Between the ethnic and the civic identity – on the perceptions of the student population in the Republic of Macedonia

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Abstract

The research of the ethnic and national identity in a multicultural society such as the Macedonian one is relevant in reference to the question how those who identify with their ethnic group position themselves towards the broader political community. Does the strong attachment towards one's own ethnic group, especially when minority groups are concerned, means absence of attachment towards and identification with the state, as many authors who study social identities show?

Taking into consideration the Macedonian social context, we have set off from the assumption that it was possible for these two identities to be mutually exclusive, but also compatible. In a survey of student population in the R. Macedonia, four categories that express the relation of ethnic versus national identity have been offered. The results proved the general hypothesis– namely, the minority effect- according to which the minority group gives greater significance to the characteristics of their own minority belonging. However, the largest majority of ethnic Albanians chose modalities that indicate compatibility of the two researched identities, even in cases when they emphasize their ethnic background. This could be an encouraging indicator in a multicultural and divided society, but still the question remains what almost half of the examined population of ethnic Albanians mean when they choose the categories that contain both ethnic and civic traits. Some of the results which refer to the attachments to different categories and the presence of the participative component, partly provide an answer to this question.

Key words: ethnic and national identity, civic identity, perceptions of identities, student population, Republic of Macedonia

Introduction

The identity/identities on individual but also on a group level is/are one of the topics for which there has been special interest in the academic circles in the past few decades. Even the most superficial overview of the literature in the area of social sciences (psychology, social anthropology, sociology, political science, etc.) shows that there is a great number of authors who discuss this issue on a conceptual, theoretical, but also on an empirical level. The authors use the results of the numerous researches to confirm the established concepts, categorizations, but also to display the problems arising from them, pointing out that the concepts and categories, as well as the typologies connected with the various aspects of identity should be improved in order to reflect reality better. And reality is complex and is a subject of constant change.

Psychologists have always shown special interest in the identity of the individual, pointing out that in the early phases of development, the child becomes aware of its identity when he/she comes to know him/herself as an individual different from those around him/her, but on the other hand also finding similarities with many of those who compose his environment. With the development of the child/individual and extending his social communications, the number of social groups with which he/she can identify or from which he/she can distance him/herself increases. The intensity of attachment to the groups or hierarchy of identities changes not only depending on the development of the individual/person but also depending on the time and space in which he/she socializes. In any case, with the development of civilization and adoption of democratic values the identity traits visibly multiply, reflecting the greater diversification of social roles in society (Hart 1988, Samson 1985, Millon-Delsol et Roy 1993 according to Chastenay and Pagé 2002: 5). If a woman would describe and understand herself as a mother and wife two centuries ago, today, apart from her role in the family, she describes herself as a doctor, manager, feminist, member of an ecological association, leftist, vegetarian, etc. These different identifications help us to identify, position and orientate ourselves in society in relation to other people (Barrett 2010).[i] Of course, not all identities have (the same) significance for defining ourselves. When membership in a certain group, for example, composes a significant part of our self-perception in a way that gives emotional meaning and value to that membership, it could be said that we have received subjective identification with the group (Tajfel 1978 in Barrett 2010: 2). Identites are more stable than preferences, for example, which can change rapidly depending on varyng situational factors. In contrast to the more superficial,

accidental, fleeting aspects of the self, identities are often invoked to point to something deep, basic, abiding or fundamental (Caporaso and Kim 2009).

Ethnic and national identity

When social identity is concerned, one of the most exploited relations in the social and political sciences is the one about ethnic (cultural) and national identity (identity that issues from citizenship). The interest of science comes from the thesis that the feeling of belonging, connection with the group (ethnic, national)[ii] is closely related to the convictions, attitudes and behaviors of the individuals towards the social and political order. But, first, how are these two types of identity formed, and what consequences are there for society from the attachment of individuals to one or the other type of identity? Most contemporary authors whose main interest is the national as opposed to ethnic identity refer to the dichotomy division, according to which there are two general models of the nation: the civic-territorial and the ethnic-genealogical, the first being the more desirable model suggested by the contemporary (inclusive) western civic society. The civic model entails political community which extends to a certain (historical) territory, in which all members are equal before the law and share common civic culture and ideology. The alternative ethnic concept of the nation leans on common roots, language, customs, tradition (Smith 1991: 10-12), meaning a model that refers to common origin. The first one is inclusive, it is based on the civic concept and is characterized with liberal and cosmopolite values, whereas the second one is exclusive and can lead to violence and disintegration (Kohn 1994, Ignatieff, 1993 in Hansen and Hesli, 2009; Smith 1991, Miller 2005). The idea for dichotomy between ethnic and civic nationalism also found its support in the social identity theory (Tajfel 1970; Hogg 2001 in Hansen and Hesli, 2009), and Lijphart also speaks of the serious challenge to democracy that comes from strong attachment to cultural groups (Lijphart 1995 [1977]).

The basic assumption among the authors who support this dichotomy was that the strong attachment to the (ethnic) group leads to negative evaluation of those outside the group, caused by intolerance and non-existence of readiness to accept the *Others* (those outside the group) (Hesli and Hansen 2009; Barrett 2010). Some authors emphasize that such negative evaluation of the *Others* is frequently accompanied by favoring or extremely uncritical relation towards the members of one's own group (L. Festinger, H. Tajfel in Horowitz, 1985), which in certain situations produces strong conflicts and catastrophic consequences for the development of democracy.

