms of "us" and "them" always commencing their answers with general statements that involve all Macedonians and Albanians. When expressing his thoughts on the situation in Kumanovo, Macedonian noted:

"There are formal contacts between Macedonians and Albanians in Kumanovo and there are hardly, hardly few friendships. The territory is "demarcated", one part is ours, one part is theirs and the mixed neighborhoods are predominantly Albanian so I count them as theirs". (Interview 6)

Bearing in mind that the interviewees are residents of different municipalities, it is not unexpected that one finds differences in the ways they stereotype. This notwithstanding, further investigation would be useful in eliminating the evidence from this observation.

Most of the interviewees agreed that *mixed neighborhoods* are facilitators of everyday interactions, making people more willing to cooperate, and that those who reside in homogenous neighborhoods are more hostile towards the out-group (Interview 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9 and 10). Evidently, the interviewees' perceptions are in line with the theoretical proposition about the beneficial effects from mixed neighborhoods. Apart from that, given that there is no variation in interviewees' perceptions, this dimension might not be able to explain the different levels of respondents' reconciliation in Kumanovo and Struga.

The examination of *communal culture* showed striking difference in the perceptions of the interviewees from Kumanovo and Struga, what might be one of the key indicators explaining the differences in the level of reconciliation. The analysis of interviewees' perception on its first component – *socialization* pointed out that parents' behavior and image they leave to their children lays the foundations for inter-ethnic relations. Whereas most of the respondents from Stuga acknowledged that "[they] were taught to respect everyone regardless

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of ethnic belonging, and to judge people by their behavior" (Interview 2, 3, 4 and 5), some of the interviewees from Kumanovo admitted that there have been times when their parents advised them to keep away from the out-group children as to avoid conflicts (Interview 7 and 8). In a likely manner, Albanian from Kumanovo illustrated:

"My son is a member of a NGO and given that one seminar was approaching, he asked a Macedonian to join him. The Macedonian was thinking about this idea for five days, justifying this by saying that his father told him that going with an Albanian on a seminar is not a very wise idea and that he is afraid that his son might be beaten up". (Interview 9)

The stark contrast in the perceptions of the interviewees from Kumanovo and Struga become even more apparent by investigating their views on the role of schools. Seemingly, the respondents from Struga are well aware of the implications stemming from separate schools. Accordingly, most of the respondents from Struga noted that by having out-group classmates children are learning from the very beginning to build "thick friendships" (Interview 1, 2 and 5), and another interviewee mentioned "it is actually in primary school that children start to form themselves as persons" (Interview 4). A clear example of how different respondents perceive the role of the schools and more importantly, how some of them legitimise segregation is illustrated in two quotations bellow. Macedonian interviewee explained how residents of Struga dealt with non-inclusive policies pushed by the authorities:

"The government came up with a "brilliant" idea to build another school and separate the Macedonians and Albanians. And of course, all of us protested. Who gives it the right to change the way we have been peacefully leaving for so long? If kids hate each other, they can always meet after school and fight then". (Interview 3)

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Albanian from Kumanovo nevertheless, mentioned the benefits from studying in separate schools:

"I cannot recall when it was exactly, but at one point few Albanian classes have been transferred to one high school, together with Macedonians. Because of provocations and everyday fights, we urged the respective authorities to find another building for the Albanians. Studying together only makes things worse, but like now [separated schools] children don't have much contact and parents are not worried when sending them at school." (Interview 9)

The analysis of the second sub-category of communal culture – *language* further revealed how different the perceptions of interviewees residing in different municipalities can be. When enclosing his views on the role of language in inter-ethnic relations, Albanian from Struga pointed out that, by "the rules that every normal country practices", everyone should speak the language of the majority in the public space (Interview 2). In a similar vein, another Albanian reported

"I am ethnic Albanian living in a country where the majority is non-Albanian and. I am permitted to freely talk in Albanian everywhere in the private space. Therefore, it is logical that I should speak in Macedonian [in the public space]. That's how the normal world functions and giving this right to non-majorities who make more than 20%? That won't help anything, but just provoke radicals' minds. Here in Struga, we don't even talk in those categories." (Interview 5)

By contrast, Albanians from Kumanovo wondered "why it is [them] who always have to speak Macedonian" (Interview 8) and that "a multi-ethnic country by default implies several official languages applicable to the entire territory" (Interview 9). Finding the opportunity provided to Albanians to translate all the documents in Albanian as threatening, a Macedonian from Kumanovo proposed that, so as to avoid conflict, the Albanians in

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Macedonia should speak English, as the latter is internationally recognized as language spoken between people who do not speak the same language (Interview 10). Although the Peace Accord aimed at diminishing post-conflict tensions and allowed primary and secondary education in the languages of the ethnic communities, one sees that, on the long run, that has produced greater segregation (ICG 2011, 17)

The assessment of interviewees' perceptions of communal culture indicates to potential problem of "parallel lives" in Kumanovo, which may raise concerns about the quality of life and the prospects for shared future of Kumanovo's residents. In that manner, the separation of schools[17] is considered as a "good protective measure against inter-ethnic clashes (UNICEF 2009, 14), and language is not perceived as means for communication, but rather differentiation and separation (Najceska 2002). The perceptions of interviewees from Struga however, seem to be on the other end of the continuum, integrating the differences and functioning in an atmosphere of harmony. Yet, this indicates that although Allport's four conditions may not be necessary for the contact theory to have effect (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006b), the act as facilitators of the other characteristics of the contact situation.

The investigation of the theme *Macedonia's constituent body* yielded striking perceptive differences between the respondents from Struga and Kumanovo. To begin, the respondents from Struga unanimously agreed that both Macedonians and Albanians are the constituent body of Macedonia (Interview 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). In supporting his claim that Macedonia belongs to both ethnic communities, male Albanian from Struga mentioned the taxes which citizens pay:

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[17] For more extensive reading on separate schooling practices in Kumanovo, see Myhrvold (2005) and Carter et al. (2000).

"I went to Skopje few months ago and I don't know how we got to the issue of inter-ethnic groups. And I explained him, yes I am ethnic Albanian, but I live in Macedonia and if I pay taxes to Macedonia, then the country is ours [Albanians and Macedonians]. If I was living here as a free-rider and paying taxes to Albania, then you can say the country is yours." (Interview 4)

All interviewees from Kumanovo claimed that Macedonia belongs to them and not their respective out-group. Moreover, a female Macedonian highlighted that "Albanians once made attempt to overtake [our] square" (Interview 6), whereas a male Macedonian explicitly stated that Macedonia belongs to ethnic Macedonians and that they "will not allow Albanians to create Great Albania" (Interview 7). To the extreme, another Macedonian argued that if the war in 2001 continued, "Albanians would have understood where their limits are" (Interview 9).

This theme raises questions about the gap between the institutional model and the perceptions of the interviewees on the national identity, as well as the role of authorities to challenge hegemonic visions on national identity. With the amendments from 2001, the Macedonian assembly passed an inclusive constitutional text body[18], with the preamble referring to Macedonian citizens instead of enlisting the ethnicities and therefore, discouraging discrimination on ethnic lines. Nevertheless, this is not what has been practiced by the political elites. "The mono-ethnic public spending" (Maleska 2013, 9) of Macedonia's government is rekindling feelings of discrimination among Albanians with the Skopje 2014 project (ICG 2011, 14). Although local units were formed so as to enhance modern and effective management, it might be that the latter were instrumentalized by Macedonia's ruling

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[18] Assemlby of the Republic of Macedonia. Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. Available at: http://www.sobranie.mk/the-constitution-of-the-republic-of-macedonia.nspx

party VMRO-DPMNE[19] to influence the living in the municipalities and impose its monopoly (UNDP 2010, 13). As Albanian and Macedonian interviewees from Struga highlighted, the formation of local unit for the Public Revenue Office in Bitola for tax control in Struga tries to hinder the good ethnic relations in Struga through its activities:

> *"With the 2007 changes, Struga was stripped of many powers in so many aspects. For instance, local unit for the Public Revenue Office for Struga now is in Bitola. Why Bitola? Because VMRO-DPMNE is not the ruling party here, but it is in Bitola, and Bitola is close and can control Struga. What is happening now is that financial controls are done only to Albanian financial subjects".* (Interview 2)

> *"The Public Revenue Local Unit as managed from Bitola is "visiting" night clubs owned by Albanians only, and this is not what has been happening when this unit was situated in Struga. This disturbs Struga's businessmen but they [government] are trying to destroy our good relations in every way possible".* (Interview 3)

Seemingly, the interviewees from Struga are successfully persistent to the governmental efforts of this type, however, those from Kumanovo have come to see ethnic threats everywhere, even if sharing the municipal square may seem banal from the point of view of Struga's interviewees. Perhaps, the visualization of the 'other' in appropriating Macedonian citizenship only to the ethnic group to which the interviewees from Kumanovo belong, has a defining importance, but also a normative dimension (Lampe and Mazower 2004). Hence, not only do these interviewees explain who Macedonia's constituent body is, but also who Macedonia's constituent body ought and ought not to be.

In short, the interviewees' perceptions on what explains the different levels of reconciliation are important indicators that context matters and that disaggregation of in-

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[19] Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity

groups is crucial for understanding the different levels of reconciliation. It has been demonstrated that the views of the interviewees from Kumanovo diverge from those of Struga nonetheless, as generalizations from these interviewees seem untenable they draw attention to additional points that need further investigation.

3.3 Limitations

By complementing the findings from the quantitative analysis with indications derived through the qualitative analysis, this research makes a step forward in marrying quantitative and qualitative streams, yet it is not free from limitations. With respect to the quantitative analysis, as the sample size is rather small, the effect of some of the factors influencing reconciliation may change when the sample size increases. Moreover, increasing the number of cases on the second level – municipalities, will allow for a more complex design – multi-level modeling which handles this type of data better.

Regarding the qualitative analysis, the data are not entirely exhaustive in two respects. Although I am familiar with the idea that the purpose of a researcher is to collect data with both "textural depth and empirical strength" (Lilleker 2003, 208), the interview data fall short in that respect. As an amateur in the field of interviewing, I did not extract all the relevant information from my interviewees and consequently, there could be more meaningful information of which I am not aware of. Another limitation of my research is that not all perceptions to the issue under concerned have been captured due to the fact that only ten interviews have been conducted.

CONCLUSION

The formal termination on the conflict with OFA put an end to the warlike relations, securing peaceful coexistence between Macedonians and Albanians. Apart from several "minimalistic" measures however, Macedonian authorities did not develop any systematic programs that will facilitate grass-root reconciliation, leaving people to find their own way out of the post-war chaos. Correspondingly, the achievement of reconciliation appears highly unequally distributed as not all of them managed to overcome the ethnic hostilities.

Guided by the lack of a comprehensive assessment of reconciliation in Macedonia, this research attempted to uncover how is the process of reconciliation perceived within and between Macedonians and Albanians, within and across municipalities and what may explain the different levels of reconciliation in the municipalities in Macedonia. So as to dive into more fine grained analysis, yet without disregarding the importance for making generalization, the research design was shaped as a sequence of quantitative and qualitative methods.

In order to understand reconciliation among citizens, this research looked at how ethnicity is "made and unmade in everyday interactions between individuals" (Wimmer 2013, 46). Building upon intergroup contact theory, this research investigated the impact of three characteristics of the contact situation. Initiating the analysis with a disaggregation of the level of reconciliation by ethnic belonging and municipality, it appears that it is indeed important to make sub-national level comparisons. Interestingly though, it seems that the differences in the level of reconciliation are more pronounced between municipalities than

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across ethnic lines. To put it differently, it matters much more if an individual is a resident of Struga or Kumanovo, rather than if he is of Macedonian or Albanian descent.

