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INTERCULTURALISM AND THE ETHNIC CHALLENGES IN THE PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NORTH MACEDONIA

Abstract: In May/November 2019 the Government of North Macedonia prepared and enacted the “Strategy for Development of the ‘One Society for All’ Concept and Interculturalism”. This paper will analyze the process of creation of the strategy, as well as the idea why this document was produced and what was behind. Further, the paper will shed more light about the priorities in the section of Education (there are seven sections in the strategy), and what should be done to soften the ethnic integration problems within the society. The team that created this part of the strategy aimed that elements of intercultural education should be implemented in the way to enhance the communication between the young people with different ethnic background in the society.

Keywords: Divided society, Primary education, Interculturalism, Concept of “one society”

Introduction

The Macedonian society has been a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society for a long time. Despite peaceful coexistence in the second part of the 20th century (when the Macedonian republic was part of the Yugoslav federation), and after the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991, the socio-demographic characteristics of the society were reflected primarily through the ethnic lenses. Macedonian society in a decade turned into a typically divided society. The economic uncertainty and the subjective perceptions of the insecure future in the Balkans had a significant influence on people. The groups (Albanians primarily) were more and more withdrawing within their “societies”, each seeking protection and support in its own group. Instead of strengthening the liberal values and creating prerequisites for social pluralism and modern society based on the fundamental human rights and freedoms, as well as enabling equal conditions for all members of the society, with no exception due to their ethnic, language, or religious background, exactly the opposite happened.

As the processes of transition from socialism to capitalism had penetrated all spheres of the state, and as the “western” values in politics and economy were implemented, as primary arenas towards prosperity, the class category in the Macedonian society was in great part replaced by the ethnicity. Group identification exclusively on ethnic bases was intensified, and the Macedonian society from an integrated status stepped into a status of disintegration. The ethnic and language differences became a factor of confrontations, and the process of ethnopolitical mobilization became a factor of deep division. (Atanasov, 2003: 177) The prediction was that the management of ethnic differences in the Macedonian case must reconcile two nationalisms, the civic Macedonian and the ethnic Albanian. Otherwise, opposite to this, the “battle” for resources and

the symbols of the state between Macedonians and Albanians will reinforce the affection toward its own national (ethnic) identity. On one side, if the resolution between the two nationalism(s) would have been successful, the multicultural democracy will enable the existence of “one society”. On the other side, if the ethnic identification would deepen, that would mean the creation of “two societies”, which will breed higher pressure upon the state regarding its political model. The nurturing of ethnic differences would mean a weakening of the civic cohesion of the society. (Atanasov, 2017: 28) After all, Europe is still a nation-state “business”, as well are the Balkans.

The Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), signed after six months of clashes between regular security forces and the Albanian paramilitary in 2001, was just a legal road sign. With the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement began the process of continual internal division, enhancing ethnic belonging as the main identity that never eased, just strengthening over time (Simoska, 2010). After two decades of implementation of the Ohrid Agreement, it showed that one of the consequences is that changes enhanced, instead of weakened the importance of ethnic identification. If you are a member of a sizeable and politically active ethnic minority, you will have higher chances to acquire a proper job, get more resources for development, and be permanently part of the government coalitions that will allow some of the party cadres big privileges (the Democratic Union for Integration – former paramilitary, since 2002 was constantly in the government). So, the specific characteristic of our new “coexistence” became ethnic concessions trade. Ethnicity, as an instrumental tool, by definition uses exclusive demands and policies. Accordingly, we are facing here the limits regarding the possibilities concerning scarce resources. The main characteristic is that the Macedonian society today is still deeply ethnically divided, mainly because of the language, the ethnic differences work against the interests of the majority of the citizens, and their unequal position in the society. It seems that this differentiation is a consequence of the “investment in the diversity”, for which purpose the international organizations invested so much and spend millions of Euros, and the result, opposite of the higher integration, is still a divided society with sizeable cultural and ghettoized spaces. (Atanasov, 2021: 87) Is there a solution for an integrated cohesive society?