This conceptual approach suggests that this is a matter of two mutually exclusive contrary models. This could be a problem, both in the sense of the concept, but even more than that politically, because today most of the societies are culturally heterogeneous. Namely, there is a widespread view that the national identity is greatly significant for the functioning of any nation state, in the sense of devotion, loyalty of the citizen towards the nation state, as a precondition for legitimizing its existence and democratic functioning. The question is raised of how it functions in culturally heterogeneous societies where members of separate cultural/ethnic communities cherish separate cultural/ethnic identity. What is the interaction between national and cultural/ethnic identity like? Is it possible to achieve a balance that will be in favor of the functionality of the democratic state? These questions are posed in the states with autochthonous minority groups, as well as in the developed western countries (nation states) which, in pursuit of labor force, faced great waves of emigrants not only from their surrounding, but also from the African and Asian continents[iii]. That is why a great number of studies treat the question of acculturation of immigrants in the host country, suggesting in the beginning, a linear process of merging of minority culture/identity into the majority due to (the assumed) impossibility of two cultural identities to coexist in the same individual. Later, more researchers point to the interaction of minority cultural identities and national identity (Berry 1997; de Sachy 1997 in Chastenay and Pagé, 2002). Although they are less numerous, the studies and research of the autochthonous minority groups showed other aspects of the problem of culturally heterogeneous societies, opening the question of distribution of economic, cultural and political resources among the different cultural segments of these societies. The concepts of consensual democracy and other approaches of "power sharing" were especially interesting for the political science, because they assume redesigning of political systems in the sense of significant redistribution of political resources in multicultural societies (Lijphart 1995 [1977]; Horowitz 1985; Gurr and Harf 1994; Sisk 1996; Reynolds (ed.) 2002; Wolf, 2011).

These questions preoccupied and still preoccupy the academic circles, opening the debate for multiculturalism as (philosophical, sociological, but also of the political science) concept and its sustainability (Kymlicka 2004 [1995], Taylor et all, 2004 [1994], and others). The two main categories within this global concept – recognition and redistribution – were differently interpreted and evaluated by various authors, which increased the controversies regarding the sufficiency and acceptability of the concept itself on theoretical, and even more, on political/empirical level[iv].

Empirical research points to the fact that in spite of the fact that in the world the official definition of the nation strives to reflect the civic model, the citizens still remain traditional in their views, as the comparative analysis of F. Jones and F. Smith shows, including 23 countries (see Jones and Smith, 2001). Obviously, regardless of globalization, mass migrations and cultural pluralism, the ethnic/cultural background is ranked high on the scale of preferences of the citizens, posing thus before the science the question of how best to interpret the situation according to which the minority group owns a separate identity, but also feeling of membership in the broader community (Miller 2005: 115-129). In any case, most researchers of this problem of ethnic versus national identity point to the fact that modern nationalism and identities are not fully constructed by only one model. It would be more correct to say that they express the deep dualism in the heart of every nationalism. Sometimes, some components dominate, sometimes others (Smith 1991: 13; Laponce 2008) which testifies in the advantage of the thesis that modern nationalism and identities are a dynamic category. This was also proven in the case of supranational identities, in which the identity of the European Union also belongs.

The next global conclusion, which comes from previous research refers to the consequences of owning (that is, dominance) of one as opposed to the other identity. Some of the critics of the dichotomous division underline that there is not enough evidence that ethnic identity is accompanied by political intolerance towards those outside the group and that it therefore acts as a destabilizing factor in society. And vice versa, that national identity entails liberal and cosmopolite values, which make it a desirable factor in the development of the democracy and the state. On the contrary, they say, there is empirical evidence that shows the exact opposite (Hesli and Hansen 2009; Birnir 2007).

The complexity of national identities

Analyzing the relation between ethnic and civic identity, Laponce (2008) warns of the danger of simplifying things. Let us assume that one group of individuals has a dual identity, regardless of whether it is ethnic or national or a combination of both. If we decide to test them as people who have dual identity, we risk to go into a wrong direction with our interpretation, he says, and we risk even more to complicate their comparison with other types of dual identities. Starting from Laponce's position, we would add that the complexity of the national identities and the caution in their interpretation is due at least to three factors.

National and ethnic identities are not the only identities. As we mentioned in the beginning, we all own a wide scope of identities, which are rooted in the various aspects of our self-perception. A special problem is the lack of measurements that would register the relative meaning that we give to our ethnicity of nation, especially in comparison to the other characteristics of our personal and social environment, such as the profession, age, family, friends, etc., Laponce concludes (2008). (It is another issue whether a once established hierarchy of identities is permanent or susceptible to changes.)

If we focus our interest on the ethnic and national identity, we will immediately conclude that there are, in fact, multiple identities on the one and the other side of the imaginary axis. Thus, for example, the research in Canada showed that despite Canadian identity, the citizens identify with their province (especially the Francophone people in Quebec), and somewhere even the region or the city appear as relevant factors for identification of the individuals. This raises the issue of particularity of separate (civic) identities in regard to national identity, for example, the capacity/level of the liberal and cosmopolite values that the members of each of these groups identities own.[v]

The next aspect that researchers should take into consideration in the research of ethnic and national identity/ies is what is the correlation among these identities. Thus, Allen et al (1983) point to the fact that civic identities are nested in one another as the Russian Matryoshka dolls, and identification with the city is nested in the identity with the province which is itself nested in the identity with the nation (Salzar 1998 in Chastenay and Pagé, 2002). Finally, they all enter in mutual relations and influence, researchers conclude. Paying special attention precisely to the correlation, Laponce mentions that it is necessary to make at least three distinctions depending on whether the identities are: a) separate from one another; b) nested in each other (as the Israeli one is nested in the American and vice versa); and c) partly overlap so that in some context the relation is similar to a) while in others it is similar to b) (Laponce, 2008).

Continuing Laponce's model, Gingras supplements it with another possibility, wanting to point to the complexity of the relations which appear in real life as well. That is the configuration or category of merged identities (Gingras, 2005).