The subsequent analysis shows that intergroup contact theory is useful in explaining the process of reconciliation. I find that maintaining informal, voluntary and pleasant contacts coupled with cross-group group friendships and frequent self-disclosure invokes higher levels of reconciliation than having formal and casual contacts in artificial settings. In a similar vein, higher salience of one's ethnic identity increases the chances for observing higher level of reconciliation. Interestingly, the analysis further shows that being less supportive to the central authorities, but also perceiving Macedonia's political parties and economy as the greatest threats to reconciliation seems to have beneficial effects on reconciliation. If lending less legitimacy to the state authorities is accompanied by higher level of reconciliation, then the state authorities must reconsider the policies and measures they undertake. Finally, higher level of reconciliation is more likely to occur in municipalities that have large population, small minority and are located far from places that have experienced direct violent confrontation.

Struga and Kumanovo however, did not fit this pattern, leading me to step into making a qualitative assessment of the factors responsible for these irregularities. The cross-case thematic analysis pointed to additional elements that need further investigation. One of the most important is the communal culture and the analysis of the interviewees perception made it apparent that more in-depth assessment of the latter dimension is necessary in unearthing the different levels of reconciliation in these two municipalities. Similarly, interviewees' perceptions on out-group size and heterogeneity, along with who Macedonia's constituent

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body is, appear to be another set of indicators that are crucial for understanding the striking difference in the levels of reconciliation in these two communities, and conceivably in others.

Notwithstanding its limitations, this research is a step forward in developing a comprehensive concept of reconciliation that fits the Macedonian context and the first attempt to understanding reconciliation through the lens of intergroup contact theory. The findings to which I have come raise numerous questions which may be investigated in future studies. To start off, whereas previous studies, conducted on national level, find ethnic belonging to exert significant effects, this study found the opposite. Correspondingly, it would be interesting to see if ethnic belonging matters only in particular municipalities. For that matter, future studies should include mono-ethnic municipalities in their research design, and control whether residing in a mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic municipality and illuminate makes a difference. Taking my findings as a starting point, my hunch is that ethnic belonging is an important predictor in mono-ethnic municipalities.

Furthermore, the thematic analysis indicated that some characteristics of the intergroup threat theory provide better explanations for the situation than the intergroup contact theory. It might be challenging though, to conduct an analysis that tests these two theories and assess if there is a difference in the factors that explain the situation in each municipality on the one hand and the higher and lower level of reconciliation on the other hand. Moreover, one could apply intergroup contact theory on municipal level and check if there are differences in the factors that appear important in a particular municipality. Finally taking into account the beneficial effects that inclusive schools have, the respective authorities may be interested in revisiting their policies.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: FIELDWORK DATA – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A: Sample Characteristics

A comparison of the sample with the parameters of the population was made by utilizing the census data of 2002. Given the non-random choice of the municipalities, I aimed at comparing the characteristics of the respondents by municipality however the official statistics disaggregate the data on belonging to ethnic community on municipal level only. Thereafter, the number of individuals belonging to a particular ethnic community was informed by the municipal level data (percentage of Macedonians and Albanians out of the total municipal population is presented in Table 10 bellow), whereas gender and age groups was informed by state-level census data. The gender distribution in Macedonia is fairly equal with 50.1% males and 49.9% females. Even if one excludes the persons younger than 18 years of the entire population, from the 78.98% who are 18 and over, 49.69% are males and 50.31% are females. Similar comparison is made in regard to age with the following age bonds, namely 18 – 29; 30 – 41; 42 – 53; 54 – 65; and 66 and more.

Table 11   Number of respondents by municipality, ethnic belonging, gender and age

Municipality	**Ethnic belonging**		**Gender**		**Age**				
	Macedonian	*Albanian*	*Male*	*Female*	*18-29*	*30-41*	*42-53*	*54-65*	*66+*
Aracinovo	4	46	26	24	11	17	12	7	3
C. Sandevo	36	14	27	23	6	16	16	9	3
Debar	15	35	27	23	8	13	12	9	8
Gostivar	15	35	26	24	10	17	9	6	8
Kicevo	34	16	25	25	10	17	11	7	5
Kumanovo	31	19	27	23	12	14	10	7	7
Lipkovo	11	39	25	25	15	11	13	6	5
Saraj	5	45	27	23	12	16	12	7	3
Struga	19	31	26	24	11	16	12	5	6
TOTAL	170	280	236	214	95	137	107	63	48

Section B: 'Random Walk' Instructions

The choice of the households follows the logic of random selection, employing the technique – 'random walk'. These instructions are general enough so that they can be applied in each of the selected municipalities. Hence, the starting point in each of the selected municipalities is the front door of the municipal building. From there, the interviewers proceed on the left, pass three streets, turn on the right, pass two streets and enter the second entrance door on the left. In the case the door does not lead to a house, but instead to an apartment building, the interviewers pass three floors and enter the first door on the right. In the case the apartment building has less than three floors; the interviewers continue to count from the first floor. In case the building to which the route leads the interviewers is not a household, they start counting from the beginning starting from the door of that building.

Section C: Non-Response Rate by Municipality

Table 12   Non-Response Rate from Survey Data Collection by Municipality

Municipality	N[0] of Non-Respondents*	Non-Response Rate**
Aracinovo	4	7.4 %
C. Sandevo	6	10.7%
Debar	9	15.3%
Gostivar	5	9.1%
Kicevo	5	9.1%
Kumanovo	7	12.3%
Lipkovo	2	3.8%
Saraj	4	7.4 %
Struga	3	5.7%
TOTAL	43	8.7%

* Non-Respondents refers to respondents' refusal to participate in the survey, respondents reported to be very busy and thus, unavailable, and household unavailability (absence of household members)

** Non-Response Rate (NRR) was calculated by using the following formula:

$$NRR = \frac{\text{N0 of Non-Respondents}}{\text{N0 of Non-Respondents + N0 Respondents}} * 100$$

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Section D: Date of Survey Data Collection

Table 13   Survey Data Collection by Date and Municipality

Municipality	Date
Aracinovo	December 15th, 2013
Cucher Sandevo	December 16th, 2013
Lipkovo	December 17th, 2013
Kumanovo	December 18th, 2013
Saraj	December 21st, 2013
Struga	December 22nd, 2013
Gostivar	December 23rd, 2013
Debar	December 24th, 2013
Kicevo	December 25th, 2013

Section E: Survey Questionnaire

Before the administration of the survey, the questionnaire was pilot-tested so as to ensure the clarity of individual questions and to identify issues that might affect the survey quality. The pilot survey was conducted on 15 potential respondents in two urban and two rural settlements of different size. The survey was administered in two languages: Macedonian and Albanian, for the Macedonian and Albanian respondents, respectively. With this type of data collection, interviewers make sure that interviewees' privacy is protected, but also they are fairly certain that the person has the characteristics needed.

Survey Questionnaires

1. *Original Questionnaire – Macedonian Version*

Прашалник: Перцепции на интеретничките односи

Реден
Број

Добар Ден,

Ние сме студенти и и помагаме на наша пријателка да спроведе анкета која е дел од нејзината магистерска теза. Затоа би сакале да Ве поканиме да учествувате во истражувачката студија која се стреми да собере податоци и да одговори на прашања за интер-етничките односи помеѓу припадниците на Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница и како се одвива процесот на помирување по потпишувањето на Охридскиот Рамковен Договор во 2001.

Пред се, дозволете ми да во една минута да ви објаснаме зошто Ве поканиваме да учествувате и како ќе бидат употребени информациите кои ќе ги добиеме од Вас. Имено, по пат на случаен избор Вие бевте избрани да го пополните овој краток прашалник. Прашалникот се состои од ДВА дела, а за пополнување на целосниот прашалник ќе Ви бидат потребни неполни ДЕСЕТ минути.

Информацијата која Вие ќе ми ја дадете ќе биде искористена за да се добие генерална слика за тоа како се одвива процесот на пост-конфликтно градење на пријателски односи помеѓу припадниците на Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница во мултиетничките општини во Македонија. Сите информации кои ќе ги добиеме од Вас ќе бидат третирани во тајност за целите на студијата, а во согласност со законот за заштита на личните податоци тие остануваат доверливи. Вашето име нема да стои на прашалникот, а Вашето учество е доброволно и вие можете во било кое време да се откажете. Доколку имате било какви прашања, ве молам обратете ми се пред да започне спроведувањето на прашалникот. Ви благодарам однапред за вашето време и за соработката.

I.   ДЕМОГРАФСКИ ПОДАТОЦИ

П1   За потребите на истражувањето треба да го означиме Вашиот пол, па затоа, ќе означам машки/женски за Вас:

1 – Машки
2 – Женски

П2   На која возрасна група припаѓате?
1 18 – 29
2 30 – 40
3 41 – 51
4 52 – 62

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5 63 и повеќе

П3   Кој е Вашиот највисок степен на образование?
1 – Без формално
2 – Незавршено основно
3 – Завршено основно
4 – Незавршено средно
5 – Завршено средно
6 – Незавршено вишо
7 – Завршено вишо
8 – Незавршено високо
9 – Завршено високо

П4   Во моментот, Вие сте:
1 – Студент/ка
2 – Вработен/a во јавниот сектор
3 – Вработен/a во приватниот сектор
4 – Невработен/a
5 – Пензиониран/a

П5   Сега ќе Ве замолам да ми кажете колку изнесуваат целокупните месечни примања во
Вашето домаќинство. Имено, во целокупни месечни примања спаѓаат студентски
трансфери и стипендии, трансфери за детска грижа, социјални помош, фиксни месечни
плати, добивка од изнајмување на имот, обработливо земјиште и сите останати видови
на било каков прилив на парични средства во Вашето домаќинство.

1 0 – 10 000
2 10 001 – 20 000
3 20 001 – 30 000
4 30 001 – 40 000
5 40 001 и повеќе

П6   Колку вкупно членови брои Вашето домаќинство, сметајќи ве и Вам?
1 1 – 3
2 4 – 6
3 7 и повеќе

П7   На која етничка група се сметате за припадник?
1 – Македонци
2 – Албанци

П8   Општина, Населено место (не се прашува, само се наведува)
1 – Липково
2 – Арачиново
3 – Чучер Сандево
4 – Сарај
5 – Гостивар
6 – Куманово
7 – Дебар

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8 – Струга
9 – Кичево

II.   ПЕРЦЕПЦИИ НА ИНТЕР-ЕТНИЧКИТЕ ОДНОСИ

П9   Дали се согласувате со ставот: Охридскиот Рамковен Договор беше единствениот начин за прекинување на конфликтот во 2001 година.

1 – Целосно се согласувам
2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам
3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам
4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П10   Дали се согласувате со ставот: Сметам дека траумите, болката и раните кои што ми ги предизвика конфликтот во 2001 се целосно зараснати и немам желба за одмазда.

1 – Целосно се согласувам
2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам
3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам
4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П11   Дали се согласувате со ставот: Јас не ги обвинувам единствено припадниците на Албанската етничка заедница за конфликтот во 2001, затоа што тие, исто како и припадниците на Македонската етничка заедница имаа свои причини и приказа за конфликтот, и јас ги сметам нивните причини и приказна за еднакво разумни и вистинити исто како и причините и приказната на припадниците на Македонската етничка заедница.

1 – Целосно се согласувам
2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам
3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам
4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П12   Дали се согласувате со ставот: Охридскиот Рамковен Договор донесе правда со тоа што сите граѓани на Република Македонија, без разлика на етничката група, сега се еднакви во правата кои ги имаат.
1 – Целосно се согласувам
2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам
3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам
4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П13   Кој е Вашиот став во однос на зближување и интеграција на Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница во иднина?