The Inter/Multi/Cultural Resolution

Multiculturalism as a hard policy, at the end of the 20th century, stood opposite of the national state because is against the idea which propagates that only one culture should be dominant and serve the citizens (the one that is the biggest national/cultural group). In the meantime, the multicultural societal models even in their everyday practice showed that contain a lot of weak points. Contrary to its claims, the main propagators are usually small segments of politics, namely the political-ethnic elites. In that process as often happens the matrix of culturalism is used to put the cultural group above the individual, to constantly pressure the members of the group to blindly follow “their” ethnic canons. Multiculturalism is an approach that promotes and defends, and yet it freezes, the ethnic differences and succeeds neither in fully integrating nor eradicating the structural group’s inequality. Seldom has multiculturalism produced more than a handful of satisfied ethnic leaders and a lot of complaints and protests on behalf of different ethnic marginalized groups. It seems that the philosophy of “multi-culti” is something that moves and pushes the processes, but it proved that breeds disorder and segregation. (Atanasov, 2021) The multicultural policies suffered serious critics, first of all, in the realization of insufficient or improper results.

The Macedonian society today is even more ethnically divided, mainly because of the language (there are areas where citizens have no contact with the language of the majority – the Macedonian language), and the ethnic differences work against the societal integration of the majority of the citizens. The dominant part of the “multicultural” concessions, according to the Agreement, enjoys only one ethnic group – the Albanians. Now, we have “multicultural quarrels”

used by the Macedonian and Albanian leaders, which is only the façade for their communities' "ethnic dreams". Other communities that are not in majority and are part of the society are absent from this "ethnic game". Ethnic mobilization broadens its scope in politics, including the municipal local power, annual "ethnic" budget negotiations, strengthening the ethnic identity, and sometimes opening the questions in the manner of "to whom this state belongs". All these processes were about the cultural differentiation and division between ethnic segments and new relations on the political base. The echoes of the political atmosphere after the announcement of the census "results" in April 2022 resemble all of the previous analyses, and the census was more like another historical "re-counting".

The 'National Strategy for the Development of the "One Society for All" Concept and Interculturalism' (from here on the National strategy for one society) is a document of such prominence that for the first time was designed in the Republic of North Macedonia, and it is of special importance having in mind the ethnic divisions in the society and other levels. At the beginning of the document, it is stated that this national strategy was the subject of extensive consultations and discussions in the period May-June 2019 with representatives of state institutions, the civil society, the academic community, and other stakeholders. The document has incorporated much of the submitted comments, suggestions, and follow-ups of public debates held across the country. The result of this process is a document that reflects, to the best extent possible, the steps needed to achieve its vision for '*One Society for All*'.² *The designers of this document wanted to initiate activities to strengthen the processes of communication and cooperation between the communities in direction of creating a society in which everyone will feel like a member of "one society". (Zemon, 2021) This was the official viewpoint of the man³ who initiate the whole process for the creation of the strategy. What was in the mind of some of us (the author of this paper is the prime author of the whole idea and concept⁴)* involved in the process, was that in our case the development should be in the direction of collaboration of different cultures. As something that comes in-between, or involves two or more cultures. As the exchange between cultural groups inside the society on an equal footing. It is close to the concept of interculturalism which is a try for upgrade or exit strategy for multicultural traps. Interculturalism involves action above the passive acceptance of the multicultural facts of various cultures that exist in the society and instead promotes interchanges between cultures. Interculturalism is the eventual answer to the critics of existent policies of multiculturalism, as well as the criticism that the multicultural policies did not succeed to create inclusion of different cultures in the society, but further divided the society through legitimizing the segregated communities, that often isolated each other and constantly emphasized its specificities. Interculturalism is in its essence the recognition of different cultures, but even more, it is active cooperation based on common values among cultures. (Atanasov, 2021)

In the autumn of 2019, the Government enacted a new strategic document named 'The National Strategy for the Development of "One Society for All" Concept and Interculturalism 2020-2022'. This national strategy was a sign that the Government has a will to continue supporting the process for a higher level of societal integration. The state needed a model of civic nationalism, which will be the pattern for building an integrated society by investing in the political unity of the state. The feelings of the ethnicity should be losing their importance, through building a fair society and impartial state. The National Strategy had 7 chapters of intervention: legal, educational, cultural, youth, media, local government, and social cohesion.

² The National Strategy for the Development of the 'One Society for All' Concept and Interculturalism <https://vlada.mk/nacionalni-strategii> [visited on 12.05.2022]

³ Professor Rubin Zemon, was an adviser for multicultural questions in the Cabinet of Prime minister Zoran Zaev during the time when the whole process started.