The next aspect in examining multiple identities is how is the attachment to group identity expressed? Most often, people talk of a feeling of belonging, connection, but it is important to know what the individual means by that. Is only the cognitive component, or is it also the emotional and behavioral components present in such attitude? Does belonging to a certain social group also mean sharing common values and interests or not; does the

individual feel solidarity with other members of the group which would entail readiness for joint action, etc. The behavioral or process oriented component of the identity is very significant because it points to how the group functions or will function in the future (Caporaso and Kim 2009). The differences that exist among the individuals as a result of different ways in which the individual identifies with the social group (Leach et al.2008; Roccas et al 2008 according Barrett 2010) are empirically definable. A person can ranked high according to solidarity and readiness for joint action with other members of the group, but low in regard to sharing the values of the group, or vice versa. The insight into these dimensions of national, i.e. ethnic identity, is very important in the sense of foreseeing future behavior of the group and building certain policies to deal with such behavior.

Factors that influence the formation and development of national identities

Taking into consideration the significance that national and ethnic identities have for the development of democracy, there is an emphasized interest in the academic circles for examining their formation and development. The questions why some identities dominate in certain social groups and others don't, whether it is possible to influence their change lead us to the factors of influence on structuring of identities. The widely accepted view that collective identities are a social phenomenon, whose creation and recreation is linked to the social communication processes and cultural transmission, takes us to the social context and processes of socialization as the main factors of influence. For some authors (Shulman 2002: 5), the policies of a state, in the sense of legitimizing the dominance of an ethnic group over the others and the public discourse supporting such policies, are of special significance. Other authors focus on the differential characteristics of the group, such as religion, language, social status, place of living. The main assumptions are that the groups which show a larger degree of connection to their religion will more strongly develop their feeling of belonging to their ethnic group (Hesli and Hansen, 2009). Apart from the religious, the linguistic heterogeneity is also considered to be a significant factor of cultural diversity of the group, so many authors connect the language, as a significant means of socialization, with ethno-nationalism (Rosenblatt 1964; Rahman 1997; Fournier 2002 in Barrett 2010). In this sense, Hesli and Hansen (2009) in their research start from the assumption that those who use their language more are more prone to develop ethnic rather than civic identity. In the same sense, those ethnic groups that are concentrated on a certain territory will be socialized. Further on, low social level (Horowitz, 1985: 185), as well as the experience with discrimination (Gurr and

Harf 1994; Sisk 1996) as significant generators of dissatisfaction, are not in the advantage of civic identity.

The insights from numerous research point to different effects from the explanatory variables. In some situations, the starting hypotheses are confirmed, in others they are rejected, indicating the complexity and sensitivity of the problem, but also the caution with which researchers must approach the interpretation of the obtained data.

The perceptions of ethnic and civic identity in Macedonian multicultural society

Main characteristics of the Macedonian multicultural society

Macedonia is multiethnic, multilingual and multi-confessional society, in which these cleavages largely overlap and reinforce, placing the country in the group of the so called 'plural' (Exstein, in Lijphart 1995 [1977]) or 'deeply divided societies' (Nordlinger in Lijphart, 1995 [1977]). According to the last national census of 2002, the second size ethnic group, the Albanian minority, is big minority, comprising 25,2% of the population. Within the borders of the country a number of smaller minorities also exist: Turks-3,9%, Roma-2,6%, Serbs-1,8%, Bosniac 0,8% Vlachs- 0,5%, and 1% of other ethnic origin. Macedonian majority comprices 64, 2% of the total population.

In the first decade after the independence in 1991, the Albanian minority openly expressed dissatisfaction with its political and social status in the society, as well as perception of discrimination and inequality in the distribution of the economic, cultural and political resources. The main political and social demands included: wider usage of the Albanian language, decentralization, proportional representation in the public administration, preservation of the national and cultural identity and so on. The process of homogenization and mobilization of the two biggest ethnic blocks in Macedonia was evident during this decade, which led to escalation of the latent conflict in violent ethnic conflict in 2001. The armed rebels of the National Liberation Army (NLA) attacked the Macedonian security forces from the territory of Kosovo in February 2001. Their demands were supported by the political parties of Albanians in the R. Macedonia, as well by the wider Albanian population resulting in seven months long armed conflict that ended in August 2001.

The conflict ended with signing of the Ohrid framework agreement in August 2001 which introduced elements of consociational power-sharing (Lijphart, 1995 [1977]) in the

constitutional system of the country. Generally, the peace accord addressed the demands of the Albanian minority. Its implementation is also relatively successful. But although the Ohrid Framework Agreement is officially supported by all political elites, the division of society is still a significant fact. The society is fragmented along ethnic lines, with occasional ethnic tensions that reflect the insufficient trust between the two greatest ethnic groups and the fragility of the Macedonian democracy. The majority group (ethnic Macedonians) criticizes *the Others* of lack of loyalty to the state, whereas the minority one (ethnic Albanians) criticize *the Others* for dishonesty in accepting multiculturalism as a concept of constructing the state, and further marginalization of the minorities.

The larger number of reinforcing cleavages between the two largest ethnic communities (language, religion (partial) territorial concentration) contribute to the further existence of the social distance between the groups, despite the political one, to cover the spheres of education, media, part of the culture institutions and civic organizations.

Apart from the ethnic cleavages, social and economic problems also accompany Macedonian reality throughout two decades of transition – unemployment, which is about 30%; so 30% of the population lives under the poverty threshold, and there are serious democratic deficits connected to the rule of law, scope of corruption and division of society along party lines. Such a social context does not facilitate the resolution of interethnic tensions, but, on the contrary, makes it more complicated.

Methodological approach

This research is focused on the issue of perception of the ethnic and civic identity of a very significant segment of the population – the student population – their relation, ranging of these identities as most important social identities, and some of the factors that affect their structuring.