1 – Двете етнички заедници треба уште повеќе да се интегрираат во сите сфери на живеењето: пријателство, образование, работа, ноќен живот, политичките партии
2 – Двете етнички заедници треба уште повеќе да се интегрираат само во приватната сфера на живеење: пријателства, ноќен живот
3 – Двете етнички заедници треба уште повеќе да се интегрираат само во јавната сфера

на живеење: работа, политички партии, образование

4 – Двете етнички заедници не треба уште повеќе да се интегрираат

П14 Дали се согласувате со следниот став: Сметам дека Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница имаат светла заедничка иднина: мирен соживот, хармонија и соработка.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П15 Дали се согласувате со следниот став: Јас сум спремен/спремна да соработувам со припадниците на Албанската етничка заедница за да заеднички изградиме подобра иднина.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П16 Дали се согласувате со следниот став: Во иднина би можел/можела да заборавам и да простам за тоа што се случувало во минатото.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во најголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П17 Дали ви пречи тоа што во Вашата општина живеат и припадници на Албанската етничка заедница?

1 – Да, целосно ми пречи

2 – Најголем дел од времето ми пречи

3 – Најголем дел од времето не ми пречи

4 – Не, воопшто не ми пречи

П18 Дали остварувате личен контакт со луѓе кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница?

1 - Да, формално (во институциите: општинските служби, банки, полиција, болници, суд) и неформално (надвор од институциите: со пријатели, познаници, соседи)

2 – Формално и неформално, но во најголем дел остварувам формални контакти

3 – Да, но само формално (во институции: општински служби, банки, полиција, болница, суд)

4 – Избегнувам контакти со припадници на Албанската етничка заедница

П19 Колку често остварувате неформален личен контакт со луѓе кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница?

1 – Секој ден или скоро секој ден

2 – Неколку пати во текот на неделата

3 – Неколку пати во текот на месецот

4 – Неколку пати во текот на годината

П20 Дали имате пријатели кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница? Пријатели се

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однесува на луѓе со кои покрај останати места, се сретнувате и во вашите домови, на кафе, тоа се луѓе со кои можете да разговарате на приватни теми, на кои им верувате и можете да им се доверите, кои ги подржуваат и од кои добивате подршка кога ви е потребно и со кои може да споделувате мислиње и да разговарате на различни теми, за животот, семејството, здравјето, работата, политичките партии, функционирањето на државата, сиромаштија итн. Пријатели не се луѓе со кои само се поздравувате на улица.

1 – Да имам многу, јас не ги избирам моите пријатели според етничката припадност
2 – Да, но иако јас не ги избирам моите пријатели според етничката припадност, имам неколку пријатели од Албанска етничка припадност
3 – Не, но би сакал/а да имам пријатели од Албанската етничка припадност
4 – Познавам луѓе од Албанска етничка припадност, но нив не ги сметам за пријатели со кои можам да разговарам на горенаведените теми

П21   Доколку имате пријатели од Албанската етничка заедница, колку често разговарате на лични теми (за животот, семејството, здравјето, работата, политичките партии, функционирањето на државата, сиромаштија итн)?

1 – На секоја средба
2 – Многу често, скоро при секоја средба
3 – Ретко, одвреме –навреме
4 – Никогаш

П22   Каков е вашиот однос со луѓето кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница споредено со периодот пред конфликтот?

1 – Ист, јас секогаш сум бил во добри односи со луѓе кои припаѓаат на Албанската Македонската етничка заедница
2 – Подобар
3 – Ист, ниту добар, ниту лош (резервиран, формален, дистанциран)
4 – Полош

П23   Дали вие лично чувствувате страв од луѓето кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница?

1 – Генерално чувствувам страв од сите луѓе припадници на Алб. етничка заедница
2 – Одвреме навреме чувствувам страв од луѓето припадници на Алб. етничка заедница
3 – Чувствувам страв од некои луѓе припадници на Алб. етничка заедница
4 – Моето чувство на страв не зависи од тоа дали некој припаѓа или не на друга етничка заедница

П24   Дали вие лично чувствувате омраза кон луѓето кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница?

1 – Генерално чувствувам омраза кон сите луѓе припадници на Алб. етничка заедница
2 – Одвреме навреме чувствувам омраза кон припадниците на Алб. етничка заедница
3 – Чувствувам омраза кон некои луѓе припадници на Алб. етничка заедница
4 – Моето чувство на омраза не зависи од тоа дали некој припаѓа или не на друга етничка заедница

П25   Дали вие лично чувствувате дека може да им верувате на луѓето кои припаѓаат на Албанската етничка заедница?

1 – Јас не можам да им верувам на луѓе припадници на Алб. етничка заедница

2 – Претежно не можам да им верувам на припадниците на Алб. етничка заедница

3 – Претежно можам да им верувам на луѓе припадници на Алб. етничка заедница

4 – Моето чувство на доверба не зависи од тоа дали некој припаѓа или не на друга етничка заедница

П26 Дали се согласувате со ставот: Јас се чувствувам многу приврзан/а кон мојата етничка група.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П27 Дали се согласувате со ставот: Сметам дека Македонците и Албанците се многу различни.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П28 Дали се согласувате со ставот: Многу ми е важно тоа што јас сум етнички Македонец.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П29 Дали се согласувате со ставот: Јас го признавам и прифаќам авторитетот на централната власт (владата, парламентот, судството) како легитимен.

1 – Целосно се согласувам

2 – Во наголем дел се согласувам

3 – Во најголем дел не се согласувам

4 – Воопшто не се согласувам

П30 Според Вас, која е најголемиот проблем кој влијае на соживотот на Албанската и Македонската етничка заедница?

1 – Припадноста кон друга заедница

2 – Историјата

3 – Сиромаштијата

4 – Властите, политичките партии

2. Original Questionnaire – Albanian Version

Pyetësor: Perceptimet e marrëdhënieve ndëretnike

Numri
Rendor

Mirëdita,

Ne jemi studentë dhe ne jemi duke e ndihmuar mikeshën tonë të realizoj anketë që
është pjesë e tezës së magjistraturës së saj . Pra, do të doja të Ju ftojë që të merrni pjesë në
këtë studim i cili ka për qëllim të mbledhë të dhëna dhe të përgjigjet pyetjeve rreth
marrëdhënieve ndëretnike ndërmjet anëtarëve të bashkësisë etnike maqedonase dhe shqiptare
si dhe si rrjedh procesi i pajtimit pas nënshkrimit të Marrëveshjes Kornizë të Ohrit në vitin
2001.

Së pari , më lejoni një minutë që tua shpjegoj pse Ju ftojmë që të marrni pjesë dhe si
do të përdoren s informacionet që kemi marrë nga ju . Domethënë , me zgjedhje të
rastësishme Juve u zgjodhëm për të plotësoni këtë pyetësor të shkurtër . Pyetësori përbëhet
nga dy pjesë , dhe për plotësimin e plotë të pyetësorit do të marrë më pak se **DHJETË**
minuta .

Informacioni që ju mi jepni mua do të përdoren për të marrë një pamje të përgjithshme
se si zhvillohet procesi i pasluftës në ndërtimin e marrëdhënieve miqësore mes anëtarëve të
bashkësive etnike maqedonase dhe shqiptare në komunitetet multi - etnike në Maqedoni . Të
gjitha informatat që marrim nga ju do të trajtohen konfidenciale për qëllimet e studimit , në
përputhje me ligjin për mbrojtjen e të dhënave personale ata mbeten konfidenciale . Emri juaj
nuk do të shfaqet në pyetësor , dhe pjesëmarrja juaj është vullnetare dhe ju mund në çdo kohë
ta anuloni . Nëse keni ndonjë pyetje , ju lutem më kontaktoni me para zbatimit të pyetësorit .
Ju faleminderit për kohën tuaj dhe për bashkëpunimin.

I.   TË DHËNA DEMOGRAFIKE

P1   Për nevojat e hulumtimit duhet të specifikojmë gjinin, për at do ti caktojmë gjinin
      mashkullore/femrore për ju:

      1 – Mashkullore

      2 – Femrore

P2   Në çfar grupe moshe përkasni ?
      1 18 – 29
      2 30 – 40
      3 41 – 51
      4 52 – 62
      5 63 +

P3   Cili është niveli juaj më i lartë i arsimit ?
      1 Pa arsimim formal
      2 Fillore e pakryer
      3 Fillore e kryer
      4 Shkolla e mesme e pakryer
      5 Shkolla e mesme e kryer
      6 Shkoll e lartë e pakryer
      7 Shkoll e lartë e kryer

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8 Universitet i pakryer
9 Universitet i kryer

P4   Aktualisht ju jeni :
      1 – Student/e
      2 – I/e punësoar në sektorin publik
      3 – I/e punësuar në sektorin privat
      4 – I/e papunësuar
      5 – Penzioner/e

P5   Tash ju lutem të më tregoni sa paraqesin të ardhuart e përgjithsme tuaja mujore në familjen
      tuaj. Në fakt, në të ardhuart e përgjithshme mujore bëjn pjesë transfera dhe bursa studentore,
      tansaferat për kujdesin e fëmijëve, të ardhura sociale, pagat mujore, të ardhurat nga qiraja, tokë
      buqësore dhe lloje tjera të ardhura në formë të hollave në familjen tuaj.

      1 0 – 10 000
      2 10 001 – 20 000
      3 20 001 – 30 000
      4 30 001 – 40 000
      5 40 001 dhe më shumë

P6   Sa anëtar numron familja Juaj, deke ju numëruar edhe Juve?
      1 1 – 3
      2 4 – 6
      3 7 e më shum

P7   Grupi etnik konsiderojnë një anëtar?
      1 – Maqedon
      2 – Shqiptar

P8   Komuna, Vendbanimi (nuk pyetët , vetëm deklarohet))
      1 – Likovë
      2 – Haraçina
      3 – Çuçer Sandevë
      4 – Saraj
      5 – Gostivar
      6 – Kumanovë
      7 – Dibër
      8 – Struga
      9 – Kërçovë

II.   PERCEPTIMET E MARRËDHËNIEVE NDËRETNIKE

P9   A jeni dakord me paragrafin: Marveshka Korrnizë e Ohrit ishte e vetmja mënyrë për zgjidhjen
      e konfliktit në vitin 2001.

      1 – Plotshisht pajtohem

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2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem

3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem

4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P10 A jeni dakord me paragrafin: C A pajtoheni me qëndrimin: mendoj se trauma, dhimbje dhe plagë që kam shkaktuar konfliktin në vitin 2001 janë shëruar plotësisht dhe unë nuk kam asnjë dëshirë për hakmarrje.

1 – Plotshisht pajtohem

2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem

3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem

4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P11 A jeni dakord me paragrafin: A pajtoheni me qëndrimin: Unë nuk e fajësojnë vetëm anëtarët e të komunitetit etnik maqedonas për konfliktitin në vitin 2001, sepse ata, si anëtarë të bashkësisë etnike shqiptare kishte historinë e vet dhe arsyet e konfliktit, dhe unë i llogaris historinë dhe arsyet e tyre njësonj të arsyeshme dhe të vërteta si historin dhe arsyet e bashkësisë etnike shqiptare.

1 – Plotshisht pajtohem

2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem

3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem

4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P12 A jeni dakord me paragrafin: Marveshja Korrnizë e Ohrit sjelli drejtësinë për arsye që të gjithë qytetarët e Maqedonisë, pa dallim të grupit të tyre etnik , tani kanë të drejta të barabarta.