⁴ Professor Petar Atanasov, was deputy minister of education in the Government of Prime minister Zoran Zaev at the time when the whole process started.

Primary Education Ethnic Challenges

This paper will elaborate on the process of creation of the National strategy, as well as the idea of why this document was produced and what was the idea behind it. The paper will shed more light on the priorities in primary education and what should be done in long term to solve the ethnic integration problems within the society. The analysis of the educational sector during the time of the writing of the main body of the National strategy⁵ showed that despite several important documents that were enacted and some of them implemented (Concept for nine-year primary education⁶ – 2007, The Concept for Intercultural Education – 2015, the Education Strategy 2018-2025⁷ – 2017, and the Law on Primary Education – 2015/2019) questions are asked were they effective and workable. Let us just quote two of them. The vision of the Concept for intercultural education consists of “developing ambiance for education and upbringing that will nourish intercultural relations and integrative processes that promote cultural differences and their transposition in a wider societal and multi-ethnic and multicultural context.”⁸ Looking at the Law on Primary Education, among the number of listed education objectives are also the following: i) education on mutual tolerance, cooperation, respect for diversity, basic human freedoms, and rights, as well as, ii) developing awareness among students about belonging to the Republic of Macedonia and fostering their own national and cultural identity.⁹ However, the dilemma is whether the process of education enables the acquisition of this knowledge, values, and skills, or the overall objectives in these documents.

On one hand, as the National strategy elaborates, in the past ten years there has been a lot of research that identifies various issues about the primary education system itself as to the extent to which education enables students who are different on any basis to meet, make friends and work together. As early as 2009 a UNICEF Study on multiculturalism and inter-ethnic relations in education (Petroska-Beska, 2009) identified a downward trend in the number of students taught in different languages who are attending multilingual schools, and consequently, the number of monolingual schools was rising. The same can be confirmed in the 2012 ‘Baseline study about inter-ethnic integration in education,’¹⁰ done as part of the USAID ‘Project on inter-ethnic integration in education’ (IIEP). Namely, the research suggests that most students study in monolingual schools, and, as a result, do not have opportunities for mutual interaction. Even students from different languages of instruction in multilingual schools do not necessarily have a guaranteed contact opportunity since they study in different buildings (central as opposed to satellite schools), in different parts of the same building, or on different shifts. On the other hand, both teachers and parents and even students themselves have an ambivalent attitude towards chances of direct contact with students with different languages of instruction. According to data obtained from the electronic research as part of the USAID Project on inter-ethnic integration in education,¹¹ only 21% of the students with the Macedonian language of instruction study in bilin-

⁵ The part of the education in the strategy was written by a team led by Professor Petar Atanasov, Safet Balazhi, an independent consultant and expert, and Andriana Tomovska, teacher and external adviser.

⁶ The Concept of nine-year primary education – Bureau for the Development of Education, Ministry of Education and Science, 2007

⁷ The Education Strategy 2018-2025 with an Action Plan, Ministry of Education and Science, 2017

⁸ The concept of inter-cultural education, Ministry of Education and Science, 2015
<http://www.mon.gov.mk/images/Koncepcija-mk.pdf>

⁹ The Law on Primary Education, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia no. 103/2008, 33/2010, 116/2010, 156/2010, 18/2011, 42/2011, 51/2011, 6/2012, 100/2012, 24/2013, 41/2014, 116/2014, 135/2014, 10/2015, 98/2015 and 145/2015

¹⁰ Baseline study about inter-ethnic integration in education, http://mk.pmio.mk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/IIEP-BASELINE-STUDY_MAC.pdf

¹¹ Report from electronic study on the implementation of the IIEP,
<http://pmio.mk/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Electronic-survey-report-MAK.pdf>

gual or trilingual schools, and only 47.6% of students with the Albanian language of instruction attend multilingual schools. Data shown are clear indicators that help us conclude that students mainly grow in parallel worlds, isolated from each other, without ample opportunities for mutual contact. Considering also that in multilingual schools the space-time organization of instruction is organized in a way that it largely prevents contact between students of different languages of instruction, turns out that the percentage of students learning in different languages who meet, make friends, and work together while at school is truly neglectable. The study titled *How to Achieve Integrated Education in the Republic of Macedonia* (Bakiu, 2016), points out that the existing segregation in the education system is a result of the efforts for avoiding conflicts between students with different languages of instruction, which, in turn, only enhanced the stereotypes and prejudice towards the ethnically “others”.