Therefore, a survey was carried out in 2011 with students at the state universities in R. Macedonia. There was a sample of 451 respondents. The institutions that the respondents would come from were determined prior to the survey, as well as the year of their studies, thus gaining a relatively homogeneous population. Students from the second and third year of their studies were surveyed in the area of social sciences from three state universities from R. Macedonia: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje (UKIM), Goce Delcev University – Stop (UGD) and the Tetovo State University (DUT). The ethnic background of the students

was controlled primarily, which made the sample be composed of 234 ethnic Macedonians (54,8%) and 201 ethnic Albanians (46,2). The other socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents covered by the sample are: gender: male – 34,5%, female – 65,5%; university: UKIM – 192 (44,1%), UGD – 137 (31,5%), DUT – 106 (24,4%); and social position: very low – 2,7%, low – 11,3%, middle – 77,4%, high – 8,2%, very high – 0,4%.

The main objective of the research is to find out the distribution of the (constructed) categories of national identities among the examined student population, in the sense of what categories or models are preferred among the targeted subgroups of the sample, then the presence of the behavioral component of identities among the examined population, as well as identification of some of the factors that affect the distribution.

The main assumption of the research is based on the phenomenon of the so-called minority effect (Laponce, 2004), according to which the members of the minority groups have the tendency to attach greater meaning to the traits specific of the minority, as they are especially important for identity of their group (language, religion, ethnic background, tradition, etc.).

The data presented in this paper are part of a larger research that was carried out by the Institute of Sociological, Political and Juridical Research- Skopje. The research is largely inspired by the studies of J. Laponce and F. P. Gingras, carried out in several universities and high schools in Canada, Belgium and France. We are especially grateful to our colleague Gingras for his readiness for cooperation in designing the questionnaire for the research.

Factors of influence on structuring identities

In the research, we have tried to examine the influence of some factors on the structuring of the identities that reflect the relation between citizenship and ethnic belonging, including: attachment of the respondent to certain categories (Republic of Macedonia, ethnic group, religion, native place, Europe, the Balkan), as well as the influence of certain socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents: gender, social status, university at which they study and experience with discrimination.

The main assumptions of the researchers are that the factors that will support the civic identity are: attachment to R. Macedonia, Europe, the Balkan, the higher social status, lower perception of discrimination, and the factors that will support the ethnic identity are: low

social status, experience with discrimination, greater attachment to religion, the native place and the ethnic group.

Because of the results received in the general distribution, some of these variables were eliminated from the further analysis. The high score that illustrated the strong attachment of the respondents to religion, which was evident in all subgroups of the sample, made the examining of the influence of this social trait of the respondents in regard to the differences between the subgroups irrelevant. In reference to the social status, which was examined on the basis of self-perception of the respondents, because of the high percentage of respondents who answered that they belonged to the middle class (77%), (which can hardly be assumed to fit the real situation) the further use of this variable was put into question.

The gender of the respondents also proved not to be a significant factor of influence in most researched segments.

The discrimination was examined through a series of questions in the survey and it refers to institutional discrimination in the area of employment, advancement in the profession and managing a business, as well as discrimination by the police and judiciary. Our assumption about the relation between the perception of discrimination with the categorization which reflects the relation of ethnic as opposed to civic identity was not confirmed. This may be due to the existing perception of wide-spread existence of discrimination with the Macedonian society (on all grounds – membership in a political party, ethnic background, belonging to the wealthy class, friends and family relations), so that the political background is perceived as a dominant factor of discrimination.[vi]

Regarding the university that the students study in, it represents a kind of a compound of two factors: territorial concentration of the social group and language of study, i.e. language of socialization. Namely, the Tetovo University is situated in the region with a dominant Albanian population and the classes are held in Albanian, while the Goce Delcev University in Stip is situated in a region with a dominant population of the majority, and classes are held in Macedonian. In many cases, it was proven that the university is a significant factor of influence on the self-perception of identities, which is shown in the text below. In most of the results, the universities situated in relatively homogenous ethnic environment exist on the poles of an imaginary axis of scores, while the University in Skopje is between these two poles.

Categorizations which illustrate the relation citizenship-ethnic group: separate, nested and merged identities

One of the questions in the survey gave to the respondents the possibility to illustrate the relation between two identity traits which is of great significance for the multiethnic societies – that is the relation between the ethnic identity and civic identity, i.e. as it is formulated in the questionnaire, the feeling of belonging to the ethnic group and to the Macedonian citizenship. The students had the opportunity to choose between four categories of this relationship illustrated through a drawing and explained with a text.

According to the first illustration, the Macedonian citizenship and ethnic identity are **separate**. The explanation for this type of relation is that the respondent sometimes feels as a citizen of the Republic of Macedonia, sometimes as a Macedonian/Albanian, but never both of them together.

According to the following two illustrations of the relationship between these two identities, they are **nested**. But while in the first of them, identifying with R. Macedonia is primary, and with the ethnic group is secondary, the second illustration shows the reverse relation, in which there is identification with R. Macedonia, but primarily with the ethnic group/identity.