1 – Plotshisht pajtohem

2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem

3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem

4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P13 Cili është qëndrimi juaj në kohezionin dhe integrimin e bashkësisë etnike maqedonase dhe shqiptare në të ardhmen?

1 – Të dyja komunitetet duhet të integrohen më tej në të gjitha fushat e jetës: miqësi, arsimim, punë, natës, parti politike

2 – Të dyja komunitetet duhet të integrohen më tej vetëm në sferën private të jetës: miqësi, ahengje

3 – Të dyja komunitetet duhet të integrohen më tej vetëm në sferën publike të jetës: të punës, partitë politike, arsim

4 – Të dyja komunitetet duhet të integrohen më tej

P14 A pajtoheni me deklaratën në vijim: Unë besoj se bashkësia etnike maqedonase dhe shqiptare kanë një të ardhme të shkëlqyer së bashku: bashkëjetesë paqësore, harmoni dhe bashkëpunim

1 – Plotshisht pajtohem

2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem

3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem

4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

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P15   A pajtoheni me deklaratën në vijim: Unë jam i gatshëm / e gatshme për të punuar me anëtarët
       e bashkësisë etnike maqedonase së bashku për të ndërtuar një të ardhme më të mirë.

       1 – Plotshisht pajtohem
       2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem
       3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem
       4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P16   A pajtoheni me deklaratën e mëposhtme: Në të ardhmen unë mund të harrojmë dhe të falë për
       atë që ka ndodhur në të kaluarën.

       1 – Plotshisht pajtohem
       2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem
       3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem
       4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P17   A ju pengon që në komunën tënde jetojnë pjestarë të komunitetit etnik Maqedonas?
       1 – Po, plotësisht më pengon
       2 – Në pjesën më të madhe të kohës më pengon
       3 – Në pjesën më të madhe të kohës nuk më pengon
       4 – Jo, aspak nuk më pengon

P18   A keni kontakt personal me njerz të cilët i përkasin bashkësis etnike Maqedonase?
       1 – Po Zyrtarisht(në institucione: Shërbime të komunale, bankat, policia, spitalet, gjykatat) dhe
       informale (jashtë institucioneve: me miqtë, të njohurit, fqinjët)
       2 - formal dhe joformal, por për pjesën më të madhe të bërë kontakte formale
       3 - Po, por vetëm formalisht (në institucione: shërbimet komunitare, bankat, policia, spitali,
       gjykata)
       4 - I shmangi kontaktitet me anëtarët e bashkësisë etnike maqedonase

P19   Sa shpesh bëni kontakt personaë me njerz që i takojnë bashkësis etnike Maqedonase ?
       1 – Çdo ditë ose pothuajse çdo ditë
       2 – Disa herë gjatë javës
       3 – Disa herë gjatë muajit
       4 – Disa her gjatë vitit

P20   A keni miqë që të cilët i përkasin bashkësisë etnike Maqedonase? Miqtë referohen njerëzit që
       përveç vendeve të tjera, që hasim në shtëpitë tona, në kafe, këta janë njerëz me të cilët ju
       mund të diskutojnë çështje private, besimin dhe ju mund të besimit, të cilët ju mbështesin dhe
       të cilët merrni përkrahje kur keni nevojë për të dhe që mund të ndajnë dhe për të diskutuar
       mendime dhe tema të ndryshme në lidhje me jetën, familjen, shëndetin, punën, partitë politike,
       funksionimi i shtetit, varfëria etj. Miqtë nuk janë njerëz që vetëm përshëndesim në rrugë.

       1 – Po kam shumë , unë nuk i zgjedhi miqët e mi në bazë të përkatësis etnike
       2 – Po, edhe pse nuk i zgjedhi miqët në bazë të përkatësis etnike, kam disa shokë me përkatësi
       etnike Maqedonase
       3 – Jo, por dëshiroj që të kem shok të bashkësisë etnike maqedone
       4 – Njohë njerz të bashkësisë etnike Maqedonase, por ato nuk i llogaris si miqë me të cilët

P21   Nëse ju keni miq të bashkësinë etnike Maqedonase , sa shpesh flasin për çështje personale

(për jetën, familjen, shëndetin, punë, partitë politike, funksionimin e shtetit, varfërinë, etj)?

1 – Jo çdo takim
2 – Shumë shpesh, pothuajse gjatë çdo takimi
3 – Rrallë , herë pas here
4 – Kurrë

P22   Si është marrëdhënia juaj me njerëzit që i përkasin komunitetit etnik Maqedonas në krahasim me periudhën para konfliktit ?

1 – Njejtë , unë kam qenë gjithmonë në marrëdhënie të mira me njerzë që i përkasin komunitetit etnik Maqedonas
2 – Më mirë
3 – Njëjtë,as e mirë, as të mira as të këqija (të rezervuara , formal)
4 – Më keqë

P23   A ndjeni personalisht frikën nga njerëzve që i përkasin bashkësisë etnike maqedonase?

1 – Në përgjithësi unë ndjehen frikën e të gjithë njerëzve që u përkasin bashkësia etnike maq.
2 – Herë pas here ndjehem frikën e njerëzve që u përkasin bashkësia etnike maq.
3 – Ndjehem frik nga disa njerëzë që i përkasin bashkësia etnike maq.
4 – Frika ime nuk varet nga fakti nëse dikush i takon apo jo bashkësisë tjetër etnike

P24   A ndjeni personalisht urrejtje ndaj njerëzve që i përkasin bashkësisë etnike maqedonase?

1 – Në përgjithësi unë ndjej urrejtje ndaj njerëzve që i përkasin bashkësia etnike maq.
2 – Herë pas here ndiej urrejtje ndaj anëtarëve të bashkësia etnike maq.
3 – Ndjejë urrejtje ndaj disa pjestarë të bashkësisë etnike maq.
4 – Ndjenjat e mia të urrejtjes nuk varen nëse dikush i takon apo jo bashkësisë tjetër etnike

P25   A ndjeni personalisht se ju mund të besoni njerëzëve që i përkasin bashkësisë etnike maqedonase?

1 – Unë nuk mund ti besoj njerëzëve që i përkasin bashkësisë etnike maq.
2 – Kryesisht Unë nuk mund ti besoj njerzëve që i përkasin bashkësisë etnike maq.
3 – Kryesisht Unë mund ti besoj njerzëve që i përkasin bashkësisë etnike maq.
4 – Ndjesia ime e besimit nuk varet nëse dikush i takon apo nuk i takon bashkësisë tjetër etnike

P26   A jeni dakord me pozicionin:Unë ndjehem shumë i/e lidhur rreth grupit tim etnik.

1 – Plotshisht pajtohem
2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem
3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem
4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P27   Да A pajtoheni me qëndrimin: Mendoj që maqedonasit dhe shqiptarët janë shumë të ndryshme.

1 – Plotshisht pajtohem
2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem
3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem
4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P28   A pajtoheni me qëndrimin: Për mua shumë është e rëndësishme që unë jam një shqiptar etnik.

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1 – Plotshisht pajtohem
2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem
3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem
4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P29   A pajtoheni me qëndrimin : Unë e njohë dhe pranojnë autoritetin e qeverisë qendrore
(qeveria, parlamenti, gjyqësia) si legjitime.
1 – Plotshisht pajtohem
2 – Në një pjesë të madhe pajtohem
3 – Në një pjesë të madhe nuk pajtohem
4 – Aspak nuk Pajtohem

P30   Sipas jush, cili është problemi më i madh që ndikon në bashkëjetesën e përkatësive etnike
shqiptare dhe maqedonase?
1 – Përkasia e komuniteti tjetër
2 – Historia
3 – Varfëria
4 – Qeveritë, partitë politike

3.   *Translation of the Macedonian Version of the Survey Questionnaire in English*

This particular questionnaire is a translation form the questionnaire that was filled in by respondents belonging to the Macedonian ethnic community. Therefore, whenever you read 'Macedonian' in the Macedonian version, that word is changed with 'Albanian' in the Albanian version of the questionnaire.

Questionnaire: Perceptions on Inter-Ethnic Relations

ID [   ]

Good day,

We are students who are helping to our student to conduct a survey which is part of her master thesis. For that matter, we would like to invite you to participate in this research. The aim of the this research is to collect data so as to answer questions about inter-ethnic relations between the people belonging to the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community and how is the process of reconciliation unfolding from the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement in 2001.

Now I kindly ask you to give me two minutes so that I can explain why I am inviting you to participate and how the information provided by you will be used. Namely, from all the people that leave in the municipality you were chosen randomly to fill in this questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of two parts, and for fulfilling the entire questionnaire you will need no more than **TEN** minutes.

The information that you will provide will be used later so as to get a general picture for how is the process of reconciliation unfolding, that is the re-building of the relationships between the people belonging to the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic communities in the multiethnic Macedonian municipalities. All the information that you will give to us will be treated as confidential, and in accordance to the laws for protection of personal data, that information remains confidential. Your name is not asked and therefore it will not appear on the questionnaire. Your participation is voluntary, and you can cancel it at any moment. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me before we start with this interview. I thank you in advance for your time and cooperation.

I.   DEMOGRPAHY

Q1   For the purposes of the research, I need to mark your sex, therefore, I will mark male/female for you:

1 - Male
2 – Female

Q2   To which age group do you belong?
1 18 – 29
2 30 – 40
3 41 – 51
4 52 – 62
5 63 and more

Q3   What is you highest educational attainment?
1 – No formal education
2 – Uncompleted elementary school degree
3 – Completed elementary school degree
4 – Uncompleted high school degree
5 – Completed high school degree
6 – Uncompleted post-secondary degree
7 – Completed post-secondary degree
8 – Uncompleted university degree
9 – Completed university degree

Q4   At this moment, you are
1 – Student
2 – Employed in the public sector
3 – Employed in the private sector
4 – Unemployed
5 – Retired

Q5   Now I would like you to tell me the total monthly income of your household. These include: student transfers and stipends, social and child care transfers, fixed monthly salaries, income from renting property, farmland and all other types of income of funds in your household.

1 0 – 10 000
2 10 001 – 20 000
3 20 001 – 30 000
4 30 001 – 40 000
5 40 001 and more

Q6 How many members are there in your household, including yourself?
    1 1 – 3
    2 4 – 6
    3 7 and more

Q7 To which ethnic community do you belong?
    1 – Macedonian
    2 – Albanian

Q8 Municipality (do not ask, just mark down)
    1 - Lipkovo
    2 – Aracinovo
    3 – Cucer Sandevo
    4 – Saraj
    5 - Gostivar
    6 - Kumanovo
    7 – Debar
    8 - Struga
    9 - Kicevo

II.   PERCEPTIONS ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Ohrid Framework Agreement was
Q9 the only solution for stopping the conflict in 2001.

    1 – Completely Agree
    2 – Mostly Agree
    3 – Mostly Disagree
    4 – Completely Disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The trauma, pains and wounds that
Q10 were caused to me by the conflict are fully healed and I have no desire for revenge.

    1 – Completely Agree
    2 – Mostly Agree
    3 – Mostly Disagree
    4 – Completely Disagree

Q11 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I don't blame it completely to the
    ethnic Albanians for the conflict in 2001 because they, like the ethnic Macedonians, had their
    own reasons and story during the conflict, and I consider them as equally reasonable and true
    as the reasons and the story of the ethnic Macedonians.

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1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q12   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Ohrid Framework Agreement brought justice as it put all the citizens of Macedonia, regardless of ethnic community, equal in their rights.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q13   What is your opinion in regard to cohesion and integration of the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic communities in future?