The main indicator is that although the North Macedonian Government adopted some strategic documents for integrated education, still the division upon ethnic lines remains visible even in multilingual schools. The textbooks are an additional weak point, with not complying with the criteria for multiculturalism which does not contribute to strengthening the social cohesion.¹² Unfortunately, most research indicates the need for intervention in this area to enable students to get to know those different from them and to build a stance of acceptance and respect for all differences, not only through direct contact but also indirectly through what is offered in textbooks and through the curricula and programs themselves. A more recent study titled *From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism through Primary Education* (Petroska-Beska, 2018), reveals that textbooks in primary education in Macedonian and Albanian languages of instruction contribute to the development of ethnic nationalism, in terms of both their content and approach.

A series of scientific research speaks about the importance of the content of curricula and its effect on inter-group relations. The *broader contacts* (when members of different communities have no contact but learn about each other through different teaching units) have shown a positive effect when researchers were reading students’ stories about different kinds of interaction among members of different groups (Rutland, 2006), and during the discussion following book readings which had cross-group contacts (Vezzali, 2012). We need to pay special attention in our education system to the use of different languages of instruction too. Presently five different languages are used (Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Serbian, and, as of recently, Bosnian). Nevertheless, in conditions where students can only speak their native language and not the other languages, the very contact between members of different communities becomes difficult since there is no common language. Stemming from this problem, the document titled *Steps toward integrated education in the education system of the Republic of Macedonia*¹³ recommends a more serious approach to the language issue, so that students with different languages of instruction to Macedonian would start learning it as early as first-grade primary school, and students with the Macedonian language of instruction would start learning the languages of communities as early as possible. With the existing curriculum, the Macedonian language for students with different languages of instruction is introduced in the fourth grade, while students studying in Macedonian can choose (as an elective subject) to learn the Albanian language, but not the languages of other communities, starting from the sixth grade. Languages are one of the crucial elements of the intercultural curricula.

¹² The National Strategy for the Development of the ‘One Society for All’ Concept and Interculturalism <https://vlada.mk/nacionalni-strategii> [visited on 12.05.2022]

¹³ *Steps toward integrated education in the education system of the Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje: Ministry of Education and Science, 2010

The Concept of “One Society” in Education

In the last decade, as stated in the National strategy for one society, three different strategies in the educational sector have been adopted. ‘Steps toward integrated education in the education system of the Republic of Macedonia is a strategy prepared by a team comprised of representatives of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Ministry of Education and Science of RM (The strategy was adopted by the Government in 2010 as an attempt to overcome the divisions in the education system through various measures); The Concept for Intercultural Education was prepared by an expert team from the Nansen Dialogue Center in Skopje and was adopted by the MES in early 2016 (The concept identifies multiple areas in which measures need to be taken to address the existing divides upon language and ethnic lines); The Education Strategy 2018-2025 and its Action Plan are the latest strategic documents in education (adopted by the Government in January 2018 (The thing of particular importance in this Strategy is that the role of education is clearly emphasized for improving inter-ethnic integration and social cohesion). Among other things, the strategy aims at “adapting and consistently implementing the concept of inclusive and multicultural education, in other words, this strategy truly aims at developing one society for all.”

According to the Education Strategy 2018-2025, teachers themselves do not promote sufficient respect for diversity and equality (in terms of gender or ethnicity, social status, intellectual and physical abilities), as well as multiculturalism. Also, according to the National strategy, the measures to overcome divisions upon ethnic lines in schools are insufficient and segregation in schools affects social cohesion and interethnic integration. There are a lot of participants and stakeholders connected to this problem. First, the children that are living in 21 century through their digital devices and smartphones, then their parents that might be still stuck in socialist time or struggling for decent salaries, also the teachers who are not motivated or simple not able to cope with the higher level of instilling the values of diversity for the future, last but not the least, the municipalities that are hardly involved in the processes of education despite many obligations and opportunities according to the laws, and additionally, the negative societal atmosphere that “stimulates” various crime and corruption acts than diverse cultural values or needed life skills for the children. About the quality of education in general, we can pose a question is it in line with the desired output? I will start with the old saying that education is what is left in kids’ heads after formal education is over. Namely, based on this thesis, it will mean that the educational strategy for the building “one society for all” would aim for children to have in their portfolios sustained contact with the children of other ethnic groups, to acquire some (or full) knowledge of another societal language (besides 2 foreign languages), and to learn about “other” cultures, namely, to get familiarized with cultural values and history of their neighbors (even though some municipalities or spaces are ethnically homogeneous).