The fourth illustration shows the **merging** of the civic and ethnic identity which is ideal/desired for the civic oriented political community. As it is explained, in this case, the respondents do not make a difference between their ethnic background and their citizenship, i.e. for them they have the same significance and represent a whole.
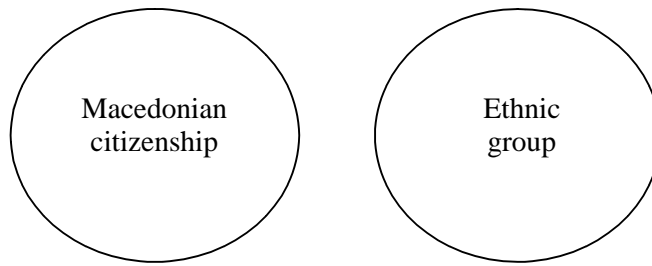
1. Separate identities: sometimes I
feel as a citizen of R. Macedonia,
sometimes as Albanian/Macedonian,
but never both at the same time
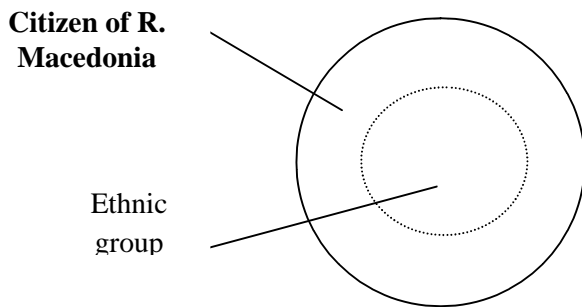
2. Nested identities: I identify with
my ethnic group, but primarily with
R. Macedonia
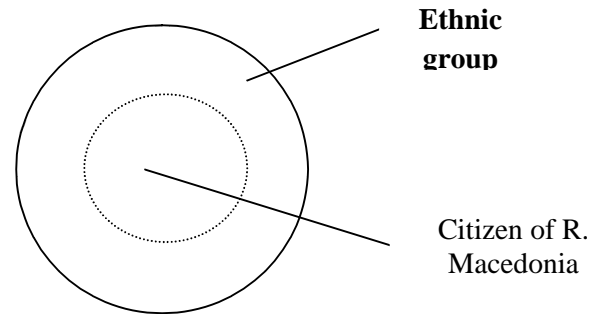
 3. Nested identities: I identify with
R. Macedonia, but primarily with my
ethnic group

4. Merged identities: I do not make
a difference between my ethnic
background and my Macedonian
citizenship; for me, both have the
same significance and represent a
whole

On the level of the whole sample, the merged identity dominates – 41,7% of the respondents described the relationship between their ethnic and civic identity in this way. For 30% of the respondents the ethnic identity if more important than the identity that comes from citizenship, but they are nested. 15,2% of the respondents also consider that these two identities are nested, but they give advantage to the Macedonian citizenship. Among the remaining 13,1%, the ethnic and civic identity are completely separate (Table 1).

Table 1. Relation towards the ethnic and civic identity of the respondents (%)

Separate identities	Nested identities (the civic one is dominant)	Nested identities (the ethnic is dominant)	Merged identities	Total
13,1%	15,2%	30%	41,7%	100%

In reference to the sub-samples of ethnic Macedonians and Albanians, the expected difference in the attachment to ethnic and/or civic identity, from the aspect of the status majority-minority in a multiethnic, but deeply divided society was confirmed. While 56,3% of the Macedonians chose the merged identity, this percentage among the Albanian students is 23,8%. Most of the students from the Albanian community (46,6%) put the relation between the ethnic and the civic identity in the group of nested identities, in which the ethnic identity is dominant. Additional 21,2% of the Albanians answered that their belonging to these identities is clearly distinguished, whereas only 8,5%, putting themselves in the group of respondents with nested identities, gave advantage to the Macedonian citizenship before the ethnic identity. In the case with the students of Macedonian ethnic background, 6,5% answered that they see the relation between ethnic and civic identity as separate identities, 20,8% put themselves in the group of nested identities where the ethnic identity is dominant, and in 16,5% the identity that comes from citizenship is dominant, although it overlaps with the ethnic identity (Table 2).

Table 2. Relation between the civic and ethnic identities according to the ethnic background of the respondents (%)

	Separate identities	Nested identities (the civic one is dominant)	Nested identities (the ethnic is dominant)	Merged identities	Total
Macedonians	6,5%	20,8%	16,5%	**56,3%**	100%
Albanians	21,2%	8,5%	**46,6%**	23,8%	100%
Statistic significance	No	No	P<0.01	P<0.01	/

The influence of the university

On the level of *university*, there are obvious differences among all offered relations between the ethnic and the civic identity. The distribution of the answers between the students from the Tetovo University is different from the distribution of the answers in the Skopje and Stip universities. Thus, 50,5% of the students from the Tetovo University give advantage to the ethnic identity although it may be nested in the Macedonian citizenship. For additional high 26,3% these two identities are completely separate. Only among 10,1% of the respondents the Macedonian citizenship is dominant, and among 13,1% the ethnic and civic identity are merged.

On the other hand, only about 9%, i.e. 8% of the students at UKIM and UGD have separate identities. Further on, while among 12,3% of the students at UKIM the identification with the Macedonian citizenship is dominant within the nested identities, this percentage is twice higher in the Stip university and amounts to 21,2%. The difference is also double in the case in which the ethnic identity is dominant: 30,5% in UKIM and 14,2% in the Stip university. The difference in the case of merged identities is almost 7 percentile points – 54,5% of the students at UGD and 47,6% of the students at UKIM see these identities as merged (Table 3). We assume that the differences are due to the mixed ethnic structure of UKIM, so during the control of the ethnic subgroups among the respondents from UKIM, a statistically relevant difference appeared between the subsamples of Macedonians and Albanians.