1 – Both communities need to further integrate in all the spheres of life: friendship, work, education, night-life, political parties,
2 – Both communities need to further integrate only in the private sphere of life: friendship, nightlife…
3 - Both communities need to further integrate only in the public sphere of life: work, political parties, education
4 – The communities should not further integrate in future

Q14   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community have bright and shared future: peaceful living, harmony and cooperation.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q15   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I feel/am ready to collaborate with the members of the Albanian ethnic community so that we can build together a better future.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q16   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: In future, I would be able to forget and forgive for the happenings in the past.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q17 Do you mind living in your municipality together with people belonging to Albanian ethnic community?

1 – Yes, totally
2 – Mostly yes
3 – Mostly no
4 – Not at all

Q18 Do you have personal contacts with people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community?

1 – Yes, both formally (in the institutions: local services, banks, police station, hospitals) and informally (outside the institutions: with co-residents, neighbors, friends, people you know)
2 – Formally and informally, but mostly formally
3 – Yes, but only formally
4 – I try to avoid having contacts with people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community

Q19 How frequently do you make informal and personal contacts with people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community?

1 – Every day or almost every day
2 – Few times a week
3 – Few times a month
4 – Few times a year

Q20 Do you have friends that belong to the Albanian ethnic community? Under 'friends' I mean people with whom you meet besides other places, but also at each other's home and cafes', with whom you can talk intimately, in whom you trust, from whom you can get support when you need and with whom you can share your opinion and discuss on various topics such as life, family, health, work, political parties, the functioning of the state, poverty and so on. So friend are not people that you only greet when you meet them on the street.

1 – Yes, I have a lot, I don't choose my friends according to their ethnic belonging
2 – Yes, I however, although I don't choose my friends according to their ethnic belonging, I have few
3 – No, but I would like to have as friends people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
4 – I have contacts with people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community, however I don't consider them as friends with which I could discuss these topics

Q21 How frequently do you discuss these topics with your friends who belong to the Albanian ethnic community?
1 – On every meeting
2 – Very often, almost on every meeting
3 – Rarely/Seldom, from time to time
4 – Never

Q22 How would you describe your relations with people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community compared to the period before the conflict?

1 – The same, I have always been in good relations with people belonging to the Albanian

ethnic community
2 – Improved
3 – The same, neither good, nor bad, but formal distanced
4 – Worsened

Q23   Do you feel fear from the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community?

1 – I feel fear from all the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
2 – From time to time I feel fear from the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
3 – I feel fear from some of the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
4 – My feelings of fear don't depend on the ethnic belonging of the other person

Q24   Do you feel hatred towards the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community?

1 – I feel hatred towards all the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
2 – From time to time I feel hatred towards the people belonging to the Alb. ethnic community
3 – I feel hatred towards some of the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
4 – My feelings of hatred don't depend on the ethnic belonging of the other person

Q25   Do you feel that you can trust in the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community?

1 – I can never trust the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
2 – Most of the time, I cannot trust the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
3 – Most of the time, I can trust the people belonging to the Albanian ethnic community
4 – In whom I trust doesn't depend on the ethnic belonging of the other person

Q26   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I am strongly connected/attached to my ethnic community/belonging.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q27   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Macedonians and the Albanians are totally different.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q28   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is of crucial importance for me that I am ethnic Macedonian.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q29 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I recognize and accept the central authorities – the government, the parliament and the judiciary as being legitimate.

1 – Completely Agree
2 – Mostly Agree
3 – Mostly Disagree
4 – Completely Disagree

Q30 According to you, which is the biggest issue that might affect the 'coexistence' of the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic communities?

1 – The belonging to different ethnic communities
2 – The history
3 – The poverty
4 – Authorities and political parties

APPENDIX B: FILEDWORK DATA – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Section A: Case Selection for Qualitative Analysis

Table 14   Groups of Municipalities according to the Quantitative Findings

Number of Contextual Criteria Satisfied	Municipality	Proximity to Violence	Population Size	Size of Municipal Minority	Reconciliation
1	Arachinovo	1	1	1*	2.68
	Chucher Sandevo	1	1	2	2.42
2	Lipkovo	1	2	1*	3.00
	Debar	3*	1	2	2.54
	Kichevo	3*	2	3	2.76
	Struga	3*	3*	3	3.72
3	Saraj	2	2	1*	3.18
	Gostivar	2	3*	2	2.50
	Kumanovo	2	3*	2	2.28

Section B: Date and Place of Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

Table 15   Semi-Structured Interview Data Collection by municipality, date and place and demographic variables

Municipality	Interview*	Ethnic Belonging	Gender	Age	Level of Education	Date	Place
	#1	Macedonian	Female	65	Elementary	May 6th, 2014	Interviewee's home
	#2	Albanian	Male	43	University	May 7th, 2014	Hotel 'Drim' Lobby
Struga	#3	Macedonian	Male	31	University	May 7th, 2014	Hotel 'Drim' Lobby
	#4	Albanian	Male	55	Secondary	May 10th, 2014	Interviewee's home
	#5	Albanian	Female	25	Secondary	May 10th, 2014	Hotel 'Drim' Lobby
	#6	Macedonian	Male	52	Secondary	May 11th, 2014	Coffee Bar 'Zafir'
	#7	Macedonian	Male	34	University	May 11th, 2014	Interviewee's home
Kumanovo	#8	Albanian	Female	47	Secondary	May 11th, 2014	Interviewee's home
	#9	Albanian	Male	63	Elementary	May 12th, 2014	Coffee Bar 'Zafir'
	#10	Macedonian	Female	26	Secondary	May 12th, 2014	Interviewee's home

* The interviews are available in audio version and transcriptions.

Note: My efforts to train a Macedonian from Albanian decent in order to conduct interviews with the respondents from Albanian decent, and in that manner, provide equal treatment – interviewing each respondent in their native language – failed to materialize, and for that matter, all the interviewees were interviewed in Macedonian Language.

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Section C: Topic Guide

In concordance with the ethical guidelines for conducting research interviews, each interview commenced with an introductory phase dedicated to informing the interviewees about the research and the implications from their participation. The interviewees were provided with details about my affiliation, aim of the research, reasons for conducting it, how they have been selected and how important it is that I tape-record the interview. Afterwards, I addressed the issues of anonymity, explaining to the interviewees who will have access to the recording as well as the transcriptions, and I emphasized that their identity and the personal information, such as names, surnames and other type of specific information will remain anonymous, with no consequences on their integrity. Finally, I asked them to orally consent to be recorded and reminded them not to hesitate to ask me questions before the interview starts.

1. *Original Topic –Guide: Macedonian Version*

Ова истражување има за цел да испита кои фактори влијаат врз односите помеѓу Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница во рамки на општините во Македонија. Од посебен интерес за мене е да истражам која е причината што во некои постојат добри односи помеѓу Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница, додека во други пак меѓу-етничките односи се уште не го постигнале тоа ниво. Ова истражување се состои од два дела. Првиот дел се спроведе во Декември минатата година во девет мулти-етнички општини, и се состоеше од анкети преку кои се испитуваше како некои фактори влијаат на односите помеѓу Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница во секоја општина одделно. Резултатите кои ги добив, покажуваат дека во две општини, вклучувајќи ја и општината во која Вие живеете, се посебно интересни. Од таа причина, овој втор дел од истражувањето се спроведува на тој начин што се прават подетални интервјуа, со помал број на луѓе.

Инаку, ова истражување го спроведувам во рамки на мојата магистерска теза. Јас сум магистрантка на катедрата за Политички Науки на Централноевропскиот Универзитет во Будимпешта. Пред да започнеме, би сакала да ви кажам дека е од огромно значење интервјуто да биде снимано. За разлика од интервјуа кои што не се

снимаат, снименото интервју е од многу подобар квалитет затоа што ниту една информација која вие ќе ми ја дадете во текот на нашиот разговор, нема да се изгуби во мојата меморија. Тоа пак ќе придонесе за подобар квалитет на мојата магистерска работа. Но, да напоменам, јас ќе бидам единствената личност која ќе има пристап до снимката. Снимката подоцна ќе буде преведена во пишана форма, а до пишаната форма ќе имам пристап јас и мојот ментор – професор Zsolt Enyedi. Сепак, Ве уверувам дека ова интервју во никој случај нема да Ве загрози Вас како личност, ниту пак Вашиот углед. При користење информации од интервјуто за мојата теза, Вашето име нема да стои, ниту пак имињата на лицата кои што Вие ќе ги споменете, туку: 'Едно од лицата кои што ги интервјуирав во општината ...'. За таа цел, би сакала да побарам усна согласност од Вас за снимање на интервјуто и за користење информации за да ја поткрепам мојата магистерска теза.

Сите прашања кои ќе Ви ги поставам се од отворен тип и затоа Ве охрабрувам да давате што е можно поцелосни и подетални одговори на истите. Доколку некое прашање не Ви е јасно, чувствувајте се слободно да побарате објаснување од мене. Вашето учество во ова истражување е од огромно значење за мене, но тоа е израз на Вашата добра волја и доколку одлучите, може во било кој момент да се повлечете од интервјуто. Доколку имате некои прашања пред да започнеме, повелете, јас со огромно задоволство ќе Ви одговорам на истите.

WARM UP

1. Претпоставувам дека може да почнеме. Како за почеток, дали би можеле да ми кажете нешто повеќе за Вас? (возраст, образование, работа, целокупни примања на домаќинството, фамилија)

2. Како изгледа еден ваш типичен ден?

3. Генерално гледано, каков е да се живее во Вашата општина?

ГЛАВНИ ПРАШАЊА

BEHAVIORAL FORM

Contact

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4. Дали Вие остварувате било какви контакти со луѓето кои припаѓаат на другата етничка заедница?

    4.1. Колку често?

    4.2. А колку често остварувате контакти на лично ниво надвор од работата и институциите?

    4.3. Дали имате соседи / колеги кои припаѓаат на другата етничка заедница?

        4.3.1.   Колку често контактирате со нив на лично ниво?

5. Дали познавате луѓе кои контактираат / имаат пријатели со Албанци?

    5.1. Кое е вашето мислење за нив?

    ### *Friendship*

6. Што според Вас претставува пријателство?

7. Дали Вие имате голем број пријатели?

8. Вие претходно ми кажавте што според Вас значи да се има пријател. Дали имате такви пријатели кои се од Македонската/Албанската етничка заедница?

    8.1. Колку често се сретнувате со нив?

    8.2. Каде се сретнувате со нив?

    8.3. Колку често разговарате на лични теми?

    8.4. Како се прифатени вашите пријателства од страна на другите луѓе во вашата општина?

9. Која е причината за 10?

    9.1. Доколку би имале пријатели кои се припадници на Македонската/Албанската етничка заедница, како мислите дека ќе бидете гледани од страна на Ваши блиски пријатели кои се од Вашата етничка заедница и генерално од луѓето припадници на вашата заедница во општина?

10. Кое е Вашето мислење за меѓу – етнички пријателства во Вашата општина?

    10.1.   Според Вас, каква е генералната слика кога станува збор за меѓу-етнички пријателства во Вашата општина?

11. Дали до сега се има случено Ваш пријател од другата етничка заедница да се најде во неволја, било каква и вие да му имате помогнато?

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RECONCILIATION

Emotional Present

12. Дали со вашите пријатели од Македонската/Албанската етничка заедница отворено разговарате за односите меѓу двете заедници во државата?

13. Како гледате на тоа што во Вашата живеат и припадници на Македонската/Албанската етничка заедница?

    13.1.   Дали тоа влијае на животот помеѓу луѓето во општината?

14. Дали има некои настани или случувања кога вие сте се почувствувале дека Македонците и Албанците навистина се соединиле, обединиле?

15. А дали постојат настани или случувања кога сте почувствувале дека се влошиле односите меѓу Македонците и Албанците?

