

**14. ULUSLARARASI
TÜRK SANATI, TARİHİ ve FOLKLORU
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14. ULUSLARARASI TÜRK SANATI, TARİHİ ve FOLKLORU KONGRESİ
ETHNIC DISTANCE BETWEEN PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE SKOPJE REGION

Dushka MATEVSKA*
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ABSTRACT

As a part of the democratic tendencies of our society, the idea that that no child should study in any language other than the one it speaks at home is seen as imperative, because otherwise, it would imply that the language spoken at home is somehow inferior. This concept is implemented in the constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia as well as the law for primary and secondary education. The Republic of North Macedonia is a multicultural and a multiconfessional society in which children of different ethnic groups study in their native language either in different schools or in the same school, but in different shifts. In this paper we will try to establish to what extent the ethnically segregated society affects the ethnic distance between students from different ethnic groups, specifically their readiness to accept certain social relations with the ethnic other. In the process of building his or her ethnic identity, childhood has an essential role. The process of differentiating from the ethnic and religious other takes place through traditions, culture and language, in which the "other" is also a part of the process. The existing barriers between students are more easily overcome through direct contact between students, whether these differences are based on a difference in language, religion or other elements of culture. Ethnic segregation in the educational process not only disables the creation of direct contact between students, but also between all other participants of the educational process, such as teachers and parents. The key question which is asked is whether the ethnic segregation in the primary education in the Republic of North Macedonia increases the ethnic distance between ethnic groups, a phenomenon which can cause the disintegration of Macedonian society in the long run.

Key word: ethnic distance, ethnic segregation, primary education, ethnic identity.

INTRODUCTION

Education is not only an individual choice but also a necessity to society. With education, the strongest process of socialization is achieved i.e. conveying norms and values of a society. Therefore, countries not only take care of the financing and realization of the educational process, but also try and create its content through which individuals will accept the norms and values of the governing system. On the other hand, from a recent research¹ on elementary education in North Macedonia, regarding the question "How much do students learn about history, tradition and culture of all ethnic communities" it has been concluded that in general, history class is egocentric regardless of the language in which the class has been held and it is oriented in the ethnicity in which the language is taught and the content of the "others" is not studied (Petroska-Beshka, 2009). From a sociological point of view, this kind of education keeps on cultivating ethno-national dispositions to children and makes them "good members to this or that ethnicity".

As possible sociological implications regarding students of segregated types of schools, we highlight the following:

- Forming rigid attitude (prejudice and stereotypes) about the ethnic and religious other;
- Condemnation and extortion of the ethnic and religious other; also alienation and distancing from ethnic and religious other;
- A crisis of limited identity and failure to choose responsibilities for other social roles;
- Due to lack of personal criteria (the criteria determined by a collectivity), the individual may have difficulty in choosing a partner, friend or sense of belonging to a social group;
- Social exclusion due to disrespect for diversity.

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¹ A school accustomed to a child <http://www.umd.gov.mk/istrazuvanje.aspx> (25 augst 2009)

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1. THE OTHER ETHNIC IN BOOKS FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

For students to develop multiculturalism and a positive perception of different religions and ethnicities can only be achieved if they learn through the educational process that the human community is a spectrum of diversity: ethnical, confessional, cultural and other and that everyone must live not side by side, but all together. In addition to teachers, school books play an important role in this mission too. When we speak of school books we have to acknowledge that they are not ordinary books. They are meant to become cultural models which contain what is most important for a society. School book's purpose is to model a child's cultural experience. This type of modeling is reflected in that within the textbooks some topics are strongly favored and others are deliberately overlooked. This directly influences the physical and mental appearance of a given culture. School books tend to "achieve" complete control over a well formed person. We must bear in mind that school book's cultural mission is achieved through many levels. On one hand we have conscious, direct and well proclaimed goals and on the other we have unconscious influences of the school books onto a young man. Through school books we assimilate the culture we live in, comprehended in the broadest form.

A number of sociological researches indicate that shaping a student's point of view of the other religious and ethnical types is influenced by the way in which they are presented in school books. If the "Others" are presented through positive examples, then realistic predispositions exist in students in order to form positive attitudes and behaviour toward other students who do not belong to their ethnic and religious group. In a financially funded research by the Ministry of science and education of North Macedonia under the topic "Multiculturalism and Inter-culturalism in the textbooks from first to fifth grade in the elementary education of North Macedonia" ² an insight of the textbooks was formed in order to determine to what extent and in what context are other ethnic groups represented that would demonstrate the multiculturalism of Macedonian society as well as the number of examples suggesting interaction between members of different ethnic groups.