Many donor projects were engaged and implemented in our educational sector, but so far no one has reached comprehensive or sustained results generally, and concerning the multicultural elements and integration efforts, particularly. Why the interventions and models that were tested and implemented could not become reality? Why the schools could not manage to use new multicultural practices? Let us try to shed more light on these questions. There are many factors, but for our purpose, there are two lines of analysis possible that prove the failure of the projects: wrong investments in diversity, when unity was needed, and lacking political will and courage to build something cross-ethnic for benefit of social integration.

About the first line of explaining the problem, I have written many times. The challenge is how to build an integrated society, in which it is of no importance from which ethnic community you are coming. Is it possible for society to be fair and equitable for the majority of citizens? The lesson that ordinary citizens have learned in these years, or at least felt on their skin, is that to be equal in society, you need to be the same as others. To become the same as others, you need at

some point “to get” different from the state to be equal to others. Instead of equating themselves with others, by nurturing and “investing” in diversity, citizens and their families become even more diverse and slowly isolate themselves from mainstream society and move into their own “ethnic society.” Thus, isolated and excluded, especially the citizens from the smaller communities, are no longer equal participants in political and economic life. (Atanasov, 2017) It seems that this result is a direct consequence of “investments in diversity”, for which many have so much advocated and spent millions of euros, and the result, instead of integration, is often segregation in the form of culturally parallel or ethnically ghettoized spaces.

The second line of elaboration seems more complex. There is a need for political will and courage to invest in social integration. What has been proposed and what should be done? As seen from the national strategy sectors, in education, the strategy is simple and direct. It stands on three pillars: sustained communication, learning other languages, and enriching the educational contents in regular and formal education. Let me once again go through the proposed elements. In the educational sector are identified “three priorities and adequate goals and activities: securing interaction among students from different ethnic communities and different languages of educational instruction in primary (and secondary schools); improving the learning of the language of “others”; as well as strengthening of intercultural elements in curricula. Each of these priority goals has its own ‘arsenal’ of activities in which the essence is on the communication among children in the educational system, bigger language acquaintance, and the learning different cultures that surround us” (Atanasov, 2021). The strategy, explaining the first priority, try to secure bigger interaction of the school children from different ethnicities/languages that should be done through formal curricula and extra-curricular activities. In the formal education process, the teaching classes should be held together in at least two different subjects. The extra curricula activities should be held together in different projects and activities. Three more activities should be implemented: increasing cooperation among different municipal/state schools, increasing the cooperation among teachers of different language instruction, and increasing the cooperation between schools, parents, and children. Concerning the second priority, improving learning the languages of “others”, there are two goals, improving the learning of the Macedonian language for non-Macedonian speaking children, and enabling the Macedonian children to basic communication with the language of other ethnic communities. This will be regulated in dependence on different regions and municipalities. The third priority is, namely, the enhancement of the elements of different cultures and changes in the textbooks in the way of better acquaintances with “other” cultures, and respect for diversities. Also, new project activities should be implemented in meeting the cultures and traditions of all communities. These priorities should be realized through simultaneous and sustained efforts if we want to achieve bigger results in a couple of years. If the region is stable and without processes that can damage the whole strategy.

The Action plan¹⁴ of the National strategy for the development of the one society for all concepts and interculturalism was a document that accompanied the strategy and means that the two of them are inseparable and complement. In the Action plan, the creators of the strategy projected their processual timing, the institutions that were responsible for the implementation of the strategy, the resources needed, the type of interventions, the risks and the level of risk, and identified stakeholders, interested sides and the number of the activities. Being part of the process, I can confirm that it was done within the institutions (all the previous strategies of this format were done from outside of the institutions, i.e. Ministry of education), by people that were already in the state institutions, the main group, and supportive groups worked intensively in six months, the process and the people in the process respected the legal procedures that were in power. We