16. Дали имате некои посебни чувства кон припадниците на Македонската/Албанската етничка заедница или пак кон поединци?

Looking Backwards

17. Како би ги опишале односите меѓу Македонците и Албанците во Вашата општина?

18. А какви беа тие пред и за време на конфликтот во Вашата општина?

    18.1.   Доколку Ве разбрав убаво, Вие сметате дека конфликтот изврши промени врз меѓуетничките односи во Вашата општина? Дали би можеле да ми кажете што сакате да кажете со тоа?

        18.1.1. Има: Во која насока?

        18.1.2. Нема: Што сметате дека е причината за тоа?

19. Кое е Вашето мислење за Охридскиот Рамковен Договор?

    19.1.   Дали влијаеше ОРД на односите меѓу Македонците и Албанците во Вашата општина?

    19.2.   На кој начин?

20. Дали Вие претпревте лични повреди во текот на конфликтот или пак изгубивте некој близок роднина или пријател?

    20.1.   Да: дали сметате дека еден ден ќе можете да опростите за тоа што се случи?

    20.2.   Не: Дали го надминавте тоа што се случи во 2001? А во иднина?

21. Дали гледате виновник во некого за тоа што се случи во 2001?

22. Дали сметате дека со ОРД третманот на Македонците и Албанците се изедначи?

Facing Forwards

23. Кое е вашето мислење за степенот на интеграција на Македонците и Албанците во Вашата општина?

    23.1.   Дали сметате дека тоа треба да се промени?

    23.2.   Во која насока?

24. Гледано на долг рок, како го гледате вие живеењето на Македонците и Албанците во Вашата општина?

25. Далу вие сте спремни да соработувате со Македонците/Албанците од Вашата општина при градење на подобра иднина?

IDENTITY

Ethnic

26. Вие сте по етничко потекло Македонец/ка//Албанец/ка. А колку сте запознаени со културата и традициите на Македонската/Албанската етничка заедница?

    26.1.   Дали сметате дека тоа е важно за добар соживот?

27. Дали често размислувате за себеси како Македонец/ка//Албанец/ка?

28. Дали се чувствувате тесно приврзан до вашата етничка заедница?

    28.1.   Дали тоа влијае врз Вашиот секојдневен живот

    28.2.   На кој начин тоа влијае врз Вашиот секојдневен живот?

29. А дали има нешто што ви предизвикува да се чувсвувате неубаво затоа што сте Македонец/ка//Албанец/ка?

30. Како ги гледате луѓето кои припаѓаат на Македонската и Албанската етничка заедница во Вашата општина, како различни, слични, исти?

    30.1.   Во што?

31. Како се гледате себеси пред се: Како етнички Македонец, жител на Вашата општина, жител на Македонија, или сите три?

Religious

32. Дали се сметате за голем верник?

33. Колку често посетувате верски институции?

34. Што е побитно за вас, тоа што сте етнички Македонец/Албанец, христијанин/муслиман, или пак и двете се еднакво битни?

   Stimuli

35. Дали сметате дека постојат пречки кои што не дозволуваат Македонците и Албанците да живеат во добри односи генерално во Вашата општина?

   35.1.   Која е најголемата пречка?

      35.1.1. Политичките Партии?

      35.1.2. Економија?

      35.1.3. Историјата?

      35.1.4. Различноста?

      35.1.5. Јазикот?

36. ЗА ГОЛЕМИНА: Вие сте Македонец/Албанец. Колкав е процентот на Албанци/Македонци во Вашата општина?

   36.1.   Дали тоа според вас влијае на односите меѓу двете заедници?

37. Дали некогаш се имат почувствувано дисриминирано? Во која смисла?

   37.1.   Каков е третманот на Вашата заедница во институциите во В. Општина?

   COOLING DOWN

38. Според Вас кои се идеалните услови за да и Македонците и Албанците живеат убав и мирен живот?

39. Какви мерки вие би презеле за да го подобрите животот во Вашата општина?

40. А генерално гледано, кој сметате дека треба да преземе мерки? Какви?

41. Дали сметате дека има нешто што не го проразговаравме а сметате дека е важно?

42. Дали би сакале да ме прашате нешто Вие мене?

2. *Translation of the Original Topic Guide*

The aim of this study is to find out what factors have influence on the relations between Macedonian and Albanian ethnic communities in the Macedonian municipalities. For me, it is of special interest to find out why it is that in some municipalities there are good intergroup relations, whereas in others the latter are somehow lagging behind. This research consists of two parts. The first part was conducted last year in December in nine multi-ethnic municipalities through survey questionnaires with the aim to uncover how is the process of reconciliation unwinding and how do some factors influence on the relations between Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community in each municipality separately. The results showed that two municipalities, including yours, are particularly interesting. For that matter, this second part of my research is conducted in a different way then the first one as I want to make more detailed interviewees with smaller number of people.

This research is part of my master thesis. I am master candidate at the Department of Political Science at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Before we begin, I would like to tell you that it is of crucial importance form me that I tape record it. Unlike the interviews that are not recorded, the recorded one is of better quality because no information that you will tell me will be lost. That will improve the quality of my master thesis. But what is important now, is that I will be the only person that will have access to the recording. The recording will be transcribed, however, the written form of our conversation will be available to my supervisor – Zsolt Enydi if he inquires so. Notwithstanding all this, I want to assure you that this interview will not, in any way, harm you as a person, nor your integrity. When using the information that you will tell me, your name, surname nor the names of the people will not be included, rather, I will say: "one of the interviewee from the municipality of …". For that matter, I ask you to consent orally that I tape record this interview and to use information as a back up for the arguments that I make in my master thesis. All questions that I will ask from you are open ended and for that matter I encourage you to give me as detailed answers as possible. If you find particular questions unclear, pleased do not hesitate to ask for further explanation. Your participation in this research is of immense significance to me, but that is also an expression of your free will and therefore, if you decide so, you can stop answering my questions. If you have some questions before we start, fell free to ask.

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WARM UP:

1. I guess we may begin. To start off, could you tell me something more about you? (age, education, work, overall household income, family)

2. How does your typical day look like?

3. Overall, how is it to live in your municipality?

   BEHAVIORAL FORM

   Contact

4. Do you contacts with people belonging to other ethnic communities?

   4.1. How often?

   4.2. And how often do you contact on a personal level outside work and institutions?

   4.3. Do you have neighbors / colleagues who belong to another ethnic group?

      4.3.1. How often do you contact with them on a personal level?

5. Do you know people who contact with Macedonians/Albanians?

   5.1. What is your opinion about them?

   Friendship

6. What does friendship mean to you?

7. Do you have a lot of friends?

8. You previously told me what according to you is to have a friend. Do you have such friends who belong to the Macedonian/Albanian ethnic community?

   8.1. How often do you meet with them?

   8.2. Where do you meet them?

   8.3. How often do you talk on personal issues?

   8.4. How are your friendships accepted by other people in your municipality?

9. If you had friends who were members of Macedonian/Albanian ethnic community, how do you think you will be perceived by your close friends who are from your ethnic community and generally people who are members of your community in the municipality?

10. What is your opinion on inter - ethnic friendships in your municipality?

    10.1.   In your opinion, what is the overall picture when it comes to inter-ethnic friendships in your municipality?

11. Has it ever happened that you or your Macedonian/Albanian friend has found himself in trouble, and you or he helped you?

RECONCILIATION

__Emotional Present__

12. Do you discuss openly with your Macedonian/Albanian friends about the relations between the two communities in the state?

13. How do you find the living with Macedonians/Albanians in your municipality?

    13.1.   Does it affect the life between people in here in your municipality?

14. Has there been an event in your municipality or in the state overall when you've felt that the Macedonians and Albanians from your municipality have really united?

15. And has there been an event when you felt that the relations between Macedonians and Albanians from your municipality have worsened?

16. Do you have any special feelings towards members of Macedonian/Albanian ethnic community?

   __Looking Backwards__

17. How would you describe the relations between Macedonians and Albanians in your municipality?

18. And how were they before and during the conflict in your municipality?

    18.1.   Did the conflict change the relations in your community?

       18.1.1. Yes: In which direction?

       18.1.2. No: What do you think is the reason for this?

19. What is your opinion about the Ohrid Framework Agreement?

    19.1.   Did OFA affect the relations between Macedonians and Albanians in your municipality?

       19.1.1. In which way?

20. Do you have personal injuries from the conflict or lost a relative or friend?

20.1.   Yes: Do you think one day you can simplify what happened?

20.2.   No: Did you overcome the happenings from 2001? And in the future?

21. Did you see culprit in somebody for what happened in 2001?

22. Do you think that with OFA provided equal treatment of Macedonians and Albanians?

Facing Forwards

23. What is your opinion about the degree of integration of Macedonians and Albanians in your municipality?

23.1.   Do you think it should be changed?

23.2.   In which way?

24. On the long run, what do you think about the mutual living of Macedonians and Albanians in your municipality?

25. Are you are ready to cooperate with Macedonians/Albanians from your community in building a better future?

IDENTITY

Ethnic

26. You are ethnic Macedonian/Albanian. And how much are you familiar with the culture and traditions of Albanians/Macedonians?

26.1.   Do you think it is important for good coexistence?

27. Do you often think of yourself as Macedonian/Albanian?

28. Do you feel closely attached to your ethnicity?

28.1.   Does it affect your daily life?

28.2.   In which way?

29. And is there something that makes you feel bad about being Macedonian/Albanian?

30. How do you see people who belong to the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community in your municipality, as different, similar, the same?

31. How do you see yourself primarily: As ethnic Macedonian resident of your municipality, a resident of Macedonia, or all three?

Religious

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32. Do you see yourself as a real believer?

33. How often do you attend religious institutions?

34. What is more important for you, that you are ethnic Macedonian/Albanian, Christian/Muslim, or both are equally (un)important?

Stimuli

35. Do you think there are obstacles to the relations of Macedonians and Albanians in your municipality?

36. About Size: You are Macedonian/Albanian. What is the percentage of Albanians/Macedonians in your municipality?

    36.1.   Does that influence the relations between the two communities

37. Have you ever felt that you have been discriminated? In what sense?

    37.1.   How is your ethnic community treated in the institutions in your municipality?

COOLING DOWN

38. According to you what are the ideal conditions for Macedonians and Albanians to live a nice and peaceful life?

39. What measures would you undertake to improve the life in your municipality?

40. And generally speaking, who should take action? What kind of actions?

41. Do you think there's something I didn't say and you consider it important?

42. Would you like me to ask me anything?

Section D: Coding Scheme

1. Perceptions on the outgroup
    a. Vicarious contact
    b. Perceived group size
    c. Heterogeneity
2. Influence of Mixed neighbourhoods
3. Communal Culture
    a. Socialization
    b. Language
4. Macedonia's constituent body

Section E: Cross-Case Thematic Coding Scheme

Theme	Sub-Theme	Interview Number	Interview Extract
Perceptions on the Out-Group	*Vicarious Contact*	1	I really feel like living in some western country where everything is on its place, not Macedonia
		2	Just by looking at people from the side, you can feel the harmony that is all over Struga. It's incredibly fulfilling.
		7	Well, I barely know people who have inter-ethnic friendships, so, when you see what the majority of the people do, you realize how things go and you keep up to your people.
		9	No, no, there are not much inter-ethnic contacts, the two groups look at each other on the basis of ethnicity, but sometimes they see Macedonian and Albanian hanging around, what is very rare, and they wonder what is happening with them, how can they be together.
		10	The inter-ethnic contacts I observed helped me overcome my extremely negative feelings toward Albanians, but I still keep myself out of interactions with them.
		10	Actually, the bad image I had for Albanians changed even by observing, people have become more rational and aware I guess. I have no problems in contacting with them, but I don't feel comfortable even when we greet each other on the stret. I see that mixing up will make Kumanovo better place for living, but in Kumanovo it's not normal to have Albanian friend. People will point their fingers at me and blame me as if I am doing a murder. I don't really want that.
	Perceived group size	1	No, in Struga Macedonians are the majority. Why do you care about the census. I think people should disregard those documents because they present wrong figures
		3	It is precisely the almost equal parity of Macedonians and Albanians in Struga that has helped them overcome all the attempts for making the ethnic cleavage in Struga at work
		6	30%
		7	40%
		10	Almost 50-50 (Interview 10) out of the total municipal population
		10	Everything is politically arranged. The politicians are trying to force us [Macedonians] to leave Kumanovo once for all. Otherwise, we will either be assimilated or we will have to start reproducing at higher rates. There is really no other explanation for them [Albanians] keeping an entire army at home."