The researchers concluded that the analyzed mother language textbooks of all communities in North Macedonia are ethnocentric, i.e. the cultural identity of a particular ethnic group for which the textbook is intended is predominantly represented. The interaction among different ethnic groups in the texts is very poor, i.e. there is a small number of contents that mention names of characters belonging to different ethnicities. There are no contents that represent North Macedonia in a multicultural context. Similarly, other textbooks have been formed, except for the textbooks and practicum on the subject of Society, which contains texts and illustrations that express the multicultural reality of North Macedonia. Information on ethnic structure and religions which are practiced in North Macedonia is given. But the use of personal names in school books and textbooks is also determined by the language in which the textbook is written. There are no examples of a group of characters of mixed ethnicity.

The situation is similar with schoolbooks from 6th to 9th grade³. Here too, the contents of the textbooks in the mother tongue are ethnocentric, i.e. entirely focused on one's own culture. There is little representation of intercultural elements in Macedonian language textbooks. The content that promotes the identity of the Macedonian people dominates and there are almost no texts presenting the cultural identity of the other ethnic communities living in the North Macedonia. Albanian language textbooks have insignificant representation of intercultural elements. The Albanian cultural identity is exclusively presented in their textbooks through their historical characters, events and national features. There are no contents in any textbook in which North Macedonia is presented as a common homeland of several ethnic communities, nor are there any kind of contents that relate to national holidays and state symbols. In Turkish language textbooks, there are a number of texts and illustrations that refer to Turkish history and culture that encourage pride and joy in belonging to this community. Presentation of the Macedonian cultural identity is

² Multiculturalism and inter-culturalism in school books from first to fifth grade in elementary education in North Macedonia, Ministry of education and science of North Macedonia

³ Multiculturalism and inter-culturalism in school books from sixth to seventh grade in elementary education in North Macedonia, Ministry of education and science of North Macedonia, 2017

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in only one segment, it is completely absent from other ethnic communities in North Macedonia. In any different kind of content of textbooks in the mother tongue, the interaction between the members of the different ethnic communities living in the North Macedonia is not presented. The analysis of textbooks of other subjects in different languages paints a similar picture.

Textbooks constituted in this way do not represent the multicultural reality in North Macedonia and the orientation towards their own ethnic group is a fertile ground for the development of ethnocentrism in the young population. Therefore, it is necessary to include topics in all textbooks within all subjects and in all languages that will provide an introduction to the cultural characteristics of all communities in North Macedonia. Instead of emphasizing the differences, the textbooks should emphasize the common elements in the tradition, folklore and daily living of the different ethnic groups in North Macedonia. Interaction between religious and ethnic others should be emphasized by a series of positive examples that will pave the way for dialogue, understanding and cooperation.

2. RESULTS FROM THE RESEARCH

This thesis used data from the project "The Impact of Ethnic Segregation in Primary Education on Perceptions of Ethnic and Religious Other" managed by Dushka Matevska, PhD, financed by the Faculty of Pedagogy "St. Kliment Ohridski" - Skopje and completed in 2019. For the purpose of this thesis, we will try to get a picture whether belonging to a particular ethnic group plays an important role in creating the identity of 9th grade students and whether ethnic identity influences the degree of interaction with members of other ethnic groups in North Macedonia. The following question: "Does greater interaction between members of different ethnic groups (in multilingual schools) have a positive impact on the perception of one another and thus on the reduction of ethnic distance?" is of great importance for this research.

The field research was conducted between May 22, 2019 and May 29, 2019 and the test consisted of students of the 9th grade. Four primary schools of the Skopje region were selected:

- Petar Zdravkovski Penko Elementary School in the municipality of Butel with mixed ethnicity and in which class is held in three languages simultaneously (Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish);
- Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Primary School in the village of Dolno Kolicani, Studenicani municipality in which class is held in Turkish;
- Alija Avdovikj elementary school in the village of Batinci, Studenicani municipality (with a predominantly albanian population) in which class is held predominantly in Albanian language. Four out of five classes in the ninth grade are held in albanian language and one small class is formed, which includes children from the Bosniak ethnic group, in which they are taught in Macedonian language.
- Laze Trpovski elementary, in municipality of Karposh, in which class is held in Macedonian language.