Table 3. Relation towards the civic and ethnic identity according to the university of the respondents (%)

	Separate identities	Nested identities (the civic one is dominant)	Nested identities (the ethnic is dominant)	Merged identities	Total
UKIM	9,6%	12,3%	**30,5%**	**47,6%**	100%
University in Tetovo	26,3%	10,1%	**50,5%**	**13,1%**	100%
University in Stip	8,2%	21,1%	**14,2%**	**54,5%**	100%

Table 4. Table of significance of differences regarding the relation towards the civic and ethnic identity according to the university of respondents

	Separate identities	Nested identities (the civic one is dominant)	Nested identities (the ethnic is dominant)	Merged identities
UKIM-DUT	No significance	No significance	**p<0.01**	**p<0.01**
DUT-UGD	No significance	No significance	**p<0.01**	**p<0.01**

Attachment to particular categories

One of the questions asked in the survey was aimed at comparing the connection of the respondents with the different kinds of identities and/or political/geographical communities, and especially to see how the ethnic group and the state (R. Macedonia) are ranked in comparison to the other groups of belonging. The respondents were given the opportunity to grade on a 1-7 scale their attachment to R. Macedonia, their own ethnic group, their native place, the religion, the Balkan and Europe, in which case 1 means 'I am not attached at all', and 7 'I am very attached'.

Table 5 displays the scores of the seven point Likert scale for any of the offered categories of the whole sample. According to the results received, for all offered categories, the respondents decided on higher degrees of the scale (the lowest score is 4,29), but the differences in intensity of attachment to certain categories are nevertheless visible.

Table 5. Attachment to certain categories (mean values)

Attachment to:	R. Macedonia	Ethnic group	Native place	Religion	Balkan	Europe
	4,62	**5,54**	**5,89**	**6,11**	4,30	4,52

On the level of the overall sample, the highest scores are those of attachment to religion (6,11), which is very close to the maximum score of 7, which, not typically for students of most Western European countries, speaks of a very high level of religiousness/attachment to religion among the student population in the Republic of Macedonia. Right after the religion, according to the intensity of attachment are the native place and the ethnic group, which leads to the conclusion that the students prefer traditional values relevant to the ethnic identity, in comparison with the categories that are closer to the civic identity (R. Macedonia, Balkan and Europe).

What is the influence of the ethnic background and the university of the respondents on the intensity of their attachment to the stated categories?

The data received indicate significant differences between the ethnic Macedonians and the ethnic Albanians in regard to their attachment to all offered categories (the attachment to Europe is an exception). However, the differences are the greatest and statistically relevant in regard to the attachment to R. Macedonia, the ethnic group, and the Balkan. As expected, the Macedonians show much greater attachment to R. Macedonia than the Albanians, and the Albanians are much more attached to their ethnic group than the Macedonians (which confirms the minority effect (Laponce 2004). It is worth emphasizing that there if a very high attachment of both ethnic groups to religion (Table 6).

The attachment to Europe and the Balkan for the overall sample are surprisingly close and they have the lowest score among the offered categories, having in mind the wide-spread opinion that the young have the desire to move out of the state mainly because of the lack of prospects in finding employment. The difference in attachment to these categories between the Macedonians and Albanians should not be neglected, and it should be mentioned that the Macedonians are much stronger attached than the Albanians towards these two categories, mainly Europe.

Table 6. Attachment to certain categories according to ethnic background (mean values)

	R. Macedonia	Ethnic group	Native place	Religion	Balkan	Europe
Macedonians	**5,28**	**5,26**	5,66	5,79	**4,59**	4,68
Albanians	**3,84**	**5,87**	6,16	6,48	**3,96**	4,32
Difference (M-A)	1,44	-0,61	-0,50	-0,69	0,63	0,36
Significance	t-tests: 8,554 p<0.01	t-tests: 3,996 p<0.01	Not significant	Not significant	t-tests: 3,765 p<0.01	Not significant

In order to examine the influence of the university on the attachment to the stated categories, the statistic technique ANOVA was applied. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) was applied to test the significance of the differences towards the attachments among the students of the three universities. The results presented in Table 7 show that among all examined categories, except the attachment to Europe, the Goce Delcev University and the Tetovo State University belong to a different group, and in all cases the grouping is statistically relevant, and the University in Skopje is sometimes grouped with UGD, and sometimes with DUT. Generally speaking, the results confirm the differences that were received when the ethnic group was taken as a factor of influence on the attachment to the stated categories.

Table 7. Attachment to certain categories according to the university of respondents (mean values)

Attachment to:	(Group 1) Universities and scores	(Group 2) Universities and scores	F-test and significance
R. Macedonia	DUT- 4,04 UKIM- 4,46	UGD - 5,30	F=15,649, p<0.01
Ethnic group	UGD-5,20 UKIM- 5,41	DUT- 6,25	F=15,007, p<0.01
Native place	UGD-5,68 UKIM- 5,83	DUT - 6,28	F=5,533, p<0.01
Religion	UGD-5,79	UKIM - 6,22 DUT - 6,31	F=5,228 p<0.01
Balkan	UKIM- 4,08 DUT - 4,10	UGD - 4,75	F=6,939, p<0.01
Europe	UKIM - 4,11	DUT - 4,66 UGD - 4,97	F=9,244, p<0.01

The influence of the attachment to the Republic of Macedonia on the categorization of identities

In the research, we also wanted to examine the relation between the attachment of the respondents to the abovementioned categories and their self-identification with the four categories of the relation civic versus ethnic identity (separate, nested, merged identities). The statistic processing showed that such a relation exists in the case of attachment to R. Macedonia and the identification of the respondents with the merged identities. In a sense, the degree of attachment to R. Macedonia is a control question which should check the relation of the respondents towards the categories that reflect the correlation of the civic and ethnic identity. Taking into consideration the fact that the respondents show a different degree of attachment to the stated categories, and in order to statistically process them further, they were grouped in two groups – respondents with a low and middle attachment to the stated categories (1-5 degree on the Likert scale) and respondents with high attachment (6 and 7 on the Likert scale).

As expected, the respondents with high attachment to R. Macedonia identified themselves with the nested identities in which the Macedonian citizenship is dominant, and with the merged identities, which is statistically significant relation. (Table 8).