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	Out-group heterogeneity	1	it is over exaggeration to say that all Albanians or Macedonians are the same"
		3	Look, we actually make it because we are Struzhans, and ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians from Struga have nothing to do with those from any other part of this country.
		5	You people from the Northern parts of Macedonia find it problematic to leave together because you are not "clean". I mean, you have people from Prishtina there, Kosovars, who are totally different from Albanians
		7	Albanians in general are 'lagging' behind the normal way of life in the 21st century"
		8	Macedonians are uncivilized and frustrated people who happen to be the majority and try to compensate non-EU membership by being nationalistic
		10	If you have argued with one Albanian, it's like you argued with their entire race
Mixed Neighborhoods		1	Of course of course, first-hand experience is the most important, otherwise people have doubts
		2	I live in a segregated municipality and I know that those living in the mixed parts are in better relations than us.
		3	I live in a heterogenous neighbourhood, and we have lived together for so long time, so we have very good relations, but I see that those who live in homogenous one, are slightly more reserved.
		4	We who live in heterogeneous neighborhoods have better inter-ethnic relations than those living in the homogenous neighborhoods and the municipal villages
		7	A male Macedonian from Kumanovo emphasized that one knows precisely where the ethnic boundaries are, emphasizing that [he] is afraid to step in mixed neighborhoods at night.
		9	Now can leave together although we fought one against other ten years ago.
		10	I live in a Macedonian neighborhood and even we are afraid to step even in a mixed neighborhood at night. But I know that those that are used to living with them in the same neighborhoods don't find it so wow to leave together. This may be a sign that leaving together is not that good idea.
Communal Culture	*Socialization*	2	We are taught to respect everyone regardless of ethnic belonging and to judge people by their behavior. And I want to make a point that being in the same school also contributes to better ethnic relations.
		3	I don't know what other people think, but in my opinion, what is rooted in your brain by your parents actually guides you when you think for whether you will contact with the other community or not

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		3	The government came up with a "brilliant" idea to build another school and separate the Macedonians and Albanians. And of course, all of us protested. Who gives it the right to change the way we have been peacefully leaving for so long? If kids hate each other, they can always meet after school and fight then
		4	it is actually in primary school that children start to form themselves as persons
		5	The thickest friendships I have are the ones that I made in elementary schools, and that is not only the case with me but with most of the children
		6	Well, if I think a little bit, maybe my grandmother has had influence on my in that respect. I mean, when I was a kid she would tell me that I should play with the kids from school, not the neighbors because they are different
		7	My mum cannot stand them. And maybe that is why I am not that open towards them
		9	I cannot recall when it was exactly, but at one point few Albanian classes have transferred to one high school, together with Macedonians. Because of provocations and everyday fights, we urged the respective authorities to find another building for the Albanians. Studying together only makes things worse, like now, children don't have much contact and parents are not worried when sending them at school.
		9	My son is a member of a NGO and given that one seminar was approaching, he asked a Macedonian to join him. The Macedonian was thinking about this idea for five days, justifying this by saying that his father told him that going with an Albanian on a seminar is not a very wise idea and that he is afraid that his son might be beaten up.
		10	No, no, no, we have separate schools, thank god
	Language	1	Actually with all my friends I speak in Macedonian and they don't have problem with this at all. But once I felt that if Albanians are learning Macedonian why should I speak Albanian? Being Macedonian in Macedonia – that's not an excuse. And for that matter I started learning Albanian. Now I am richer.
		2	As I said, we Struhzans have established very good relations regardless whether one is Macedonian or Albanian, so when you ask me about Macedonians in Struga, it sounds weird to me.
		3	We are, I don't know how I should say, should I talk in terms of Albanians and Macedonians from Struga so that you can make a difference afterwards, but it doesn't come naturally to me.
		5	I am ethnic Albanian living in a country where the

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			majority is non-Albanian and. I am permitted to freely talk in Albanian everywhere in the private space. Therefore, it is logical that I should speak in Macedonian. That's how the normal world functions and this giving this right to non-majorities who make more than 20%? That won't help anything, but just provoke radicals' minds. Here in Struga, we don't even talk in those categories
		6	I don't want to criticize them, but actually it is them who have come in our country and must speak Macedonian, not that we play the generous and give them the right to translate all the legal documents and speak Albanian in all the public institutions. If I was asked to be generous, I would make English as the language that the minorities should use not Albanian even if they are the only ethnic community in a village or municipality. In this way the politicians gave them so much decisive power putting Macedonia on the way to vanish as a country. Perhaps, they are creative they can fix the issue with respect to those municipalities.
		6	There are formal contacts between Macedonians and Albanians in Kumanovo and there are hardly, hardly few friendships. The territory is "demarcated", one part is ours, one part is theirs and the mixed neighborhoods are predominantly Albanian so I count them as theirs.
		7	They have taken so much freedom when using their language. I mean when you pass through the surrounding villages, it strikes you the fact that the road signs are first written on Albanian and then on Macedonian. You know where you came that's what it means
		8	At work once I ended up in a debate with an Albanian about this language thing. He told me that we need to learn Albanian just as they had to learn Macedonian. And who is he to tell me what language should I learn and speak in my country? If he doesn't like it he is free to go, and no one can force me especially not in my country to speak a language different than Macedonian.
		8	Why it is always us who have to switch the language?
		9	Macedonia is multi-ethnic country so I don't see a logical explanation why Macedonian is only official language. I am not talking about municipalities with more than 20% of the municipal minority, but the entire country
		10	I think the best option would be that we understand each other in English, internationally recognized language. In that way they can translate their documents, but it's not gonna be Albanian, so we will be satisfied as well.
Macedonia's Constituent Body		1	It's our country meaning all ethnicities living in Macedonia. Struzans know that, but others don't and for that reason it is the responsibility of the authorities to

			help other people realize what we have. They should promote it, the best way would be to create multiethnic parties so that tomorrow when elections come I can freely choose for whom to vote and not like now threatened that I will lose my place if I don't vote form them.
		2	Actually, why it is so important who's country it is? Everyone's, no one's, it does not matter as long as we live in good relations. Struga is an example that we can live together. The people here don't have problems, the problems come from the 'top' and many municipalities don't appear to realize this.
		2	With the 2007 changes, Struga was stripped of many powers in so many aspects. For instance, local unit for the Public Revenue Office for Struga now is in Bitola. Why Bitola? Because VMRO-DPMNE is not the ruling party here, but it is in Bitola, and Bitola is close and can control Struga. What is happening now is that financial controls are done only to Albanian financial subjects.
		3	The Public Revenue Local Unit as managed from Bitola is "visiting" night clubs owned by Albanians only, and this is not what has been happening when this unit was situated in Struga. This disturbs Struga's businessmen but they are trying to destroy our good relations in every way possible.
		4	I went to Skopje few months ago and I don't know how we got to the issue of inter-ethnic groups. And I explained him, yes I am ethnic Albanian, but I live in Macedonia and if I pay taxes to Macedonia, then the country is ours. If I was living here as a free-rider and paying taxes to Albania, then you can say the country is yours.
		6	A very recent event – the young people gather at the main square in Kumanovo and spend time together there. It occurred to the Albanians that they should do the same. How could it occur to them to take our square? They have money, why don't they build their own square? That's the only way to leave peacefully
		7	Macedonia is to ethnic Macedonians and the Albanians are only trying to overtake it and make true their long standing wish – Great Albania.
		10	They say they wanted equal rights with the Macedonians. That is impossible because you cannot be equal with the Macedonians in Macedonia. If the war wasn't endend ridiculously with the FA but continued, yeah I know more deaths but it's a war. And how is that you make war and afterwards you feed them. My point was if the war continued maybe it would have ended differently and they will get the idea where their limits are.
NOTE: The translations were made by the researcher.			

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APPENDIX C: TABLES AND FIGURES FROM THE ANALYSIS OF SURVEY DATA

Section A: Factor Analysis: Tables and Figures

Table 16   Latent Dimensions of Reconciliation: Complete Factor Loadings

| | Factor | | |
	Looking Backwards	*Facing Forwards*	*Current Feelings*
Variable			
Solution to the conflict	.90	.13	-.09
Healing of wounds	.92	.14	-.12
Legitimization of the 'other'	.88	.16	-.12
Partial justice	.91	.13	-.11
Further integration	.11	.58	-.15
Vision for shared future	.06	.76	-.10
Willingness for collaboration	.11	.72	-.10
Willingness to forgive	.11	.54	-.04
Fear	-.19	.29	.95
Hate	-.09	.15	.97
Trust	-.08	.12	.83
Tolerance	-.12	.09	.44
Within Factor Correlation	.97	.98	.88
Multiple R^2	.95	.97	.77
Proportion of variance explained	.28	.16	.23

Figure 6.   Graphical Representation of Table 16
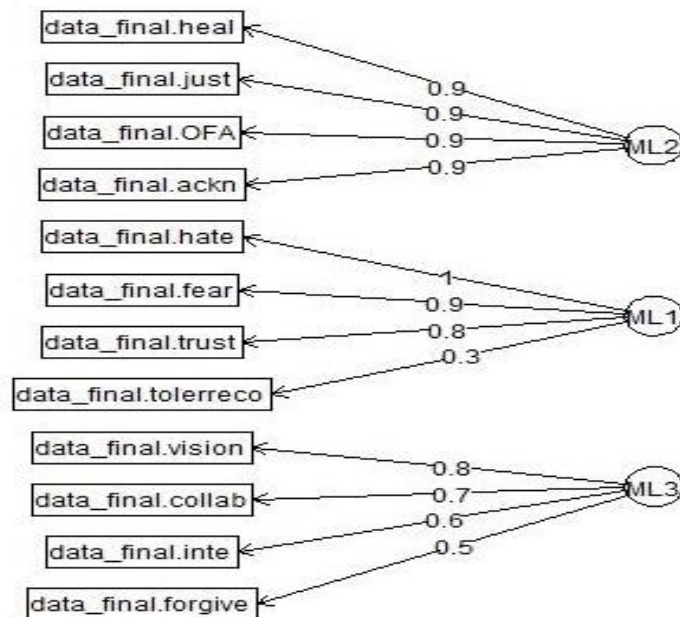
Table 17   *Latent dimensions of Contact Attributes and Ethnic Identity: Complete Factor Loadings*

	Factor	
	Contact Attributes	**Ethnic Identity**
Variable		
Contact arena and social context	.43	.15
Contact frequency	.63	.09
Friendship	.76	.05
Self-Disclosure	.75	.03
Attitude	.73	.15
Attachment	.13	.90
Salience	.10	.93
Strength	.12	.91
Within Factor Correlation	.91	.97
Multiple R^2	.82	.94
Proportion of variance explained	.29	.32