One class was selected, from the schools in which class is held in one language, with the exception of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Primary School in the village Lower Kolicani, where students from the single class in the 9th grade, were interviewed. At the Petar Zdravkovski Elementary School in Penko, the 9th grade students are divided into seven classes, four of which are in Albanian, two in Macedonian and one in Turkish language. From the Albanian language classes one was chosen and two classes in Macedonian language, due to the large number of students from the Bosniak and Romani ethnicity, which are not the subject of our research, we were forced to interview all Macedonian students from those two classes. By all accounts, a small number of Macedonian students enrolled in those two classes, 8 in IX-1 and only 4 in IX-2 of the Macedonian ethnic group. The survey covered 104 students and only 91 questionnaires were considered in the final review, some of which were removed due to the evident invalidity of the data entered (some respondents did not complete the entire questionnaire).

Ethnic segregation in elementary education can have an effect on increasing negative stereotypes in relation to members of other ethnic groups and thus increasing ethnic distance. Frail interaction among children who belong to different ethnic communities, especially in those who speak one language on the territory of North Macedonia, can increase ethnic distance i.e. student's willingness to accept particular social relations with members of other ethnic groups. This is when we present the part of the research which is aimed at examining the degree of ethnic distance or more specifically the willingness of different religious groups to accept or reject

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characteristic social relations with members of another religion. For the purpose of this research, we used a modified Bogardus scale (Bogardus, 1925) on a social distance containing six forms of social relationships.⁴ Relationships are given by the by degree of closeness, from the highest degree of distance (least closeness) to the least degree of closeness (closest closeness). Social relationships are formulated in the form of attitudes that are responded to by accepting or not accepting of a given relationship. The purpose of the scale is to examine the degree of closeness a person is prepared to achieve with an average member of a particular group who responds to their choice and behavior in real life.

Now we will present data for every school individually so we can establish whether students of monolingual schools, which are also residentially segregated, indicate a wider ethnic distance in relation to religious groups with which they do not communicate on a daily basis.

Table number 1: Acceptance of social relations with other ethnic groups of Macedonian students from Lazo Trpovski elementary school (monolingual school)

| | Macedonian | Albanian | Turk | Roma | Bosniak | Serb |
|---|------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| To live with me in the same municipality | 100% | 71,4% | 78,6% | 71,4% | 78,6% | 78,6% |
| To live with me in the same street | 100% | 71,4% | 78,6% | 71,4% | 71,4% | 78,6% |
| To hang out with him and be my friend | 100% | 71,4% | 78,6% | 71,4% | 78,6% | 85,7% |
| My sister or close relative to marry him | 100% | 14,3% | 21,4% | 14,3% | 14,3% | 50% |
| To be the principal in the school I study | 100% | 28,6% | 28,6% | 28,6% | 50% | 42,8% |
| To be mayor in my municipality | 100% | 21,4% | 21,4% | 21,4% | 35,7% | 35,7% |

The Macedonian students from the elementary school "Lazo Trpovski, have mostly accepted the members of their own ethnic group. From the attached table, it can be observed that 100% of the respondents accept any kind of suggested close relationships with Macedonians. Right next to their own ethnic group, Macedonians accept Serbians the most and Albanians and Romani people the least. There is a clear tendency that with the increase of the intimacy of the relations, the ethnic distance of Macedonians towards other ethnic groups is increasing. We only have a deviation from the attitude of "socializing with him and him being my friend" and the reason for this is that friendships are the result of an individual's choice and can always be interrupted by friends having the same or similar views and interests, which is especially important for societies that do not have extreme ethnic polarization. In the given data of table number 1, Macedonian students indicate that intimate relations is the most distant kind of relationship (my sister or a close relative to marry him). Relations such as those that put members of the Macedonian ethnic group in a subordinate position such as "being the headmaster of the school I study" and "being the mayor of the municipality in which I live" are also rejected.

Table number 2: Acceptance of social relations with other ethnic groups of Macedonian students from Petar Zdravkovski Penko elementary school (trilingual school)

| | Macedonian | Albanian | Turk | Roma | Bosniak | Serb |
|--|------------|----------|------|------|---------|------|
| To live with me in the same municipality | 100% | 80% | 90% | 70% | 90% | 100% |
| To live with me in the same street | 100% | 70% | 80% | 40% | 90% | 100% |

⁴ Emory Bogardus formulated the Bogardus Social Distance Scale which measures the degree of closeness or social distance between different social groups (ethnic, racial, religious, social). In the Bogardus scale there are seven degrees of social relations, the most intimate relationships being: close kinship by marriage (accepting marriage); friendship (being a close friend); neighbourhood (being a good neighbour). Then come the more distant social relationships such as: working in the same organization (working together); to be just an acquaintance (citizenship, permanent resident of a country); to be accepted only as visitors to a particular country and to be excluded by the country (hostile attitude)