Table 8. Attachment to R. Macedonia and relation toward the ethnic and civic identity (%)

	Separate identities	**Nested identities (the civic one dominates)**	**Nested identities (the ethnic one dominates)**	**Merged identities**	**Total**
Low and middle attachment to R. Macedonia	17,4%	12,4%	36,7%	**33,6%**	100%
High attachment to R. Macedonia	6,3%	19,5%	18,9%	**55,3%**	100%
Significance	No	No	No	**p<0.01**	/

Behavioral consequences of identifications

How do the respondents feel in regard to the others with whom they share the same belonging? Is this relationship based on a feeling of solidarity, common interests and active participation in which case everyone works together on achieving the common goals, or is their relation based only on a feeling of belonging to a certain group, whereas other active/participating components and getting involved into common activities are missing? Why is it important to research this dimension of ethnic and national identity? We set off from the assumption that the higher attachment of the respondents to a certain social group involves sharing common values and interests, as well as motivation for joint action. On the other hand, the behavioral or process-oriented component of identity, as we have already mentioned, is significant because it points to how the group functions or will function in the future.

Metaphorically, these two types of relations of the respondents to the others with whom they share common belonging were presented in the questionnaire as: in the first case – a steersman in a team or, in the second case, as part of the audience – viewer of a performance. The respondents were given the following question: Please, describe how you feel in relation to other persons with whom you share the same identities? Do you feel as a member of one and the same team of steersmen (where everyone steers the steering-oars simultaneously and in the same direction) or do you feel as a member of an audience during a performance (where you don't necessarily share the same reactions as the other viewers). The respondents answered about their relation to the other members of the categories: *citizenship, ethnic group* and *municipality* in which they live.

On the level of the overall sample, the active component dominates in the case of the ethnic group, followed by the municipality. The activating component is the least present in the case of R. Macedonia. When R. Macedonia is concerned, this is one of the few issues in which the ethnic background did not prove to be significant for the distribution of the answers, which means that such feeling is wide-spread in both subgroup of the sample (Table 9). What this distribution of answers is due to can only be presumed because this is a matter of results from a survey i.e. quantitative research. It could be assumed that the absence of perception that all are part of a team of steersmen is due to the deeply divided Macedonian society along two lines – ethnic (Maleska 1997; Bieber 2005; Sulejmani 2008; Atanasov, 2008), as well as party-political (Hristova et al 2011).

Table 9. Feeling of participation (activation component) with the members of various groups (%)

	Steersman in a team	Viewer in a theatre	Total
With the citizens of R. Macedonia, I feel like:	39%	**61%**	100%
With the members of my ethnic group I feel like:	**66,6%**	33,4%	100%
With the citizens of my municipality, I feel like:	50.9%	49,1%	100%

Unlike the citizenship, in the case of *ethnic group*, two factors proved relevant for the distribution of the answers – the ethnic group and (partly) the university. A much higher percentage of Albanians say they feel like steersmen in one team with the other members of their ethnic group (78,2%), while this percentage among the Macedonians is far smaller (56,8%). In the case of ethnic Macedonians, the percentage of respondents who feel like steersmen, and the percentage of those who feel like viewers in their own ethnic group is greatly balanced (Table 10).

Table 10. Feeling of participation (activation component) according to university (%)

With my ethnic community, I feel like:	Steersman in a team	Viewer in a theatre	Total
Macedonians	56,8%	43,2%	100%
Albanians	78,2%	21,8%	100%
Significance	p<0.01	p<0.01	/

In the case of university, the differences in regard to active citizens (steersmen) are statistically significant between UKIM and Tetovo University, as well as between Tetovo University and Goce Delcev University – Stip (Table 11).

Table 11. Feeling of participation according to university (%)

With my ethnic community, I feel like:	Steersman in a team	Viewer in a theatre	Total
UKIM	65,4%	34,6%	100%
Tetovo University	82,1%	17,9%	100%
Stip University	56,2%	43,8%	100%

Table 12. Table of significance of differences regarding to the feeling of participation (activating component) according to the university of respondents

	Steersman in a team	Viewer in a theatre
UKIM-DUT	$p<0.01$	No significance
DUT-UGD	$p<0.01$	No significance

Regarding the feeling of active participation in the case of *municipality*, neither the ethnic group, nor the university appear as factors of influence.

Attachment and participation

As in the case of the categories that describe the relation civic versus ethnic identity, we have also examined the relation between the attachment to certain categories and the activation component (steersman-viewer) in regard to the same categories. The relation between the attachment to R. Macedonia and the ethnic group proved statistically relevant.

Thus, among the respondents with low and middle attachment to R. Macedonia, the activation component is less present in comparison to the respondents that have stated they had a high attachment to R. Macedonia (Table 13).

Table 13. Attachment to R. Macedonia and perception of participation (%)

	Steersman in a team	Viewer in a theatre	Total
Low and middle attachment to R. Macedonia	32,8%	67,2%	100%
High attachment to R. Macedonia	49,7%	50,3%	100%
Significance	p<0.05	No	/

The respondents with high attachment to the **ethnic group** feel in a greater degree as steersmen in relation to the other members from the group, while those with low attachment have described themselves as viewers (Table 14).

Table 14. Attachment to the ethnic group and perception of participation with the members of the group (%)

	Steersman in a team	Viewer in a theatre	Total
Low and middle attachment to the ethnic group	56,5%	43,5%	100%
High attachment to the ethnic group	73,1%	26,9%	100%
Significance	p<0.05	p<0.05	/

Conclusion

The research of the ethnic and national identity in a multicultural society such as the Macedonian one, is relevant in reference to question how those who identify with their ethnic groups position themselves towards the broader political community. Does the strong attachment towards one's own ethnic group, especially when minority groups are concerned, means absence of attachment towards and identification with the state, as many authors who study social identities show? If that is so, what does it mean for the development of the democracy and the survival of the state? In one way or another, the academic researchers of the Macedonian multicultural and deeply divided society ask these questions, but they are very present also in the political (public) discourse of the country.