Figure 7.   Graphical representation of Table 17
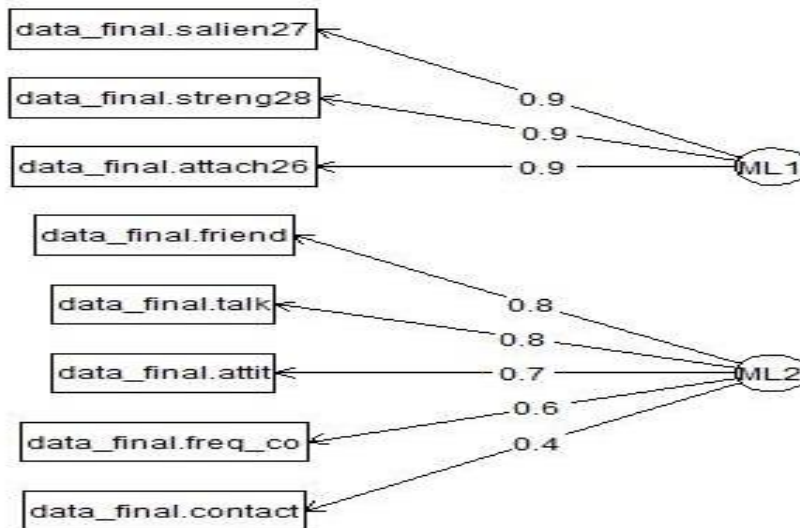
Section B: Spearman Correlations

Table 18   Spearman Correlations between the indicators of the response and of the explanatory variables

Variables	Type of contact	Frequency of contact	Friendship	Self-Disclosure	Attitude	Ethnic Attachment	Ethnic Strength	Ethnic Salience	Authority Recognition	Deterrent
Solution	.04 (.41)*	.16 (8e-4)	0.18 (2e-04)	.22 (.000)	.18 (1e-04)	.04 (.35)	.05 (.34)	.06 (.21)	-.08 (.07)	-.04 (.38)
Healing	.04 (.35)	.17 (3e-04)	.18 (1e-04)	016 (4e-04)	.16 (6e-04	.05 (.23)	.05 (.29)	.05 (.26)	-.09 (.06)	-.008 (.86)
Acknowledgment	.03 (.47)	.16 (5e-04)	.22 (.000)	.23 (.000)	.20 (.000)	.04 (43)	.02 (.63)	.04 (.34)	-.07 (.12)	-.05 (.25)
Justice	.04 (.35)	.13 (.006)	.18 (1e-04	.19 (.000)	.13 (.007)	.04 (.43)	.02 (.75)	.03 (.58)	-.09 (.05)	-.05 (.31)
Tolerance	- .13 (.005)	-.32 (.000)	.27 (.000)	-.22 (.000)	-.32 (.000)	-.21 (.000)	-.19 (.000)	-.22 (.000)	-.06 (.21)	-.22 (.000)
Fear	-.23 (.000)	-.30 (.000)	-.24 (.000)	-.10 (.03)	-.21 (.000)	-.30 (.000)	-.28 (.000)	-.28 (.000)	-.15 (.001)	-.17 (3e-04)
Hate	-.22 (.000)	-.29 (.000)	.19 (.000)	-.06 (.16)	-.17 (2e-04)	-.28 (.000)	-.25 (.000)	-.26 (.000)	-.17 (4e-04)	-.18 (1e-04)
Trust	-.18 (1e-04)	-.29 (.000)	-.17 (2e-04)	-.09 (.05)	-.18 (1e-04)	-.29 (.000)	-.27 (.000)	-.27 (.000)	-.10 (.03)	-.18 (1e-04)
Integration	.04 (.000)	.35 (.000)	.34 (.000)	.29 (.000)	.34 (.000)	.17 (3e-04)	.18 (1e-04)	.20 (.000)	.08 (.09)	.27 (.000)
Vision	.28 (.000)	.33 (.000)	.31 (.000)	.29 (.000)	.33 (.000)	.09 (.04)	.08 (.11)	.10 (.04)	.01 (.81)	.23 (.000)
Collaboration	.29 (.000)	.38 (.000)	.36 (.000)	.31 (.000)	.32 (.000)	.10 (.02)	.10 (.04)	.12 (.009)	.06 (.19)	.23 (.000)
Forgiveness	.27 (.000)	.26 (.000)	.27 (.000)	.26 (.000)	.23 (.000)	.08 (.09)	.05 (.25)	.04 (.35)	-.11 (.02)	.21 (.000)

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Table 19   Spearman Correlations among the indicators of the explanatory variables

Variables	Type of contact	Frequency of contact	Friendship	Self-Disclosure	Attitude	Identity Attachment	Identity Salience	Identity Strength	Authority Recognition	Deterrent
Type of contact	1	.42 (.000)	.31 (.000)	.27 (.000)	.34 (.000)	.17 (2e-04)	.19 (1e-04)	.21 (.000)	.12 (.009)	.29 (.000)
Frequency of contact		1	.52 (.000)	.42 (.000)	.45 (.000)	.18 (2e-04)	.14 (.002)	.15 (.002)	.07 (.14)	.24 (.000)
Friendship			1	.58 (.000)	.53 (.000)	.13 (.006)	.10 (.04)	.13 (.007)	-.007 (.88)	.18 (1e-04)
Self-Disclosure				1	.60 (.000)	.15 (.002)	.12 (.01)	.13 (.005)	-.06 (.23)	.18 (1e-04)
Attitude					1	.21 (.000)	.24 (.000)	.21 (.000)	.03 (.51)	.19 (.000)
Identity Attachment						1	.85 (.000)	.85 (.000)	.11 (.02)	.15 (.001)
Identity Salience							1	.86 (.000)	.11 (.02)	.17 (3e-04)
Identity Strength								1	.13 (.005)	.16 (9e-04)
Authority Recognition									1	.06 (.21)
Deterrent										1

N=450

* the numbers in the brackets are p-values

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Section C: Syntax used in utilizing the 'rule of averaging'

This operation was computed by using the following syntax:

data$mean <- (data$x1 + data$x2 + ... + data$xn)/ n,

where 'data' is the name of the dataset, 'xn' is a particular variable and, 'n' is the number of variables constituting the measure. So as to make the interpretation more intuitive, the scale for reconciliation and its dimensions was reversed so that 1 – extremely low; 2 low; 3 – high; and 4 – extremely high.

Section D: Syntax used for conducting the models with package 'ordinal'

fm0 <- clm (y ~ 1, data=name of the dataset)
summary (fm0)
fm1 <- clm (y ~ x1 + x2 + … + n, data=name of dataset)
summary (fm1)
fm1 <- clm (y ~ x1 + x2 + … + n, data=name of dataset)
anova (fm0, fm1)
drop1 (fm1, test = "Chi")

Y denotes the response variable, whereas Xn denote the explanatory variables.

Section E: Results from the Post-Hoc Analysis

Table 20   Comparison of mean differences with Post-Hoc Analysis (SPSS)

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	80.880	8	10.110	15.664	.000
Within Groups	284.640	441	.645		
Total	365.520	449			

Table 21   Multiple comparisons between muncipalities

LSD

(I) mun8	(J) mun8	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Significance	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Lipkovo	Arachinovo	.320*	.161	.047	.00	.64
	C. Sandevo	.580*	.161	.000	.26	.90
	Saraj	-.180	.161	.263	-.50	.14
	Gostivar	.500*	.161	.002	.18	.82
	Kichevo	.240	.161	.136	-.08	.56
	Debar	.460*	.161	.004	.14	.78
	Struga	-.720*	.161	.000	-1.04	-.40
	Kumanovo	.720*	.161	.000	.40	1.04
Arachinovo	Lipkovo	-.320*	.161	.047	-.64	.00
	C. Sandevo	.260	.161	.106	-.06	.58
	Saraj	-.500*	.161	.002	-.82	-.18
	Gostivar	.180	.161	.263	-.14	.50
	Kichevo	-.080	.161	.619	-.40	.24
	Debar	.140	.161	.384	-.18	.46
	Struga	-1.040*	.161	.000	-1.36	-.72
	Kumanovo	.400*	.161	.013	.08	.72
Chucher Sandevo	Lipkovo	-.580*	.161	.000	-.90	-.26
	Arachinovo	-.260	.161	.106	-.58	.06
	Saraj	-.760*	.161	.000	-1.08	-.44
	Gostivar	-.080	.161	.619	-.40	.24
	Kichevo	-.340*	.161	.035	-.66	-.02
	Debar	-.120	.161	.456	-.44	.20
	Struga	-1.300*	.161	.000	-1.62	-.98
	Kumanovo	.140	.161	.384	-.18	.46
Saraj	Lipkovo	.180	.161	.263	-.14	.50
	Arachinovo	.500*	.161	.002	.18	.82
	C. Sandevo	.760*	.161	.000	.44	1.08
	Gostivar	.680*	.161	.000	.36	1.00
	Kichevo	.420*	.161	.009	.10	.74

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	Debar	.640*	.161	.000	.32	.96
	Struga	-.540*	.161	.001	-.86	-.22
	Kumanovo	.900*	.161	.000	.58	1.22
Gostivar	Lipkovo	-.500*	.161	.002	-.82	-.18
	Arachinovo	-.180	.161	.263	-.50	.14
	C. Sandevo	.080	.161	.619	-.24	.40
	Saraj	-.680*	.161	.000	-1.00	-.36
	Kichevo	-.260	.161	.106	-.58	.06
	Debar	-.040	.161	.804	-.36	.28
	Struga	-1.220*	.161	.000	-1.54	-.90
	Kumanovo	.220	.161	.172	-.10	.54
Kichevo	Lipkovo	-.240	.161	.136	-.56	.08
	Arachinovo	.080	.161	.619	-.24	.40
	C. Sandevo	.340*	.161	.035	.02	.66
	Saraj	-.420*	.161	.009	-.74	-.10
	Gostivar	.260	.161	.106	-.06	.58
	Debar	.220	.161	.172	-.10	.54
	Struga	-.960*	.161	.000	-1.28	-.64
	Kumanovo	.480*	.161	.003	.16	.80
Debar	Lipkovo	-.460*	.161	.004	-.78	-.14
	Arachinovo	-.140	.161	.384	-.46	.18
	C. Sandevo	.120	.161	.456	-.20	.44
	Saraj	-.640*	.161	.000	-.96	-.32
	Gostivar	.040	.161	.804	-.28	.36
	Kichevo	-.220	.161	.172	-.54	.10
	Struga	-1.180*	.161	.000	-1.50	-.86
	Kumanovo	.260	.161	.106	-.06	.58
Struga	Lipkovo	.720*	.161	.000	.40	1.04
	Arachinovo	1.040*	.161	.000	.72	1.36
	C. Sandevo	1.300*	.161	.000	.98	1.62
	Saraj	.540*	.161	.001	.22	.86
	Gostivar	1.220*	.161	.000	.90	1.54
	Kichevo	.960*	.161	.000	.64	1.28
	Debar	1.180*	.161	.000	.86	1.50
	Kumanovo	1.440*	.161	.000	1.12	1.76
Kumanovo	Lipkovo	-.720*	.161	.000	-1.04	-.40
	Arachinovo	-.400*	.161	.013	-.72	-.08
	C. Sandevo	-.140	.161	.384	-.46	.18
	Saraj	-.900*	.161	.000	-1.22	-.58
	Gostivar	-.220	.161	.172	-.54	.10
	Kichevo	-.480*	.161	.003	-.80	-.16
	Debar	-.260	.161	.106	-.58	.06
	Struga	-1.440*	.161	.000	-1.76	-1.12

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.
N=450

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