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| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| To hang out with him and be my friend | 100% | 80% | 90% | 60% | 80% | 100% |
| My sister or close relative to marry him | 100% | 20% | 30% | 10% | 20% | 90% |
| To be the principal in the school I study | 100% | 30% | 50% | 20% | 50% | 60% |
| To be mayor in my municipality | 100% | 20% | 20% | 10% | 20% | 40% |

Among Macedonian students from Petar Zdravkovski Penko Elementary School, ethnic distance towards Serbs is decreased and increased towards Romani people. A larger percentage of respondents are willing to accept closer relations with members of the Serbian ethnic group. This is especially true with the attitude associated with establishing kinship (by marriage) with a member of another ethnic group.

Unlike the Macedonian students from Lazo Trpovski primary school, where 50% of the respondents consider it acceptable "their sister or close relative to marry a Serb", in the Petar Zdravkovski Penko primary school, 90% of the Macedonian students accept this attitude. In relation to Romani people, the percentage of respondents who reject social relations with this ethnic group is increased. Only 40% of Macedonian respondents would accept to live in the same street with members of the Romani ethnic group. The willingness to accept or reject certain social relationships with Albanians and Turks is almost the same in both schools. The biggest social distance is related to the most intimate relationships (marriage) and the relationships that put Macedonians in a subordinate position.

Table number 3: Acceptance of social relations with other ethnic groups of Albanian students from Alija Avdovik elementary school

| | Macedonian | Albanian | Turk | Roma | Bosniak | Serb |
|---|------------|----------|------|------|---------|------|
| To live with me in the same municipality | 30% | 100% | 15% | 10% | 25% | 10% |
| To live with me in the same street | 20% | 100% | 15% | 10% | 25% | 10% |
| To hang out with him and be my friend | 25% | 100% | 15% | 10% | 25% | 10% |
| My sister or close relative to marry him | 0 | 100% | 10% | 0 | 20% | 0 |
| To be the principal in the school I study | 20% | 100% | 5% | 0 | 25% | 0 |
| To be mayor in my municipality | 15% | 100% | 15% | 0 | 25% | 0 |

The ethnic distance of Albanian students towards members of any other ethnic group is particularly distinctive. Respondents' willingness to accept to live in the same municipality or street with members of another ethnicity is very low. They have a more tolerant attitude towards the Bosniak ethnic group, which represents a significant part of the population of this village and the Macedonian population. Regarding social relationships that show the most intimacy, such as their sister or close relative marrying a member of another ethnic group, all Albanian students stated that they would not accept any kind of social relation with Macedonians, Serbs and Romani people. Regarding social relations in which their ethnic group would find themselves in a subordinate position to one another, the dislike to Serbs and Romani is the greatest. None of the respondents would accept a member of the Serbian and Roma ethnicity to be the headmaster of the school in which they are studying or the mayor of the municipality where they live in.

Table number 4: Acceptance of social relations with other ethnic groups of Albanian students from Petar Zdravkovski Penko elementary school (trilingual school)

| | Macedonian | Albanian | Turk | Roma | Bosniak | Serb |
|--|------------|----------|--------|-------|---------|-------|
| To live with me in the same municipality | 89,5% | 100% | 89,5%) | 36,8% | 73,7% | 31,6% |
| To live with me in the same street | 68,4% | 100% | 78,9%) | 26,3% | 68,4% | 26,3% |
| To hang out with him and be my friend | 73,7% | 100% | 94,7%) | 31,6% | 68,4% | 31,6% |
| My sister or close relative to marry him | 10,5% | 100% | 52,6% | 10,5% | 26,3% | 10,5% |

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| | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| To be the principal in the school I study | 47,4% | 100% | 63,2% | 21,05% | 31,6% | 21,05% |
| To be mayor in my municipality | 57,9% | 89,5% | 52,6% | 15,8% | 36,8% | 21,05% |

The ethnic distance of Albanian students attending a trilingual school is much lower, especially toward students of ethnic groups with whom they interact daily. When it comes to establishing closer relations with a particular ethnic group, detachment to the Turks is the smallest, i.e. 94.7% of the respondents agree to have a friend from the Turkish ethnic group and 52.6% accept their sister or close relative to get married to a Turk. Albanian students show the highest degree of distance in terms of establishing kinship with Macedonians, Romani and Serbs. The social connection that has the greatest degree of closeness, such as marrying members of the Macedonian, Serbian and Romani ethnic groups, is acceptable to only 10.5% of the respondents. If we compare the attitudes of the Albanian students in both schools we can conclude that the students of the Primary School Petar Zdravkovski Penko are more willing to accept Macedonian or Turkish to run their school or their municipality. Interestingly, 89.5% of the respondents stated that it is acceptable for them an Albanian to be mayor of their municipality, unlike the other social relations offered with their own ethnic group, which are acceptable for 100% of the students surveyed. A large percentage of respondents (57.9%) consider it acceptable for a Macedonian to be mayor of their municipality and the situation is similar in relation to the Turkish ethnic group for which 52.6% of Albanian students consider it acceptable for them a Turk to be put in that position.