Taking into consideration the Macedonian social context, we have set off from the assumption that it was possible for these two identities to be mutually exclusive, but also compatible. Therefore, in our categorization, we have envisaged four categories that express this relation of ethnic versus national identity, so that in the first case they are completely separate, in two categories these identities are nested in each other, and in the fourth category they merge (there is no difference between ethnic and national identity). Aware of the limits of the survey as a method of research, we shall summarize the main findings of our exploratory research.

A large majority of ethnic Macedonians (77,1%) chose the categories in which the civic component is dominant (merged identities and nested identities in which the national identity is dominant). The ethnic Albanians chose these categories in a much smaller percentage (32,3%), and their preferred categories are the nested identities in which the ethnic background is dominant (46,6%). This distribution proves the general hypothesis from which we started – the minority effect, which means that the minority group gives greater significance to the characteristics of their own minority belonging, which is also visible in the other results received from the survey. The second conclusion is that the largest majority of ethnic Albanians chose modalities that indicate compatibility of the two researched identities, even in cases/categories when they emphasize their ethnic background. Generally speaking, this could be an encouraging indicator of a multicultural and divided society, but still the question remains what almost half of the examined population of ethnic Albanians mean exactly when they choose the category of nested identities, with an emphasis on the ethnic background. Some of the results received from the research, which refer to the attachments to different categories and the presence of the participative component, partly provide an answer to this question.

The differences between the two ethnic groups when it comes to their attachment to the state and their own ethnic group are obvious. Among the ethnic Albanians, the attachment to the Republic of Macedonia on the seven-degree Likert scale is expressed with a score which is close to the neutral one (3,84), whereas the score of the attachment to the ethnic group is 5,87. Among the ethnic Macedonians, the two attachments have almost equal scores (5,28 and 5,26). These results were expressed in a specific way in the categorization of the identities.

When the behavioral consequences of identification are concerned, we consider that the data received are even more indicative. On the level of the overall sample, about two thirds of the respondents feel as steersmen in a team in relation to their ethnic group, and one

third feel like viewers with the other members of the group. Concerning the relation towards the Republic of Macedonia, this relation is opposite. The ethnic background of the respondents has a strong influence of their attitudes in regard to the active component, but only when it comes to ethnic background, and not when it comes to the Republic of Macedonia. More than three fourths of the ethnic Albanian respondents feel like one team of steersmen with the other members of their ethnic community (they all steer simultaneously in the same direction), while that percentage among the ethnic Macedonians is far smaller (56,8%). This may mean that the respondents (above all, the ethnic Albanians) perceive the cohesiveness and solidarity on ethnic level, and not national level. If joint interests, objectives, as an assumption for a joint action and solidarity are unrecognizable (or less recognizable) on national level, it may represent a problem for the future development of the democracy in a society.

The categorization in the research of self-perceptions of the national identities certainly means simplification of the complex structure of relations that exists in the reality (Brubaker 2004), and that is why it is necessary that it be treated more as a starting point or indicative image of the relations that are established between the ethnic and the national identity in the Macedonian multicultural society. The survey research, as an indispensable instrument for examining the attitudes of the examined population has its own limitations and it should be combined with additional, qualitative research methods. That will help in obtaining explanation about why the respondents gave advantage of some of the offered categories in comparison to others, as well as how they understand their identification with them. This can contribute in further development of the research in the sense of adding new categories in the used categorization, and identifying (additional) factors of importance for identification with the examined categories.

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[i] Quoting several authors (Tajfel 1978, Strocker 1980, Deaux 1992, 1996), Barret considers that apart from membership in certain groups, what is also important for our self-identification are our personal attributes (tolerant, generous, etc.), our interpersonal relations and roles (mother, friend, colleague, etc.) and the autobiographical narratives (born in London, from a wealthy family, went to elite school, etc.).

[ii] Different terms are used in the literature for the analysis of the question ethnic versus national identity. For national identity, the following terms are used: civic identity or citizenship (in the sense of relation, attachment to the citizenship), while the ethnic (that is, the particular) is somewhere treated as religious, linguistic or cultural identity. When the latter is concerned, there are, of course, differences between these notions, but

depending on the social context and specific characteristics of the social groups that are object of analysis, the authors prefer the use of some of these categories.

[iii] Because of the modern economic development, the postindustrial and global economy, as well as other factors, the demography of the former nation states rapidly changes. Thus, in the EU countries, there are 16 million immigrants who, according to their origin, are from outside Europe; in France; the percentage of emigrants from Northern Africa is 65% of the total number of immigrants, etc. The demographic structure of the population in the US, which is a typical immigrant country, visibly changes. The former European emigrants have largely been replaced by Asian, African, Caribbean and other newcomers, so that it seems that today the cultural differences are greater than during the previous immigrant waves. The case of Australia and New Zealand is similar (Gross F (1999) *Citizenship and ethnicity: the growth and development of a democratic multiethnic institution.* Greenwood Press).

[iv] Let us mention, for example, that in Europe, there has been retrieving from the positions of multiculturalism in the statements of Angela Merkel, Nicolas Sarkozy, Great Britain.

[v] In their research of the identities in Canada, the authors notice a great attachment towards the provincial (Quebec) identity. The Quebec nationalism is obvious, they say. But what is not clear is the degree of compatibility versus conflict between the Canadian and Quebec nationalism (Jean Laponce and W. Safran: Ethnicity and Citizenship- The Canadian case, 1996).

[vi] This paper does not present the data received about the perception of discrimination.

Proofreading:

Dr. Rod Beaumont

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