¹⁴ Action plan and National Strategy for Development of the ‘One Society for All’ Concept and Interculturalism <https://vlada.mk/nacionalni-strategii> [visited on 12.05.2022]

had full Government support, a lot of interested stakeholders were part of the process, there were many public events where the teams and leaders of the process spoke about the strategy and the whole idea, and there were no obstructions of the political matters. The risks in implementation were identified only in the establishment of Children's centers for integrative, intercultural, and inclusive education because they were new and a project that will require longer time and resources, and additionally, changes in the textbooks for a bigger acquaintance of the cultures of "others" and respecting of diversities. The latter is something that always provokes resistance, mainly political and, also, teachers' uneasiness. The learning of languages of the "others" was not labeled as a risk. The lowest risk we took was to project the fourth grade as a starting point for everybody to learn the language of the majority – Macedonian language (from fourth to ninth grade), and for Macedonians to start learning one of the "others" languages in the multilingual schools, as an elective subject, and as a wish of the children and their families. The main goals were to break the barrier of non-Macedonians practicing the lingua franca, and for Macedonians to learn basic communication in the "other" language. There are different theories about when the children should start another language than the mother tongue, but our children were already burdened with two foreign languages, which I claim is too much. The biggest change compared to reality is that the Macedonian children should start learning "other" languages not from the sixth but the fourth grade. All of this depends on other factors as well but the idea was to adopt the strategy every third year.

Three preconditions were most important for the process to be successful. The approval of the Government and the political parties that were in the Government, the speed of the implementation that should engage a lot of people and resources, as well as establishing new sectors in some institutions (for instance in the Ministry of education and science), and the overall regional atmosphere of building positive context in the region considering that the integrational process for European Union and NATO membership of some of the neighbors should add more energy and will to change the negative heritage of the wars in the 20th century. Nevertheless, in a short period after the enactment of the National strategy, one of the main coalitions in the Government, the Democratic Union of Integration (DUI), as well as some other political parties expressed "political" doubts about this strategy and concept.

Conclusion

If this government's national strategy does not become reality, especially in education, it will mean that no political force is willing to get into it and make it real. It will mean that our communities (mainly Macedonian and Albanian) do not share the same vision of the society, nor would desire or like a higher level of integration. It will mean that the political concept of "one society for all" is abundant and interculturalism did not become an integrational solution. In the national strategy, it was stated that: "To us, One Society for All means: recognition of all diversities, safeguarding and ensuring equality, social justice, just and equitable treatment, equal opportunities, involvement and participation of citizens in decision-making and attaining social cohesion. This comprehensive aim was projected by reaching integration through diversities, equality, justice, involvement, participation, and attaining social cohesion.

There are seven areas, but for the author, the most influential for the concept of "one society for all" are education, culture, and media. These three sectors are spaces where the values are made and transmitted as connecting categories that should be used in social communication and integration. These are the values that will support bigger communication among different segments of the societies. (Atanasov, 2021) The team that created the Strategy aimed that elements of intercultural education should be implemented in a way to stimulate the communication between the youth in the primary school context. It is a long-term task but the only way of achieving the concept of "one society for all".

All of these presuppose having a stable social context that was so far nurtured by strong nationalism and ethnic political mobilization. If society emanates positive vibes to the school system, then on some levels we can achieve correlation and mutual enhancement. The schools should support the new waves of communication, language learning, and the exchange of cultural values. The search for common ground is worth investing in the future, instead of investment in diversity. Anyhow, the gain will be twofold: reaching a certain level of social cohesion and mutual trust of communities in creating “one society for all”, and enriching the students with the cultural heritage from the region, as a benefit in their life and career. Then, individual gains can be transformed into a social value that can bring more to a society that matures and practice democracy and respect diversity.

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GENDER SENSITIVE EDUCATION AS A PREREQUISITE FOR COMPREHENSIVE SEXUALITY EDUCATION

Abstract: The purpose of this text is to examine relationships between concepts of Gender Sensitive Education, Feminist Pedagogy and Comprehensive Sexuality Education. The main hypothesis of this conceptual analysis is that a prerequisite for successful implementation of Comprehensive Sexuality Education is a successful implementation of principles of Feminist Pedagogy and Gender Sensitive Education. Main argument for the hypothesis is that Comprehensive Sexuality Education is content-oriented education, while Feminist Pedagogy and Gender Sensitive Education focus on teaching, the pedagogical process, and the development of teacher and student competencies. Only within Gender Sensitive Education environment, successful implementation of Comprehensive Sexuality Education is possible.