Table number 5: Acceptance of social relations with other ethnic groups of Turk students from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk elementary school (monolingual school)

| | Macedonian | Albanian | Turk | Roma | Bosniak | Serb |
|---|------------|----------|------|------|---------|------|
| To live with me in the same municipality | 8,3% | 50% | 100% | 0 | 33,3% | 0 |
| To live with me in the same street | 8,3% | 25% | 100% | 0 | 33,3% | 0 |
| To hang out with him and be my friend | 0 | 16,6% | 100% | 0 | 8,3% | 0 |
| My sister or close relative to marry him | 0 | 16,6% | 100% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| To be the principal in the school I study | 0 | 25% | 100% | 0 | 8,3% | 0 |
| To be mayor in my municipality | 0 | 8,3% | 100% | 0 | 0 | 0 |

From the table above, it can be concluded that Turkish students from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Elementary School have a considerable distance towards members of all ethnic groups. They accept all offered social relations within their own ethnic group and partly with the Albanian and Bosniak ethnic groups. All respondents (100%) reject all offered social relations with Romani people and Serbs and only 8.3% of Turkish students accept to live in the same municipality and street with members of the Macedonian ethnic group.

Table number 6: Acceptance of social relations with other ethnic groups of Turk students from Petar Zdravkovski Penko elementary school (trilingual school)

| | Macedonian | Albanian | Turk | Roma | Bosniak | Serb |
|---|------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| To live with me in the same municipality | 81,2% | 81,2% | 100% | 37,5% | 50% | 37,5% |
| To live with me in the same street | 75% | 81,2% | 100% | 18,7% | 62,5% | 18,7% |
| To hang out with him and be my friend | 68,7% | 43,7% | 100% | 18,7% | 31,2% | 25% |
| My sister or close relative to marry him | 18,7% | 25% | 100% | 12,5% | 25% | 12,5% |
| To be the principal in the school I study | 37,5% | 50% | 100% | 18,7% | 25% | 18,7% |
| To be mayor in my municipality | 56,2% | 50% | 93,7% | 18,7% | 25% | 18,7% |

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The ethnic distance of Turkish students in the trilingual school is much smaller. Based on the obtained results we can say that a high percentage of students from this school (81.2%) are willing to live in the same municipality together with members of the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic groups.

Macedonians are more accepted in creating friendships, i.e. 68.7% of the respondents are ready to accept a member of the Macedonian ethnic group for a gathering and friendship, while less accepted are the Albanians, with 43.7% of the respondents being ready for closer social ties with them. The ethnic distance is the greatest when it comes to the most intimate relationships such as a sister or close relative marrying a member of another ethnic group. Turkish students accept almost no kind of social relationship with Romani people and Serbs. There is a high percentage of respondents (50%) for whom it is acceptable for an Albanian to be the head of the school and the mayor of the municipality and 56.2% for a Macedonian to manage their municipality.

CONCLUSION

If we analyze the data above, we can conclude that the greatest tolerance in relation to the different ethnic groups is shown by the Macedonian students from the Lazo Trpovski elementary school where the teaching is in Macedonian language. The reason for this is that 50% of the respondents live in ethnically mixed areas and belong to families with a higher socio-economic status. Research up until now indicates that children whose parents have a higher education are less distant from other ethnicities. Students from this school equally accept Romani people, as the ethnic distance towards them is the highest in other schools. For more than 70% of the respondents it is acceptable to live in the same municipality and the same street but also to associate with members of all ethnic groups living in North Macedonia.

Students from other schools in which classes are held in one language, either Albanian or Turkish, show a high degree of ethnic distance towards all ethnic groups. In monolingual schools, students who belong to one ethnic group do not have the opportunity for daily communication with members of other ethnic groups, so they reject all offered social relations with the other ethnicities. The ethnic distance is lower in the trilingual school in which teaching is held in the following three languages: Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish, it is particularly lower towards the members of the ethnic groups with which they interact daily in both the school and the environment in which they live.

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